The GeoJournal Library

Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies

Experiences in Southern Africa

by
Maano Ramutsindela

Kluwer Academic Publishers

Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies

The GeoJournal Library

Volume 79

The titles published in this series are listed at the end of this volume.

Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies

Experiences in Southern Africa

by

MAANO RAMUTSINDELA

University of Cape Town,
South Africa

KLUWER ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS
NEW YORK, BOSTON, DORDRECHT, LONDON, MOSCOW

eBook ISBN: 1-4020-2843-1
Print ISBN: 1-4020-2842-3

Created in the United States of America

Visit Springer's eBookstore at: http://ebooks.springerlink.com
and the Springer Global Website Online at: http://www.springeronline.com

Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am extremely grateful to a number of people and institutions for the successful completion of this book project. Myriam Poort encouraged me to develop the theme of the book. Max Barlow's comments on the initial proposal and his subsequent suggestions were helpful and challenging. He made me search for commonalities among non-western societies beyond my initial concern with people in southern Africa. I gained some knowledge of people and parks in southern Africa from individuals who generously shared their experiences with me. In Botswana, Deborah Kahatano, Joseph Mbaiwa, Sedia Modise and Joyce Bakane granted me interviews without hesitation. Staff at the library of the Department of Wildlife in Botswana and the Kalahari Society allowed me access to useful documents. I would not have had a glimpse of the dynamics of people and protected areas in Lesotho had it not been for Refiloe Ntsohi and Bokang Theko, who were more than willing to assist me with data collection in Lesotho. They also introduced me to their colleagues: the Director of Parks, Mosenya, J.M.M.; the Park Manager and the ranger at Sehlabathebe National Park, Nkuebe, A. and Lerotholi, T. respectively; Monyatsi Mohau, and to Teboho Maliehe of CMBSL project. I am thankful to Gilberto Vincente and Bartolomeu Soto for providing insights into the situation in Mozambique. Lamson Maluleke sent me a valuable report on communities in Mozambique for which I am grateful. In Namibia, Nyambe Nyambe and Dr Fanuel Demas sensitised me to the teething problems of people and parks in that country. Of course, my attempts to understand regional dynamics were shaped by own knowledge of South Africa to which many people have made a contribution. My former colleague, Phuthego Tsheola, assisted me in analysing the 2002 survey data. I wish to thank the following individuals for agreeing to share their knowledge with me through interviews: Maria Farmer, 'Oom' Paul de Wet, Fiona Archer, Phineas Nobela, Immy Serakalala, Peet van der Walt, Howard Hendriks, Catherine Senatle, Busi Gcabashe, Amos Mdluli and Werner Myburgh. In Swaziland, Zola Hlatswayo played a crucial role as a research facilitator for which I am very thankful. Wisdom Dlamini and Sinaye Mamba of the Swaziland National Trust Commission, Vilakati, J.D. and staff at Shewula Conservancy granted me interviews. I am thankful to Micah Katuruza for assistance during my visit to Zimbabwe. Thanks are due to Mandy Innes and Sharon Adams for making all the travel arrangements for my fieldwork, and to the University of Cape Town for supporting my research. I am indebted to the National Research Foundation for its financial assistance.

CHAPTER 1

SOCIETY-NATURE DUALISM AND HUMAN GRADATION

INTRODUCTION

The use of the term 'postcolonial societies' in the title of this volume raises questions about what the content and scope of the work being presented is and/or should be. This is to be expected since there are different viewpoints on the notion of 'the postcolonial.' Notwithstanding those viewpoints, postcolonialism, as a body of knowledge, generally refers to those societies that were once dominated and/ or oppressed by western powers.[1] Over the years, a heated debate has ensued over the extent to which postcolonial theory[2] could aid our understanding of contemporary issues in the former colonies, particularly in the South. It is not my intention to reiterate the debate here. Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that postcolonial theory has been criticised because of its "aimless linguistic virtuosity" (Williams 1997: 380), Eurocentricism (Ahmad 1995) and for its dualistic and oversimplified interpretations of history (Ranger 1996).[3]

There are many interpretations of postcolonialism and its usefulness or otherwise in addressing contemporary problems. That interpretation hinges on the meanings attached to the morpheme of the very concept of *post*colonialism.[4] This volume aligns itself with, and confirms the view of postcolonialism as a process of continuity. It views the trilogy of history – pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial – implied in the word post-colonialism as an intermixture of events, processes and actors that transcends any form of periodisation. In other words, it acknowledges the continuing domination of postcolonial societies by former colonial masters in one form or another. Critics of postcolonial theory would argue that such continuity would be better described as neo-colonialism or, simply, as a continuation of imperialism (see Abrahamsen 2003). There is merit in that critique, because the former coloniser largely remains the 'same person', albeit with different faces and in different guises.

However, such a critique does not solve the empirical problem of identifying and defining victims of colonialism as a collective. Would neo-colonialism imply the existence of a neo-colonial society, and what would the implications of that designation be? A designation that captures that collective is imperative for both conceptual and practical reasons. Conceptually, in the coloniser's model of the world, common attributes have been assigned to the colonised; these defined the position of the colonised globally. Practically, institutions and organisations working

towards some form of reparation (for the damages of colonialism) have to find a working definition of who the victims were or are. In other words, the definition of 'victims of colonialism' demands that the colonised should be defined appropriately.

In this regard, Mazrui (1996: 123) observed that "the reparations movement seems to have concluded that although the indigenous and Islamic forms of slavery were much older than the transatlantic version, they were much smaller in scale and allowed for greater upward social mobility – from slave to sultan, from peasant to paramount chief." In other words, reparation movements, though focusing on past oppressive structures and groups, have to separate the principal oppressors from other oppressive structures.

I have preferred to use the notion of 'postcolonial societies' in this volume as an attempt to capture a collective group of people who had not only been subjected to colonial rule, but who were also required to absorb western concepts of nature.[5] They were forced to observe relations between society and nature in ways that were (and in fact still are) alien to them. They had to do so in part because of the inferior status, which was – and still is – assigned to them. Western concepts of nature and the practices emanating therefrom were codified in the national park idea,[6] and were carried over into, and sustained in, countries that had been previously colonised. In this sense, the concept of the postcolonial encapsulates the ramifications of the national park idea.

I suggest that the use of postcolonial theory in analysing national parks is helpful in dispelling the myth that colonial practices have ended, with regard to contemporary protected areas, and national parks in particular. My argument herein is that national parks, like previously colonised societies, cannot be fully understood by analyses that seek to periodise nature conservation philosophies and practices. The periodisation of national parks into either 'colonial' or 'post-colonial' distracts us from understanding the continuity of some of the defining features of the national park idea and its associated practices. The point here is that colonial practices around national parks did not necessarily end with the end of formal colonialism. Instead, they continued into the post-colonial period.

Against this backdrop, it is important to understand the nature of the impact of the national park idea on societies that had previously been subjected to colonial rule.[7] My view is that national parks as a colonial creation in southern Africa and elsewhere in the former colonies cannot be fully explained outside the context of the colonial experience to which they belong. In other words, how can we explain national parks (i.e. in the former colonies) outside the colonial experience, given that those parks are a colonial creation? Certainly, colonised societies had their own understanding of nature – and how it should be used and or protected – long before the formalisation and institutionalisation of colonialism. Nevertheless, nature as understood by pre-colonial societies had very little or nothing to do with the national park idea. Instead, national parks emerged from western views of nature[8] that contrasted sharply with those held by non-western societies.

VIEWS OF NATURE AND SCIENTIFIC FIELDS

Over the years, western thought on the distinction between society and nature has conditioned the way we see and study nature.[9] This is evident in education systems, which have tended to normalise the division between natural and social sciences.[10] The consequences of this have been that even those subjects, such as geography which remains one of the few subjects dedicated to exploring the relations between society and nature, have reinforced the society-nature separation by maintaining the dichotomy between human and physical geography. Moreover, the gap between human and physical geography is growing apace (Thrift 2002). As Gober (2001: 10) pointed out,

> the practice of synthesis in geography faces formidable huddles because we have evolved into a discipline that is overly specialised, in which physical and human geographers are strangers to one another, and whose current curriculum and educational practices are at odds with synthesis.

For the purposes of our discussion, the division between physical and human geography should be seen as echoing the western dualistic view of society and nature.

The dualistic nature of geography is surprising for a subject whose core is said to be an "abiding concern for the human and physical attributes of places and regions and with the spatial interactions that alter them" (Abler, *et al.* 1992: 392). The problem of schizoid disciplines is not confined to disciplines that have clear physical and human components such as geography. Even those that focus on a supposedly unified component have their fair share of problems. For instance, sociology has society as its focus of study, but Rosa and Machlis (2002) are worried about the artificial separation between environmental sociology and the sociology of natural resources. They argue that,

> the uncompleted task of achieving an authentic interdisciplinary science of the environment and/or resources is due, in large part, to the recursive relationship between narrow definitions of disciplines and trained incapacities, and to the subsequent institutionalisation of counterproductive disciplinary distinctions (2002: 253).[11]

Could it be that the insertion of the notions of 'environment' or 'natural resources' into sociology carries with it the dividing tendency inherent in those notions? Alternatively, is the schism that we observe, or seek to see, a trained habit of the mind? Read from this angle, it is fruitless to encourage the development of practices that foster the society-nature nexus, while our thought systems emphasise the society-nature dichotomy.

It should be noted that the society-nature distinction has come under a sharper scrutiny than before. A growing body of work has offered reinterpretations of nature as both concrete and abstract. Radical interpretations have dismissed the society-nature distinction on the basis that nature is inescapably social, and that the social and the natural are inseparable in thought and practice (Castree 2001).[12] Such interpretations have emerged as a critique of the conventional understandings of, and

interactions with, nature. That critique aims to eradicate the relations of power and domination that are embedded in nature conservation projects. It embodies ideals of a future world in which principles of social and ecological justice organise the society-nature nexus at both local and global levels (Castree 2001). Undoubtedly, the quest for a society-nature nexus has grown into an intellectual project, which has brought scientists and civil society together. In retrospect, the social approach has gone a long way towards challenging constructions of nature. However, it has yet to offer a systematic exposition of the human gradation that are embedded in contemporary nature conservation philosophies and practices.

Proposals have been made that interdisciplinary approaches could resolve the artificial separation between society and nature. Nevertheless, one serious flaw of such proposals has been to propagate interdisciplinarity to bolster the survival of existing disciplines rather than to enhance our understanding of the society-nature relations.[13] For geography as a whole, such approaches are viewed as an opportunity to unify a hitherto schizoid discipline that would enable it to claim the moral high ground. The injunction to unify the discipline is understandable, given the consequences of sustaining a Janus-faced discipline in changing intellectual and socio-economic environments. Disappointingly, though, those who seek the unity of geography have not shown the same commitment to challenging dominant conceptions of the very nature of 'nature' that ought to form the basis of geographic unity.[14] That weakness is seen in the reductionist tendency of the people-environment school of thought, which associates nature with the physical 'places' rather than a combination of physical and human processes. This leads to the production of technocratic knowledge that is often associated with notions of preservation.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE SOCIETY-NATURE DUALISM

The society-nature distinction has practical consequences as well. Colchester (2000: 99), for instance, is of the view that,

> the notion that nature and human society are inherently antagonistic and incompatible rationalises the intense sense of alienation that underlies many American versions of 'deep ecology'[15] and motivates many members of groups such as Earth First.

Kidner (2001) claims that our destructive behaviour towards the natural environment is a result of the frustration arising from our failure to integrate society and nature. In terms of 5, the quest for a society-nature nexus is found in what has been dubbed the 'new nature conservation' that seeks to take both the theory and practice of conservation beyond the colonial and neo-colonial construct of 'fortress conservation' (Hulme and Murphree 1999). Co-management and community-based natural resource schemes are embodiments of this 'new nature conservation.' The question that I ask is whether the re-incorporation of communities into nature conservation projects does in fact represent a shift in ideas about nature. Is there a shift in the conceptualisation of people living in or adjacent to national parks? Do contemporary conservation schemes resolve the age-old problem of human

gradation? I will be engaging with these questions throughout the volume through the lens of national parks.

The premise of this volume is that national parks in fact embody ideas about the disjuncture between society and nature. Moreover, the ways in which that disjuncture was constructed and translated into a legal instrument underpin most of the contemporary national park systems. Notably, park legislation is an instrument for administering the boundaries between parks and people. It emanates from the construction of boundaries between society and nature. According to Schonewald-Cox and Bayless (1986) park administrative boundaries act to filter out undesirable influences on park resources. Read from a different angle, administrative influences are a manifestation of different interests on park resources and, together with extended biophysical forces, have a profound impact on the philosophy and management structures of national parks.

A helpful starting point in analysing national parks would be to interrogate constructions of nature. This is important, I think, because national parks are founded on, and express particular views of nature and the society-nature relation(ship). The dominant view has been constructed around three categories of nature – fauna, flora and habitats as if they never had interference from human beings – nature as being that which has not been touched by humans. Most commentators trace that view to western thought, which separated humans from other species and placed them (i.e. humans) in a superior position.[16] The notion of wilderness was instrumental in bringing that thought into reality.

THE BAGGAGE OF WILDERNESS

Wilderness was understood to be something alien to humans and 'an insecure and uncomfortable environment against which civilisation had waged an uneasing struggle' (Nash 1982: 8).[17] From this perspective, the wilderness not only assumed mysterious qualities, but also implied the need to conquer and control the wild environment and the species found therein. The conquering of nature through the transforming energies of civilisation led to the 'ravages of the axe' that ultimately threatened the disappearance of the wilderness, hence the call for preservation.[18] Unsurprisingly, preservation emerged as a management strategy for protecting the 'wilderness' against human interference.[19] With regard to national parks, preservation meant a complete separation between parks and people. The need for preservation was reinforced by conceptions of the "wild country in which those in need of consolation can find respite from the pressures of civilisation" (Nash 1982: 4). That pressure is associated with urban places as crucibles of civilisation and a hub of activities that lead to a stressful life; the implication is that modern humans feel as insecure and confused in an urban setting, as they once felt in the forest among wild beasts (Nash 1982).

The search for 'the place of rest' culminated in the creation of the paradise myth.[20] This myth profoundly shaped images of wild and distant places, giving them

positive qualities that encouraged travel. It is said that Columbus' conviction that an Indian Eden existed, gave him the courage to explore the world despite his fears, and that early explorations of Brazil were based on such images of paradise (Grove 1995). Scientific findings of the last centuries might have tempered the paradise myth, but images of paradise nevertheless remain at the heart of contemporary ecotourism.[21] Ecotourism perpetuates the view of the wilderness as a place where humans can find relief from the stress of daily living – an oasis in the desert of our civilisation. As with the concept of wilderness, national parks are preserved for human pleasure.[22]

Preserving Wilderness

Against this backdrop, the word wilderness implies both control and use of nature – a foundation upon which the national park idea is built. A practical step towards the preservation of the unspoiled natural environment was to designate areas for national parks. As remnants of pristine nature and as a representation of wilderness, national parks aimed to preserve nature against human interference. Unsurprisingly, a national park is conventionally regarded as an area not materially altered by human exploitation or occupation, where the highest competent authority of the country has taken steps to prevent or eliminate exploitation or occupation by human beings as soon as possible after the park has been proclaimed.

Various authors have acknowledged the interconnectedness between the wilderness and national parks, mainly by offering accounts based on historical material (see Nash 1982; Tichi 1997; Neumann 1998). Such accounts may have perpetuated the idea that the wilderness is something that existed in the past rather than in the present. My view is that notions of wilderness continue to inform contemporary national park systems. The development of transfrontier parks as a 21st century model for nature conservation resonates with ideals of the extent of the wilderness. According to Nash (1982: 4) "the explorer and crusader for wilderness preservation, Robert Marshall, demanded an area so large that it could not be traversed without mechanical means in a single day." Seen from this perspective, transfrontier parks seek to re-establish a wilderness that had been cut up into small areas by international boundaries. Nowhere is the image of wilderness more visible than in the myths on which third world tourism is built. Such myths represent the third world as an area that is still unchanged, unrestrained and uncivilised (Echtner and Prasad 2003).

Implication for Humans

The profound impact of the concept of wilderness on humans cannot be ignored. Notwithstanding its elusive meanings, a wilderness is generally regarded as a place free from humans, as if humans have always been absent from landscapes that are considered 'natural.' However, a growing body of work reveals that the so-called natural landscape could in fact be anthropogenic (Fairhead and Leach 1996; McCann 1999). It is significant to note that western proponents of the wilderness

concept regarded non-western societies, which lived in and around designated wilderness areas, as part of the wilderness. It follows logically that these societies, like the wilderness of which they were a part, were to be (and could be) conquered and (ab) used. In Ancient Greece, the wilderness was "peopled by barbarians, the epitome of whom were the Amazons – long-haired, naked, female savages who represented the antithesis of Greek civilisation" (Colchester 2000: 98). In this context, non-white people formed part of the natural environment – (or rather, the wilderness). With regard to national parks, the implications of this view were that non-whites were allowed to co-exist with wildlife in national parks. Catlin (cited by Colchester 2000: 92) made this point particularly clear:

> And in future what a splendid contemplation … when one … imagines them as they might be seen, by some great protecting policy of government preserved in their pristine beauty and wildness, in a magnificent park, where the world could see for ages to come, the native Indian in his classic attire, galloping his wild horse, with sinewy bow, and shield and lance, amid the fleeting herds of elks and buffaloes … a nation's park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty.

According to Schroeder (1999) colonial governments, in particular, allowed settlements for non-whites to coexist with wildlife because non-whites were effectively equated with wildlife and were allowed to remain in the parks on that basis (Schroeder 1999). Neumann (1998: 18) is of the view that

> the edenic vision of the landscape was capable of accommodating an African presence, because incorporated in the edenic myth is the myth of the noble savage. The noble savage, being closer to nature than civilisation, could, hypothetically, be protected as a vital part of the natural landscape.

Furthermore, colonial settlers used zoological names for Africans (Fanon 1967) and the same government departments that were responsible for wildlife, also administered Africans. All these policies or approaches automatically bring the question of racism into the ambit of national parks.

Racism in national parks was and still is articulated in different ways. At the conceptual level, it constructs the image of non-whites as a homogenous group in order to develop the hierarchical ordering of humans, with whites at the apex of civilisation. In practice, this meant that common sets of policies could be applied in administering the relations between parks and non-whites.[23]

The evolution of policies could be used to make the point clear. Firstly, the initial application of the notion of wilderness was followed by policies that allowed non-whites to live in the parks. Secondly, when joint occupancy between non-whites and wildlife was considered impossible, non-whites were removed from the parks (Schroeder 1999). Thirdly, the re-establishment of relations between national parks and non-white (local) communities has generally followed generic policy guidelines. Racial discrimination in protected areas might appear to be historical,[24] but the persistence of racial stereotypes in other facets of life suggests that contemporary national parks, as a strategy for nature conservation, are not yet immune to those stereotypes. Such stereotypes, I would argue, are even more serious, because the

foundations on which national parks were built had strong racist undercurrents. The first expression of the national park concept by George Catlin in 1832 regarded Indians, wildlife and wilderness as common 'features' that all required the same type of government protection (Zube and Busch 1990). What could have eliminated those racial stereotypes in the face of contemporary racism globally?

The relevance of racism in the discussion about national parks requires further clarification. Racism as a form of domination largely reveals a line of cleavage between whites and non-whites. Furthermore, national parks provided the stage on which racial stereotypes and attendant practices could be played out. In other words, national parks became the arena for racial exclusions and domination. This domination was also gendered. For instance, women had to deal with the male-dominated park service culture. After independence, previously oppressed non-whites often appropriated forms of domination associated with national parks. In this way, national parks as symbols of power over nature and people (by other people) cannot be separated from broader constructions of power.

In the light of the aforementioned discussion, this volume seeks to contribute to the understanding of the continuous power dynamics as expressed through, and constructed in respect of national parks. It thus draws on examples from Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.[25] Of course, southern Africa is not unique, but the region nevertheless provides many useful examples that have parallels elsewhere on the continent and beyond.

AIM OF THE BOOK

Against the background of colonial and postcolonial experiences, this volume draws on numerous examples from national parks in southern Africa to show that power relations and stereotypes embedded in the original national park idea are a continuing reality of contemporary national and transnational parks. The book explores this continuity against the backdrop of both environmental history and the claims of new nature conservation philosophies and practices. The aim is neither to rewrite the history of national parks nor to retell the story of each national park in the region. Rather, it is to acknowledge that each national park has its own story, which can be woven into a common narrative of people and parks. Indeed, it is in the stories of the various national parks that fundamental similarities can be found.[26] I do not see the juxtaposition of national parks as yielding obvious contrasts. In contrast, it is hoped that such a regional approach will provide the analytical framework for understanding common themes among national parks within individual states and in the region as a whole. Furthermore, it will challenge ideas about the uniqueness of certain national parks and reserves in southern African states.

Admittedly, national parks in southern Africa have developed in different contexts and various time scales. However, the hegemonic national park idea, the deployment of specific common instruments, shared value systems of park agencies and the shared human gradation of people in the region do make some generalisation possible. After all, southern Africa as a region formed part of the generalised

'hunting ground'[27]; the Europeans' imaginary countryside, and the creation of national parks flowed from similar, shared anxieties. Such a meta-text offers space for identifying commonalities among national parks and for arriving at conclusive interpretations of the relations between parks and people in the region and beyond. Whether and how these are manifested in the postcolony is the topic of discussion in the various chapters of this book.

Environmental history – as the history of how people manage and interrelate with nature – provides an important interpretative template for understanding western notions of nature and the creation of the national park idea in colonial societies. The present volume not only recognises that history, but also seeks to account for continuity in western concepts of nature and in the hierarchical ordering of humans by humans (i.e. human gradation). Notably, environmental history has gone some way in revealing human gradation, particularly in colonial times, where Europeans regarded non-Europeans as part of the fauna (Gordon 1992; Schroeder 1999; Beinart 2000). As I show in this volume, such perceptions form a strong strand in the history of national parks and account for the inhuman treatment of local people by national park authorities and states. Accordingly, research by historians and other social scientists suggests that western notions of superiority, couched in racial stereotypes, account for the dehumanisation of local people under colonial rule.

However, we still need to know why and how local people continued to suffer from national park systems in the postcolony, and how local people were divided through the quest for access to, and control over, park resources. Beinart (2002: 215-216) shares similar concerns: "there is still a great deal to be discovered both about settler appropriation of natural resources, and about the interrelationships between settlers, African people and nature." Admittedly, these cannot be clearly understood if all aspects of nature conservation are lumped together, hence the focus on national parks. National parks, too, have complex dimensions. In this volume, I will emphasise the ideas and intentions behind the establishment of national parks in colonial and postcolonial contexts and the consequences these have had on the relations between society and nature on the one hand, and among humans on the other hand. The volume has been organised in ways that expresses these objectives.

ORGANISATION OF THE BOOK

An obvious difficulty in organising a volume such as this was to create space for capturing experiences from a variety of situations within and between places, and to use these to make and substantiate certain claims. In response to that challenge, I have devoted the first part of each chapter to brief general overviews in order to set the scene and specifically to relate southern African experiences to broader national park issues in the rest of the African continent and beyond.

Imparkation in Southern Africa

For these reasons, Chapter 2 introduces the idea of a national park in southern Africa against the background of the formalisation of national parks in Europe and North America. The chapter proceeds from brief comments on the encapsulation of the notion of wilderness in the Yellowstone National Park in the United States and how that idea (in its various forms) gained ground in southern Africa. Interpretations of how the national park idea reached the region range from diffusionist models (Burnett and Butler Harrington 1994) to the intermixing of imperialist practices and local conditions (Beinart and Coates 1995; Grove 1995). In its countries of origin, particularly the United States and Britain, the national park idea was loaded with power that became formalised through nature conservation legislation. The brutal application of that power was clearly demonstrated by the Black Act in Britain. Against this backdrop, the establishment of national parks in southern Africa not only served to transmit and retain core elements of the national park idea, but was also accompanied by the regulatory framework that safeguarded it. In very little time, that framework was applied in the region with clear racial connotations. This came as no surprise, because the national park idea is founded on notions of power – and the region provided the perfect platform on which racism could be invoked in the excise of that power.

The Consequences of National Parks

In Chapter 3 I concentrate on the consequences of national parks on both biodiversity and humans. For a long time, the negative consequences of national parks on the very nature they were meant to protect was largely ignored, mainly because of the need to promote the national park idea. In recent years, however, there has been an acknowledgement that political and economic motives behind the establishment of national parks world-wide have resulted in a world network of national parks, which do not represent major biotic units. In other words, national parks have failed to protect some of the major ecological systems, particularly where the imperatives of nature conservation were secondary.

Such negative consequences aside, national parks have served to keep the idea of biodiversity protection alive, and have contributed immensely to the survival of species and habitats that otherwise might have disappeared. In determining the impact of national parks, much emphasis has been placed on people, particularly on those who lived in or adjacent to these parks. Such overemphasis was the result of the proliferation of social science studies, which aimed to expose the plight of local people. These studies showed that the establishment of national parks led to local peoples' loss of land and other resource rights. In this regard, there are fundamental similarities in Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe.

In all these cases, the establishment of national parks formed a strand of 'green imperialism.' The ways in which local people suffered from national parks, particularly during colonialism, varied according to local contexts. Conceptually, the national park boundary mirrored not only the division between society and nature,

but also that between sections of society as well.[28] It is that boundary, which has continuously defined benefits and losses. Any meaningful discussion about these benefits and losses from national parks, then and now, will have to place the boundaries of resources in perspective. Chapter 3 emphasises that the racial division between settlers and black people in the region accounts for similarities in the inhuman treatment occasioned by national parks.

National Parks and Newly Independent States

Chapter 4 discusses settlers' reactions to political transitions (leading up to independence) and how those reactions were manifested in nature conservation schemes, specifically national parks and nature reserves. The chapter draws on examples from the region to claim that political transition provided the platform on which post-independence nature conservation policies were pre-empted. That is to say, post-independence nature conservation practices reflect many of the ideas and concerns that emerged in the run-up to independence. These included a switch to private reserves – in light of the envisaged constitutional changes that would guarantee the protection of private property – the penetration of government institutions[29], and so forth.

The chapter further highlights discernible patterns of responses to political transformation. Such responses stem in part from fears that African governments would not consider nature conservation to be a priority. To a large extent, that fear cannot sufficiently be disassociated from a wider Afro-pessimism, which has historically been underpinned by racial stereotypes. The chapter also asserts that the post-independent southern African governments perpetuated many of the ideas and practices that had previously been condemned as the evil of colonialism. These relate to the removal of people from national parks, the denial of local communities to own natural resources, and the application of some of the draconian laws that had once been aimed at 'African poachers.'

The chapter furthermore seeks to address the question of why colonially inscribed practices have continued in the postcolony. The question is important not least because of the historical evidence of the ill-treatment of black people by (white) settlers. Specifically, for example, if we agree that black people were removed from national parks because of racial stereotypes, how do we then explain their removal under black governments? The brutality of contemporary game laws such as those in Swaziland (which will be discussed in greater detail) suggests the existence of an impulse to violence – derivative violence, as Mamdani (2001) would call it. What remains unclear is whether the manner in which the postcolony administers national parks in fact reflects the extent to which the national park idea has been appropriated.

The chapter also shows that little or no attempt was made to challenge the meanings, values and symbols of national parks that had alienated the majority of Africans from national parks. However, there are signs that changes may happen in

the future, particularly in the area of political symbols.[30] Those changes are more likely to be frustrated by the nature of structures that govern natural resources.

Property Rights Regimes and Nature Conservation

In Chapter 5, I reflect on power structures and their implication for national parks or their equivalents. The discussion stretches back to the theme of 'the empire and royal game' in order to account for the links between the state and national parks. By so doing, I seek to raise the question of why state land was considered to be useful for establishing national parks, and why and how private land is now increasingly being considered as more appropriate for nature conservation than state land. Part of the answer lies in the shifting powers of the state from its Westphalian foundation to the modern, the rise of environmentalism and the widening dimension of global capitalism. In other words, there has been a significant shift from the belief that progress towards environmental protection could be achieved through the state. The state is instead, seen as weak and unreliable, and the private sector is accordingly viewed as an appropriate agency for nature conservation. Conceptually, the economic rationality that had been built into the initial idea of a national park has continuously defined the values of nature in line with capitalist trends.

The chapter also shows that this shift towards the private sector reflects a re-evaluation of park resources. That process takes place against the background of real or perceived biodiversity threats and, more importantly, because of the high economic value attached to nature. In southern Africa, the privatisation drive has penetrated national parks through, among other things, concessions and ecotourism. Unsurprisingly, there has been a rise in private nature reserves in the region. The implication is that southern African states, like their counterparts elsewhere, are increasingly playing the role of a facilitator in nature conservation affairs rather than being in charge of it. The long-term impact of all these on local people remain elusive. However, efforts are being made to bridge the gap between local people and national parks, a theme that I discuss in Chapter 6.

Reconnecting Parks and People

In the 1980s, there were growing concerns that national parks cannot be sufficiently protected in the face of severe poverty in adjacent areas. Efforts were thus made to link nature conservation and development in mutually supportive ways. As I show in Chapter 6, the connection was more of a conservation strategy than a re-conceptualisation of the relations between society and nature. Indeed, the publication of the World Conservation Strategy in 1980 paid attention to essential ecological processes and its life-support systems, and to the need to develop policies that would meet both conservation and local development goals.[31]

In this regard, Zube and Busch (1990) provide four general models that represent people-park relationships on a global scale: local participation in park management and operations and/or residence within the park; delivery of services by park personnel to local populations; maintenance of traditional land use; and local

population involvement in park-related tourism. In terms of the theme of this book, the global definition of the relations between people and parks reconstructs local people into a homogenous group, thereby recasting them into the same (inferior) position to which they had previously been assigned, when they were still referred to as 'non-whites' – or even more historically as 'noble savages.' More crucially, people whose relations to parks is being (re)defined are mostly those in non-western societies – resulting in the ambiguity of ideas about people and parks.

The logical question that arises from all these is why the relations between other (and even more powerful) interested parties and parks have been difficult to define globally. The chapter shows that, although models of park-people relations are conceptualised at a global level, their implementation on the ground is contingent on a combination of factors. For this reason, efforts to link conservation and local development and/or participation in southern Africa have produced different results – depending on the relevant conditions. More than anything else, land policies in southern Africa have had profound impact on the nature of park-people relations. These in turn have affected the nature of benefits and the manner in which these have accrued to local people.

Community Benefits

Chapter 7 is devoted to an analysis of benefits from parks and their equivalents. The chapter is premised on the view that most of the benefits from national parks in the region are pre-determined in accordance with the park-people models discussed in Chapter 6. The chapter raises the question of who defines and determines benefits so as to develop an entry point into the discussion of human gradation. I argue that the packaging of benefits and the ways in which local people are supposed to benefit from nature conservation schemes reflect long-established tendencies of reducing local black people to a common denominator. Such tendencies are underpinned by assumptions, some of which have racial connotations. Why are all local people, irrespective of their location, their language, their culture, their history, and so on, expected to benefit in more or less the same way? Could it be that, as Frederick Law Olmstead (cited in Neumann, 1998: 24) stated, "the power of scenery to affect men is, in a large way, proportional to the degree of their civilisation and the degree to which their taste has been cultivated?"

The chapter highlights the benefits for local people that are framed in group terms, suggesting the persistence of a group mentality as an organising frame of reference in dealing with black people.[32] Certainly, other (major) interested parties in national parks determine, to a large degree, how they would like to benefit from national parks. In fact, their participation may well reflect the kinds of benefit they hope to get. That local people should benefit from national parks in some way is not in dispute. The concern, though, is the redrawing of boundaries around park benefits in terms that resonate with colonial schemes. Local people themselves have absorbed the benefit package in ways that harmonises local expectations with global

offerings. A national survey of South Africans' perceptions of how local communities benefit from national parks, reveals the congruence between global propositions and local expectations. South Africans are not alone in this regard; most, if not all, nature conservation schemes that involve local people in the region are geared towards some kind of development. The nature-conservation development linkage is necessary, if not crucial, for both conservation and for meeting the basic needs of local communities. However, when benefits are used as a 'sweetener', it is something else.

The chapter also comments on cultural tourism in the context of benefits from national parks. In which ways does cultural tourism (in national parks) differ from the initial idea of a national park as a place where natives and wildlife can be preserved together for the enjoyment of white tourists? The question is crucial because cultural tourism in national parks in the region has more to do with the exposure of black people's tradition and cultures. As Chhabra *et al.* (2003) noted, much of heritage tourism depends on the staging or re-creation of cultural traditions.

Transfrontier Parks

In Chapter 8 I discuss transfrontier parks as a re-invention of the notion of wilderness and the culmination of ideas about global governance over biodiversity. The link between wilderness and transfrontier parks is articulated in the vision of re-establishing the 'natural' ecological systems that had been interrupted by humans.[33] As in the case of the national park idea, transfrontier parks in southern Africa are an expression of ideas – the philosophy of bioregionalism – that originated in the North, particularly the United States. For Africa, transfrontier parks invoke pre-colonial African environments as a mirror image of the future of the continent. They feed into romantic views of what the continent once looked like before colonialism.

The chapter reveals that, although transfrontier parks are not unique to Africa, their establishment in southern Africa in the 21st century principally depended on three main factors: Firstly, transfrontier parks are underscored by environmental concerns. These include the consequences of habitat fragmentation and a lack of capacity and resources in biodiversity protection. In southern Africa, those concerns have moved from the national to the regional domain, making transfrontier parks a regional focus. Secondly, political changes have played a crucial role in the emergence of transfrontier parks in southern Africa and beyond. Political events such as the end of the Cold War, the collapse of the apartheid state, and the reconstruction of national and regional institutions provided fertile ground for transfrontier parks in southern Africa. At the ideological level, the conservationists' call for breaking down colonial boundaries chime with ideals of African unity. The third factor relates to the need to link nature conservation with development – the conservation-for-development approach.

Thus, transfrontier parks have an economic logic, namely, the use of nature in the promotion of tourism and economic development. For a region such as southern Africa, which is bedevilled by rampant poverty and high unemployment, the conservation-for-development approach appeals to both states and local people.[34]

The chapter thus refers to examples in the region to substantiate the argument that, in transfrontier parks we witness the global-local connections that entrench core elements of the original national park idea.

Science and the Future of (Trans)national Parks

Chapter 9 draws general conclusions from the discussion presented in the various chapters of this volume. The chapter focuses on three main points, which are the fundamental leitmotif of the book. The first is the perpetuation of the hegemonic view of nature and its implications for science,[35] society and nature. The constructions of nature as embedded in western thought, and their perpetuation through the language of science, institutions and structures, and global capitalism, render attempts to redefine nature – and society-nature relations – a daunting task. Whether it is necessary to attempt a redefinition of nature is debatable. There is mounting evidence, though, of the high premium to be paid for our failure to deal with society-nature distinctions effectively. Past, present and future national and transnational park policy formulations hinged – and will continue to do so – on conceptions of nature on the one hand, and of the relations between society and nature on the other hand.

The second point, which is reiterated throughout the book, is that of human gradation. Whether in colonial or postcolonial settings, local black people have been treated as a homogenous group and were/are accordingly assigned common features on which stereotypes were/are built. Such stereotypes, I am convinced, reflect the wider racism and ethnicity everywhere in the world. I concur with Neumann's (1998: 29) view that, "when we deny – whether in naturalistic paintings or national parks – the role of the human hand in shaping landscape, we contribute to the validation of a particular historical narrative of European imperialism."

The third point concerns the economic rationality. Economic interests have been one of the strongest driving forces behind nature conservation schemes, and account for much of the environmental crises we face today. In other words, the quest for profit has polluted the human conscience, which in turn has polluted the environment. As Gokula (cited in Cremo and Goswami 1998: 23) commented, "a polluted environment grows out of polluted consciousness." With increasing demand for the involvement of the private sector in national parks, deepening rural poverty, the gradual withdrawal of the state from nature conservation, bioprospecting and ecotourism, economic interests are guaranteed to dominate national and transfrontier parks.

NOTES

[1] Colonialism has many threads. Some of the societies that colonised others were themselves victims of colonialism, and exploitation was more complex than the division between, say, Africa and Europe. As Mazrui (1996: 123) noted, "Africa … experienced a triple heritage of slavery – indigenous, Islamic and western."

[2] Some commentators have questioned whether there is such a thing as postcolonial theory.

[3] One of the major criticisms of postcolonialism has been on the chronological periodisation of processes and actors, the result of which is interpreted as the privileging of western history. This occurs, it has been argued, because postcolonialism suggests a stark dichotomy between historical periods.

[4] In Dirlik (1994: 331-332), the term postcolonial carries three meanings that are important for analytical purposes. It can be used "as a literal description of conditions in formerly colonial societies, in which case the term has a concrete referents, as in postcolonial societies or postcolonial intellectuals; as a description of a global condition after the period of colonialism, in which case the usage is somewhat more abstract and less concrete in reference, comparable in its vagueness to the earlier term Third World, for which it is intended as a substitute; and as a description of a discourse on the above-named conditions that is informed by the epistemological and psychic orientations that are products of those conditions."

[5] The view that humankind should dominates all living things and habitats. This view has led to changes in the ways in which people interact with their physical environment.

[6] The idea that nature can be preserved by establishing areas in which human interference will not be allowed.

[7] How this would liberate the oppressed is for others to judge.

[8] As encompassing physical and human domains in the whole system of existence.

[9] My purpose is neither to privilege western thought over other thought systems nor to ignore alternative views of nature. I appreciate that non-western societies had, and some continue to have, their own understanding of nature and the relation between society and nature. However, such alternative views would not adequately capture the idea of national parks, because parks, as we have come to know them, are a western creation.

[10] With the natural sciences specialising in the study of the physical environment, while society remains the central focus of the social sciences.

[11] The example from sociology suggests that scientists are likely to study nature according to the received nature-society distinction, irrespective of their intellectual background.

[12] Some of the landscapes that are considered 'natural' are in fact the result of human intervention.

[13] In South Africa, interdisciplinary approaches to environmental questions are seen as providing one lifeline for history at undergraduate level (see Beinart 2002).

[14] There are different viewpoints about what should form the basis of the unity of geography. Perspectives on the connections between nature and culture have focused on the relationships between physical and human geographers; political and institutional explanations of the rift; dualistic and monistic accounts; and methodological similarities and differences (Proctor 1998). Accordingly, supporters of the integration between physical and human geographers stress the essential interconnectedness of the human and physical processes, and the urgency of developing knowledge about these processes.

[15] A process of ever-deeper questioning of ourselves and the assumptions of the dominant worldview.

[16] Coates (1998) considers this division as a fateful juncture between society and nature. In contrast to the hierarchical ordering of living things, the biocentric equality of all living things is emphasised by so-called deep ecologists.

[17] According to Nash (1982: 2), "the wilderness was conceived as a region where a person was likely to get into a disordered, confused, or 'wild' condition … The image is that of a man in alien environment where civilisation that normally orders and controls his life is absent."

[18] The persistent preservationist tendency in protected areas is dubbed 'fortress conservation.'

[19] The notion of wilderness has been used continuously in campaigns to preserve certain areas. For instance, before the Exxon Valdez oil spill in 1989, the Prince William Sound and the northern Gulf of Alaska had been used for subsistence and natural resource exploitation. However, the spill was portrayed by the media as destroying the pristine environment as part of the campaign for establishing the area as a maritime wilderness (Wooley 2002).

[20] Nash (1982: 9) is of the view that almost all cultures had a conception of an earthly paradise: "No matter where they are thought to be or what they were called, all paradises had in common a bountiful and beneficent natural setting in accordance with the original meaning of the word in Persian 'Luxurious garden'."

[21] Besides showing that, once created, myths are difficult to eliminate, ecotourism and the myths of places that go with it are evidence of the continuous influences of the mytho-poetic capacity of the human imagination on human life.

[22] Carruthers (1989: 216) is of the view that national parks are "fantasy worlds", "…enshrining the olden-day values of romantic nature."

[23] By 'common policies' I do not imply that the same policies were applied everywhere. I imply that, despite differentiation, policies applied to non-whites reflected, and in most cases, reinforced the separation between non-white and white people. This is reflected in the treatment of non-whites in the same way, irrespective of their geographic location globally. It is not surprising that non-whites have received and continue to receive the same treatment in many facets of life everywhere.

[24] And the so-called new conservationists want us to see it as such.

[25] These countries represent the geographical extent of southern Africa as used in this volume.

[26] It is around such similarities that I make defendable claims.

[27] In the bigger picture, the region forms part of Africa – a continent that still gives rise to strongly negative images. In the words of Archille Mbembe (2001: 1), "Africa is never seen as possessing things and attributes properly part of 'human nature'. Or, when it is, its things and attributes are generally of lesser value, or of little importance, and poor quality. It is this elementariness and primitiveness that makes Africa the world par excellence of all that is incomplete, mutilated, and unfinished, its history reduced to a series of setbacks of nature in its quest for humankind."

[28] Generally, society was divided along racial and class lines.

[29] Through the use of international legal instruments, the private sector, civil society, and so on.

[30] Furthermore, southern African states, like many in the South, have little or no chance of changing the meanings, use and (to some extent) control over national parks.

[31] The World Bank (1986) and the World Wildlife Fund (1987) developed specific programmes to demonstrate the feasibility of conservation-development policies.

[32] This is not to deny the usefulness of strategies that are meant to address, say, poverty at a communal level. Rather, it is to suggest that an obsession with organising and/or dealing with blacks along group lines – however these are defined – leads to prescriptive benefits that should suit the whole community. The logical question that arises from this is: how do other interested parties benefit and what are the organisational structures for distributing what types of benefits?

[33] Proponents of transfrontier parks argue that political boundaries have disrupted natural ecosystems.

[34] In the way that it did on the park-people relations in Chapter 5.

[35] I endorse Rosa and Machlis' view that disciplinary distinctions have the potential to lead to trained incapacities.

CHAPTER 2

THE IMPRINT OF IMPARKATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

INTRODUCTION

> I have, for many years past, contemplated the noble races of red men, who are now spread over these trackless forests and boundless prairies, melting away at the approach of civilisation. Their rights invaded, their morals corrupted, their lands wrested from them, their customs changed, therefore lost to the world; they at last sunk into the earth, and the plough-share turning the sod over their graves, and I have flown to their rescue – not of their lives or of their race (for they are doomed or must perish), but to the rescue of their looks and their modes, at which the acquisitive world may hurl their poison and every besom of destruction, and trample them down and crush them to death; yet phoenix-like, they may rise from the 'stain on a painter's palette', and live again upon canvas, and stand for centuries yet to come, the living moments of a noble race (George Catlin, cited in John 2001: 194).

George Catlin's landscape paintings and descriptions of 1830s Native America are not only important for understanding imperialist iconography, but also provide insight into some of the most important founding principles of the national park systems. In other words, it is in Catlin's perspectives of the western landscapes of the United States that we find the intriguing pillars of the national park idea. These relate to the preservation, construction and use of landscapes, as well as to nationalism and the position of non-whites in national park affairs. This chapter invokes the founding perspectives of the national park idea and refers to western views of nature to provide an interpretative template for analyzing the 'meanings' of national parks in southern Africa. It also aims to compare practices around national parks in the region against the foundation of national parks elsewhere. To that end, Catlin's views are a useful entry point, because they have shaped national policies beyond the United States.[1] In fact, it has been suggested that the first expression of the national park idea came from George Catlin (Zube and Busch 1990; Jeffrey 1999). I have no intention to review the work of Catlin in detail here – and indeed this is not the purpose of this chapter.

On the contrary, the aim of the chapter is tease out the founding perspectives of the national park and to understand how these developed in southern Africa, and what the consequences were. The chapter is not, however, intended to provide an inventory of national parks in the region. Rather, it seeks to collate, analyse and rearrange an archipelago of material to account for different agendas that have been pursued in the pretext of establishing national parks in southern Africa. The focus is

mainly on the politics of national parks, economic imperatives and environmental anxieties. These themes are explored against the background of developments in other parts of the world. Before we dwell on the themes, though, it would be helpful to comment on the construction of the national park idea and its permeation into the southern African region.

ADAPTATION OR ADOPTION?

National parks in present-day southern Africa are a manifestation of nature conservation ideas that had originally been alien to Africa. Their founders were westerners who had been conditioned by western views of nature. Over the years, those views became hegemonic – defining not only the meanings of nature in a wider society, but also reinforcing generic practices in and around national parks. Many commentators view the establishment of the Yellowstone National Park in the United States in 1872 as the defining moment in the history of the national park idea (Zube and Busch 1990; Neumann 1998; Jeffrey 1999; John 2001).

Notably, the Yellowstone not only formalised the idea of a national park but also represent(ed) views of nature as pristine landscapes or wildernesses, as symbols of cultural nationalism and as expressing the relations between people and parks – including the relations of people over parks. These ideas were clearly articulated in the 1930s. For instance, Catlin used his impressive gallery of landscape paintings to lobby for the preservation of the Native American West, the land he considered to be "the great and almost boundless garden-spot of the earth" (cited in John 2001: 175) that was being threatened by western civilisation. More importantly, Catlin was preoccupied with the preservation of the 'Native Indian' whom he referred to as the 'vanishing American.' Herein lies one of the most critical elements of national parks – the gradation of humans through the lens of imperialism. National parks therefore contributed to the production of imperial landscapes.[2] Thereafter, the perennial question of whether non-whites should be removed from national parks emerged in the ideological milieus of United States' westward expansionism and its Indian policy.[3] This westward expansion has profoundly changed the demography of, and activities around, what has become the Greater Yellowstone.[4] Indeed, the Yellowstone has successfully been repositioned from being 'hell-on-earth' to a big wholesome wilderness (Tichi 1997).

Our concern in this chapter is how the Yellowstone as an embodiment of the national park idea has affected, and diffused into, southern Africa's national parks. The premise of the chapter is that national parks in southern Africa were founded on western views. A question of academic interest has been how those views permeated into different parts of the world. For (southern) Africa, the question is particularly intriguing because the transfer of western institutions, ideas and value systems has never been a smooth process.[5] The transfer of western values required a western agency to straddle the two worlds that were in flux. In the process, however, the agency was transformed by situations at both ends.

In practice, Europeans in the colonies – as the agency – had to invent their own tradition in line with metropolitan interest and local imperatives. European settlers drew upon their invented European tradition and codified African traditions in order to define and justify their roles. Ranger (1983: 211) noted that, "in Africa, therefore, the whole apparatus of invented school and professional and regimental traditions became much more starkly a matter of command and control than it was within Europe itself."[6] With regard to national parks, Europeans redefined society-nature relations and the ownership of resources. How this occurred will become clear below.

Diffusion

There are two main views on how the national park idea was transmitted to southern Africa. The first is that environmental concerns were imported into the colonies. The second[7] and most dominant view is that environmental concerns in the colonies arose from a mixture of metropolitan thinking and attitudes and how these were negotiated within the local contexts. According to Grove (1995: 24), European maritime travel and settlement, and the consequent

> experience of encountering new lands, peoples, animals and plants, helped to promote the attachment of a new kind of social significance to nature. This was reflected particularly in the philosophies underlying the emergence of tropical and oceanic islands as an important new social metaphor and image of nature on its own account.[8]

Burnett and Butler Harrington (1994) sought to explain the development of national parks in the region from a diffusionist perspective. They claim that,

> the adoption of parks reflects a hierarchical diffusion process: parks would not necessarily be transmitted from one province to its nearest neighbour. Rather they would be adopted selectively, initially in limited number of regions as environmental concerns or anxieties arose, and as governments achieved the authority to create reserves. Once experience was gained, the innovation would be widely and rapidly adopted throughout most regions, only to be more slowly applied at later times to lagging regions (1994: 152).

The Limit of the Diffusionist Perspective

Notwithstanding the weaknesses inherent in any model, Burnett and Butler Harrington's diffusion model of national parks misses some important elements of the history of southern Africa's national parks. Firstly, the rate at which national parks were established increased around the time of independence. Secondly, some of the national parks had actually been destroyed during colonial rule by the so-called national park innovators, as the case of Swaziland illustrates. In contrast to the small amount of land under nature conservation in present-day Swaziland, the Kingdom's first nature reserve covered some 20% of the country in 1905 (Swaziland 2002).[9] However, the Wildebeest Plague – as it came to be known – of the 1930s was regarded as a threat to livestock, leading to the ruthless destruction of wildlife in that country. As a consequence of the plague, wildebeest were removed from the game schedule. Moreover, the hostility towards the wildebeest spread to other

species of wild animals. The British are said to have hunted animals to extinction in Swaziland. It is reported that,

> with the consent of the colonial administration, waterholes were poisoned, herds were machine-gunned, extermination licences were obtained … Previously a wildlife paradise with an overwhelming magnitude of fauna, British rule in Swaziland saw an end to lions, elephant, giraffe, rhinoceros, buffalo, several species of antelope such as roan and tsessebe (http://public-www.pi.se).

The Advisory Councillor, Herbert Parry, viewed wildebeest as 'disgusting vermin', and described the threat they posed as follows:

> The existence in the country of these filthy and injurious beasts is a direct menace to the surrounding cattle owners. The vermin will undoubtedly became restive, and seek grazing further afield. They will break down fences to get it and they will carry with them the disgusting and fatal disease 'snotziekte' … I hate to see an evil exist in our midst year after year and nothing done (*Times of Swaziland*, cited in Reilly 1985: 15).

Subsequently, the game reserve and the wildlife were destroyed, and the wildebeest remained a vermin in Swaziland until 1969. The point I want to make here is that Swaziland lagged behind in the development of nature conservation schemes such as national parks, not because it was slow in adopting the values of nature conservation, but because the 'innovators' themselves were responsible for the reversal of those values.

Mozambique suffered a similar fate; wildlife was almost completely wiped out during the civil war. As in other war-torn countries, wildlife in that country became a critical asset that was used to buy arms, feed soldiers, and so on (Ellis 1994). The war also created opportunities for poachers of different kinds. The same destruction of existing national parks awaits Zimbabwe, as the country's political conditions continue to deteriorate. At the time of writing (i.e. October 2003), wildlife was already severely destroyed and 'war veterans' had invaded some of the national parks, such as Gonarezhou. Certainly, the political situation in Zimbabwe has reversed the gains that national parks had achieved since the establishment of the Matopos National Park (Figure 2.1). All these examples are used to refute the claim that countries lagging behind in the development of national parks have been slow to adopt the idea of a national park and the accompanying value systems. The sizes and numbers of national parks in any country are always a product of complex factors.

The diffusion model presented by Burnett and Butler Harrington (1994) confirms the view that the governing Europeans were an agency of the national park idea in the region. The British are considered the most active creators of national parks in the colonial period. The model also implies that post-independence African leaders delayed the spread of national parks. As I will show later in this chapter, the absence of national parks in some parts of the region cannot simply be ascribed to a single factor, such as a lack of support from post-independence governments. The diffusion model effectively conflates innovation with the spreading of western value systems. The colonised, too, had creative ways of conserving nature! Moreover, the so-called national park innovators in the region were not initially concerned with the establishment of national parks *per se*.[10] The first park-like reserves in South Africa

were established in the fynbos and highlands as a result of anxiety over water availability, hence, reserves were established in those areas that controlled watersheds: the fynbos and highlands (Hey 1995).

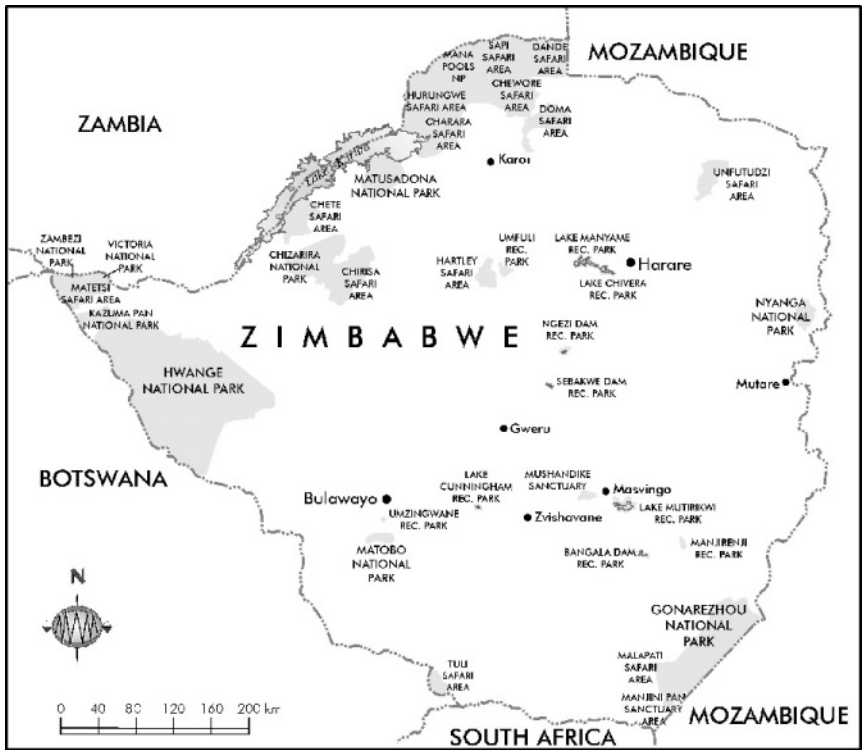

Figure 2.1 National Parks in Zimbabwe
Source: Adapted from various maps

The Legacy of the Yellowstone

The manner in which the Yellowstone National Park influenced the development of national parks in southern Africa is debatable. Beinart and Coates (1995: 74) are of the view that, "though the pioneering American example has influenced South Africa (as it has the rest of the world), their park histories have flowed in distinctive channels." However, the tenets of the national park idea in both countries can be said to have remained the same. Nevertheless, the evidence does suggest that the founders of national parks in the region were indeed aware of the Yellowstone model. In South Africa, the Yellowstone was used as an example of what the country should aim to achieve. It thus featured in the second reading of the National Parks Bill in the House of Assembly on 31 May 1926. The Minister of Lands

lobbied for the establishment of the Kruger National Park (Figure 2.2), arguing in favour of a larger park than the Yellowstone:

> In America there are eighteen national parks, of which the largest and best known is the Yellowstone park, which occupies an area of 2, 142, 000 acres or 3, 348 square miles. It is the largest national park in America and I think the second largest in the world. Our national park will be slightly larger, 2, 400, 000 morgen (Union of South Africa 1926a: col. 4367).

Figure 2.2 National parks and reserves in South Africa
Source: Ramutsindela 2003

In addition to concerns about the size of the park, the Minister pointed out the value of national parks for wildlife protection and, more importantly, for the commercial outcomes of national park establishment. He commented that,

> I only wish to say that the park there [i.e. in the United States] is visited by many people who pay to see the animals, because in one year I noticed the revenue to the State was 1 million dollars. Last year [i.e. 1925] 750, 000 people visited the parks, 62, 000 of whom visited the Yellowstone Park. We cannot of course expect the same number of visitors to our park. Our population[11] is only small but yet our park should attract many people from other parts of the world as well (Union of South Africa 1926a: col. 4368).

In Zimbabwe, it was proposed that the Matopos National Park should be preserved in the same manner as the Yellowstone National Park (Cumming 1981). Admittedly, campaigners for national parks in the region might have used the Yellowstone as a template, but the raw material with which to build parks was not readily available. For this reason, a more helpful approach to understanding the development of national parks in the region would be to analyse the rationales behind them. I endorse the view that a mixture of motives underpins the establishment of national parks and nature reserves. As Grove (1995: 16) put it, "so-called conservation practices cannot, in fact, be distinguished clearly from the complex web of economic, religious and cultural arrangements evolved by a multitude of societies to safeguard and sustain their access to resources." The rest of the discussion of this chapter focuses on political, economic and environmental imperatives.[12]

THE NATURE OF THE POLITICS OF NATURE

An Instrument of Control

Though views on what constitutes 'the political' have been subjected to considerable rethinking and reformulation, the broad clusters of formal[13] and informal politics[14] – and the links between them – continue to frame analyses of power. My concern is not so much with the distinction between formal and informal politics. Rather, it is with how issues of power manifest themselves in national parks in southern Africa. The very idea of a national park is anchored in notions of power – with humans placing themselves above other species in order to legitimise their control. Coates (1998) refers to this as an oppression of nature. The implication is that of a need to liberate nature in the same way that we have thought to liberate oppressed human beings. Accordingly, Coates (1998: 18) commented that, "animals, plants, rivers and forests – like non-whites, non-elite, women, gays and other 'marginalised groups of people' – have a history that should be restored to them." Katz (2002) raised the question of the meaning of 'the liberation of nature' and rejected the idea that we need a metaphysical understanding of the nature of nature before we can speak of nature's liberation.

Furthermore, national parks provided the context within which humans could exercise their power over other humans along class and racial lines. Monarchies used the powers to define, establish, own, control and protect royal game and hunting grounds. The threat to royal game (usually by 'poachers') was interpreted as a challenge to existing power structures. Thompson (1975) gave some useful account of how this occurred in Britain. He successfully used circumstances surrounding the promulgation of the Black Act in May 1723 to show that the threat to deer, which, at the time, represented both the 'principal beauty and ornament of the forest' and the royal taste with regard to nature, was interpreted as a challenge to the authorities. In contrast to conventional wisdom, Thompson argued that what necessitated the Black Act was in fact not the emergency occasioned by the sudden loss of deer. Instead, it was

> the repeated public humiliation of the authorities … It was a sorry state of affairs when the King could not defend his own forests and parks, and when the acting Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces could not prevent his own park from being driven for dear (Thompson 1975: 191).

A compelling body of work shows that human values and ideals have been attributed to nature to validate particular visions and ideologies. Existential threats have often been invoked as a means to legitimate political ambitions. After all, national parks are created through a political process,[15] and may even reflect political ideologies prevailing at the time. Conservationists have long realised the political dimensions of national parks; hence they have developed sophisticated strategies for enlisting politicians in the service of nature conservation. In turn, politicians have conveniently played the 'green card' to gain political support. The ascendancy of the Green Party in German national politics, for instance, demonstrates the link between nature conservation issues and formal politics. At the local level, politicians involve themselves in national parks issues in order to win the support of their constituencies, as has been the case in the establishment of the Prince Albert National Park in Canada (Bella 1986).[16]

Identity Construction

The link between politics and national parks is also articulated in the construction of nation-states, more especially in the development of national identity. Identity construction involves the mobilisation of images, myths, and so on (see Gellner 1983; Anderson 1991). The concept of wilderness featured strongly in the development of American identity, with the Yellowstone National Park representing American cultural iconography, while at the same time encouraging the public to have faith in the industrializing nation (Tichi 1997).

Notably, a common political dimension of national parks has developed in the area of national identity. This came as no surprise, because earlier conceptions of national parks, too, had been imbued with nationalist aspirations. In fact, the American landscape emerged as one of the strongest sources of national identity construction. As John Knapp (cited in John 2001: 181) claimed:

> if men's minds are influenced by scenes in which they are conversant, Americans can scarcely be inspired with some peculiar moral graces by their grand and lovely landscapes. But, moreover, it is beneficial to connect our best intellectual associations with places in our land.

Like all nationalisms, however, the appropriation of landscapes as an American national symbol was exclusionary. Native Americans were excluded from a nationalism that had been built upon the very same land they occupied. In this sense, the Yellowstone National Park symbolised a divided nationhood between settlers and natives. Beinart and Coates (1995: 75) are of the view that Americans attempted

> to forge a national identity out of natural grandeur – all the more compelling because the United States found it difficult to compete with Europe in high cultural stakes.

> Americans located their ancient and hallowed relics not in crown jewels and gothic cathedrals but in redwoods and purple mountain majesties.

In Australia, similarly, the myths of the Australian bush formed a strong strand in the making of national identity in that country (Papadakis 1993),[17] while the creation of Swedish national parks was seen as a necessary idealistic task of the state for aesthetic, scientific and patriotic reasons (Mels 2002). How national parks became divisive in southern Africa is a question I turn to below.

The American West expansionism referred to above is a manifestation of imperialist impulses that were also displayed in other parts of the world. Africa, in particular, became a playground of European imperialism. There, Europeans sought to control, and competed over, territories. In that regard, the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 is a defining moment in the history of European interests in Africa. That conference set the stage for the partitioning of Africa in accordance with European interests.[18] Five years later (i.e. 1900) the same powers held the London Conference on African Wildlife,[19] which paved the way for the London Convention on African Wildlife in 1933 (Bonner 1993). It is interesting to note that rules and policies on wildlife closely followed territorial partitioning in Africa. Adams (2003: 22) noted correctly that "the acquisition of colonies was accompanied by, and to a large extent enabled by, a profound belief in the possibility of restructuring nature and re-ordering it to serve human needs and desires." Cecil Rhodes aimed to use a hunting licence to obtain lands anywhere in Africa (Rotberg 1988). We still await evidence of the extent to which national parks in the region variously reflected the interests of Britain, Germany and Portugal, as the dominant colonial powers. What is clear, though, is that colonial administrators negotiated ways in which the national park idea could be packaged with political goals.

Power over Wildlife and People

Southern Africa has long been a hunting ground for Europeans and attracted all kinds of fortune seekers. According to Hey (1995: 74), "from the days of the first European explorers, southern Africa has been regarded as a happy hunting ground for game, an El Dorado for treasure seekers and traders in ivory, skins and rhino." To Europeans, the region represented the countryside. Unsurprisingly, European hunters lobbied colonial governments to create systems of game reserves and national parks and to develop the necessary legislation. The London-based Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire helped to write the colonial game laws that protected white privilege while simultaneously greatly restricting African hunting (Neumann 1998). Access to hunting was instrumental in shaping ideas about national parks long before concerns over endangered species came to the fore. The first generation of national parks in the region bears testimony to this. For instance, South Africa's Sabie Game Reserve (1898), Mozambique's Coutadas (1900s) and Zimbabwe's Whange Game Reserve (1938); all developed as a result of the settlers' quest to control hunting.

Although hunting laws were meant to protect wildlife, their application reflected divisions in society along rural-urban and racial lines. According to Carruthers

(1995), the establishment of farms and towns between the 1860s and 1870s in South Africa led to the emergence of a landholding and urbanised white elite with views different from those of the rural hunting population. There were therefore divisions between urban and rural populations on the use and protection of wildlife. Those in rural areas were more inclined towards the use of wildlife 'for the pot.'[20]

Subsequently, the rural-urban dichotomy over hunting came to exemplify racial divisions in southern Africa. Whereas white settlers and Africans co-operated in their hunting endeavours, hunting legislation discriminated against Africans (Ellis 1994; Carruthers 1995;[21] Schroeder 1999). For instance, in Zimbabwe the provisions of the Game Reservation Ordinance of 1899 allowed only (white) settlers the rights and means for wildlife utilisation (Peck 1993). In addition, black people were sometimes hunted like animals. Settlers, especially those in the Rhodesian military, wanted to test their hunting prowess on Africans. To a certain extent, Africans were accorded a status lower than that of wildlife. "Unfortunately for blacks", Peck (1993: 12) wrote,

> their rebellious behaviour was deemed most 'inappropriate' by whites, and thus they were accorded less 'sportmanship' than most animals. Whereas a badly injured elephant would be euthanized on the spot by any self-respecting colonist, a mortally wounded black villager was often left to his or her own demise.[22]

More explicitly, Lord Baden-Powell, who helped direct the 1896-1897 counter-insurgency war in Zimbabwe, noted that the pursuit of "wild beasts of the human kind" offered "plenty of excitement and novel experience" (Peck 1993: 11). Generally, African hunters became a new category of criminals – poachers. It can be defensibly argued that differences on how white and non-white people should go about hunting wildlife in 21st century southern Africa are underpinned by the same racial stereotypes that pertained to the colonial past. Hunting legislation not only expressed the need to protect wildlife, but has also been historically used to determine access to wildlife along racial lines. A detailed discussion on the consequences of colonial nature conservation policies is given in Chapter 3. For now, I focus on the development of southern Africa's national parks as imperial landscapes.

Territorial Expansion

Ranger (1999) is the most illuminating guide on the development of Matopos National Park as a landscape of imperial power. The park was created by Proclamation 48 on 2 October 1953 (Tredgold 1956). Its establishment has more to do with British history than the environmental values of the Matopo Hills. The views of the Matopos by the British settlers in Zimbabwe were shaped by military engagements with the Ndebele. According to Ranger (1999: 29), "the fighting of 1896 was critical to the European imaginative appropriation of the Matopos", because in Father Barthelemy's words, "the British soldiers had written with their blood on these imperishable rocks a glorious and authentic page of English history." The burial of Cecil Rhodes at the Matopos not only made British history more

important (to the British of course!), but also transformed the hills into a beautiful landscape. Given that the Banyubi had lived in the Matopos for some 400 years, the establishment of the park simultaneously served to undermine the history of the local community.[23] In other words, the Matopos National Park emerged as an imperial landscape. To borrow from Mitchell (cited in John 2001: 179) the Matopos became "an imperial gaze employing the naturalizing techniques of realism to mediate between the self and the other, and more radically between the human and non-human."

The first state game reserve in the Transvaal (which at the time was one of the Boer Republics in South Africa), the Pongola, illustrates the idea of territorial expansionism. The reserve was established in 1889 because the nationalist Paul Kruger wanted to free his republic from the British and to gain access to Tongaland coast (Kosi Bay). Carruthers (1995: 22) has commented that,

> access from the Transvaal to the Indian Ocean in 1889 required firm occupation of the spit of land around the Pongola poort and the northern bank of the Pongola River … The Pongola game reserve thus formed part of the Transvaal strategy to stake a firm claim to the land around the Pongola poort and to give the Republic definitive legal standing in the area.

Read from this angle, the political purpose of holding the strategic position of the poort was more important than wildlife conservation.

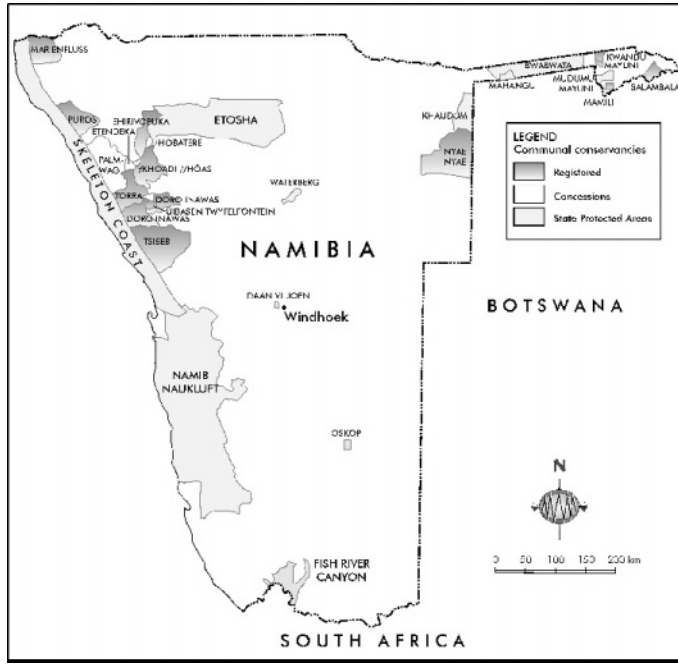

Figure 2.3 Protected areas and conservancies in Namibia
Source: Redrawn from various sources

The Caprivi (see Bwabwata and environs in Figure 2.3) in Namibia provides another example of the use of parks as a political tool. Although the Caprivi is culturally apart and physically isolated from the rest of Namibia, its strategic location was acknowledged from the early days of German imperialism[24] to South Africa's rule of that country after WWI. It was during South Africa's tenure that warfare in the Caprivi brought both conservation and military operations to the fore. Thus, the status and significance of the strip (i.e. Caprivi) was re-defined in line with South Africa's political and military calculations. Politically, the area was used to bolster South Africa's leadership role in the fight against the spread of communism to southern Africa. Prime Minister PW Botha used Fort Doppies in the Caprivi for cabinet planning sessions (Breytenbach 1997). It should be noted that the entire strip was declared a game reserve in 1968 (Reader's Digest 1997), and was militarised by the South African Defence Force between 1966 and 1998. According to Stanley (2002: 372), militarisation resulted from "the inability of South African Police Counter Insurgency Forces based in East Caprivi to stop incursions … and to the widening of the war, both on the ground and politically."

State Building

As elsewhere in the world, national parks in southern Africa featured strongly in state-building processes.[25] They became a useful strategy for asserting territorial claims, particularly in border regions. This is clearly shown in the Kalahari, where the territorial limits between South Africa and Botswana were determined. The Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (South Africa) (see Figure 2.2) and the Gemsbok National Park (Botswana) (Figure 2.4) were instrumental in defining the territorial limits of the two neighbouring polities. A living testimony to this is the name given to the northern part of the park on the South African side, namely, Union's End.[26] Besides defining territorial limits, national parks played a role in the construction of settler identities.

As shown below, nationalist sentiments formed part of the foundation on which the national park idea was built. National parks were also used in redefining postcolonial societies in countries such as Australia, Canada and the United States. The same trend can be observed in southern Africa. The question, though, is how settlers in each of the southern African states used national parks in their identity building exercises. The question is pertinent because all southern African states had a white population, albeit to varying degrees. Notwithstanding the roles that population numbers might play in identity politics, the ways in which national parks featured in the settler's creation of identity in the region depended very much on local contexts. As we have seen in the case of Zimbabwe, military engagements and subsequent control of the Matopos by the British was not only instrumental in establishing the park, but also served as an important element in constructing settler identity. What is instructive from the case of the Matopos is the link between landscapes and identity on one hand, and the significance of land appropriation in the construction of settler identity on the other hand. This means that control over

land has fed into the identity of the settler, even if such land was not used to create national parks. For example, the Scots,[27] who settled on the western border of Swaziland between 1860 and 1870, started a chain of farms, which they called 'New Scotland.'[28] In that way, Scottish identity was ingrained in the farmland itself.

Figure 2.4 Parks and reserves in Botswana
Source: Adapted from Botswana n.d.

In South Africa, the Kruger National Parks has been associated with the search for a white South African national identity. The park was established at the time of fierce contests over the identities of the English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking whites. English-speakers were faced with the choice of whether they were more British than South Africans while, at the same, Afrikaners were divided on whether they should form a common white nation with the English-speakers or remain a distinct nation.[29] Carruthers (1995: 48) has argued that, "their collaborative creation of a national park played a role in the process of unifying these two culturally different, but economically converging, groups."

Afrikaner nationalists idealised the national park as a realisation of Paul Kruger's insights and therefore as a national course worth supporting. These national sentiments were manipulated by English conservationists, who lobbied for the creation of parks. Unsurprisingly, the name Kruger appeared to be popular and attractive. In introducing the National Parks Bill, the Minister of Lands said: "I propose calling the park 'Kruger National Park.' I do so because I think that we owe it to the farsightedness of the late President Kruger, that we are now able to assure the park established by him of certain continuance" (Union of South Africa 1926a: col. 4369).[30]

The respective English and Afrikaans translations of the name of the park caused some dissatisfaction. Both groups accepted the English name, 'Kruger National Park', but Afrikaner nationalists such as Mr Oost were worried that the name symbolised 'crying anglicism.' Mr Oost, in particular, wanted the name of the park to be altered into 'National Kruger Wildtuin.' There seems to have been some confusion among Afrikaner nationalists on what a park means. Colonel Reitz (Union of South Africa 1926a: col. 4509), for example, commented that, "I am under the impression that a 'wildtuin' is a 'zoo' where animals are kept behind railings."

Inevitably, certain animals in the Kruger National Park came to represent national symbols. Indeed, the springbok not only became a national symbol, but also became an icon of whiteness. For instance, it was used to represent Rugby as an exclusive white spot in South Africa. Furthermore, nationalistic sentiments, which were attached to the springbok, were instrumental in establishing the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in 1931. De Villiers and Rossouw strategically manipulated the nationalist and hunting impulses of the Minister of Lands, Piet Grobler, in order to establish that park. The two organised a trip for the Minsiter in the 1920s to the far south of the Auob-Nossob confluence, knowing that game was scarce in the area and that the presence of the coloured farmers would convince the Minister that they were slaughtering game and causing its disappearance (Nussey 1993). The strategy worked well, because the Minister successfully lobbied for the establishment of the park after that trip.

As in the example of the Yellowstone referred to above, the use of the Kruger National Park in constructing national identity had racial connotations. It served to reinforce racial division between blacks and whites. In other words, it alienated black people from a South African nationhood, despite the fact that there were black people living in the park at the time. As I show in Chapter 3, those black people were later removed from the park to the 'homelands', where they were said to belong. Moreover, until recently, they were not even allowed to enjoy the park like their white counterparts.[31]

ECONOMIC IMPERATIVES

The now fashionable economic logic of ecotourism is largely a continuation of commercial interests that have long been associated with nature conservation.[32] Many of the areas that did not promise economic benefits were considered as being

of no conservation value, despite their richness in biodiversity. The link between conservation and economics indicates that nature conservation is imbued with values that do not fit neatly into concerns for nature. Economic values have profoundly shaped our preferences for nature in general, and national parks in particular. The corollary to the attachment of western capitalist values to nature has been the suppression of values held by non-western societies.

It is generally believed that in most non-western societies, humans were seen as an integral part of nature – a society-nature relationship that allowed co-existence between people and their physical environment. Whether humans lived in harmony with nature has been, and still is, a cause of disagreement. Nevertheless, a growing body of work has recognised that the imposition of western values has seriously disrupted the ways in which non-western societies have always interacted with nature (Ghimire and Pimbert 1997; Hulme and Murphree 2001). As I show later in this volume, contemporary attempts to resuscitate the interest of non-western societies in nature conservation by enlisting the participation of rural non-white communities (into the affairs of nature conservation) are flawed, because they still uphold capitalist norms above non-western cultural values. Conceptually, the relegation of non-western values of nature to an inferior position is indicative of the global hierarchical ordering of humans by humans, and the use of nature conservation as an instrument of achieving that goal. Thus, constructions of nature and the western value systems that go with them have been called into the service of global apartheid.

Parks for Money

In many parts of the world, economic values in national parks can be traced from the first generation of parks all the way to the present. For instance, in Canada the first national parks were strongly influenced by commercial interests, and particularly those of the railway barons. It is widely acknowledged that Canada's first national park, Banff, was establish in order to guarantee the Canadian Pacific Railway a monopoly on tourism in the Rockies, and that subsequent national parks such as Yaho, Glacier and Jasper were intended to protect the land and destinations for railway tourists. Dearden and Berg (1993) are of the view that the early history of Canadian national park management (1820-1920) was completely dominated by entrepreneurial interests. For example, logging companies in British Columbia influenced the location of South Morensby National Park. "Companies may even be able to retain the rights to exploit reserves in specific national parks contrary to general policies, as in the case of the Japanese company Daishowa that [logged] within the boundaries of Wood Buffalo National Park" (Dearden and Berg 1993: 196). India has similarly experienced a number of de-notifications or boundary alterations of its sanctuaries and national parks in an attempt to accommodate commercial pressures (Ghimire and Pimbert 1997).

The implication of attaching economic values to nature was that arid areas, where habitats and species did not offer the potential for profit, were not considered important for nature conservation. Arid regions, particularly deserts, were in fact

seen as a liability. They were, as the title of Jon White's book (1969) suggests, *The land God made in anger*. Despite their active involvement in national parks, the British were not interested in arid regions because these were economically inconsequential.

Notwithstanding the above, it would be naïve to associate commercial interests in products of nature in the region with European entrepreneurs alone. There was already ivory trade among Africans before the arrival of Europeans. As Tlou (1985: 63) has noted, "one of the important results of the coming of the European traders with their ox-wagons, was to connect hitherto disparate African trade systems." In Ngamiland (Botswana), King Letsholathebe bartered ivory for guns in the 1870s, and ensured that all trade was transacted through him so that the balance of power should not tip against him (Tlou 1985).

The Caprivi (Namibia), with its abundant and diverse game, attracted ardent hunters and traders from Botswana, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Fisch 1999). The reluctance of Germany to administer the remote strip rendered the area a free zone for poachers and criminals, who made considerable profit from hunting and smuggling arms. Some of these criminal immigrants not only hunted for themselves, but also charged fees to act as hunting guides for the English who lived in nearby Botswana (Fisch 1999). Similarly, the 'crooks corner' at the intersection of the boundaries between Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe was also notorious for its ivory trade. Against this backdrop, hunting emerged as one of the most active commercial activities in the region. Moreover, the settlers of the region worked towards taking control of the ivory trade. Accordingly, colonial legislation was more inclined towards bringing that trade under settler domination, as evidenced by the development of the Coutadas in Mozambique.

The Tourism Industry

Over time, however, more profits were being generated by tourism than hunting. It should be noted, though, that the tourist industry in the region was not yet fully developed when the first generation of national parks was established. Nevertheless, the idea of preserving nature for enjoyment was present.[33] It is said that Cecil Rhodes intended the Matopos National Park to be used for pleasure and recreation as attested to by Rhodes' Last Will:

> I direct my Trustees that a portion of my Sauerdale property a part of my landed property near Bulawayo be planted with every possible tree and be made and preserved and maintained as a park for the people of Bulawayo and … make a short railway line from Bulawayo to Westacre so that the people of Bulawayo may enjoy the glory of the Matopos from Saturday to Monday (cited in Tredgold 1956: 6).

Undoubtedly, the founders of national parks targeted foreign tourism. This is evident from the motivation for the creation of the Kruger National Park discussed previously. It is interesting to note that the locals, particularly Africans, were not even considered as potential tourists. I doubt whether this perception has changed to date.

In addition to making individual profit from hunting wildlife, nature reserves and parks were also used to generate income for other purposes. For instance, the establishment of the Department of Nature Conservation in the Cape in 1952 "was not based on an appreciation of the need to conserve the fauna and flora of the Cape, but resulted from a proposal to resuscitate and improve the finances of the five natural history museums in the Cape" (Hey 1995: 76).

THE IMPERATIVES OF NATURE CONSERVATION

In no way do the politico-economic motives for nature conservation highlighted in the preceding paragraphs suggest that nature conservation was never an issue. Admittedly, there were and still are ecological reasons behind the establishment of national parks in southern Africa and beyond. In fact, the protection of nature is the fundamental leitmotif of all national parks the world over. Unsurprisingly, the 20th century has witnessed the highest number of campaigns that aimed to protect all sorts of species and habitats. Moreover, the production of apocalyptic images has been instrumental towards broadening the support base for nature conservation. Of course, such campaigns are still continuing.

Coates (1998) has suggested that a distinction should be made between concern *with* nature in its capacity as the phenomenon of the universe and concern *over* nature as a fragile entity in a late twentieth-century, ecological sense (my emphasis). The decimation of wildlife in particular gave rise to the need to protect the fauna of the region by means of nature reserves.[34] "By the mid-1890s", Carruthers (1995: 17) wrote, "wildlife diminution was so apparent that the possibility of the extinction of all game in the Transvaal became a real concern." Notwithstanding the effects of natural causes such as drought and diseases, the diminution of wildlife was largely blamed on humans.

The state responded to the challenge of dwindling wildlife by proclaiming nature reserves and parks. This was necessary because of the apparent failure of conservation legislation. According to government sources in Botswana, the Gemsbok National Park originated as a game reserve, mainly to protect the reservoir of wildlife, which supplied the South African side (Botswana 1968). This might have been the case because South African authorities were constantly worried about what they regarded as poaching in Botswana, particularly in areas that were adjacent to the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park. In Mozambique, the Coutadas similarly safeguarded some of the wildlife during the civil war.

In addition to the state's responses, there were also individuals and organisations that worked hard to protect wildlife and to create nature reserves, including in areas where wildlife was non-existent or where it had already been wiped out. The reintroduction of animals into Swaziland, for instance, is attributed to the tireless efforts of Ted Reilly. The Reilly family established Swaziland's oldest protected area, Mlilwane Wildlife Sanctuary, in the 1950s. Mlilwane, which is viewed as Swaziland's pioneer conservation area, was established on the area that was initially used for mixed farming. It has been claimed that, "without Ted Reilly's determination, backed by the King, the big game parks of Swaziland would today be

commercial forests, cattle ranches and sugar cane" (http://public-www.pi.se). In the same vein, organisations such as the Wildlife Protection Society contributed to the preservation of wildlife. Furthermore, these often influenced government policies. For instance, the Wildlife Protection Society was instrumental in the promulgation of the Wildlife Protection Ordinance of 1950, which listed a large number of animals and birds as 'protected game' in the Cape (Hey 1995).

CONCLUSION

As this chapter has shown, national parks in the western world arose from similar concerns and motives, although these gave rise to very different outcomes in other parts of the world. In southern Africa, as we have seen, national parks developed as an integral part of colonial schemes. As we have noted, hunting interests and the development of the necessary legislative instruments influenced the rate at which national parks were established. Political and economic imperatives were generally stronger than ecological concerns. The consequences of all these will be discussed in the next chapter.

NOTES

[1] Jeffrey (1999: 164) observed that, "as the United States began to explore and exploit the West, the idea of reserving some areas from private acquisition began to grow." Subsequently, Americans saw themselves as the creator of wilderness. As the American maxim goes, "God may have created the world, but only [the American] Congress can create wilderness" (Beinart and Coates 1995: 72).

[2] Mackenzie (1988), Cosgrove and Daniels (1993) and Mitchell (1994) give comprehensive accounts of the connection between landscapes and imperialism.

[3] There were two main conflicting ideas about the future of the Indian in the United States. On the one hand, there were those who, like Catlin, viewed Indians as the 'vanishing American.' These pushed for the preservation of the Indians, regarding them (i.e. the Indian) as a fading national symbol. On the other hand, there were those who favoured the removal and, to some extent, the repatriation of Indians. African scholars may find parallels between the Indian policy/question in other parts of the world and in the continent.

[4] This is made up of 20 counties of Idaho, Montana and Wyoming that are either inside or adjacent to the Greater Yellowstone ecosystem (Sonoran Institute 2003)

[5] For instance, there is still heated debate on why transplanting ideas of the modern state into Africa has been fraught with difficulties, resulting in a complete mismatch between states in Africa and those in Europe. Similar debates have been taken on board in spheres such as religion. Against this background, the ways in which the national park idea was transmitted and operationalised in southern Africa becomes relevant to issue beyond nature conservation. With regard to the national park idea, Jeffrey (1999) has argued that the American model is inappropriate and difficult to implement in regions of the southern hemisphere.

[6] He added that, "in Africa … whites drew on invented tradition in order to derive the authority and confidence that allowed them to act as agents of change" (Ranger 1989: 220).

[7] In reality, the boundaries between the two viewpoints are blurred as conditions, interests, anxieties, administrative imperatives and scientific thinking all together influenced the development and implementation of conservation strategies in the colonies. These not only influenced the conservation of flora and fauna, but included strategies to deal with all forms of conservation, including soil, water, and so on.

[8] From this perspective, the hybridisation of environmental concerns in southern Africa shares similarities with developments, say, in religion.

[9] The first game reserve, Hlatikulu, was proclaimed in the Vermaak concession. Ubombo was proclaimed as the country's second nature reserve in 1907 (Swaziland 2002). Subsequently, in 1914, large areas were also proclaimed as game reserves. These were deproclaimed after WWI and cut up into farms, and "made available for settlement on very easy terms to some of the returned soldiers and others, in an effort to encourage settlement of the south" (Reilly 1985: 13).

[10] I elaborate on the rationales for national parks later in this chapter.

[11] Given the politics of race and the nation-state at the time, it is unlikely that the small population referred to was racially inclusive. Subsequent to the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, black people were not considered part of the nation of the new polity.

[12] There might be other reasons for establishing national parks, but the cluster of themes I have chosen are probably the most representative.

[13] This restricts politics to governments, political parties, elections and public policy, war, peace and foreign affairs.

[14] It is about forming alliances, exercising power, getting people to do things, developing influence, and protecting and advancing particular goals and interests (Painter 1995).

[15] Politicians have to enact the necessary legislation.

[16] According to Bella (1986), Prime Minister Mckenzie King created the Prince Albert National Park to lure his Saskatchewan constituents in the 1920s to support him at the polls.

[17] Papadakis (1993: 64) has argued that, "the preoccupation of contemporary environmentalists with the preservation of the unique Australian wilderness can be traced back to the myths about the bush that were prevalent in the nineteenth century."

[18] There has been a debate on whether Africa was actually partitioned at the Berlin Conference. Foster, Mommsen and Robinson (1988) have argued that the purpose of the Berlin Conference was not to partition Africa but rather to regulate the procedure according to which European powers should be entitled to claim formal control over colonial territories. Katzellenbogen (1996) in contrast has pointed out that Africa's colonial boundaries existed even before the Conference.

[19] The convention committed colonial governments to the conservation of flora and fauna.

[20] Contemporary debate on hunting as either a sport or as a livelihood is rooted in the conceptualisations of earlier hunting laws. Furthermore, the two scales – national and global – at which most of that debate takes place are a manifestation of the colonial legacy.

[21] According to Carruthers (1995: 12), "the white settlers of the Northern Transvaal [i.e. South Africa] were initially dependent on their African auxiliaries for the success of their [hunting] endeavours."

[22] Such a hierarchical ordering of nature and people, and the underlying racial assumptions confirm the argument I make throughout this volume.

[23] Rhodes' burial in the Matopos mountains was a tremendous challenge to African concepts of the Matopos landscapes, because, to the Africans, the hills were sacred ground (Ranger 1999).

[24] Stanley (2002: 369) has noted that, " of all the late nineteenth-century permutations associated with a German presence in Southwestern Africa, none has had such a long-standing significance as the demarcation and incorporation of a narrow slice of territory known as the Caprivi Zipfel (Strip) into its protectorate."

[25] A detailed discussion on how this occurred in different times is given in Chapter 4.

[26] Meaning that it marked the point at which the sovereignty of the Union of South Africa ended.

[27] Some of them were David Forbes, Alexandra MacCorkindele, T.B. Rathborne, James Hook and Peter Weldon (Matsebula 1972).

[28] As Matsebula (1972: 49) noted, "the Scottsmen's plan was to form a powerful company in Glasgow and induce settlers of the crofter type to emigrate and form a 'New Scotland Settlement' where farming and industries would be started on a large scale."

[29] The Anglo-Boer War is seen as a major event in the division between the English and the Afrikaner in the pre-Union period. After the formation of the Union in 1910, Afrikaner leaders such as Botha and Smuts embraced the ideal of a common white nationhood, which was opposed by anti-imperialist leaders such Malan and Hertzog. Subsequently, Malan and Hertzog formed the National Party in 1913

to represent the interests of what they saw a distinct Afrikaner nation (see Marks and Trapido 1987; Giliomee 1992).

[30] Smuts echoed the same sentiments: "I am also pleased that the name of our great State President will be connected with the park. President Kruger was one of the great hunters of South Africa; but, at the same time, a great lover of our game" (Union of South Africa 1926a: col.4371).

[31] Black people were only allowed to enter the park as day visitors, but were not allowed to use accommodation and other facilities in the park.

[32] The only difference is in the intensity and scale of economic activities.

[33] Preserving nature for enjoyment has always been central to the idea of a national park.

[34] Most of the reserves became nuclei of national parks development.

CHAPTER 3

THE CONSEQUENCES OF NATIONAL PARKS

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter has shown that the rationales for establishing national parks were far more complex than the assumed imperatives for nature conservation. It also highlighted the fact that environmental anxieties and politico-economic influences have had a profound impact on society-nature relations. I know of no scientific work that has been able to capture all the consequences of national parks in a particular country, region, or continent. Moreover, I doubt whether any work of such nature will be accomplished. This is because the impact of national parks is not always amenable to empirical estimation. Furthermore, national parks are themselves paradoxical in the sense that, "the culturally constructed aesthetic ideal of the natural landscape can never be preserved because the dynamism of ecological processes defies preservation" (Neumann 1998: 28). Notwithstanding these constraints, we are scientifically and morally bound to account for the impact of national parks on society and nature. Kramer and Sharma (cited in Ferraro 2002: 262) succinctly summarised the importance of assessing that impact as follows:

> Just as the failure to measure the benefits of biodiversity protection can lead to suboptimal development policies, the failure to measure the local costs of protection may lead to unworkable conservation strategies. An understanding of the local costs of conservation in low-income nations is also important for reasons of equity: those who bear the costs of conservation typically are poor and those who enjoy the benefits typically are rich.[1]

The purpose of this chapter is to discuss some[2] of the consequences of national parks for biodiversity and society. The premise of the chapter is that parks have both positive and negative effects on society and nature, and that the negative consequences on society are more pronounced than on nature. Attempts to address such social effects through a beneficiation framework (see Chapter 7) have yet to yield tangible results. Notably, appreciating the positive and negative consequences of national parks on society and nature is a *sine qua non* for the development of meaningful and comprehensive national park policies.

The Bias of Nature Conservation

Proponents of national parks paid little attention to the negative impact of national parks on the very nature they were meant to protect. The principal reason for this omission was their preoccupation with concerted efforts to establish a world

network of national parks. It would have been self-defeating to expose the weaknesses of national parks at a time when few people were interested in, and the majority opposed to, their establishment. Unsurprisingly, nature conservationists busied themselves with erecting and fortifying fences between parks and people, dissecting ecosystems in the process. The negative impacts of those fences are only now being re-evaluated with vigour.

As early as 1921 the Swedish plant ecologist, Olof Arrhenius, for instance, grappled with the question of how much area is needed to capture a significant percentage of species through the analysis of the species/area relationship (SAR) (Vreugdenhill *et al*. 2003). The SAR is used in order to develop species survival requirements. In pursuant of Arnius' thesis, Vreugdenhill *et al*. (2003: 41) concluded that, "one important condition for the survival of species is not incorporated in the method for selecting species and ecosystem, which is the size of the areas. The smaller an area, the more likely it becomes that populations of species will go extinct."

Following the publication of MacArther and Wilson's (1967) volume entitled *The Theory of Island Biogeography*, the minimum size of nature reserves became a subject of much discussion. Unfortunately for national parks, the issue of size did not receive serious attention – despite the intention to use national parks as a cog in the nature conservation wheel. In recent years, attempts have been made to popularise the need to increase and expand protected areas on one hand, and the development of a comprehensive protected areas system on the other hand. Unsurprisingly, nature conservationists and their allied entrepreneurs have, perhaps more than any institution, produced some of the most powerful images of nature in the 20th century. Though the images are varied, the message they convey remains the same: humanity should be more concerned with the protection of biodiversity than ever before. Furthermore, the consequences of park fences on biodiversity protection have added a new dimension to this imagery. Animals have been shown colliding with the fences – and sometimes even dying at the fences – in order to demonstrate the negative consequences of park fences on nature conservation.[3] The effects of habitat fragmentation are top in the research agenda of nature conservationists. For example, Stephens *et al*. (2003) have recently measured the effects of habitat fragmentation on avian nesting success. They conclude that, "conservation actions that limit fragmentation at landscape scale should have positive impacts on nesting success rates and bird populations."[4]

Negative Consequences

Lack of Representativity

Admittedly, national parks have their own limitations as mechanisms for nature conservation, mainly because imparkation results from human choices of certain flora and fauna, as well as of habitats that are considered useful to human beings (see Chapter 2). Such choices imply that certain species are preferred above others. For this reason, game management was initially equated with predator control. The

assumption was that desirable animals could be preserved by exterminating their enemies (Graham 1944). That is to say, national parks do not always protect nature for the sake of nature – a greater portion of nature is left unprotected simple because it does not seem to fit into human interests at particular moments in history.

As a notable example, freshwater ecosystems were in the past not given priority, resulting in freshwater becoming the world's most critically endangered biome. It has been estimated that freshwater biodiversity has declined by 50% worldwide in the last 30 years, and that wildlife dependent on freshwater ecosystems are the most imperiled species on earth (World Wildlife Fund 2003). The perspective is also shifting from oceans as a boundless resource[5] to the need to protect marine resources in the same way as terrestrial ones, if not more so. Against this backdrop, Abell *et al*. (2002: 2-3) concluded that,

> tallies of endangered species indicate that freshwater biodiversity is generally more threatened than terrestrial biodiversity. For example, of those species considered in The World Conservation Union's (IUCN) Red List for 2000, 20% of amphibians and 30% of fishes were considered threatened. At the regional scale, the projected future extinction rate for North American freshwater fauna is about five times greater on average than for terrestrial fauna, and three times higher than for coastal/marine mammals.

Studies show that the oceans are changing, that marine resources are as vulnerable as those on land, that habitat loss in shallow seas are as rapid and extensive as on land, and that the deep sea is not safe from harm either (Roberts 2003). In the same vein, Dasmann (1972) lamented that the world network of national parks or equivalent reserves has failed to protect some of the critical ecosystems. He pointed out that,

> the European sclerophyll biotic province has an inadequate number and distribution of national parks and reserves. In north America, no national parks or their equivalents are recorded for the Austroriparian evergreen forest, the Californian sclerophyll province, the Northern Mexican highlands, or the Tamaulipas dry forest province … In at least ten of the major biotic units [in South America and Middle America] there are no national parks or reserves (1972: 251, 254).

Rouget *et al.* (2003) recently made the same observation on the Cape Florist Region of South Africa. They showed that the reservation bias towards upland areas has seriously constrained representation of biodiversity patterns and processes. Similarly, Conservation International (2003: 3) has warned that, "unless we focus on biodiversity hotspots and high-biodiversity wilderness areas,[6] we will lose a major portion of global biodiversity regardless of how successful we are in other, less diverse areas." The general tenor of these arguments is that the current system of protected areas – including national parks – does not adequately address the need to protect a wide range of crucial biodiversity.

Preference for Wildlife

As I have intimated in Chapter 2, southern African national parks were established to protect wildlife, and the relevant legislation originally evolved from hunting laws. The preservation bias towards wildlife as opposed to flora and habitats begs the

question of the extent to which landscapes have influenced the conceptualisation of national parks in southern Africa, and even more so because the initiators of national parks in the region had a model of the Yellowstone National Park[7] before them. Why was there lack of appreciation of southern African landscapes as worthy of protection given that: a) the model of a national park from which southern African national parks were copied was in fact based on landscapes and their protection; b) southern Africa is rich in landscapes of scenic beauty. Lesotho, which is nicknamed Africa's 'Kingdom in the sky', boasts of "remote, rugged mountains and deep valleys, with plummeting water falls that form spectacular frozen stalactites in the winter months" (Lesotho Highlands Development Authority n.d.: 1), yet these did not appeal to national parks ideologues. Lesotho remains one of the countries with the least number of national parks in the region. What is instructive about these observations is that national parks should have been the basis for protecting biodiversity patterns and ecosystem processes in that country.

Despite the adoption of the all-embracing definitions of national parks by southern African states, national parks in the region remained concentrated on conserving wildlife. For instance, the national parks' acts of the various southern African states embraced the view of a national park as an area used for the preservation of wild animal life, vegetation and objects of geological, ethnological, historical or other scientific interest. It is interesting to note that the phrase 'the protection of wild animal life' has been used as a first point of reference in almost all national parks acts in the region.[8] However, in reality, much of biodiversity remained outside national parks.[9] This also applies to a country such as Namibia, which has the second[10] highest percentage (i.e. 13.8%)[11] of land under state protected areas in the region. It should be emphasised that the reservation bias in Namibia resulted from political rather than biodiversity interests. Coastal regions were focal points of German imperialism in Africa (Katzenellenbogen 1996), hence national parks such as the Skeleton Coast and the Namib-Naukluff cover almost the entire western coast of that country.

Small Nature Conservation Areas

The limitation of national parks in protecting biodiversity is clearly illustrated by the small sizes of parks compared to the extent of the ecological systems that need to be protected. Conservationists have often associated the small size of national parks with the difficulties of establishing national parks.[12] They argue that popular opposition to the idea of a national park by local residents has constrained their development. This does not explain, however, why the colonial state could not establish large national parks in areas where the colonists could appropriate land at will, and where land was, in most cases, state property. For instance, "in 1889 virtually all land in Swaziland was held under the land concessions[13] and the Swazi nationals were technically squatters in their own country" (Swaziland 1998: 5). Yet the settlers could not develop national parks that enclosed ecosystems and habitats. South Africa and Zimbabwe are also cases in point: much of the land in both countries was designated as Crown land (Christopher 1983) and could have been

used at the whim of the British Empire for any purpose, including the creation of national parks.

There has indeed been local resistance to colonial policies, including the establishment of national parks. Nonetheless, there is little or no evidence that supports a correlation between the size of national parks and the levels of resistance by African communities in southern Africa. That is to say that the boundaries of national parks do not necessarily reflect the contours of community resistance.[14] The evidence we have is that of a colonial state that could increase or decrease national parks at will, and that there was conflict of interest among state apparatuses. Selected examples can be used to substantiate this claim.

For instance, the Namibian colonial state reduced the Etosha National Park[15] at its own will. Although it originally covered 93 240 km² in 1907, this was reduced to 89 834 km² (1947), increased to 99 526 km² (1958), reduced substantially to 27 554 km² (1963) and again reduced to 22 912 km² in 1975 (Barnard 1998). Clearly, the current size of the Etosha National Park is the result of political decisions. In 1963, for instance, it was dramatically reduced by over 70% to gain land for the ethnic partitioning under the terms of the Odendaal Commission Report.[16] In other words, the size of the park was reduced in order to create space for the development of bantustans.[17] The consequences of partitioning the park are twofold. First, as in many national parks in the region and beyond, wildlife has become highly concentrated – with detrimental effects on plants and soils. Secondly, the partition created serious problems between animals and surrounding communities. Many animals regularly move out of the park into neighbouring areas, despite the park fence.[18]

The Kruger National Park was envisioned as an extensive national park from the onset.[19] As a result the present boundaries of the Kruger National Park are not significantly different from those defined by the National Parks Act of 1926. In direct contrast to the Etosha National Park, which was reduced over time, the Kruger National Park was actually extended to the size envisaged in the Act over a number of years. The delays in this extension were mainly caused by conflicts of interest among state departments. Of course, there was also some resistance from African communities who lived in areas that were to be incorporated into the park. It is however not clear how such resistance significantly shaped the boundaries of the park, or whether their wishes were simply ignored and overridden.

In the Assembly Debates about the establishment of the park, for instance, the Minister of Lands maintained that, "America has had much trouble in establishing a park and the fact that we are having so little trouble today is due to the farsightedness of President Kruger" (Union of South Africa 1926a: col. 4368). Clearly, the official view was that communities residing in the areas of the park that were due to be incorporated at the time did not pose a serious challenge to the creation of the park's boundaries. Admittedly, the resistance of the Makuleke against plans to extend the park to the Pafuri (i.e. the area in which the Makuleke were residing) in 1933[20] cannot be ignored (see Harries 1987; Ramutsindela 2002). However, their resistance alone does not sufficiently explain delays in the extension of the park, as other role players also had conflicting interests over the land.

Carruthers (1995) noted that, in contrast with white landowners who wanted to exercise control over hunting on their private farms, white farmers wanted to use the land for grazing. Different state departments, too, were at loggerheads: the Department of Agriculture feared that the extension of the park would increase the risk of spreading the foot and mouth disease; Native Affairs wanted to use the land for the relocation of Africans and the Department of Lands wanted the same land for white settlement.

Reversing the Reservation Bias

Nature conservationists have continuously been seeking ways of solving the reservation bias. Indeed, there has been a shift from concern with the number of protected areas to the representativity of biodiversity. For instance, Margules *et al*. (2002) have suggested specific steps to ensure the representativity of biodiversity. They argue that the first step should be to measure the existing biodiversity by using surrogates, such as taxa, sub-sets, species assemblages and environmental domains. They acknowledge that the desirable goal of sampling all of biodiversity from genotypes to ecosytems is not achievable. What should be done is to arrive at an agreeable level at which biodiversity features can be represented. Accordingly, the second step would be to set biodiversity goals. The third step would involve developing methods for achieving those goals.

Positive Outcomes

Certainly, national parks have successfully secured features of biodiversity that might have been lost forever. More crucially they have become an acceptable and strong currency in national and international biodiversity policies, as evidenced by the increasing urge to proclaim and/or expand national parks. It was noted at the Strategic Round Table on the Role of Protected Areas and Ecological Networks in Biodiversity Policies (Netherlands 2003) that, "the good news of protected areas at the end of the 20th century is that nearly 10% of [the] land surface of [the] world is under protected areas."[21] The World Conservation Union (hereafter IUCN) Commission on Protected Areas (2003a: 8) echoed the same sentiments: "the 20th century legacy of more than 100 000 protected areas covering more than 11% of Earth's terrestrial surface provides us with an extraordinary base from which to pursue conservation goals." Undoubtedly, parks and their equivalents will continue to play a critical role in biodiversity protection. It is also even more likely that, in future, the focus of national parks will be on areas of biodiversity that had been left out in the past. How those choices will be made, and the appropriate processes put in place, are themes that await future research. For now, we will pay attention to the consequences of parks on people.

In southern Africa, more land has been added to national parks over the years. Signs are that this trend will continue at an even faster pace in the 21st century. Although this augurs well for nature conservation, questions about the impact of national parks on humans do remain pertinent. Obviously, natural scientists have

always concentrated on the impact of humans on biodiversity and national parks, but not vice versa.

NATIONAL PARKS AND THEIR CONSEQUENCES FOR HUMAN BEINGS

The Battle of the Sciences

It is intriguing to note that, while natural scientists are concerned with increasing the representativity of biodiversity by establishing more protected areas or by expanding existing ones, they rarely consider the impact that those strategies will have on humans. This provides further evidence of the one-sidedness of natural scientists. Nevertheless, it may be that the "biological sciences have devoted a broader, deeper and more systematic research effort than the social sciences to understanding what is happening when biodiversity is lost, how this occurs, and what consequences result" (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau 2003: 3).

Although social scientists have grappled with the effects of national parks on people, there is still a perceivable lingering imbalance in the public discourses on parks and people. According to Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau (2003), that imbalance is a result of the asymmetry of (nature conservation) knowledge generated by social and natural sciences. It is argued that,

> social research has not developed a cogent generalized argument apt to escalate the social issues vested in conservation work at the same higher policy levels at which biological sciences research had succeeded to articulate and place their concerns (Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau 2003: 3).

Against this backdrop, the two authors attempted to quantify the negative consequences of national parks on communities in Central Africa (Table 3.1) by means of the Impoverishment Risks and Reconstruction Model.

Table 3.1 Calculating losses resulting from national park creation

Country	Park/Reserve Name	Per capita loss (in Euro)
Cameron	Dja Biodiversity Reserve	-8,000
Cameron	Korup	-10,000
Cameron	Lake Lobeke	-6.500
Cameron	Boumba Beck	-7,000
Central African Republic	Dzanga-Ndoki	-42,000
Equatorial Guinea	Nsoc	-6,000
Gabon	Loango	-6,500
Gabon	Moukalaba-Doudou	-6,700
Gabon	Ipassa-Mingouli	-11,000
Nigeria	Cross-River	-4,000
Republic of Congo	Nouabale Ndoki	-8,000
Republic of Congo	Odzala	16,000

Source: Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau 2003: 13.

Similarly, Ferraro (2002) is worried about the dearth of quantitative data on the costs borne by local residents when protected areas are established in developing countries. Using a combination of methods[22], Ferraro (2002) estimated the local opportunity costs of protecting the Ranomafana National Park in Madagascar at $3.37 million. He admits that, "in addition to these costs, there were other costs that [he] was unable to quantify, including health, cultural and social costs" (Ferraro 2002: 272).

Such studies are a welcome contribution to our understanding of the negative impact of protected areas on local communities. However, quantification will most probably overlook some of the critical impact that social research should also be examining. The gross human suffering associated with national parks throughout developing countries cannot adequately be quantified.[23] Furthermore, quantification does not capture the feelings, emotions or interests of local communities, appropriately.

The views of the indigenous peoples of Africa are instructive in this regard. They demand their inherent rights to self-determination, and "further relentlessly assert for unconditional collective and holistic land use, ownership, control and management of [their] ancestral lands, forests, wildlife, and other resources utilizing [their] unique traditional resource management scheme" (Indigenous Peoples of Eastern and Southern Africa 2003: 1).[24] These require the fundamental human rights of indigenous people to be recognised. The point here is that the negative impact of national parks on Africans in the region are hard to measure, not least because they involve many aspects of life, some of which are invisible.[25] How does one measure the loss of human dignity arising from removals from newly declared national parks?[26] What about the emotional and spiritual benefits from nature – that people had previously? How do we measure what Brook (1998) calls 'environmental genocide'? What about the loss of knowledge and skills that people acquired through their interaction with the physical environment?[27]

Notably, social research has attempted to profile the impact of national parks on local communities. Even more energy has gone into highlighting the negative effects of parks on people, mainly because of the struggle against human injustice. While nature conservationists overemphasised the negative effects of local communities on nature and highlighted the need to protect nature against such communities,[28] social scientists aimed to show the negative consequences of parks on people. In recent years, social scientists have deployed case reports from various disciplinary backgrounds to offer counter-narratives of the impact of local communities on nature in general. McCann (1999: 9) invoked John Iliffe's provocative description of Africa's people as "the frontiersmen of mankind … who have colonized an especially hostile region of the world on behalf of the entire human race",[29] to claim that "Africa's environmental history is written on its landscape … the shades and textures of its soils, forests, vegetation, and human settlements reflect [Africa's history] in a way more profound and ubiquitous than politics, economics, or even colonial rule" (1999: 1).

Such views challenge the hegemonic colonial meta-narrative of the African response to environmental conditions, which perpetuated negative images. In that

narrative, desertification, deforestation, soil erosion, reduction in wildlife resources, and so forth, symbolise the uncivilised behaviour of the African (Ramutsindela 2004a). Moreover, where 'green fields' existed, the African was assumed absent. Images of the African's 'cruelty to nature' were constructed by the colonial administration to justify coercion and paternalism (Beinart 2000). McCann (1999) adopted an anti-colonial narrative to demonstrate that Africans' relations with their environment were actually not as negative as we have been made to believe. In practice, the Aksumite had effective water management systems, and West Africans in the Kissidougou Prefecture contributed to the development of the impressive forest/savanna mosaic (Fairhead and Leach 1996). Such examples (and other similar ones) reassert the human dignity of despised local (non-white) communities.

It would be naïve to limit the negative impact of national parks to the countries of the global South. Hamin (2001) has shown that the creation of national parks in the United States resulted in the disintegration of landholding residents in rural areas. Neumann (1998) has claimed that there are many parallels between the African dislocation and loss of customary claims and the historical situation in England.[30] While attempts to draw such parallels should be appreciated, we should not lose sight of the implication of applying those parallels in developing countries. Does it mean that rural people all over the world have suffered the same fate? What happens to the racial and/or ethnic distinctions among rural dwellers globally? Generally, the creation of national parks and other protected areas has led to exclusions that impacted on both the social fabric and the environment.

Social Impact

The Forest People Programme (n.d.) in Britain has listed the social impact of exclusions as follows:

- Poverty
- Undermining of livelihoods
- Forced resettlement
- Denial of rights to land
- Denial of use of, and access to, natural resources
- Destroying Leadership systems
- Disruption of kinship systems
- Breaking down cultural and spiritual ties to the environment
- Enforcing illegality and subjecting communities to tyrannies
- Denial of political rights and validity of customary institutions
- Loss of informal networks, fundamental to local economy
- Disruption of customary systems of environmental management, and
- Loss of traditional ecological knowledge.

Arguably, all these occur among non-white communities, raising the question of the racial nature of the negative effects of protected areas on society. Experiences from southern Africa amplify the racialised nature of these effects.

There is overwhelming evidence to support the claim that Africans in the region were uprooted from areas that had been designated as national parks.[31] As far as I am able to establish, whites were not forcibly removed to make space for national parks, making Africans the most dispensable human beings! A point should be made, however, that, the removal of Africans from national parks had and still has the same racial underpinnings as those from other areas that were not intended to be used as national parks.[32] This becomes clear when both the processes and outcome of removals are considered. The main difference, though, is on how the rationales for removals were (and still are) being couched. In the case of national parks, Africans were removed because they were and still are considered detrimental to nature.[33] Duffy (2000: 43) commented that, "the image of who is carrying out the poaching [in sub-Saharan Africa] and what its root causes are has been structured and organised by international conservation organisations working in conjunction with governments." For example, African families who lived in what was to become Matopos National Park, were framed as causes of erosion as explained by Tredgold (1956: 25):

> An exhaustive survey carried out on foot and on horseback … revealed that while there were some 1 750 families and 13 800 head of stock living in the park, its current carrying capacity was 400 families and 4 000 head of stock. It was clear that unless this reduction was made it would be next to impossible to deal with the erosion and denudation that was going on.[34]

While Tredgold merely implied that the deterioration of the natural environment was in broad terms the results of the African inhabitants, many of the removals were rationalised on the African's destructive behaviour. For instance, the decimation of wildlife was blamed on Africans as if they were the main culprits. In no way do I suggest that Africans did not hunt animals for the pot or for sport. However, whether Africans destroyed wild animals more than anybody else is debatable. Studies show that many of the people who were and still are involved in the decimation of animals were (are) not even residents in those areas; this makes it difficult to generalise on the behaviour of local residents. Peck (1993: 7) noted that, "during the 1970s white hunters mercilessly slaughtered between 470-700 elephants annually in the Zambezi Valley." The colonial white hunter, Frederick Selous, is said to have slaughtered 31 lions in Africa (Adams and McShane 1996).

Loss of Land and Access to Resources

There are differences of opinions as to how land was appropriated by national parks. On one hand, there are those who argue that national parks, were established in remote areas that were of no value for human use (Beinart and Coates 1995). On the other hand, there is the view that national parks were established in areas that were actually, in the case of southern Africa, useful for the livelihood of African communities (see Adams and Mulligan 2003).

Research has shown that the establishment of national parks in southern Africa led to local people losing their land and other resource rights. Notwithstanding

variations on how the land was lost, a common feature of national parks in Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe is the dehumanisation of Africans. This resulted from a combination of colonial land policies and underlying racial stereotypes. The empirical question that arises is how much land did Africans in the region actually lose to nature conservation? Secondly, how do we measure that land? These questions are important if we are to understand the extent of the damage done on the land rights of Africans and to develop appropriate measures for addressing past injustices.

Land use patterns and tenure systems complicate the issue of measuring land that has been lost. For example, the Kalahari San have historically used much of the land in southern Africa,[35] and existing bands in Botswana, Namibia and South Africa continued to use land in their unique ways. In the view of Europeans, the land of the Kalahari San was *terra nullius*. Moreover, the exact sizes of their lands were difficult to measure.[36] Such difficulties are not unique to land used by hunter-gatherers, but are also discernible in other communities in the region. Most southern African communities did, and still do, not have title to the land they use, and, until recently, the boundaries of their land remained unmarked.

Land claims in protected areas give a clue of how much land was in fact 'lost' by Africans. Such claims are now occurring as part of the land reform process. Unfortunately, the majority of southern African states do not have land restitution as part of their land reform programmes.[37] Consequently, it becomes difficult to estimate the amount of land lost as seen by the victims of land dispossession, and as agreed to by officials. However, examples from land restitution in South Africa's national parks give a sense of the size of the land involved (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2 Selected South African examples of the size of land claims

Community	Park/Reserve	Size of land (ha)
Khomani San	Kalahari Gemsbok	25,000
Makuleke	Kruger	24,000
Mbangweni	Ndumo	1,262
Mdluli	Kruger	1,600
Richtersvelders	Richtersveld	85,000

Source: Adapted from various sources.

Land cannot be reduced to hectares[38] only, though, because land also involves the livelihood of most Africans. As former South African State President, F.W. de Klerk, belatedly admitted:

> Of all the processes which have brought about the inequitable distribution of wealth and power that characterises present day South Africa, none has been more decisive and more immediately important to most black South Africans than the dispossession of land. To an agrarian community, whose entire economic and social structure is based on the distribution of land, dispossession was akin to national destruction (cited in Levin and Weiner 1997: 14).

Land dispossession in national parks furthermore denied Africans their resource rights. More crucially, the livelihood of rural Africans was seriously disrupted, leading to perennial clashes between local communities and park authorities.[39] Sehlabathebe National Park in Lesotho (Figure 3.1) is a case in point.

Figure 3.1 Protected areas in Lesotho
Source: Lesotho Highlands Development Authority n.d.

The community currently living around the park originally used the area (on which the park has been established) for crop production and as a rangeland.[40] The distribution of *metibo* (cattle posts) shows the extent to which the park was used as rangeland (Figure 3.2) and Figure (3.3) illustrates how these *metibo* were built. The community still feels that it owns the land,[41] and has constantly protested against the loss of their land to the park by burning the park every year to date (i.e. 2003).

Besides the consequences of losing land to national parks, the areas into which most Africans were resettled offered very little in terms of livelihood.[42] As such areas were generally of poor quality, the settlement of Africans therein not only contributed to their impoverishment, but also resulted in the deterioration of the natural environment.[43] It has long been recognised that the exclusion of local people from national parks[44] intensifies pressure on natural resources and lead to the withdrawal of local people from the affairs of nature conservation.

Figure 3.2. The distribution of metibo inside the park
Source: Lesotho n.d.

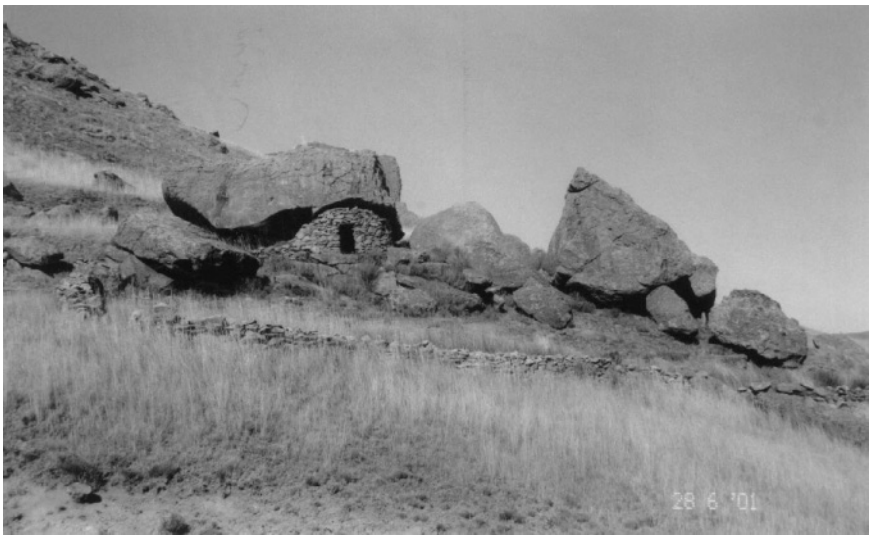

Figure 3.3 An example of motibo
Source: Lesotho 2001a

It should be noted that the establishment of national parks also affected rural white communities, especially farmers. However, these did not suffer the same fate as their African counterparts. Most white farmers, if not all, received adequate compensation, and were not forcibly removed.[45] For example, when QwaQwa National Park was proclaimed in 1991, (South African) white farmers were compensated for the land that was incorporated into the park. The former park manger, Tom Hugo, acknowledged that, "despite the white farmers having been compensated for land, they continued farming [in the area] to avoid destruction of property in the proposed national park" (Hugo 2002: 46).

In addition to meeting the objectives of nature conservation, the removal of local people from areas earmarked for national parks was meant to diminish local people's livelihood and assets in order to force them to sell their labour. As O'Laughlin (1995: 100) observed, "throughout southern Africa, there is a common historical pattern: the colonial states intervened in rural property relations and limited access of black rural people to land as part of cheap labour policies based on migrant labour and divided households."

CONCLUSION

It follows that the establishment of national parks also affected human relations, as state officials and conservation authorities enforced laws that negatively influenced local people's livelihoods and dignity. In most cases, local people were criminalised

as poachers, as they attempted to gain access to resources on which they had lived for generations. Arguably, the criminalisation of local people served to mask commercial poaching and other shabby activities of some of the self-proclaimed nature conservationists. There is evidence that some of the game wardens themselves were poachers (*Mail & Guardian*, 18-28 May 2001: 4; Ramutsindela 2002). Generally, the inhuman treatment of local people is often regarded a common aspect of colonial history. How those activities continued after independence is even more intriguing because it was anticipated that liberation from colonialism would end human oppression in the region. Nonetheless, the post-independence experiences of local people in or adjacent to national parks reveal the continuation of racial stereotypes that had existed under colonial rule. Chapter 4 shows how this occurred and is still taking place.

NOTES

[1] In line with theme of this volume, we can also add that the costs and benefits of national parks to society are clearly separated along a dividing line between non-whites and whites.

[2] I do not think that it is feasible to discuss all the consequences – we still have to develop a comprehensive understanding of the results that parks have had on society and nature across geographical scales and times.

[3] Later in the volume, I will show how these images are part of the campaign to establish transfrontier parks.

[4] A detailed discussion of the need for linking habitats is given in Chapter 8.

[5] Roberts (2003: 166) noted that, "with the oceans covering 71% of the surface of the planet and [more than] 95% of the volume of the biosphere, many people have carried on thinking that [the oceans are boundless]."

[6] "The biodiversity hotspots and high-biodiversity wilderness areas combined cover only 7.5 percent of the Earth's land surface but have within them an astounding 62 percent of all plants and at least 55 percent of all non-fish vertebrates as endemics" (Mittermeier and da Fonseca 2003: 2).

[7] As we have seen in Chapter 2, the Yellowstone National Park is founded in ideas about landscapes.

[8] See the National Parks Act, 1926 (South Africa); The Game Act, 1947 (Swaziland); National Parks Act, 1949 (Zimbabwe); National Parks Act, 1975 (Lesotho) and Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act, 1992 (Botswana).

[9] And this is not unique to southern Africa.

[10] In the region, the first position is occupied by Botswana, which has some 17% of land under protected area.

[11] As of 1998 (Barnard 1998).

[12] Beinart and Coates (1995) observed that parks are relatively larger in areas where physical conditions constrain intensive settlement. However, this does not explain why national parks were not established in the uninhabited Drakensburg mountains of Lesotho and South Africa – an area said to be the centre of biodiversity and endemism of southern Africa (United Nations 1999b).

[13] According to the Concessions Partition Act of 1907, a third of the country was for the exclusive use and occupation of the Swazi people (Swaziland 1998).

[14] A gamut of literature on the evolution of boundaries in border communities shows that communities may in fact have co-operated in boundary making schemes. For example, Nugent (1996) used the case of the Ghana/Togo boundary to claim that boundaries were not made for unsuspecting Africans, and that local people reinforced colonial boundaries.

[15] The example of Etosha is important not only because it was the first and largest national park in Namibia, but also because it illustrates the impact of administrative policies on the sizes of national parks.

[16] The Commission was appointed to enquire into the welfare and progress of all the inhabitants of South West Africa and of the non-white inhabitants in particular and it was required to make recommendations on a five year plan for the "development of the various non-white groups inside and outside their territories and for further development … of such Native territories" (Lawrie 1963: 1).

[17] These bantustans were part of the same policy that was applied in South Africa, too. For a detailed discussion on South Africa's Bantustans see Drummond (1991), Murray (1992), Southall (1992) and Ramutsindela (2001). It came as no surprise in Namibia, because the country was a colony of South Africa at the time.

[18] According to Mendelsohn *et al*. (2000: 32) "elephants and lions in areas immediately around the park cause the most problems, with more occasional incidents blamed on hyenas, leopards and cheetahs."

[19] The National Parks Act 56 of 1926 defined the area of the Kruger National Park as ranging "from the junction of the Pafuri and Limpopo Rivers generally South-Eastwards and Southwards along the Eastern frontier of the Transvaal Province to where it crosses the Komati River; thence generally Westwards along the right bank of the Komati River to its junction with the Crocodile River to … left bank of the Sabie River" (Union of South Africa 1926: 864).

[20] The Transvaal Provincial Authority attempted to proclaim the Makuleke a game reserve in 1933.

[21] This amounts to some 44 000 protected areas, the total size of which equals the area of India and China combined (Netherlands 2003). The 10% target was set at the Caracas World Parks Congress in 1992.

[22] The methodology included a) using a combination of household surveys and semi-structured interviews to acquire detailed data on resource use and management that existed prior to the establishment of a protected area; b) using data on forest use for agriculture and for timber and non-timber forest products; c) estimating the opportunity costs over time and; d) characterising costs both quantitatively and qualitatively.

[23] The failure to quantify them does not mean that the effects are minimal.

[24] In the same vein, the World Council of Indigenous Peoples declared that, "all Indigenous Peoples have the right to self-determination. By virtue of this right they can freely determine their political, economic, social, religious and cultural development … Indigenous Peoples have inalienable rights over their traditional lands and over the use of their natural resources which have been usurped or taken away" (United Nations 1999a: 556).

[25] For most Africans in the region the land forms a fundamental part of their universe and creates a sense of identity in both material and spiritual terms (Simon 1993: iv). The New Nation (1991: 16) put it graphically in these words: "the land is a gift from God to the people … It is not like a house. A house is made of man's things. Land is not for sale. It is like air. I would not pay a shilling for it. The land is my blanket. I wear it like my ancestors."

[26] As I have intimated above, Africans in the region lost their human dignity not only because they were pictorialised as part of the landscape, but also because they were treated as sub-humans.

[27] The loss of this knowledge falls within the scope of what dependency theorists call 'arrested development.'

[28] Much of this happened during the colonial period, but as I have argued throughout this volume, these colonial practices have continued even after independence. Research has shown that, throughout the developing world, proponents of national parks ignored local people. During the colonial period, the colonising countries sanctioned national parks. For instance, the first protected areas in Togo were created in 1950 by the decree of the President of France, while in Anglophone Africa, the Crown played a decisive role.

[29] Illife (cited in McCann 1999) considers this to be the African's chief contribution to human history.

[30] He argues that, "Raymond Williams's observation that private estate parks in eighteenth-century England 'were the formal declaration of where the power now lay' could be made for national parks in colonial Africa, appropriated for the exclusive use of whites" (1998: 35).

[31] The fact that there were Africans living in areas designated as national parks refutes the claim that national parks were established in land of no human value. At the conceptual level, the claim implies that those who used that land did not have the human value themselves.

[32] Urban areas in colonial and apartheid cities are a good example of this.

[33] This rationale was not used when Africans were considered as being part of the fauna.

[34] A growing body of work demonstrates that local people contributed to the enrichment of their natural environment, but that there were also conditions under which the quality of the natural environment deteriorated under local communities. Again, differences on the contribution local people have made to their natural environment are clearly separated between the social and natural science camps.

[35] The distribution of their rock paintings provides evidence of their historical presence in many parts of the region.

[36] I comment further on this in Chapter 4.

[37] I elaborate on land restitution and national parks later in the book.

[38] Overemphasis on the amount of land – the hectares syndrome – stems from two main sources, the first being that discussions on land dispossession have (correctly so) focused on the amount lost. In fact, the land acts, which sealed the amount of land to be appropriated, gave the actual figures. Secondly, the targets of land reform are often given in numerical values. For example, the first democratic government of South Africa promised to redistribute 30% of the agricultural land of the country between 1994 and 1999.

[39] Those clashes are still with us in the twenty-first century.

[40] Interviews, Rifiloe Ntsohi, April 25, 2003; Mohau Monyatsi, September 26, 2003.

[41] Interview, Refiloe Ntsohi, April 25, 2003.

[42] This is a general pattern of removals worldwide. Scudder (cited in Kibreab 2000: 295) has argued that, "the aim of resettlement should be to raise living standards above pre-location levels. Mere restoration of previous standards of living will only exacerbate the condition of the majority."

[43] This, in turn, reinforced the well-established stereotypes of Africans as destroyers of the environment.

[44] And other protected areas.

[45] Some form of pressure might have been applied to them, but they were never transported in government trucks like Africans were.

CHAPTER 4

NEW NATIONS AND OLD PARKS

INTRODUCTION

> I do not believe that you can turn the tenth century into the twentieth all at once; but emphatically I do not believe that it is necessary for Africans to travel the weary road we have trod … The faith by which I try to guide myself in everything I do is … The natives of these parts [East Africa] have it in them to become as civilized as any other race of men; they must either perish or take their place in the world on that footing. We are not going to have any zoological gardens where the black men are going to be carefully fenced off to develop 'on their own lines' … But a little time is needed while we can help the African to modernise his social forms and to adjust himself to the complexities which the present day involves for him (Sir Phillip Mitchell 1954: 129).

The view of the colonial administrator, Phillip Mitchell, captures the broad vision of a unilinear development of the colony; a vision that was anchored in very specific perceptions of the colonised. In the coloniser's view, the colonised could only develop in accordance with the values of western civilisation. These were not to be challenged as they, in the coloniser's view, epitomised the developmental path for humankind. Against this background, liberation from colonialism had to challenge not only the foundation on which that view was embedded, but also had to grapple with the question of whether a new foundation was feasible at all, and what that foundation might be. Fanon (1967: 31) noted that "the challenge to the colonial world is not a rational confrontation of points of view. It is not a treatise on the universal, but the untidy affirmation of an original idea propounded as an absolute." Although the extent to which colonial foundations were shaken by independence remains debatable, there seems to be consensus on the idea that post-independence became a period of adjustment to the institutions and values that had been established under colonial rule. Doornbos (1990: 181) is of the view that structural determinants inherited from the colonial era "set definite limits to the actions of the [postcolony] and to a large extent predetermined the trajectories of its formation." It is not easy to assess the overall impact of those structural determinants, mainly because they do not exist in isolation. Instead, they are intermeshed with a bundle of influences, some of which date back to pre-colonial times. That is to say that those structural determinants are not limited to colonialism and are neither homogenous nor can they lead to the same outcomes. Analyses of the postcolony attest to this (Mazrui 1980; Mamdani 1996). Of relevance to the present discussion are the influences that account for post-independence nature conservation, and national parks in particular.

The aim of this chapter is to show how western values and practices of nature conservation became a feature of post-independence southern Africa, and the manner in which those values and practices were inserted into post-independence national park policies. As we have noted in Chapter 2, the national park idea diffused from North America and Europe into southern Africa and other parts of the world, with settlers performing the roles of transferring agents. The present chapter focuses specifically on the transition from the colony to the postcolony, and on the affirmation of national park policies and values by southern African leaders. The chapter shows that the formative stages of the postcolony in southern Africa were characterised by the settlers' quest to defend the gains of the colonial era. For national parks, this meant that settlers profoundly influenced the nature conservation agendas that were to be used by post-independence governments. Against this backdrop, the first part of the chapter analyses the dynamics of nature conservation schemes during the transition to independence. The second part seeks to account for the perpetuation of colonial ideas of, and practices around, national parks and reserves by African leaders.

ON THE EVE OF INDEPENDENCE

Defending Property Rights

As I have intimated above, national parks were originally used in various contexts to reassert identities and to appropriate land. Thereafter, and in anticipation of post-independence scenarios, settlers sought to protect their land and to secure control over wildlife.[1] They thus strove to insert property rights into the constitutions of the new polity. More crucially, settlers used nature conservation to secure their property – especially farms – against the whims of post-independence politics. Obviously, there were variations in the ways in which agricultural private farms were turned into game or nature reserves. From the economic point of view, such changes could be ascribed to the profitability of the new land uses (i.e. game farms and nature reserves) compared to commercial farming. However, the economic rationale does not explain why the assumed improvements in profitability coincided with political changes.[2] For instance, on the eve of independence in Botswana, "many owners of farms … volunteered to have their farms gazetted as private game reserves to give their wildlife populations added protection from poaching" (Botswana 1968: 2). This begs the question of why independence would necessitate the need for added protection. Why were such measures not taken at the height of poaching in that country in the 1950s "when South Africans living in the Northern Cape started making organised raids into Botswana for biltong on a commercial basis" (Botswana 1968: 9)? Besides the conversion of farms into game parks and reserves, Botswana also witnessed the first major changes in nature conservation legislation shortly before its independence in 1966.

Similarly, Zimbabwe experienced the transfer of wildlife to private landowners during the Second *Chimurenga* or War of Liberation. Peck (1993: 25) noted that, "in

1975 the Parks and Wildlife Act was passed, which, for the first time, recognised land owners, not state officials, as the 'appropriate authority' for wildlife management." Arguably, game farms emerged as a strategy to secure control of, and access to, wildlife in the postcolony.

A good example of the use of nature reserve in protecting private property during political transition is the establishment of the Eastford Nature Reserve in South Africa in 1997. Negotiations for the establishment of this reserve ensued in the early 1990s, when a new political dispensation was being negotiated. Property developers bought the land that had been zoned for agricultural purposes and successfully lobbied for its rezoning for residential purposes. According to property developers, Eastford made history in September [1997] when it became the first residential development in South Africa to be declared a registered nature reserve under the governance of the Department of Nature Conservation (*Saturday Property* 28/29, March 1998). From the onset, the developers put in place very strict measures to control not only the architectural style[3] of the area, but also the type of people who could reside there.[4] Unsurprisingly, the majority of property owners are foreign, coming mainly from Britain and Holland.[5] Against this background, the question of why Eastford had to become a nature reserve in the first place is intriguing. Proponents of the nature reserve invoked ideals of pristine nature and the need to eradicate alien vegetation[6] to lobby for the area to be declared a nature reserve. It was also claimed that the reintroduction of indigenous plants and the return of game would follow the eradication of alien plants. These conservation sentiments were meant to gain official recognition of the area as a nature reserve.

On the other hand, though, it could be argued that Eastford Nature Reserve is meant to protect investment in the property market and to safeguard the area against any possible negative impact that might arise from socio-political changes[7] in the country. Indeed, the value of properties increased by 30 – 40 % since the proclamation of the reserve. In no way do I suggest that buildings cannot be preserved. Experiences in many parts of the world suggest an increasing awareness of the need to conserve buildings as a heritage. However, with regard to Eastford Nature Reserve, the proposal of establishing the reserve was neither meant to preserve existing buildings nor to preserve indigenous plants and/or game. Indigenous trees were in fact planted,[8] and proponents of the reserve had to wait for the return of game.

The development of Dana Bay Conservancy (in South Africa) shows similar concerns. According to Ben van Biene,[9] the conservancy developed originally from farmland. During the transition to a post-apartheid political dispensation, white farmers in Dana Bay sold their farms to property developers and requested that the area should be made a conservancy. It can be argued that the conservancy developed as a strategy for protecting the property market at the seacoast[10] (Figure 4.1).

It will not be stretching the point too far to suggest that the template for nature conservation policies and directions is often built during political transition when a government in waiting is highly focused on gaining the political power of the state. Besides defending private property through game farms and reserves, settlers sought to protect their vested stakes in nature conservation by establishing national parks

shortly before independence. The reasons for this are by no means simple.[11] However, I do insist that the establishment of nature reserves and parks on the eve of independence cannot be divorced from the quest for control over natural resources.

Figure 4.1 Property at the seacoast
Source: Photo by Ramutsindela

Setting the Environment

State Protected Areas

Between 1988 and 1990, Namibia saw the establishment of seven state game parks[12] – the highest record in the development of state-controlled protected areas since the establishment of that country's first national park, Etosha, in 1907. Arguably, these developments were meant to influence the spatial pattern of protected areas after independence. In theory, the establishment of national parks and reserves shortly before independence was instrumental in laying out the future policy that had to be applied by the government-in-waiting. Presumably, white South Africans who, before 1990, enjoyed "self-catering … in state-owned-and-run resorts and angling spots" (Barnard 1998: 42) in Namibia wanted to secure their future enjoyment. Indeed, (white) South Africans dominate the use of ecotourism facilities in post-independent Namibia.[13] As elsewhere in the region, game farms were instrumental in the development of an exclusive white wildlife industry in Namibia. Such farms developed on freehold land. In Namibia, white landowners were granted rights to

use and benefit from wildlife on their farms in 1967. Those rights were consolidated through the passing of the Nature Conservation Ordinance in 1975. Barnes and de Jager (1996) are of the view that changes towards private game farms and the consequent use rights over wildlife resulted in an increase in wildlife numbers. In other words, former colonial rulers might have relinquished their political powers, but their vested interests in nature remained interwoven with the future of the envisaged new polities. Mlilwane Wildlife Sanctuary and Hlane National Park in Swaziland (Figure 4.2) demonstrate how this occurred.

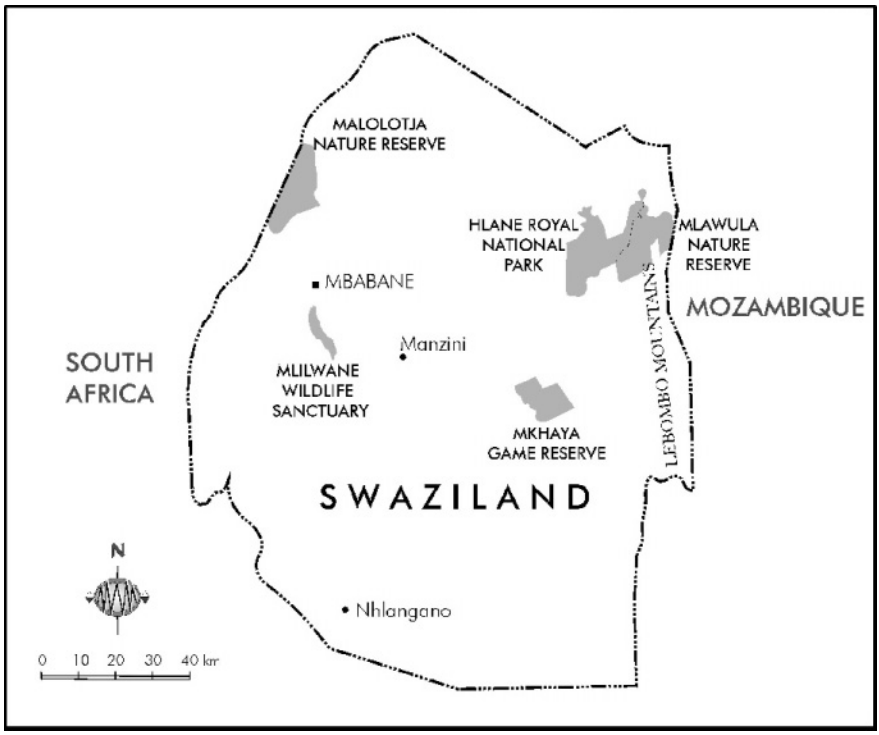

Figure 4.2 Parks and reserves in Swaziland
Source: Adapted from Swaziland National Trust Commission n.d.

Links with the Rulers

It can be defensibly argued that the future of Mlilwane was, from the onset, inextricably linked with that of the postcolonial state of Swaziland. This is so because, although Mlilwane was and remains a private nature reserve, it has always been linked to the monarchy. As Prince Khuzulwandle (cited in Reilly 1985: 6) wrote, "Mlilwane enjoyed the staunch support of our King Sobhuza II, for it was his

active identification with Mlilwane which made possible all that was to follow. This pioneer Mother Reserve flourished on His Majesty's encouragement." Mlilwane's early pioneer, James Weighton Reilly (known as Mickey Reilly), was not only a friend and neighbour of King Sobhuza II, but also served as a link between preservationists and the monarchy. Over the years, the Reilly family successfully lobbied the King's support for Mlilwane, including the transfer of game from the King's own game reserve, Hlane,[14] to Mlilwane. Of significance to the discussion in this chapter is that Mlilwane was backed by the power of the Swazi monarchy. For instance, high-ranking members of the royal family served as trustees of Mlilwane. Furthermore, the King became the chief Patron of Mlilwane in 1966, two years before Swaziland gained its independence from Britain.[15] All these meant that the future of Mlilwane in the postcolony was secured. Indeed, in post-independence Swaziland, the relationship between the monarchy and Mlilwane remained strong.[16] Unsurprisingly, Mlilwane became a natural choice as a venue for the ex-members of parliament party that was held on 8 July 2003 (*Times of Swaziland*, 9 July 2003: 2).

The strong relationship between the monarchy and private nature reserves in postcolonial Swaziland implies that it would be difficult to separate policies on protected areas in the country from the wishes of the monarchy.[17] The Swaziland National Trust Commission is already experiencing such difficulties. The Commission is in charge of protected areas in Swaziland, but has no say in the administration of private reserves such as Mlilwane and Mkhaya, or Hlane National Park. This is problematic because there are strong perceptions that the reserves and the park are benefiting from state and donor funds, yet they remain in private hands. The case of Hlane is even more controversial because it is a 'private national park' on state land. The position of the three nature conservation areas moreover cannot be challenged – at least within Swaziland – because of blurred boundaries between the monarchy and private nature reserves.

Changing Land Use

It follows that white interests in national parks and reserves were vehemently defended during the transition to black majority rule in the region. For South Africa, the end of apartheid meant that both the bantustans and remnants of 'white South Africa' offered whites the opportunity to reassert their interests in national parks and reserves. For instance, QwaQwa National Park was established in 1991 at the height of political tension and among heated debates on the future of the bantustans. Theoretically, the establishment of that park meant that the protected area would remain 'safe' even after the disappearance of the bantustan on which it was anchored.

Similarly, notwithstanding the context in which Madikwe Game Reserve was established in 1991, its origin is inextricably linked to the collapse of the bantustan of Bophuthatswana. Notably, Madikwe was established on the area that had been used for cattle farming and some dry-land arable agriculture. According to Davies (1997: 1), "when the land was expropriated from the existing white farmers, there was talk of giving the land to previously disadvantaged up-and-coming cattle

farmers." Under these circumstances, white control over land was secured through wildlife-based tourism – in the form of the Madikwe Game Reserve. Why is that both Madikwe Game Reserve and QwaQwa National Park were established on white farm land in the same year – and during a time of political transition?

The year 1991 has a particular significance in the history of land reform in South Africa. It is the year in which the Bill to repeal the notorious Natives Land Act of 1913 was introduced. Opposition to the Bill, particularly by the (white) Conservative Party revealed some of the deep fears of the white farming community.[18] The establishment of the Richtersveld National Park in the same year (i.e. 1991) warrants explanation in light of the political and historical developments of the time.

The consolidation of various amendments to the national park legislation into the National Parks Act 57 of 1976 paved the way for the development of parks that would not be state controlled and for the use of parks by resident populations. Section 22(2) of the Act reads that,

> the owner of any riparian land in relation to a public stream, the bed or any part of the bed of which is included in a park, shall have or may acquire all rights to use water from that stream and for the purpose of such use to construct, use and maintain any work, which he would have had or could have acquired if this Act had not been passed (South Africa 1976: 15).

Subsequent to this Act, the National Parks Board (i.e. of South Africa) embarked on efforts to establish the Richterveld National Park.[19] These involved negotiations between the Parks Board and various state departments between 1975 and 1982. Relevant state departments reached an agreement to establish the contractual park in 1988 without the involvement of communities who were living in the park.[20] The point I want to make here is that, at face value, the establishment of the Richtersveld National Park on 20 July 1991 appears to have been a result of negotiations over matters of nature conservation.

However, when the political climate of the time and interests over minerals in that area are factored into the analysis, different explanations emerge. Arguably, interests in minerals in the Richtersveld area are intermeshed with the rationales for creating a national park in that area. The potential impact of political changes in that area could not have been ignored since the Richtersveld community had been dispossessed of its land. Indeed, the land issue was to play a major role in changing the power balance between the community, the state, conservationists and mining communities. Presumably, the transfer of part of state land in the Richtersveld to Alexkor mining company in 1994[21] was done in anticipation of land reform measures that would have profound implications on land rights.

It should be emphasised that negotiations for a democratic political dispensation in South Africa were characterised by contests over future land tenure systems. In addition, nature conservation was used by a section of conservative whites as an instrument for securing control over certain parts of the country. Without over-elaborating the point, what appeared to be a conflict between mining and nature conservation in the Madimbo Corridor in Limpopo Province (South Africa) was

instead a contest over the control and ownership of resources (Ramutsindela 2002). Interestingly, Matshakatini Nature Reserve was established in that Corridor (Figure 4.3) in 1994 at the initiative of the then South African National Defence Force (WildNet Africa 1997).

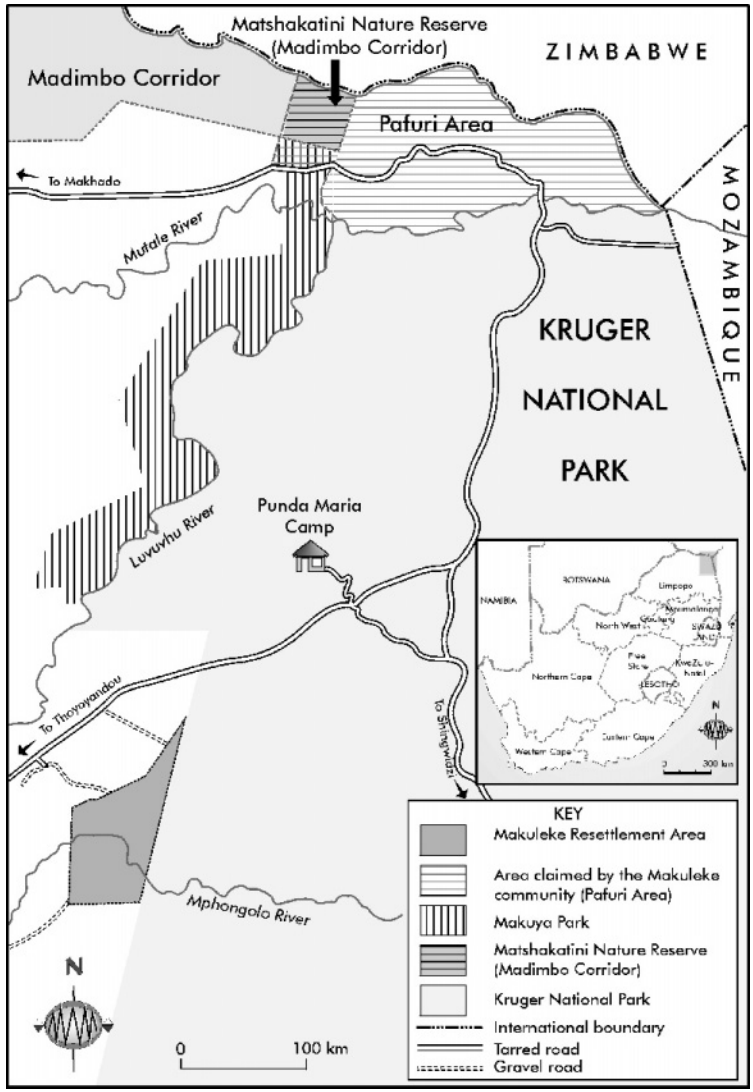

Figure 4.3 Matshakatini and environs
Source: Land Claims Commission 1996

To members of the defence force, who had used the area to secure white domination in South Africa and the region, the corridor symbolised white control, which was being threatened by political changes. Matshakatini Nature Reserve thus affirmed their stake over land and other resources in the area. The land on which the reserve is built actually belongs to the people of Gumbu/Mutele, who had no opportunity to claim their land before 1994.

Links with Communities

Besides establishing links with the state, settlers' strategies also included realigning nature conservation with the supposedly main beneficiaries of liberation, the communities. Unsurprisingly, interest in communities' involvement in nature conservation also occurred during political changes.[22] In Botswana, the Moremi Wildlife Reserve, was established in the early 1960s – shortly before independence was granted in 1966 – through grants from Societies that had been started in South Africa: namely, the Okavango Wildlife Society and the World Wildlife Fund (Botswana 1968). This might have been a genuine concern for nature conservation, but the presentation of the Batawana as the initiator of the reserve (against perceptions of Africans as 'natural' poachers) raises some suspicion. There were certainly other forces behind the establishment of the Moremi Reserve. Nature conservation aside, Europeans had long been interested in Ngamiland[23], where Moremi Nature Reserve is situated. According to Tlou and Campell (1984), Cecil Rhodes wanted to take over Ngamiland so that he could turn it into a colony for European settlement along the lines of Rhodesia. The Government of Botswana (1968: 13) reported that, "at a kgotla meeting, held in Maun in November 1963, the efforts of a group of Ngamiland's residents came to fruition when the Batswana tribe agreed to set aside an area of land between the Khwai and Mogogel Rivers as a game reserve." However, the removal of the people now living in Khwai village from the present-day Moremi Nature Reserve still has to be explained (Taylor cited in VanderPost Forthcoming). The Fauna Conservation Society of Ngamiland, rather than the Batawana were thus to manage the reserve. As in the case of Hlane in Swaziland, safari hunters exploited Chief Moremi's hunting habits in the Okavango Delta (Readers' Digest 1997) to develop private game reserves and game hunting in that part of the country.[24]

THE POSTCOLONY: A NEW ALLIANCE

In the restructuring of the colonial state, many of the existing institutions were to be adopted and/or transformed in line with the ideals of the new polities. The restructuring of the state resulted in national parks being incorporated into the construction of new national identities. Whereas the construction of new identities was a radical insertion of new political powers, that process was not informed by new ideas about nature. It was largely a perpetuation of aesthetic values that had been developed by the colonising countries. What was different though, was the selective choice of certain sites and species on which myths of nationhood were

built, the purpose being to distinguish the liberated state from its former colonising metropolis. For instance, in reasserting Australian identity as distinct from that of its former coloniser, Britain, James Tyson described England as

> a manure heap where the soil has been poisoned by the animal droppings of centuries and [where] the vegetation was less wholesome stock than the health giving native grasses of inland Australia, whose pastures are constantly purified by a tropical sun and renovated by bush fires (Heathcote 1972: 94).

Similarly, Americans built their own distinct identity from the English by using the wilderness as I have explained in Chapter 2.

Marginalized communities in developed countries also used national parks to claim self-determination after independence. For instance, the founding members of the Island Protection Society in Canada, the Haida, lobbied for, and used, South Moresby National Park to assert their national sovereignty (Dearden and Berg 1993). The Haida thus used the very instrument – national parks – that had been used to create settler colonial identity to reassert their own nationhood. If they were able to do this without even gaining the control of the state, what more could be achieved by Africans who took the helm of the postcolony? Instead radical utopian models touted during liberation struggles were replaced by piecemeal engineering. In Karl Popper's (1974: 158) words: "the piecemeal engineer will …. adopt the method of searching for, and fighting against, the greatest and most urgent evils of society, rather than searching for, and fighting for, its ultimate good." Generally, the methods chosen were those of reconciling existing conflicting interests in society while embracing the principles of market economy. These applied to land under nature conservation.

Ranger (1983) offers a more nuanced explanation of the behaviour of newly independent African leaders. He clustered ways in which Africans sought to draw on European's invented traditions into four categories. Firstly, the aspirant African bourgeoisie sought to make its own that range of attitudes and activities, which defined the European middle class. Secondly, many African rulers and their supporters struggled to achieve the right to express their authority by using the titles and symbols of European neo-traditional monarchy. Thirdly, there were Africans who adapted neo-traditional symbolism in the spirit of fashion. Fourthly, there were Africans who found themselves uprooted and who needed to discover new ways of making a new society.

From Rhetoric to Policy

The liberation-era rhetoric of the moral superiority of the social ownership of resources that had been espoused by the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa, *Frente de Liberatacao de Mozambique* (FRELIMO) in Mozambique and South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO) in Namibia, all gave way to the penetration of capital into many spheres of the newly independent polities, including national parks and reserves. With some 43% of the land surface under privately owned commercial farm land (Barnes and de Jager 1995), Namibia

registered[25] 148 private nature reserves totaling 0.9% of the total land area of that country in 1995 (Barnard 1998). According to Barnard (1998), over 10 000km² of farmland had been consolidated into nine commercial conservancies[26] in 1998.

Further, it is estimated that the safari industry in Zimbabwe yielded some Z$10 million in 1987 (Murombedzi 2003). South Africa, which had more than 80% of land under white control, also has an estimated 13% of its total land area "under some form of game farming, which includes various combinations of game ranching, hunting, ecotourism and mixed farming" (South Africa 2003a: 9). The tale told by these examples is that a combination of land ownership patterns, capital penetration and nature conservation policies have placed national parks and reserves beyond the control of newly independent southern African states.[27] How and why southern African leaders collaborate(d) in all these is a subject for discussion in subsequent chapters.

Unlike FRELIMO that, before the country was engulfed by civil war, sought to nationalise all of the country's natural resources by bringing them under the direct control of the newly independent Mozambican state, the ANC started off on a capitalist footing right from the beginning. The ANC policy guidelines, for instance, included the use of national parks to maximize economic benefits. Before coming to power in 1994, the ANC (1992: 1) already held the view that,

> the potential of national parks, and nature reserves to be a source of foreign exchange should be expanded, wealth should be shared by local communities and used to stimulate local economies. Employment in the park itself can be expanded by developing labour intensive eco-tourism, such as small bush camps offering guided game drives and bush walks. Crafts marketing can be stimulated by giving the local crafts industry preference over imported curios.

The ANC policy fitted nicely into global conservation philosophies of the 1990s. In spite of this, white conservationists feared that the ANC government would neglect issues of nature conservation. This is captured in Borchet and Johns' (1994: 20) view that,

> whatever the outcome [of the 1994 elections], though, the new government of the land is going to have its hands more full with the nation-building that has to happen if South Africa is to take a place among the more successful nations of the world. In the face of this, what chance will the environment at large have of occupying any place of importance on a long list of priorities including education, health and welfare, job creation, food supply and housing, and supplying the insatiable demand for the country's most precious water?[28]

At face value, this view suggests that the demands made on the postcolony would be too great to satisfy, and that nature conservation would be the 'natural loser.'[29] The implication of Borchet and Johns' interpretation goes beyond the issue of the needs and priorities of the new state, but touches on how a black government was and is perceived by nature conservationists – specifically, as unable to protect biodiversity. This perception, together with white fears, accounts for the reactions of whites during political transitions in the region.[30]

The Lure of Economic Benefits

Economic benefits were useful in persuading post-independence leaders to establish and/or expand nature reserves and national parks. It is interesting to note that post-independence states such as Lesotho and Swaziland, which had been slow to develop state-protected areas, have recently shown an interest in ecotourism to varying degrees. This is in contrast with their earlier preoccupation with water and soil[31] conservation and their disregard of the benefits that could be derived from national parks. In Lesotho, wildlife and landscapes were not even mentioned as possible tourist attractions in the Five-year Development Plan for the period from 1970 to 1975.[32] Recent reports suggest that the Government of Lesotho is yet to show commitment to ecotourism development. At a workshop held in Maseru on 19-20 October 2000,[33] it was established that the Lesotho Government does not see the tourism industry as a priority,[34] and that, "tourism is still narrowly viewed as tourists and hotels, or rather, casinos and five star hotels. Hence, alternative tourism opportunities that include pony trekking, rural tourism, herding, walking, fishing, biking, culture, ecotourism and back packing, are not fully realized" (Lesotho 2000a: 13-14).

Swaziland, on the other hand, did recognise their natural potential for a larger tourism industry, but acknowledged that its development was left to the private sector (Swaziland 1969). Indeed, the first protected areas in that country after independence were in private hands. The development of national parks did not feature strongly in Swaziland's first National Development Plans, despite scientific recommendations for areas that required protection (Swaziland 1978). The Grimwood Report (1973) recommended the establishment of eight national parks,[35] five forest reserves,[36] 13 landscape reserves[37] and five nature reserves on wetlands.[38] In the first three National Development Plans, natural resources were limited to land, water and energy for rural and urban development, and the concept of national parks only appeared in the form of 'amusement parks' in the Third National Development Plan. The idea of national parks was only inserted into the 4th National Development Plan under the Ministry of Natural Resources, Land Utilization and Energy. The objectives of the Ministry were among others, "to develop national parks and maintain historic documents and places" (Swaziland 1983: 360).

In contrast to Lesotho, Botswana was one of the southern African states that sought to exploit the economic values of national parks immediately after independence. For instance, two years after independence, Botswana's Game Department was renamed the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and was placed under the Ministry of Commerce, Industry and Water Affairs (Botswana 1968). The first project of the newly established Department was to ensure "the rapid development of the Chobe Game Reserve as a National Park with adequate visitor facilities for game viewing and accommodation, and the development of adequate fire-breaks, water-points, and tracks (Botswana 1968: 1).

What these examples show is that the much-publicised economic imperatives in contemporary southern Africa developed in various stages across the region – there were early and late starters. Moreover, the economic values that had been developed

during the colonial era were readily embraced by newly established post-independence southern African states. In so doing, African leaders had little or no chance of reasserting those African values and practices that had earlier been interrupted by the establishment of national parks and their equivalents in the region. This includes the failure to redefine landscapes, wildlife and marine resources as a heritage and resource for hitherto marginalised African communities.

PARKS, HERITAGE AND IDENTITY

Colonial Legacies

The coats of arms of all southern African states contain references to nature, thereby implying a symbolic recognition of nature by the new polities.[39] Despite this, it is doubtful whether nature was used in developing the character of the new polity. For a society whose culture is imbued with symbols of nature, it was logical to expect nature conservation to play some role in the reconstruction of colonially fractured identities. In its simplest form, a national park should have become a national heritage with clearly defined Afrocentric symbols and meanings beyond the coats of arms. A symbolic move towards achieving this would have been to rename national parks, especially those that bear the names of former colonial masters. This has not yet happened systematically even in countries such as Zimbabwe and Namibia where the postcolony has been given completely new names.[40] The name of Queen Victoria remains fossilised in Zimbabwe's Victoria Falls National Park and the imprint of German imperialism and apartheid are secured in Namibia's coastal national parks. Apparently, there is little or no intention to reclaim park spaces as part of the national landscapes of the new polities. The only visible cosmetic changes are those that relate to cultural tourism – in other words, where African history and cultures are revived for the consumption by (white) tourists (see Chapter 7).

South Africa, which has been obsessed with name changes – as a part of national reconstruction efforts – made no attempt to change the name of the Kruger National Park. Attempts to shake the park's apartheid foundation by removing the statues of Paul Kruger, Piet Grobler and James Stevenson-Hamilton from the park on 30 July 2003[41] backfired and the status quo remained intact. It is reported that the decision to relocate the statues from the park "was in line with the government's policy on the removal of apartheid-era monuments" (*Cape Argus*, 30 July 2003: 9), and because "the statues themselves do not really add value to [nature] conservation" (Mkutshulwa, cited in *Star*, 4 August 2003: 11). Nevertheless, the removal was not carried out because of claims of a technical error[42] in the process. The nature of the public debate that ensued reveals schisms in South African society.

The removal of statues represented contested meanings of histories and the place of different racial groups in South Africa's future. The advisor to the Heritage Foundation, Dr J.J. Bruwer, is reported to have said that,

> any symbol, including the statue of Oom Paul Kruger, may have a multiplicity of meanings. But the question of whether Oom Paul's statue might not be in concert with the goal of the creation of a non-racial democracy is neither here nor there. The symbolic meaning of the statue lies in the fact that Oom Paul came to represent the Afrikaner's struggle for freedom of just over a century ago. Oom Paul was to become the symbol of a people's quest to be free of the designs of British imperialism (*Star 4*, August 2003: 11).

It should be noted that the use of African names in national parks and nature reserves that existed before and after independence could be equally misleading as local names of influential people could have been used to gain greater local support for the establishment of nature conservation initiatives.

Heritage for the Market

Whereas the postcolony in southern Africa has attempted to establish a national park as an icon of the new polity, the trend seems to be to shy away from using nature conservation for that purpose. For instance, King Sobuza II Memorial Park in Swaziland, was established as a tribute to the King's contribution to the independence of that country. South Africa is following this trend through the establishment of the Freedom Park to be opened in 2004 to mark South Africa's 10th anniversary of its liberation from apartheid. It is envisaged that the Freedom Park

> will present new perspectives of South African history, [because] much of South Africa's heritage is presented from the perspective of non-indigenous people, informed by notions of superiority which created many myths and prejudices which continue to exist today … The Freedom Park will improve the accessibility of our heritage, arts, and culture by adding the silent voices of South Africa's indigenous people to this landscape (Freedom Park Trust n.d.: 2).

It can reasonably be argued that national parks in southern Africa have been mainly referred to as a national heritage to facilitate the development of tourism. From this perspective, heritage tourism mobilises local cultures and histories for the market under the pretext of cultural assertion. As I explain in details in Chapter 7, the postcolony does not have a monopoly over the mobilisation of African cultural symbols, because the white-dominated commercial sector has far greater financial capital to market those symbols, supposedly in the interests of African culture. The only identifiable use of national parks in the reassertion of identities has occurred at the local level, as has been the case in non-white communities found in the former colonies in the developed North. For the moment, our focus is on how local communities used nature reserves and parks to reassert their identity. It should be cautioned, though, that the use of reserves and parks in the identity construction of local communities has more to do with ownership of land in protected areas than the appropriation of park symbols.

Localities and Identities

Although the list of ways in which the self can assert itself is endless, resistance has often emerged as a common expression of one's identity and worth. In other words,

resistance offers a platform for a solidarity that temporarily masks internal divisions, where they exist. In post-independence southern Africa, communities have used land reform to reconstruct identities that had been destroyed by colonial and apartheid policies. As discussed in the preceding sections, land claims in national parks and reserves came as no surprise because such land had after all been expropriated from communities for the purposes of establishing and expanding protected areas. The cases of the Makuleke and the Khomani San in South Africa clearly illustrate the combined issues of land claims, identity construction and national parks.

In accordance with apartheid ideology, the Makuleke and the Khomani San were required to fit into officially designated racial categories. Their presence in national parks, which formed part of 'white South Africa', meant that conservation and political ideologies could be used to remove them to 'where they belonged.' Indeed, the apartheid regime viewed the Makuleke as "Tsonga-speakers who were cut off from their ethnic 'homeland' by Vendaland in the west and the Kruger National Park in the south" (Harries 1987: 107). Effectively, they became illegal occupants of national parks,[43] not because they carried out illegal activities, but because they lived on the wrong side of the racial divide and in an area that had been envisaged for the future expansion of the Kruger National Park. Unsurprisingly, the government removed the Makuleke in 1969 into the district of Malamulele that had been established specifically for Tsonga-speakers. It is important to the analysis of this chapter that the resettlement of the Makuleke in Malamulele also meant that their sense of community was negatively affected when they were made subjects of Chief Mhinga.[44] There is a strong view that the Makuleke were treated harshly by the Mhinga chieftaincy (Ramutsindela 2002). In the democratic South Africa, the Makuleke however used their land claim in the Kruger National Park to regain land rights in the park and to reassert their identity in the district. The main vehicle for doing this was the formation of the Makuleke Communal Property Association. Whereas the Association enabled the Makuleke to regain their land rights in the park, the land claim as a whole provided the platform on which the communal identity of the Makuleke could be rebuilt.

The same can be said about the Khomani San, who live on the South African side of the border between South Africa and Botswana. They, too, used a land claim as a platform for creating community solidarity (Robins 2001). Generally, Communal Property Associations that had been created in South Africa after 1990 became structures through which communities could reclaim land, including land in national parks. In Namibia, such structures occur in the form of communal conservancies. Those conservancies require the establishment of both the physical area to be used and a defined membership of people associated with a conservancy. Conservancies in Namibia can only be officially approved under the following conditions: a) a locally respected and representative conservancy committee made up of people resident in the area should be formed. The committee should demonstrate ability to manage the distribution of benefits. b) a constitution needs to be drawn up to demonstrate commitment to the sustainable management of wildlife in the conservancy. c) the conservancy should have an identifiable physical boundary and d) a defined membership is a critical condition for the conferment of

rights over wildlife and tourism attractions (Shumba 1998). In this regard, Shumba (1998: 79) has noted that,

> in most instances, when conservancy boundaries are demarcated, conflicts between neighbouring communities arise. This has been the case at a number of proposed conservancies in the northwestern part of the country. Boundary demarcation legitimises rights over resources within the boundary and threatens reciprocity among communities.

Where the postcolony neither provides the structure nor the process through which communities can reclaim national park spaces, the relations between the state and communities become tense. And thus, the question of whether the postcolony would treat local communities any different from how they were treated in the dark colonial past comes to the fore.

The Postcolony, Resistance and Parks

Derivative violence[45]

Certainly, the ways in which local communities were (and in some cases still are) treated in the postcolony cannot be painted with one brush. Nevertheless, some tentative conclusions can be drawn from experiences on the ground: the harsh treatment of local communities by the state and by park officials has continued in one form or another. For example, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWLM) in Zimbabwe responded to the 'threat of wildlife extinction by poachers' by launching Operation Stronghold in 1984. It deployed rapid response teams of former revolutionary guerrillas in the Zambezi Valley and "with a well-publicised 'shoot-to-kill' policy, by 1992 Operation Stronghold had exacted the deaths of 160 poachers for that of 4 DNPWLM rangers" (Matimba-Mumba, cited in Peck 1993: 29).

Similarly, Sehlabathebe National Park in Lesotho was established through the forcible removal of the local community by armed forces (Monyatsi and Mokhethi 2002). At the time of writing (i.e. October 2003), Swaziland was still applying the notorious Game Act, which game rangers use to 'shoot-to-kill' poachers. In that country, poachers are treated as murderers, and as the sign at the entrance of Mkhaya Nature Reserve warns, poaching in Swaziland is an offence for which such persons could be detained in prison (Figure 4.4).

Conflict over 'Development'

The confrontation between the Basarwa[46] and the Botswana Government over the Central Kgalagadi Nature Reserve epitomises the contentious relations between the postcolony and local communities. A brief explanation of how this particular situation arose is in order. Concerns over the conditions of the Basarwa in the Kalahari preceded the establishment of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve.[47] Following the creation of the reserve, the Basarwa were allowed to live inside the reserve.[48] Mongwe and Tevara (2000: 79) noted that,

Figure 4.4 Entrance to Mkhaya Nature Reserve
Source: Photo by Ramutsindela

> in his attempt to justify the establishment of the [Central Kalahari Game Reserve], the Bushmen Survey Officer of the Protectorate Government, a certain Silberbauer, argued for the use and occupation by the Basarwa people who had been living in the area for generations.[49]

Their presence in the reserve was later to clash with other interests. Firstly, the postcolony of Botswana developed a policy on remote areas, designating the Basarwa as 'remote area dwellers'. The policy aimed to provide basic facilities to remote areas, and resettlement was used as a process that would regroup scattered communities for purposes of development. Secondly, the Kalahari Conservation Society raised concerns (in the 1980s) that the continued habitation of the reserve by the Basarwa was incompatible with nature conservation (Mongwe and Tevara 2000). In contrast to this view, Hudson and Murray (1997: 88) have argued that "a much larger number of Remote Area Dwellers could live there without disturbing the ecology of the [reserve] in a significant way, provided they are supported with a few additional boreholes and a small number of specialised services such as primary schools and health posts." Thirdly, the reserve was rezoned for commercial activities including mining in the 1980s. Against this background, attempts to remove the Basarwa from the reserve became a subject of various interpretations.

In contrast to earlier pledges by the government of Botswana not to remove the Basarwa against their will, the government has become more interested in their removal in the name of development.[50] The official view is that the Basarwa, like any other citizens of Botswana, should enjoy the benefits of development in that country. Benefits such as the provision of infrastructures cannot be adequately provided to small settlements that are far apart. On 3 August 1998, the National

Assembly of Botswana thus approved the Botswana National Policy, which recommends that, the "population shall be guided and encouraged to settle in areas where they will be provided with infrastructure and services in a cost effective and efficient manner" (Botswana 1998a: 20).[51] In practice, this implied that the government is allowed to resettle the Basarwa for development purpose.

Critics of the removal of the Basarwa from Central Kgalagadi have mooted the idea that their removal was occasioned by interests in diamond mining in the area, thereby placing the reserve at the confluence of conservation and mining interests.[52] Their removal is ascribed to Botswana's 'Diamond for Development' policy (see Taylor and Mokhawa 2003). Interestingly, nature conservationists, who usually stand up against mining in protected areas, have not been vocal on the issue of mining in the reserve. Instead, NGOs that claim[53] to support the course of the Basarwa, launched the anti-mining campaign in the reserve. It has been suggested that Survival International, which is at the forefront of the campaign, contributed to the hardened attitude of the Botswana Government towards the Basarwa in the reserve. Thus, when the government took a decision to cut off services to the Basarwa still living in the reserve in 2001, critics used the decision as evidence of the re-emergence of ethnic politics: the Basarwa minority were being dispossessed of their land by a dominant Tswana group. In other words, the Basarwa were being treated harshly by the Batswana, because they (i.e. Basarwa) were seen as an inferior group.[54]

CONCLUSION

Whatever the rationales for the removal of the Basarwa from the reserve may be, the confrontation between the government of Botswana and the Basarwa over Central Kgalagadi is a manifestation par excellence of the unresolved relations between parks and people. Notwithstanding pressure on the Botswana government, and the roles of NGOs and mining interests, the wishes and interests of the local community have been compromised. There are reports that the Basarwa have not been sufficiently consulted, for instance. This is evidence that there has been little or no change in the treatment of local people in and around national parks and reserves. This has occurred partly because of power relations that are anchored in property rights. Chapter 5 below highlights the complex nature of those rights and the power that is embedded in them.

NOTES

[1] This appears to have been a trend in other colonies as well. For example, the British colonial administration established Wilpattu National Park (Sri Lanka) and Corbett National Park (India) in 1938 as it was preparing to depart from Southeast Asian colonies (McNeely *et al*. 1994).

[2] In southern Africa, liberation struggles in Angola, Mozambique, Namibia and South Africa were seen by the settlers as part of the broader pan-African struggle against European powers. This perception diffused into countries such as Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland (where there were no liberation struggles). Thus, whether independence was achieved through armed struggles or not, the settlers'

response to the land question was almost the same, because of the commonly held view that African countries would have the same destiny.

[3] All houses must conform to architectural specifications to ensure the quality and taste of the area. These relate to the height of the fence, the colour of the house, the material used for construction, and so on.

[4] In 1999 it was estimated that all the homes at Eastford had a value of well in excess of R1 million, including the R350 000 that was the price of a 3 500m plot. This means that the area is exclusively for the wealthy.

[5] *Cape Times*, Business Report, 23 August 1999.

[6] This was a well-calculated move in the light of the government's concern with alien vegetation.

[7] Many white property owners are concerned that the end of apartheid rule in South Africa has unleashed forces that threaten the value of their properties, hence there has been a mushrooming of ratepayers property associations after the demise of apartheid. In particular, there have been concerns that crime, the development of informal settlements, and the like have spread to high-class residential areas as well. Certainly, the existence and mushrooming of informal houses in Khayalethu to the east of the reserve is a matter of concern to property owners in the Knysna region (Personal Observation, June 14, 2003). The private nature reserve effectively thus offers protection to the property.

[8] An estimated 600 indigenous trees have been planted. These include keurbome, Cape ash, white ironwood, white stinkwood and Outeniqua yellowwood.

[9] Interview, June 15,2003.

[10] Other dimensions of conservancies in the region are discussed in subsequent chapters.

[11] Equally, the laborious process of negotiating the establishment of such conservation areas cannot be ignored.

[12] These are Naute Recreation Resort (1988), Mangetti Game Reserve (1988), Popa Game Park (1989), Mahango Game Park (1989) Khaudum Game Park (1989), Mudumu National Park (1990) and Mamili National Park (1990).

[13] My visit to Etosha National Park during the winter of 2003 confirmed this. Accommodation at the park was fully booked because, according to park officials, it was school holiday in South Africa (Personal Observations).

[14] The present Hlane Royal National Park developed from the Forbes Ranch, a cattle ranch and quasi nature reserve that belonged to David Forbes before WWII. King Sobhuza bought Forbes Ranch in the 1950s and subdivided it into three units. "The first section was to be used for Swazi homesteaders and managed as communal land, the second section was retained as a cattle ranch, and the third as the King's private hunting ground" (Hackel 2001: 817).

[15] Mlilwane was gazetted as a Game Sanctuary under the Agricultural Act on 7 January 1966.

[16] Apparently, the Monarchy is the benefactor of Mlilwane.

[17] Under the present political arrangements.

[18] In opposing the Bill, Conservative Party MP, Jan Hoon, is reported to have said that, "you will have to kill us to remove us from our beloved land (*Star*, 6 June 1991: 1).

[19] The official reason for establishing the park was that it was the only mountainous desert area in South Africa and therefore offered the opportunity to preserve a rare biome.

[20] This came to the fore in 1989 when the Richtersveld community successfully delayed the signing of the contractual park through a court interdict.

[21] South Africa's political transition was characterised by confusion over legislation. Hence, mining interest groups took advantage of loopholes in the legislation to secure their interests and future plans. The white dominated Department of Minerals and Energy continued to issue prospecting permits and licences in terms of the Minerals Act of 1991.

[22] This can be construed as broadening the support base for nature conservation.

[23] Turnbull (2002: 82) described Europeans' early interest in Lake Ngami as follows: "it was a stuff of legends – an inland sea, somewhere in the heart of southern Africa. Reputations were staked on finding it, men died searching for it, and then it disappeared. However, Lake Ngami turned out to be [a] fool's gold, obscuring the real jewel of the Kalahari – the Okavango Delta."

[24] The first professional safari companies in Botswana were established in 1962, a year after the unofficial establishment of the Moremi Wildlife Reserve.

[25] With the Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

[26] Barnard (1998: 45) defines conservancies as "land units managed jointly for resource conservation purposes by multiple landholders, with financial and other benefits shared between them in some way."

[27] It should be noted that countries such as Namibia and South Africa gained their liberation at the juncture of the pre-eminence of global environmental agendas and significant shifts in conservation philosophies. Certainly, the new polities could not have escaped the impact of the Rio Summit of 1992, and the wider global politics that had embraced capitalism.

[28] This view continues to dominate issues of nature conservation as I show later in the book.

[29] This implies that the apartheid government was able to prioritise nature conservation as if it did not have other pressing needs.

[30] As in the rest of the region (and the continent), South African white farmers sought to protect their land by converting it into game farms for the same reasons that we have explained above. Conservationists hurriedly established game parks and placed the need for the expansion of protected areas in post-apartheid agendas.

[31] Lesotho has been particularly interested in soil conservation, hence it became the regional centre for soil conservation issues.

[32] The government tourist policy aimed to "improve the existing hotels in the country; build a number of clusters of Basotho type huts; promote private initiatives for tourist development; launch an efficient publicity programme; and strengthen the department of Tourism in order to become an effective organ for tourist promotion" (Lesotho 1970: 128).

[33] The workshop was the first step towards the formulation of a national tourism policy.

[34] Less than two percent of the economy of Lesotho is driven by tourism (Lesotho 2000a).

[35] Mlilwane, Hlane, Malolotja, Ndzindza (Mlawula), Sibebe, Ndlotane, Mnyame and Ngudzuni.

[36] Mkondo, Hhele Hhele, Jilobi, Siteki and Ntabamhloshane.

[37] Luhlokohlo, Ntungulu, Mdzimba, Sondeza, Makhonjwa, Bulembu, Ndzeleni, Mahamba, Nsongweni, Lubombo, Tulwane, Mliba and Mananga.

[38] Matsapha, Pongola, Nyetane, Njoli and Njaneni.

[39] Beyond symbols of the natural environment of specific countries, most coats of arms use animals such as lions and leopards as an expression of a culturally coded leadership.

[40] And where the streets have been effectively named after liberation-era revolutionaries.

[41] South African Broadcasting Corporation 2003.

[42] It is said that SANParks is required by law to obtain permission from the South African Heritage Resources Agency before the statues could be removed, and that SANParks had not applied for permission.

[43] On 6 November 1957, the Secretary of Native Affairs "declared that all inhabitants of the Pafuri [the land of the Makuleke] were illegal occupants and [were] to return to their homeland" (Mouton 1996: 6).

[44] This implies that Chief Makuleke lost his chieftaincy by being placed under Chief Mhinga – as there could only be one chief for a tribe.

[45] I am indebted to Mamdani (2001) for this conceptualization. According to Mamdani, native violence began as a counter to settlers' violence. It was "more of a culmination of anticolonial resistance than a direct assault on life and freedom."

[46] The San are called Basarwa in Botswana.

[47] The reserve was established on 14 February 1961 (Hudson an Murray 1997).

[48] The reserve was established in 1961 as a "sanctuary for the desert migratory herds of eland, blue wildebeest, red hartebeest, springbok and zebra" (Reader's Digest 1997: 352).

[49] According to the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government Notice 38 of 1963, "no person other than a Bushman indigenous to the Central Kalahari Game Reserve shall enter the said reserve without having first obtained a permit in writing from the District Commissioner, Ghanzi" (*Mail & Guardian* 1999: 16).

[50] Speaking on the South African Broadcasting Corporation television channel, President Mogae maintained that, "Survival International or not, we are going to resettle these people [Basarwa] to where there are facilities" (South African Broadcasting Corporation 2002).

[51] According to *Mail & Guardian* (1999), the Botswana government has been removing the Basarwa from Xade inside the nature reserve to New Xade, some 70km outside the western reserve border. This has resulted in reducing a huge settlement of the Basarwa in Xade to a small village, which has been fighting for its survival in the reserve. It is estimated that in 1999 there were approximately 250 people living inside the reserve.

[52] Case studies on where such conflict of interest has occurred (in the region) suggest that conservationists are likely to campaign against mining in areas under conservation. The cases of the Kruger National Park and St. Lucia come readily to mind. Conservationists have been involved in campaigns against mining in the Kruger National Park. They vehemently opposed the Iron and Steel Corporation (ISCOR)'s proposal for coking coal in the park in the 1980s. They also campaigned strongly against the issuing of mineral prospecting permits in the park in the early 1990s. Mineral prospecting in the far northern part of the Kruger National Park became possible after the Defence Force lifted its ban on mineral prospecting in the adjacent Madimbo Corridor in 1994.

[53] There are different interpretations on why NGOs campaigned against the removal of the Basarwa and mining in the reserve.

[54] This interpretation is not new: it dates back to the enslavement of the Basarwa by Batswana, particularly the BaNgwato. Richard (1999) has argued that the Basarwa became dependent on working for the Batswana farmers as a result of the conversion of bush to cattle farming – which reduced the resource base for Basarwa.

CHAPTER 5

(DIS)CONTINUITIES: PROPERTY REGIMES IN NATURE CONSERVATION

INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the relations between property regimes and nature conservation. It pays particular attention to how shifts in the locus of power are reflected in nature conservation policies and practices. It seeks to account for the increasing role of the private sector in southern African national parks and reserves. Understanding the place of the private sector in nature conservation schemes is necessary for evaluating the failure of the so-called new nature conservation philosophies (Chapter 6) to change orthodox views of society and nature on the one hand, and the nature of power relations, on the other hand (Chapters 2, 3 and 4). It is also useful for assessing the nature of benefits that local people could or ought to derive from nature conservation schemes (Chapter 7) and the role of the state in mediating the interests of capital in nature conservation.

The premise of the chapter is that private property, and the capitalist world economy in which it is embedded, profoundly affect the control and use of products of nature. In the case of wildlife conservation, the entrenchment of property rights is seen as a necessary condition for the protection of wild fauna. The 1992 Convention on Biological Diversity recommended that protecting rights over the earth's biota would enhance conservation (Naughton-Treves and Sanderson 1995). It should be acknowledged that property rights are at the root of disputes over wildlife resources. Moreover, communities whose property rights have been violated through centuries of colonialism risk further marginalisation through property rights regimes. Generally, this occurs because the majority of local communities in developing countries held and still holds land as a common property. According to 'the tragedy of the common' thesis and its variants, communal property rights are considered inappropriate for nature conservation. Communities who thus hold and use land as common property are marginalised, and have not been fully incorporated into the supposedly appropriate private landholding system.

Against this backdrop, changes in property regimes are a *sine qua non* for opening up natural resources to hitherto marginalised communities in developing countries. The fact that those changes have not effectively occurred means that the status quo has remained unchanged. Since the 1950s, three main forms of land tenure have emerged as the defining features of landholding systems. These are a) a landholding system based upon community values; b) a landholding system based

on the principle of private property; and c) a landholding system based upon the principle of state ownership of land together with other factors of production (West 2000). These three systems have occurred both in parallel and in competition with one another.

Landholding systems reflect and reinforce divisions within society in different historical periods. Why is it that communal property rights, which happened to be a dominant feature of non-western societies, have been marginalised throughout the years? Are views of communal property rights a reflection of how the people who hold those rights are perceived – and what informs those perceptions? In terms of the theme of this volume, the marginalisation of people of colour and their property rights over natural resources on one hand, and the development of hegemonic private property rights for (mostly) a 'superior' group of people on the other hand, suggests a hierarchical ordering of land values. Such a hierarchy is reflected in the divisions of the society. How this became a feature of southern African national parks and their equivalents is the subject of discussion of this chapter. A helpful starting point for understanding the hierarchy of landholding systems is to analyse the link between parks and reserves and power structures.

LANDHOLDING SYSTEMS AND PROTECTED AREAS

I must emphasise that national park systems largely reflect existing power structures among humans and between humans and nature. In practice, this means that shifts in the locus of power will most probably be reflected in national park systems. After all, it is difficult, if not impossible, to disentangle issues of power from nature conservation in general, and national parks in particular. This can be traced back from the existence of monarchies, through the rise and fall of the state, to the dominance of the private sector.

The question of whether monarchies were useful in protecting nature is futile. What is important, though, is that they provide evidence of the earliest alignment of nature conservation with governance structures, and how those structures served particular groups of people (see Chapter 2). The emergence of the nation state subsumed the power of monarchies, though in some cases the two institutions found some sort of mutual co-existence. Though the shift of power from monarchies to states was brought about mainly through revolutions, a mass-based property regime has been hard to establish and maintain. The notable places where attempts were however made to establish such a regime were in socialist states, such as the Soviet Union.

Nature Conservation and the Modern State

The rise of the modern state was accompanied by shifts in land rights. In Britain, the Chartist Co-operative Land Company and the Potter's Joint-Stock Emigration Society[1] campaigned for land reform, emphasising civil rights in the modern state.[2] As Bronstein (1999: 4) observed, "working men and women sought affirmation of

the right to property in labour, the right to be free of feudal tenures which smacked of aristocracy, the right to clean dwelling or the right to sufficient leisure." Subsequently, feudal tenures disappeared, resulting in private landholding. It should be noted that land reform in Britain was underpinned by the demands of civil society within an emerging capitalism. These conditions contributed to the elimination of communal land rights. In other words, the communal landholding system has been the casualty of property regime changes.

There are well established but mistaken assumptions about the impact of communal land ownership on the physical environment. It is assumed that communal land ownership leads to environmental degradation: "communal lands throughout the world are rarely productive in agricultural terms. In Africa, they reek of poverty, minimal motivation and a degraded environment" (South African Institute of Race Relations 1995: 9). It is naïve to assume that communal lands are less productive because they are held in common. In developing countries most communities have been pushed into marginal land, rendering such land unproductive under any land tenure system.

These perceptions account in part for the general shift from communal to private land rights. The evolutionary theory of land rights ascribes that shift to the joint impact of increasing population pressure and market integration. The central tenet of the evolutionary theory of land rights is that, under the joint impact of increasing population pressure and market integration, land rights spontaneously evolve towards rising individualisation and that this evolution eventually leads right-holders to press for the creation of duly formalised private property rights. Such individualisation reduces community controls over land use and distribution, (simultaneously) enhancing the rights of the individual landholder/farmer (Platteau 2000).

Unlike in Britain and other industrialised countries, land reform in southern Africa has yet to deliver private property rights to the black majority. The only noticeable private property rights are those enjoyed by former settlers. The settlers' rights in southern Africa developed as an extension of land rights in the metropolis,[3] and as part of imperial schemes (see Lester 1998).[4] As land was the greatest resource at the disposal of the Crown in the colonies (Christopher 1988), some land reform measures were necessary for colonial administration. For instance, in the Cape, Dutch land tenure was reformed to facilitate the extraction of revenue, although it also "had a veiled purpose of intensifying agricultural exploitation by displacing supposed laggards" (Weaver 2001: 2).

It follows that colonial rule in southern Africa left behind a legacy of communal, private and state landholding systems, with the black majority owning land as common property. As I show in the next two chapters, the postcolony has failed to change (land) property rights.[5] The continued existence of communal land rights in southern Africa impinges upon nature conservation and resource use and management.

In contrast to the 'tragedy of the common' thesis, Guelke (2003) has shown that the KhoiKhoi nomadic system of communal resource management did in fact allow KhoiKhoi herders to use their grazing land successfully.[6] The introduction of private

landholding by the settlers in the Cape undermined the sustainability of natural resources. Despite evidence that communal land rights might be a viable option among some groups of people, there is a move towards universalising private property. It should be noted that the collapse of communal land rights – where this has happened – was superseded by an emphasis on state land, particularly in the area of national parks and reserves.

The history of nature conservation reveals that the state was central to the emerging link between state land and national parks and reserves. The link was made possible by the sovereignty of the state over land and the products of nature. This sovereignty of the state has its background in the Westphalian system of governance that provided a general way to formulate, implement, monitor and enforce social rules.[7] For nature conservation – as we know it today – the unqualified power of the Westphalian state meant that the state guaranteed protection. It was assumed that permanent government ownership of land was necessary for conservation, as the state's monopoly of power would enable it to enforce requirements for protection. Accordingly, most nature reserves developed on state land, because of the view that state power would be used to police them. Such a view informed the mainstream segment of the environmental movement, which believed that progress towards environmental protection could be achieved best through government action (McCloskey 1991). The use of state land for national parks deserves further comment, not least because of the centrality of the land in the making of the nation state. The sovereignty of the state is built on the control of territory. As such, then, the use of state land in developing national parks served to extend the state's authority over products of nature and to determine the rules by which those products could be accessed.

The Unreliable State

In recent years, conservationists have been critical of the state's role in nature conservation from three main perspectives. The first of these is that governments have abused their powers to the detriment of the environment. Brubaker (1995: 20) captured the unreliability of the state in these words:

> Governments of all political stripes have given us thousands of reasons not to trust them to protect the environment: they've licensed – and bankrolled – polluters, turned forests into wastelands, emptied oceans of fish, and dammed rivers that were once magnificent.

Following the same logic, Conca (1995: 298) concluded that, "perhaps the biggest obstacle [to the protection of the biodiversity] is that state power historically has been closely tied to environmental destruction, in both industrialised and post-colonial societies." The ways in which governments get involved in environmentally destructive behaviours is a complex matter that involves private sector/state relations, donor politics, political interests, and so on. Mombiot (2000: 145) has shown that conflicts of interest in Britain have led to "some of the most environmentally destructive decisions any British government has made."

Secondly, states do not have the capacity to deal with trans-national corporations (TNCs) some of which manufacture and/or trade in products that are harmful to the environment. Some of the TNCs are economically larger than most states (particularly in the South). In fact Benson and Lloyd (cited in Dicken 1997) have claimed that of the 100 largest economic units in the world in the 1980s, half were nation-states and the other half TNCs. In *States Against Markets*, Boyer and Drache (1996: 1) claimed that,

> during the four decades following the Great Depression, governments had little difficulty in demonstrating their capacity to tame markets, promote growth and keep social inequality within strict limits. Nowadays, markets have taken their revenge. Financial institutions decide which state policies are acceptable and which are not.

The picture of the state as inimical to nature is reinforced by ideas that state power has been significantly eroded,[8] rendering it unable to enforce environmental laws. To conservationists, such power inequalities mean that states are unable to resolve problems caused by powerful polluters, forest loggers, and so on.

Thirdly, environmental problems are trans-boundary by nature and therefore cannot possibly be solved at state level. As Strong (1991: 298) has maintained,

> what is needed is recognition of the reality in many fields, and this is particularly true of environmental issues, it is simply not feasible for sovereignty to be exercised unilaterally by individual nation-states, however powerful they might be. As the views of our planet from space make it clear, nature does not acknowledge or respect the boundaries with which we have divided our planet. As important as these boundaries are for the management of our political affairs and relationships, they are clearly transcended by the unitary nature of the natural system on which our lives and well being depend.

A closer examination of arguments against the state reveals that views on the weakening of the state run parallel to interests in placing biodiversity in the private sector, and in the use of private property rights. This is particularly so in developing countries where the state is seen to be particularly weak. Most of the parks in those countries are in fact under-protected 'paper parks.' In his quest to free Africa's park resources from the state, Norton-Griffiths (2003: 3) reasoned that,

> the real problem facing protected areas throughout most of Africa is that they are in thrall to conservation monopolies. The parlous state of their finances is rarely symptomatic of a lack of resources *per se* but of three closely related failures. First, institutional failures, in the form of bloated, self-perpetuating bureaucracies, characterised by deeply embedded inefficiencies and unwillingness either to acknowledge, accept or effect change; second, policy failures which, by restricting and impeding the potential revenue streams from both within and outside protected areas, reduce these state institutions to near impoverishment while providing few incentives for investment; and third, a lack of both business acumen and management capabilities so the resources under their tutelage neither flourish nor prosper.[9]

In other words, arguments against state control provide fertile ground for the insertion of the private sector into the arena of nature conservation. I highlight this point in Chapters 6, 7 and 8. Moreover, the shift from reliance on the state to the private sector has been accompanied by a rise in the use of private land as a secure form of tenure for national parks and nature reserves. That is to say that the

exclusivity and security characteristics of property rights are considered as powerful environmental protection tools. Accordingly, in his foreword to Brubaker's (1995) book, *Property rights in the defence of nature*, Anthony Scott maintained that those who care more about the glorification and vilification of government would find that property ownership protects nature better than government does. The privatisation drive and the internationalisation of environmental issues have further placed the control of national parks beyond that of the state, thereby redefining national parks as part of the global commons. Moreover, increasing capital interest in national parks runs in tandem with high capital penetration in many spheres of life.[10] Notwithstanding divergent views among nature conservationists, the reasons for appealing to the economic rationality[11] for national parks are that, "far-reaching changes in the behaviour towards the environment can be achieved by adopting instruments used by proponents of economic growth; in other words, by appealing to economic rationality" (Papadakis 1993: 2).[12] A useful way of understanding the rationales of the private sector would be to assess how it operates in privately owned protected areas.

Privately Owned Protected Areas

> For rich people a beautiful landscape is something of value. For those falling on hard times, rolling hills and spectacular valleys are valuable only if they can make money (*Daily News*, 6 December 2002: 12).

Although the history of privately owned protected areas dates back to the rise of the fiefdoms and elitism, modern private parks are a recent phenomenon. Langholz and Lassoie (2001) have traced the recognition of modern private parks to nearly 40 years ago when the First World Congress on National Parks recognised that many nature reserves world-wide were owned by private individuals in diverse forms. The strength of the private park model is said to lie in the protection of habitats and species that are underrepresented in state protected areas. Furthermore, in the absence of state intervention, private parks are an instrument for protecting remnants of habitats and species. Langholz and Lassoie (2001: 1081) reasoned that, "private parks can serve as temporary bulwarks for threatened lands, protecting them until government becomes willing or able to assume responsibility."[13]

It follows that private parks and reserves are an initiative of private landowners. Against this backdrop, the Nature Conservancy (2001: 21) has defined private nature reserves as "areas of private property designated for special protection at the initiative of the landowner, in order to conserve the natural resources in the property."[14] Biological criteria for selecting sites for private reserves include the following: areas with endangered or endemic species; ecosystems that have a high ecological priority for the country; property that is part of a biological corridor; property that protects water sources of great importance; property that offers opportunities for protecting beautiful scenery; and where the property has ecosystems that could advance educational or scientific value (Nature Conservancy 2001).

It is intriguing to note that the examples of site selection criteria[15] for private reserves, as advanced by the Nature Conservancy, do not relate to economic interests, which are actually the fundamental leitmotif of private parks and reserves. Notably, the Nature Conservancy, which has been in existence for more than 50 years,[16] "manages the largest network of private protected areas in the United States" (Nature Conservancy n.d.: 3).

The quest for profit underlies much of the interests in private reserves. Indeed, "the most appealing economic attribute of private reserves is their potential profitability" (Langholz and Lassoie 2001: 1081). After all, the conversion or acquisition of land for private reserve is a function of economics. Norton-Griffiths (2003) has observed that the process of land conversion is driven primarily by land rents. Landowners are interested in the net returns from their land. Where ecotourism is involved, the net return is dependent on tourism flows. Moreover, the economic benefits of private reserves are said to reach governments in different forms, the most obvious one being tax revenues. In terms of protected areas, governments can avoid the economic costs of establishing protected areas by allowing the private sector to do so on their behalf. In this sense, privately owned parks represent free augmentation of public protected area systems – lands that governments might otherwise need to purchase and protect (Langholz and Lassoie 2001). Under these conditions, governments might be favourably disposed towards the private sector, as for instance the Private Wildlife Refugee Program of Costa Rica shows. As an incentive-based conservation effort, the Costa Rican government hopes to use the Program to promote biodiversity protection on private lands (Langholz *et al.* 2000). The main incentives are an exemption from property taxes for land declared as private nature reserves, support for solving problems caused by squatter invasion and access to technical assistance (Langholz *et. al*. 2000).

The apparently mutually beneficial relationships between the private sector and the state over biodiversity protection mask the on-going processes of the restructuring of the state, and the increase of commercial interests in biodiversity. These are more acute in developing countries where the private sector (in various forms) is called upon to bolster the 'weak forces' of the state, and, where possible, to own and control natural resources on behalf of governments. To that end, Norton-Griffiths (2003: 6) concluded that,

> if it is accepted that [private] landowners can successfully herd hundreds of millions of livestock across the continent of Africa, and can successfully cultivate hundreds of millions of hectares of crops, then it is inconceivable to deny them either their ability or right to herd a few hundreds of thousands of head of wildlife.[17]

Conclusions such as these raise the fundamental question of the impact of land ownership patterns on Africa's rich biodiversity. Private land owners on the continent will most probably have a strong influence on policies over natural resources. Examples from southern Africa highlight the nature and directions of the influences of the private sector on national parks and reserves.

THE PRIVATE SECTOR AND PROTECTED AREAS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

As we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4, private reserves in the region emerged as part of the creation and transformation of the state (in the political sense). I do not wish to retell the political history of private reserves here. Rather, I hope to take the discussion of the previous chapters forward by examining out the most recent trends in private sector involvement and to assess these in the context I have outlined in the preceding paragraphs of this chapter.

As elsewhere, the ecological rationales for the involvement of the private sector in national parks and reserves were also applicable to southern Africa. Without those rationales, the private sector would have been an obvious suspect for profiting from nature conservation. Three important roles played by the private sector in southern Africa are: increasing the amount of land for nature conservation, relieving the state from the costs involved in protected areas, and marketing the products of nature. Each of these will be discussed hereunder:

Amounts and Sizes of Protected Areas

Southern African states, particularly those that have less than 10%[18] of their land under protected areas are looking for financial assistance for land acquisition. With an estimated 6% of its land being formally protected, South Africa plans to increase the size of its protected area to eight percent by 2010 (*Cape Times*, 14 October 2003). It is hoped that "offering property tax breaks exemptions to private landowners who volunteer to adjoin land to existing conservancies" (*Business Day*, 10 September 2003: 1), would be useful in increasing the amount of land under state protection (South Africa 2003b). It is anticipated that the Property Rights Act[19] would enable private landowners to team up with government agencies to bring private conservation land under government protection (South Africa 2003c). Furthermore, the Protected Areas Act[20] would create a legal framework for recognising privately owned reserves as part of the state's network of protected areas. The aim is to create four types of protected areas, namely; special nature reserves[21], national parks, nature reserves and protected environments[22] (South Africa 2003c). Table 5.1 shows how these will be established. The role of the private sector in augmenting the size of the protected areas in that country cannot be underestimated because it was estimated in 2003 that 13%[23] of South Africa's land surface was under some form of game farming[24] (South Africa 2003a).

Table 5.1 Envisaged categories of protected areas in South Africa

Category	Establishing authority	Management authority	Activities allowed
Special Nature Reserve	Minister*	Organ of state	Research and monitoring, no mining.
National Parks	Minister*	SANParks, or organ of state under SANParks	Commercial and communities, no mining.

Nature Reserves	Minister*/MEC**/ Municipality	Organ of state/ Municipality	Commercial and Communities, no mining in areas Declared by Minister.
Limited Development Area	Minister*/MEC**/ Municipality	Not yet available	Development activities

Source: South Africa 2003b * National Minister ** Provincial Minister

Namibia has long taken advantage of the role that private landowners could play in increasing the amount of land under protected areas, as well as in contributing to wildlife populations and species diversity. It is estimated that the number of species and biomas in Namibia increased by some 80 percent between 1972 and 1992[25] (Table 5.2) as a result of private sector involvement.

Table 5.2 Estimated number of game on private land, Namibia

Species	1972	1992
Black wildebeest	–	7,177
Black-faced impala	–	2,144
Blue wildebeest	326	4,935
Dik-dik	13,011	15,783
Duiker	84,419	75,518
Eiland	10,338	29,150
Gemsbok	55,406	164,306
Giraffe	3,760	4,552
Hartebeest	16,302	50,804
Impala	1,006	4,919
Klipspringer	29,509	22,879
Kudu	148,211	203,087
Mountain zebra	22,531	34,398
Nyala	–	96
Plains zebra	1,214	4,170
Reedbuck	–	2,303
Roan	–	633
Sable	–	6,804
Springbok	221,955	286,113
Steenbok	18,741	138,941
Tsessebe	–	1,564
Warthog	67,207	121,250

Source: Barnes and de Jager 1995

In states such as Lesotho, where the private sector has neither been actively involved, nor encouraged to participate in parks and reserves, there has been a dismal failure in establishing a network of protected areas. Lack of appreciation of the role of the private sector in Lesotho occurs despite persuasive evidence of the success of the Malealea Lodge and Pony Trek in that country. Malealea has gone

some way in balancing economic interests, environmental management and social investment. It has demonstrated both the need for, and results from, capital investment in ecotourism in Lesotho. It has been observed that,

> successful private sector ventures such as Malealea – though having perhaps the greatest opportunity to involve local communities – are not seen as 'serious' operations or as having the standards that attract international tourists, despite the fact that this is exactly what the 'new tourists' are looking for (Lesotho 2000a: 14).

Undoubtedly, Lesotho's National Strategy on Biological Diversity, which aims to increase the number of protected areas (Lesotho 2000b), requires capital injection from the private sector. It should be noted that the National Strategy on Lesotho's Biological Diversity (Lesotho 2000b) aim to increase the number of protected areas in IUCN categories II to VI (Table 5.3).

Table 5.3 Present and future protected areas in Lesotho

IUCN Category	Name	Area (ha)
II	Sehlabathebe Wildlife Sanctuary National Park	6,475
	Masitise Nature Reserve	20
	Tsehlanyane Nature Reserve	5,300
III	Thaba-Bosiu Mountain	150
	Liphofung National Monument	4
	National University of Lesotho Botanical Garden	1.5
	Proposed Qoaling National Botanical Garden	30
	Ministry of Agriculture Arboretum	0.1
IV	Proposed Management Area	5,000
V	Muela Reserve	45
VI	Maboella Areas	N/A
	Sehlabathebe RMA	185,684*
	Pelaneng/Bokong RMA	
	Malibamatso/Matsoku RMA	
	Qhoali RMA	
	Mokhotlong/Sanqebethu RMA	
	Liseleng RMA	
	Ramatseliso RMA	
	Bokong Nature Reserve (Proposed Biosphere)	1.972
	Forest Reserves	> 7,000

Source: Lesotho 2000b

* Total area for the seven RMAs in Category VI

State Cost-saving Measures

As I have intimated above, the need for private sector investment in national parks and reserves arose in part because of a lack of state funding for nature conservation, particularly in developing countries. I do insist, however, that the privatisation drive

with regard to national parks has more to do with wider privatisation schemes than with the demand for funding nature conservation *per se*. The process of privatisation of South Africa's national parks illustrates my point. The South African National Parks' (hereafter SANParks) privatisation programme is premised on two main views, the first being that the government in post-apartheid South Africa has very little chance of prioritising nature conservation. The former Executive Officer of SANParks, Mavuso Msimang, is reported to have said that, "the government has a huge responsibility to provide health care, housing and clean water to historically disadvantaged communities, and so the SANParks is not a huge priority" (SANParks n.d.).[26] Following the same logic, Kay (2003: 6) concluded that, "protected areas in South Africa must compete with crucial social development objectives for state funding and the resources. Self-financing for protected areas is increasingly becoming a question of survival for many of the country's most important wild areas."[27]

The second premise of SANParks' privatisation programme is that everything that can be run by the private sector should be left to that sector, and that the state should only manage those aspects that the private sector would not be interested or be able to manage (SANParks n.d.). In practice, the private sector is expected to raise cash for conservation programmes and to cater for tourist facilities and services, whereas park authorities will focus on the main business of conserving biodiversity. In the Kruger National Park, this has meant that private operators were given 20-year concession contracts to either take over or upgrade existing lodge facilities or choose new sites for development. The plan is for the private sector to own restaurants and a large number of camps in South Africa's national parks in order to improve the quality of food and services (SANParks 1999).[28] In the concession contract, it is acknowledged that, "the concessionaire has expertise in the provision of accommodation and related services for visitors to the National Parks and facilities in connection therewith" (SANParks 2001a: 1). Under the privatisation programme, Operation Prevail, private companies had already invested R122 million in six sites in the Kruger National Park in 2001 (SANParks 2001b). In contrast to the official view that the private sector would be responsible for generating the much-needed finances, park authorities themselves continued to sell wildlife as a fund raising strategy. In 2001, SANParks sold 21 white rhinos as part of this fund raising strategy.[29] Proceeds from the sale of game are used for land acquisition.

It is hoped that the private-public partnerships will become a feature of all national parks in southern Africa. To that end, the Dutch businessman, Paul van Vlissengen,[30] has established the Africa Parks Management and Finance Company (Van Vlissengen 2003) to promote the role of the private sector in parks in Africa.[31] According to the *Mail & Guardian* (20-26 July 2001a: 10), "his theory is that national parks on the sub-continent have floundered in the post-colonial era not just due to lack of finances and political will, but because they lack management know-how."

The rise in privatisation has equally been matched by increasing criticism of that process. At the level of abstraction, questions have been raised about the implication

of deploying economic frameworks in nature conservation. Kidner (2001: 209) cautioned that, "in the same way as a growing crystal enlarges itself by constantly reproducing the same molecular pattern, so environmental theory, if it begins by assuming any part of the edifice of industrialism, will find itself reconstructing the whole."

McAfee (1999) is of the view that the privatisation of nature is embedded in the post-neoliberal environment-economic paradigm in which nature is constructed as world currency and ecosystems recorded as warehouses of genetic resources of biotechnology – thereby enlisting environmentalism in the service of the world wide expansion of capital.

Against this background, the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA) has questioned the value and impact of the commercialisation process on ecosystems in South Africa's national parks. It argues that SANParks should have conducted a Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) before giving concessions to the private sector (Kay 2003). In support of this view, the Xwe African Wildlife Investigation and Research Centre (2002: 11) commented that, "there has not been sufficient investigation on alternative lower impact mechanisms of generating income." There is fear that the private sector will be more concerned with profit from ecotourism to the detriment of nature conservation.

Marketing the Products of Nature

Though various nature conservation agencies and tourism departments are involved in marketing state protected areas, the private sector is seen as one of the most effective instruments for marketing parks and reserves to the tourist market.[32] Private landowners believe that,

> the private sector has shown it can be efficient, accountable and innovative in conserving natural resources and biodiversity while integrating economic uses in a sustainable way. Examples include activities such as nature tourism, game ranching, or harvesting non-timber forest products, which provide revenues that make private conservation appealing and financially feasible (Private Landowners 2003: 2).

Namibia made efforts to market its 22 resorts and camping sites in national parks and other protected areas by transferring them to a government owned commercial enterprise, Namibia Wildlife Resorts (NWR)[33] (Namibia Wildlife Resorts n.d.; Ashley and Barnes 1996). Nevertheless, there is a tendency by the private sector to market private reserves more than state protected areas. This occurs even in those private reserves that are located adjacent to state protected areas. For instance, Hlane National Park (Swaziland) is located adjacent to Shewula Game Reserve, Mlawula and Mbuluzi nature reserves, yet Hlane is marketed (separately from other state reserves) together with Mlilwane and Mkhaya as private 'Big Game Parks' (Swaziland 2003). The implication is that state reserves such as Malolotja and Mlawula that are managed by the Swaziland National Trust Commission are under-marketed, and therefore operate at a loss.

Capitalising Communal Land

The private sector is increasingly gaining ground with regard to the operation of communal properties as well. Thus, communal properties provide new horizons for investment opportunities because they contain some of the most spectacular scenery. In 2003, the Namibian Community-Based Association (NACOBTA) invited investors to tender for the lease of lodge sites in Uukwaluudhi and Nyae Nyae Conservancies (South African Airways 2003).[34] In the same vein, Botswana's tourism policy supports the leasing of communal land to private operators. The policy reads:

> In order to achieve the maximum benefit for Botswana from wildlife resources located on tribal or state land, the terms and conditions under which tourism lands are leased to qualified operators must harness the self-interest of the lessee to the public interest. That is to say, the terms and conditions should be set in such a way as to attract the highest rents while, at the same time, making it contrary to the interests of lessees to deplete the wildlife or despoil the environment (Botswana 1990: 6).

Generally, the private sector is reluctant to invest in communal areas because of uncertainties regarding property rights and communal structures of government. While the private sector is haunted by the fear of 'the tragedy of the common', there is also fear that, in the absence of strong structures of governance and lack of land rights, communities will have little chance of benefiting from ecotourism. The extent to which communities could be re-incorporated into the affairs of parks and reserves has thus come under the spotlight. Meaningful community participation requires a radical shift both in the perceptions of local communities and in society-nature relations. In the chapter that follows, I will tease out some of the trajectories of that shift under the rubric of changing ecological philosophies and practices.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has attempted to raise the question of why state land was considered to be useful for establishing national parks, and why and how private land is now increasingly being considered as more appropriate for nature conservation than state land. Part of the answer lies in the shifting powers of the state from its Westphalian foundation to the modern state, the rise of environmentalism and the widening dimension of global capitalism. In other words, there has been a significant shift from the belief that progress towards environmental protection could be achieved through the state.

NOTES

[1] These drew their support from the economically and environmentally depressed districts of Lancashire and Cheshire, and the pottery districts of Staffordshire and Glasgow, respectively.

[2] Every freeborn Englishman had the right to own land.

[3] The British premised land reform on the interpretation of European agricultural history. They "explained rural prosperity, and their Kingdom's economic might during the revolutionary wars, as a

consequence of the enclosure acts, which, supposedly having matched landed resources with farmers' industry, had extinguished waste and sloth" (Weaver 2001: 7).

[4] Land was used as a source of reward and patronage for loyalty and service, and in financing emigration to the colonies.

[5] There are divergent views on what those rights should be for black people.

[6] Although this depended on a mix of settlement patterns, low population numbers and the availability of land, it nevertheless does illustrate positive outcomes of communally owned resources.

[7] In Scholte's (1997: 20) view, the "Westphalian state exercised comprehensive, supreme, unqualified and exclusive control over its designated territorial domain."

[8] The weakening of the state is increasingly being ascribed to globalisation. It is argued that the role of the state has been eclipsed by the rise of powerful economic non-state trans-national corporations.

[9] Certainly, Norton-Griffiths drew his conclusions from the Kenya Wildlife Service, which, in his view, represents Kenya's state conservation monopoly. Beyond Kenya, his analysis suggests the intention of the private sector to break state control over products of nature – in areas the state is seen to have some control.

[10] Historically, "the privatisation of nature was particularly evident in the conservation of woodland into hunting estates" (Coates 1998:115); the intention being to control access to natural resources through enclosures.

[11] It will be a gross mistake to assume that conservationists have embraced the market in one voice.

[12] South African had just demonstrated this by banning the use of free plastic bags with effect from 9 May 2003. This was done in the hope that, since consumers would have to pay for the once-freely-available plastic bags, they would be reluctant to carelessly throw those bags away – and the environment would be cleaner. It remains to be assessed how this measure will improve the quality of the environment.

[13] They give an example of a private land conservancy that protected a rare and large tract of valuable habitat in the central United States as a private reserve until the Tallgrass Prairie National Reserve Act of 1994 made it a formal public park as evidence of the usefulness of private national parks in biodiversity protection.

[14] It is acknowledged that private reserves may or may not have official government recognition.

[15] Besides biological criteria, consideration is also given to cultural and legal aspects.

[16] The Nature Conservancy was established in the United States in 1951.

[17] This sounds like a call for the next round of the colonisation of Africa.

[18] Only six African countries, namely, Botswana, Burkina Faso, Namibia, Rwanda, Senegal and Tanzania have more than the international target of 10% of their land under protection (United Nations 2002).

[19] Not yet passed in 2003.

[20] Still a Bill in 2003.

[21] These special nature reserves are meant to protect highly sensitive, outstanding ecosystems, species, geological or physiological features; and to be made primarily available for scientific research or environmental monitoring.

[22] To provide a buffer zone from undesirable development adjacent to national parks or resources; to protect ecosystems needing protection outside of national parks and nature reserves; and to limit land use in an area to be included into a national park or reserve.

[23] Ironically, this is the same size of land that the apartheid state had reserved for black occupation.

[24] This includes game ranching, hunting, ecotourism and mixed farming.

[25] Though Namibia has more than the recommended amount of 10% of the land under protected area, the state will rely on the private sector to achieve a representative network of protected areas.

[26] This is a flaccid argument because the African National Congress-led government is increasingly abdicating its responsibilities towards the provision of basic services such as water and electricity – instead, it has relegated those responsibilities to the private sector.

[27] The same sentiments were raised by former President Nelson Mandela, when he commented that, "our voters will not understand if we put a lot of money into zebras while they live without a roof over their heads" (Van Vlissengen 2003: 15).

[28] Accordingly, SANParks considered the initiation of commercialisation in national parks as one of the landmark achievements for 2000/2001 (SANParks 2001b).

[29] The privatisation of nature in South Africa is no different from that of other state assets in that country. All privatisation programmes in South Africa are underpinned by the neo-liberal macro-economic policy of Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), which is geared towards the privatisation of state assets. For nature conservation, GEAR implies the selling or sub-contracting of natural assets to the private sector.

[30] The *Mail & Guardian* (20-26 July 2001a: 10) described him as one of the richest persons in the world.

[31] He has used Marakele National Park (South Africa) as an experiment for the vision of his company.

[32] In fact, private sector investment in parks and reserves is inseparable from marketing park resources.

[33] The company was formally launched on 25 February 1999 and its Board of Directors are drawn from both the public and the private sector.

[34] Ashley and Barnes (1996: 8) are of the view that "communal land adjacent to protected areas has significantly higher current and potential economic value from wildlife use than areas further away."

CHAPTER 6

SEARCHING FOR A PEOPLE-NATURE MATRIX

INTRODUCTION

The relations between people and parks that have developed over the years determine the ways in which park resources are assessed or otherwise by local communities. As we have noted in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, the relations between parks and people can be traced back to the society-nature dualism. Colonialism entrenched that dualism by fortifying the boundaries between local communities and parks. In the last two decades or so, there has been a review of parks-people relations in the light of growing biodiversity threats (Brechin *et al.* 1991; Shyamsundar 1996; Fabricius *et al*. 2001), the need to increase the amount of land under protected areas (see Chapter 5) and growing rural poverty in developing countries (Koch 1998; Reed 2002; Simon 2003a). This chapter seeks to explain the emergence of 'new' ideas about relations between parks and people and how these are manifested or otherwise in southern African national parks and reserves. Conceptually, the chapter asks whether those 'new' ideas represent a shift from the human/nature dualism, and whether notions of local communities have assumed different meanings altogether. An understanding of how local communities are constructed is required for any meaningful analysis of parks-people relations because most of those relations were officially sanctioned by stereotypes of, and attitudes towards such communities.

There is little evidence to suggest that ecological paradigms changed because of profound changes in views about nature. Instead, paradigm shifts imply the accentuation or blending of old views about nature at particular moments. At best, they represent the timely insertion of sophisticated mechanisms for protecting natural resources while, at the same time, attempting to deal with potential and real 'threats' on the ground. Many of these have taken place in developing countries under the umbrella vision of development with or through nature conservation. The development-conservation approach is often presented as progressive in terms of reconciling humans and nature. For national parks and nature reserves, however, this creates conceptual problems. Firstly, the notion of development as is conventionally used implies the adoption of western values and standards (Ake 1996; Mohan and Holland 2001; Schuurman 2002); these, however, reflect western thought, which promotes the separation between people and nature as I have discussed in Chapter 2. How can conceptions loaded with separation be used for integration? Secondly, the majority of people who had been stereotyped as being closer to nature in fact inhabit areas in which much of that reconciliation should take place – raising the question of who should be prioritised in that process. Who wants the reconciliation and for what

purpose? Thirdly, given the social construction of nature, what would the reconciliation of people and parks actually entail?

In this chapter, then, I explore these questions mainly to explain attempts that frame people and parks as good neighbours. I focus on conditions under which local communities re-entered into national parks affairs for different purposes. I do not think that their re-entry was by invitation! Rather continuous anxieties over, and responses to, socio-political transformation in southern African states occasioned it. The nature and rate of transformation affected the extent to which local communities could be involved in the affairs of national parks. This chapter thus shows that parks-people relations are formulated at global or at least national scales but negotiated at local levels.

TOWARDS A GLOBAL MODEL OF PARKS-PEOPLE RELATIONS

Globalisation discourses shed light on the flow of ideas and practices. There is a strong view that most of 'the centres of globalisation' are located in industrialised countries. While this might be true for capital flows, Nijman (1999: 148) has cautioned that,

> cultural globalisation is not controlled from a small number of easily identifiable urban centres. Instead, cultural globalisation concerns a complex multitude of flows and counter flows. It is increasingly difficult to determine the originality of a cultural flow, because it is likely to represent a bundling or modification of earlier cultural influences from other places.

It follows that the transfer of cultural values and practices from one place to another is a rough process. Equally, it is often difficult to pinpoint the sources from which universal practices develop. This is true, too, of ideas about new ways of improving relations between parks and people.

To borrow from Said's (1994) viewpoint, parks-people relations are shaped by elements of cultural imperialism that sought to redefine the cultures of non-western societies in line with metropolitan interests and aspirations. In the light of this, the questions of who defines those relations and for what purpose become imperative. The globalisation of parks-people relations has emerged from two directions. The first one involves collating local experiences from which universal forms of relations could be forged. Zube and Busch's (1990) work is a case in point. Using 57 parks and reserves from 35 countries, the authors arrived at four models of parks-local population relationships. These are: local participation in park management and operations and/or residence within park; services delivered by park personnel to local populations living outside the park; maintenance of traditional land uses inside the park and; local population involvement in park related tourism.

Local Experiences

Although these categories are not exhaustive, they suggest that local experiences do offer trends that could be used to develop international models. Notably, such

locally based park-people relations could be a result of state policies that are informed by problems on the ground, or by socio-political developments in particular countries. There has been a tendency to use case studies of problematic areas in specific countries to suggest overarching policies on parks and people (Western 1982; Leiff 1985). Developing countries have been used particularly in this regard. For instance, one of the two United States' sponsored sessions on local population interactions with national parks and equivalent reserves was devoted to "case studies from Africa and Asia which clearly illustrated the need to attend to subsistence and other needs that were traditionally met with resources collected and hunted from within parks" (Zube and Busch 1990: 119).

Policies from Above

The second direction has been to formulate international policy guidelines, with the hope that these would be adopted by, and applied in, individual countries. The IUCN has been a catalyst in formulating policies around parks-people relations. It has used World Parks Congresses and Conferences as a platform for developing generic guidelines for developing, extending and managing national parks and their equivalents. The Fourth World Parks Congress, in particular, made efforts towards developing policies for a 'healthy' relationship between people and parks. This and other instruments – such as the Convention on Biological Diversity – have attempted to bring issues pertaining to local communities to the attention of national governments. In this regard, Article 8(j) of the Convention reads that:

> Each Contracting Party shall, as far as possible and appropriate subject to its national legislation, respect, preserve and maintain knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities embodying traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity and promote their wider application with the approval and involvement of the holders of such knowledge, innovations and practices and encourage the equitable sharing of the benefits arising from the utilisation of such knowledge, innovations and practices (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity 1992: 120).

In practice, the two directions suggested above are inseparable: Local experiences are effectively deployed as building blocks for international policies. That is to say that the context in which the relations between people and parks evolve(d) cut across different scales, thereby nullifying the dichotomy between local and global initiatives. It is not clear, though, whether policies are conceptualised from, or for localities. The evidence we have is that the 'native question'[1] is central to policies that deal with society-nature relations. This is not to deny that other issues such as mining, development, and so on, have also played an important role in nature conservation policies. It is rather to acknowledge the centrality of 'the native' in the development of such policies. In the United States, the National Park Service adopted the Native American Relationships Policy in order to regulate the practices of Native Americans in national park service areas (Zube and Busch 1990).

Recasting the Native Question

The centrality of the native question in notions of parks-people relations is also evident in scholarly writing. With few exceptions,[2] the majority of authors on local communities and natural resources have used the term 'local communities' as short hand for non-whites, implying that local communities represent a generic group of people. Specifically in the case of southern Africa, for example, white farmers whose farms sometimes border national parks are often excluded from that categorisation. The notion of 'local communities' evidently suggests a tendency to homogenise a group of people from diverse backgrounds in order to develop particular forms of relations. After all, it is generally expected that a community should have shared characteristics.[3] It is intriguing to note that despite the elusiveness of the concept of community, discussions on people and parks imply common assumptions of what a community is or should be. Such assumptions, moreover, guide policies that are meant for this supposedly homogeneous group of people. In other words, it is impossible to develop policies that guide the relations between local populations and parks without generalising about the populations in question. Local populations, however, have to be defined first! As Agrawal (1997: 8) pointed out, "communities are now the locus of conservationists' imaginings." To complicate matters further, the west has played a significant role in defining them. Sardar (1999) has observed that the power of the west resides in its power to define.[4]

Notions of the Local Community

As I will show in Chapter 7, constructions of local communities not only affect the ways in which local populations relate to parks and reserves, but also determine the types of benefits that they could derive from such areas. In terms of the theme of this volume, notions of local communities serve to differentiate people who are involved in or affected by parks and reserves.[5] At the level of abstraction, constructions of local communities cannot be divorced from those of the racial category into which they belong.[6] The point I want to make here is that issues of race have informed the ways in which people inside or adjacent to national parks were treated and therefore should be factored into our analysis of changes in park-people relations.

Thus, a critical analysis of the notion of local community would most probably aid our assessment of whether ideas about people and parks have changed or not. Could their being called 'local communities' reflect new ways of thinking about people who had been marginalised? Does it imply an acceptance of the equality of humanity? Evidence suggests that, despite the rhetorical reaffirmation of their humanity, local communities are still seen as lacking in capacity, unable to protect nature without the help of someone in a uniform of some sort, untrustworthy as owners of land under conservation, needing externally formulated laws of governing and using resources, and the list goes on and on. In this sense, the deployment of the concept of local community in the language of national parks suggests a replacement of overt descriptions of people who live in or near national parks.[7]

In no way do I intend to disregard efforts that have been made to influence the relation between local people and parks. Indeed, in 1975, the IUCN passed a resolution, recognising the rights of traditional societies to participate in decisions affecting the land and natural resources on which they depend.[8] Accordingly, the resolution was endorsed at the World Parks Congress in Bali in 1982. It diffused into the now widely known Brundtland Report of 1987, which cautioned that there was a need to balance the concerns of the poor with conservation imperatives. NGOs have taken this further to produce a counter-thrust of nature conservation as poverty alleviation – pursuing conservation and development goals in tandem (Bond 2002). For national parks, this has meant searching for ways of improving the relations between park authorities and local people. That quest culminated in community-based natural resource management (CBNRM). Hulme and Murphree (1999) are of the opinion that CBNRM come closest to the radical conceptualisation of a totally community-centred approach to conservation.[9] Nonetheless, I argue that all these have not fundamentally changed earlier conceptions of local people. This is clearly revealed by the resurgence of protectionist writings.

The Re-emergence of Protectionist Writings

In his book, *Requiem for nature*, John Terborgh (1999) proposes that the focus of the Convention on Biological Diversity should be on preserving nature rather than on paying attention to humans. This suggests a return to fortress conservation. In a similar vein, Brandon *et al*. (1998: 2) criticised the link between nature conservation and social concerns in these words:

> There are limits on sustainable use as a primary tool for biodiversity conservation. Serious questions as to whether sustainable use is axiomatically compatible with biodiversity conservation have been raised. The trend to promote sustainable use of resources as a means to protect these resources, while politically expedient and intellectually appealing, is not well grounded in biological and ecological knowledge. Not all things can be preserved through use. Not all places should be open to use. Without an understanding of broader ecosystem dynamics at specific sites, strategies promoting sustainable use will lead to substantial losses of biodiversity.

According to protectionist writers, attempts to link local development and nature conservation in effect diminish the chances for biodiversity protection, rendering that link a futile exercise. Their view is that society and nature can never be reconciled in the practical sense. As I have hinted above, the question is also whether constructions of local communities reflect new ways of thinking about people who had been marginalised or whether such thinking implies changes to the society-nature dualism. These questions are important if we are to understand ideas and views of society and nature. In the case of national parks, terms such as 'society' and 'people' largely refer to non-white populations. Pyle's (2003: 206) provides some useful hints on this:

> At the beginning of the 21st century there is no longer any doubt that a strong individual sense of connection to nature and natural processes is utterly essential to the healthy co-existence of humans with their biological neighbours and physical setting. We also

> understand that such a sense has been paled, withered, and is finally failing, [and] so is our ecological condition collapsing and future contracting.

The need for reconnecting people and nature arises from various concerns, the principal of which is seen as the negative impact of society on the protection of biodiversity. It is intriguing to note that attempts to reconnect people with nature have mainly focused on non-western societies, as if they are the source of the society-nature dualism! On the other hand, western societies – the main culprit – have opted for a more superficial contact[10] through ecotourism. The very idea of connecting people and nature suggests that some people need that connection more than others do. Conceptually, the emphasis on the need to reconnect non-western societies to nature conservation projects seems to reinforce the colonially inscribed view of non-western societies as being closer to nature than their western counterparts. Otherwise, why should these societies not be reconnected to nature in the same way? Various reasons have been advanced to support the need for a society-nature connection in developing (non-western) countries. These relate to the popularity of community participation; the quest for sustainable development; the affirmation of indigenous peoples' rights and their knowledge systems; the imperatives of democracy, demands by civil society and donor organisations; the enlargement of markets; the need to increase protected areas through the incorporation of communal lands, and so forth (Lusigi 1981; McNeely and Pitt 1985; Kahn 1999; Adams and Hulme 2001a; McNeely 2002).

It should be noted that people-nature matrices in developing countries have developed as mechanisms to resolve conflicts over resources. These are meant to address conflict, which is depicted as locational (i.e. parks and their surrounding), while ignoring the symbolic meanings of park resources and the control and ownership of such resources. The emphasis is on locational restructuring of resource use and administration (see Chapter 7) in order to legitimise certain restrictions over resources in advance. Accordingly Mitchell (1992: 153) commented that, "the dominant restructuring of conflict as being one of 'appropriate' use of public property worked to set the terms of the debate over the fate of [those] properties."

The irony of ideas about connecting people to nature is that pockets of non-western communities that are still connected to their physical environment are either being uprooted or forced to change their lifestyles to fit into the same western value systems that have long underpinned the society-nature dualism. The Kalahari San (see Chapter 4) and the Bedouins in the Sinai Peninsula are a perfect example of this process.[11]

Our analysis of the consequences of national parks in Chapter 3 has revealed that local people bore the brunt of national park establishment. In recent years, efforts were made to arrive at some form of environmental justice and the restoration of human dignity to people who had suffered through the establishment of national parks. Such strategies include compensation (in various forms), access to park resources, deriving benefits from parks, and so forth. Attempts have also been made towards restoring the human dignity of local people. These have developed as part of human rights movements. Generally, there has been a growing recognition that

local communities were and are not simply rural idiots; they have some understanding and perceptions of life and its support systems. Chambers (1983: 83) has cautioned that there is a weakness in referring to local knowledge as knowledge of the local environment rather than "to the knowledge of people existing as a system of concepts, beliefs, and ways of learning." Indeed, 'champions' of the 'new nature conservation' tend to restrict local people's knowledge to that of the local environment. In so doing, they intentionally or otherwise reaffirm the ideas that local communities have a localised and limited knowledge of nature conservation. At the abstract level, such ideas imply that local peoples' knowledge is localised and is therefore not useful beyond the boundaries of the local environment.[12]

Attempts to reconnect local populations to national parks and reserves are therefore informed by the need to repair the damage that protected areas caused to local populations while, at the same time, seeking to create conducive conditions for the protection of biodiversity. In this regard, Eagles and McCool (2002) have described communities living around protected areas as 'gateways' to protected areas. They concluded that,

> Gateway communities play an important role in the protection and management of these natural areas … by providing the needed services for visitors [and] economic and political support for the protection of park and protected area resources … Communities with financial ties to parks have an inherent interest in the protection of the resource and how the park or protected area is managed (2002: 239-240).

This stems from the realisation that the future and security of parks are inextricably linked with the social conditions of adjacent communities. Consequently, buffer zones were established around national parks as areas where resource use is limited and/or regulated. Whether the main concern lies in meeting the needs of local communities, however, is debatable. Various authors have alluded to the involvement of communities in parks as 'social fencing.' This implies giving local populations a stake in nature conservation in order to foster desired practices and to use communities in safeguarding natural resources for or against themselves.[13] Examples from southern Africa clarify these points.

RECONCILIATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Global trends towards the reconciliation between humans and protected areas have to varying degrees had an impact on southern Africa. Hughes (2001) noted that the reconciliation of society and protected areas in southern Africa collided with a bitter history of white colonialism.[14] The socio-political climate, nature conservation policies and the roles of internal and external NGOs played a significant role in shaping parks-people relations. Despite specific local variations, the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe emerged as a model for local community participation in natural resource management in Africa. Though the history and activities of CAMPFIRE are well known, some points could still be raised from the CAMPFIRE experience to support the claims I make in this volume.[15] First, the origin of CAMPFIRE in 1978[16] at the

height of the second *Chimurenga* (war of liberation) cannot easily be divorced from the political climate of that time. Certainly, white ranchers and safari operators were concerned with security and the future of their resources and properties.[17] Hughes (2001) ascribed the emergence of CAMPFIRE to cadastral politics, i.e. as struggles over the bounding and control of land. This political calculation makes sense in light of the discussion in Chapter 4 of this volume. Peck (1993: 26) observed that "in 1980 Zimbabwe's second *Chimurenga* war came to a close and with the adoption of black majority rule came a drastic reappraisal of wildlife policy." However, it may not be correct to ascribe that reappraisal to the black government of independent Zimbabwe. In fact, changes towards the enhancement of local proprietorship were introduced through the Parks and Wildlife Act in 1975.[18]

Second, CAMPFIRE was conceived as a solution to the familiar and popularised problem of the threat that local populations pose to wildlife. It sought to use benefits from wildlife to reduce the tension and conflict between human populations and white ranchers and safari operators. Unsurprisingly, "the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management [was of the opinion that] the continued presence of significant levels of wild animals in national parks and safari areas required that people in the neighbo[u]ring communal areas receive some benefits from the presence of wildlife" (Peterson 1991: 9). Without pre-empting the discussion on benefits that accrue from nature conservation (which will follow hereunder), I wish to emphasise that efforts to reconcile local population and protected areas through a beneficiation framework are not meant to achieve a sense of unity between society and nature. This is so because the reconciliation in question is imposed upon local population and it is underscored by western capitalist values. More crucially, the attempted reconciliation is influenced by managerialism[19] and political control as the examples below clearly show.

In the mid-1980s, Botswana sought to divide the country into Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) (Figure 6.1) as an attempt to control the utilisation of wildlife outside protected areas (Hachileka 2003). Consequently, WMAs became zones between protected areas and surrounding human settlements. As the Senior Wildlife Officer in Botswana, Jan Broekhuis, explained, "the Wildlife Management Areas function as a buffer zones for the Parks and Reserves and are migratory corridors that wildlife can use when moving from one area to another" (1997: 141). The subsequent sub-division of the WMAs into Controlled Hunting Areas (CHAs)[20] enabled the Department of Wildlife and National Parks to use CHAs as administrative blocks for allocating wildlife quotas.[21]

Lesotho, too, has proposed to divide the country into three regions for the management of protected areas (Figure 6.2). Earlier initiatives to establish natural resource management areas in Lesotho were in the form of Range Management Areas (RMAs).[22] These RMAs and their related Grazing Associations (GAs) were introduced in 1982; their aim was to train and advise communities on matters relating to the control and management of grasslands in nearby areas (Lesotho 2000b). In 2000, Lesotho had already designated seven areas as RMAs. The RMAs are a modification of the Basotho's long established system of *maboella*; this is a communal system that governed rangeland resources to "ensure sustainable use of

winter grazing areas, thatching grass, reeds and wood resources for fuel" (Lesotho 2000b: 24). [23]

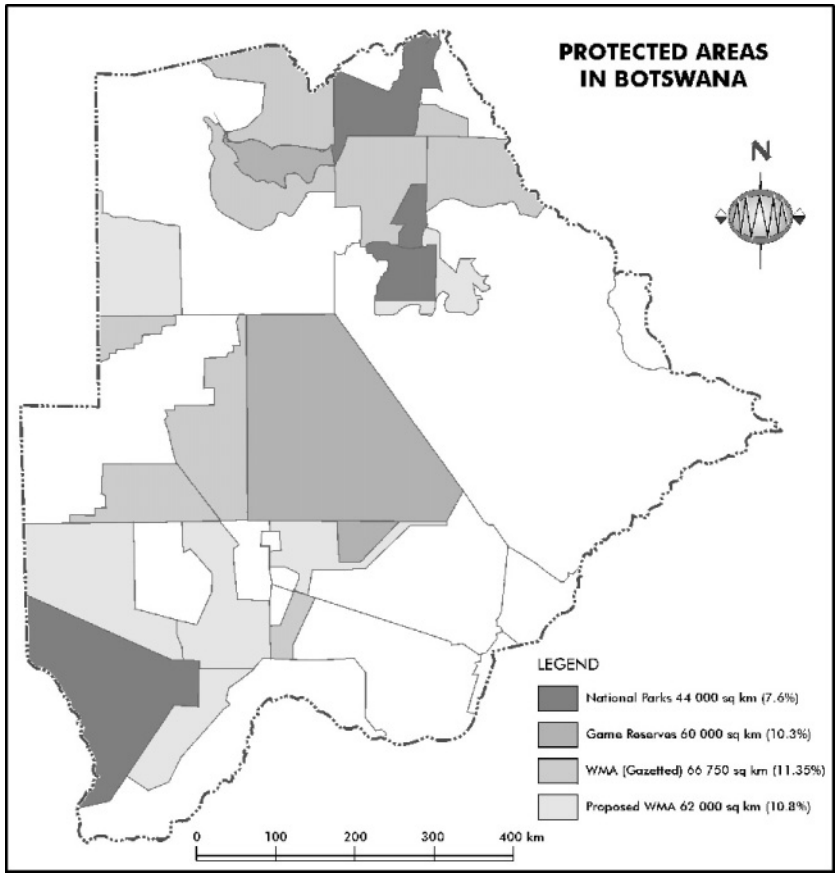

Figure 6.1 Wildlife Management Areas in Botswana
Source: Adapted from Botswana 1998b

For its part, Namibia has developed its CBNRM approach through the establishment of conservancies. The Nature Conservancy Ordinance Amendment Act of 1996 devolved conditional rights over wildlife and tourism to communities. As I have already intimated in Chapter 4, before 1996 black people in Namibia were alienated from rights to natural resources. Against that backdrop, the evolution of conservancies was heralded as a significant shift in the natural resource policy in that country. In fact, it has been claimed that Namibia's conservancy programme is the most radical of its kind in Africa (Blackie 1999).[24] Notably, communal conservancies in Namibia are seen in official circles as the potential basis for natural

resource management. Furthermore, conservancies are used as areas into which surplus game can be relocated instead of controlling them by means of culling, and are instrumental in providing additional land to the country's protected areas. It is believed that much of the country's wildlife, scenic and cultural heritage is found on communal lands (Jones 1995). Estimations are that conservancies will cover more than 10% of Namibia in the future.

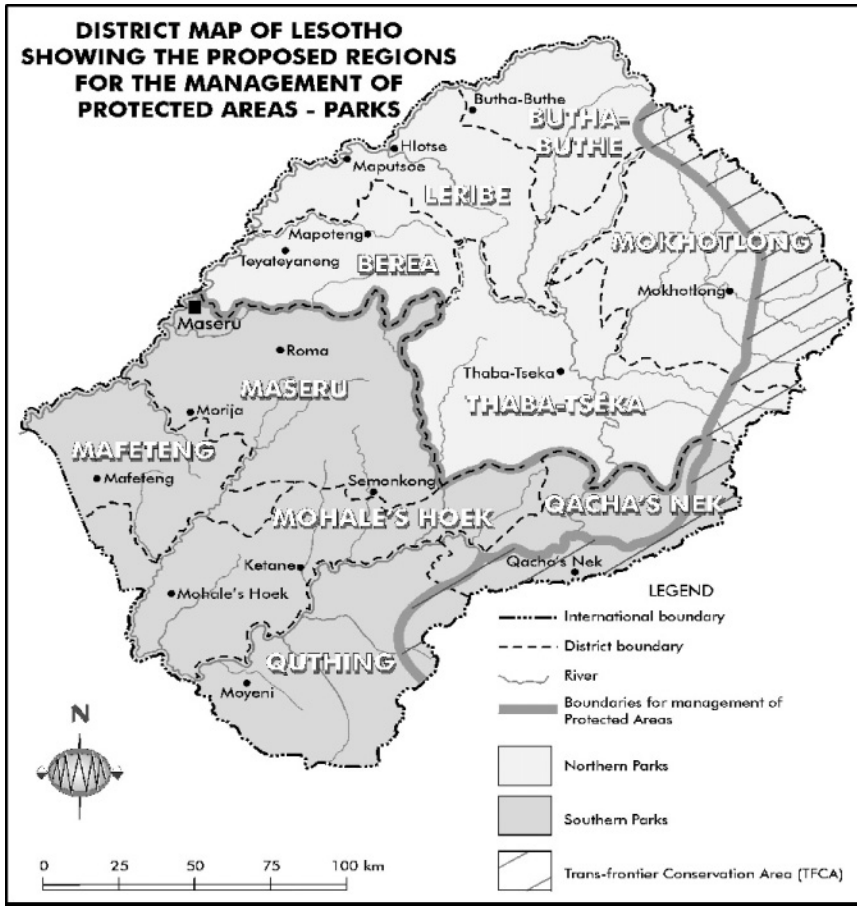

Figure 6.2 Range Management Areas in Lesotho
Source: Lesotho 2002

A closer inspection of Namibia's communal conservancies reveals the link between conservancies and the demand for land. In the early 1980s, farmers began to fence-off their areas, particularly in the Kavango and Oshikoto regions. In response, traditional authorities sought to prevent the expansion of freehold farmers

by allocating land around those farms, and by endorsing the right to fence-off grazing areas by members of the community. Blackie (1999) observed that traditional leaders registered 100 such farms in Ondonga at the end of 1996. That black farmers participated in the creation of conservancies in Namibia is clearly shown by the Khoadi//Hoas conservancy which, "has emerged from the long established farmers' union in [Kunene]" (Blackie 1999: 9).

Swaziland provides another useful example of the instrumentality of communal nature reserves. The first community nature reserve in that country, Shewula, was established in 1999 in order to facilitate the development of the Lubombo Transfrontier Park between Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland. The reserve emerged out of the need to establish the Lubombo Conservancy, which would enable the management of different land uses in the area earmarked for the transfrontier park.[25] As the public notice board at the entrance of Shewula camp reads: "the long term 'peace parks' project, which involves creating TFCAs (Transfrontier Conservation Areas) will eventually link the Lubombo Conservancy[26] with all reserves in southern Africa." In the same logic, Namibia has developed a concept plan for the establishment of a contractual People's Park in North-western Namibia, the North West Peoples' Park (Namibia 2001). The vision of the North West Peoples' Park is

> to establish a people's park to be jointly managed by the [Ministry of Environment and Tourism] and local communities and other stakeholders to ensure the long-term protection of desert adapted species and its unique landscapes and to promote sustainable tourism for the benefit of the region and all Namibians (Namibia 2001: 1).[27]

A common feature of the examples cited above is that communities are encouraged to be involved in the management of natural resources in the communal land more than in national parks.[28] Where communities are involved in national parks, it is either because they are considered a threat to park resources or their land rights cannot be ignored.

Since independence, southern African states have adopted different programmes for national development and, in some cases, national reconciliation. Moreover, the manner in which the vexed land question was addressed affected the nature of the relations between local communities and parks. This begs the questions of which kind of land reform will result in what kind of relations? Could the same kind of relations develop from entirely different processes, and how do we account for that? The essence of these questions is that our explanations of parks-people relations should consider the interplay of many variables. Land restitution in South Africa's national parks offers some insight into these questions,[29] not least because it redefined the parameters of community involvement in ways that did not conform to reformist approaches.[30]

The involvement of local communities in South Africa's national parks arises principally from the land reform process that began in 1994. Before 1994, few attempts were made to bring local communities into the fold of protected areas. For example, one of the country's first 'community conservation' areas, the Mthethomusha Game Reserve, was established near the Numbi Gate of the Kruger

National Park in 1991. At that time, many saw the establishment of the reserve as collusion between discredited tribal authorities and conservation authorities (South Africa 2003a).

After 1994, it was anticipated that a three-pronged,[31] market-driven land reform process would successfully address the skewed land distribution and ownership patterns that had been caused by colonial and apartheid rule on the one hand, while balancing the political imperatives of national reconciliation on the other hand. The signing of the Land Restitution Act (22) of 1994 by the Mandela government meant that communities who lost land on racial grounds would be allowed to claim their land back. This also affected land under national parks, from which black people were removed.[32]

It is intriguing to note that conservationists and environmentalists fiercely opposed land claims in national parks in South Africa, arguing that it would threaten the integrity of national parks. WESSA (1996) and the National Parks Board (1997) were of the view that the granting of a land claim in national parks would set the precedent for similar claims all over the country. They seem to have been worried about land claims in protected areas, because, as we have seen, local communities lost their land to nature conservation.

Conservationists' opposition to land claims occurred at the same time that ideas of community involvement were in circulation. For instance, a year after the historic national democratic election of 1994, the National Parks Board (1995: 31) published its view that,

> the South African communities are the custodian of national parks, and [that] the successful conservation of natural resources will only be achieved if local communities have access to national parks, [and] are fully involved in the decision-making process.

In the absence of clear policy guidelines, it could reasonably be suggested that cosmetic changes were to be introduced. However, all these were to be seriously challenged by land restitution measures that served to define the manner in which communities could re-enter into national parks affairs. That is to say that, where land claims were involved, communities used their claim for land rights to negotiate their new relationships with national parks. The implication here is that those communities that did not have, or succeed in, land claims in national parks had to negotiate their relations with parks from a weak position. For example, successful land claims in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, Kruger National Park and the Augrabies Falls National Park meant that communities were able to negotiate their relations with parks from a stronger position than those that did not have land rights in the parks. These successful claims have been cherry-picked by both conservationists and officials as success stories of good neighbourliness between parks and local communities. The Makuleke in particular, have been glorified nationally and internationally as an example of achieving harmonious relations between people and parks in post-apartheid South Africa.[33] What would have happened to the Makuleke, however, if they did not have the land claim in the park? Surely, they would have been marginalised like the rest of people who live along the boundary of the park.

This is evidence that land rights remain the vortex around which community involvement in national parks revolves.[34] For instance, the Richtersveld is considered the first contractual park in South Africa, yet communities inside and around the park have remained marginalised. Notwithstanding structural problems, their marginalisation could in part be explained by a lack of rights in the park. Although the land was leased to conservation authorities, they did not own it, as it in fact belonged to the state. The social ecologist and community member in Kuboes, Willem de Wet, likened the relations between the community of the Richtersveld and the park as a bad marriage that resulted from a pregnancy.[35] What is implied here is that conservationists considered the local community as a liability.[36]

In the absence of land restitution, communities such as the Chitsa in Zimbabwe invaded Gonarezhou National Park in 2001 to demand the restoration of land rights. As the chairperson of the Chitsa village four, Misheck Kamundela, explained:

> [the] primary concern is not the park … it is to get our ancestors' land back and benefit from its use. This land belongs to our elders and our forefathers. We believe that we should reclaim it, and there are still some elders alive who once lived here and who are now here today. This is our heritage and this is where we belong (Nielsen and Chikoko 2002: 1).

Though the Chitsa land claim "is convoluted by the land movement based on national land occupation mostly condoned by the state" (Matondi 2003, n.p), it does reflect attempts by communities to contest park resources. The community feels excluded from the park resources that have been exclusively used for the benefits of safari operators. How the Chitsa community would re-enter into the affairs of national parks was not yet clear at the time of writing. Nevertheless, the aspirations of the community can no longer be ignored, more especially because Gonarezhou National Park forms part of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, a project that has been widely marketed as benefiting local communities. Furthermore, it is anticipated that communal land would form corridors in transfrontier parks (see Chapter 8).

CONCLUSION

I have referred to these examples to highlight that land restitution provided the platform from which communities have become involved in national parks affairs. This does not imply, however, that the relations between people and parks are dependent on land reform. Rather, my argument is that land reform in South Africa offered the platform on which those relations could be developed beyond a simple reformist agenda. Of course, there have been, and still are, schemes that aim to bring local communities into national parks and broader conservation goals. In fact, such schemes have received blessings at international and national levels. The question that arises from communities and protected areas is the extent to which the much-publicised notion of community benefits actually materialises on the ground. I turn to this question in the chapter that follows.

NOTES

[1] The so-called native question is an ideological loaded question of how to manage non-white populations. Most colonial policies in Africa were centred on this question (see Grove 1989; Coleman 1994; Mamdani 1996).

[2] These include reference to private non-profit land trusts in the United States (see Campbell and Salus 2003)

[3] Irrespective of different opinions on what a community is.

[4] Though the west has defined non-western societies in different ways, constructions of otherness have been used to divide the world along lines of power.

[5] These have variously been referred to as resident people, adjacent communities, and so forth.

[6] After all, they were marginalised because of their race.

[7] In the past – as I have shown in chapters 1 and 2 – those people were categorised as African, Indian, savages and the like.

[8] This forms the cornerstone of the IUCN/WCPA/WWF Indigenous and Traditional Peoples and Protected Areas: Principles and Guidelines. MacKay (2002) has criticised these guidelines for failing to comply with the full extent of indigenous peoples' land and resource use rights, and for nor adequately addressing the consequences of protected areas on indigenous peoples.

[9] For other interpretations of CNBRM. See Western *et al.* (1994) and Peters (2002).

[10] Pyle (2003: 207) is of the view that "shallow contact with nature leads to shallow solutions."

[11] Subsequent to their confinement to park boundaries, the Nomadic Bedouins of the Peninsula were subjected to tourism development (Bochat 2003) to which they must either conform or perish.

[12] The current scramble for indigenous knowledge suggests that what appeared to have been localised knowledge could be useful far beyond localities.

[13] In general, community participation in protected areas is seen as an answer to the question that has never been clearly asked (Adams and Hulme 2001b)

[14] The bitter history of colonialism is not unique to southern Africa. Most, if not all, former colonies have had to grapple with the effects of conservation policies and practices that had been detrimental to indigenous peoples.

[15] Some might even say that the history of community-based natural resource management in (southern) Africa is incomplete without a discussion of CAMPFIRE.

[16] As a Windfall for Wildlife Industries New Development Deal for all.

[17] Lack of comparative studies on political transition and the insertion of nature conservation policies in the region obscures our reassessment of the much-celebrated CAMPFIRE projects, and disables our analysis of white reactionary. If we agree that white farmers in South Africa, Botswana and Namibia have used nature conservation as an instrument of dealing with the anticipated outcomes of independence, why would white Zimbabwean be exempted from the same process?

[18] The Act conferred privileges on the owners and occupiers of alienated land as custodians of wildlife (Murombedzi 2003).

[19] After all, CBNRM is an approach to decentralise the management of natural resources.

[20] According to Hachileka (2003), Botswana is divided into 150 CHAs, which have been zoned for various types of management.

[21] The Okavango has 28 WMAs and 49 CHAs (Mbaiwa 2002).

[22] These equalled 185 684 ha and included areas such as Sehlabathebe, Ramatseliso, Palaneng/Bokong, Malibamatso/Matsoku, Qhoali, Mokhotlong/Sangebethu and Liseleng.

[23] It is said that the system was developed by King Moshoeshoe I, and that it is administered by chiefs and headmen.

[24] Claims such as these can more appropriately be assessed in the contexts of community participation, resource rights and benefits.

[25] As we shall see in Chapter 8, transfrontier parks require the harmonisation of legislation and land use policies.

[26] Formed by Shewula, Hlane, Mbuluzi, Mlawula and sisal range.

[27] It should be noted that the proposed North West People's Park is an attempt to add communal land to the adjacent Skeleton Coast Park.

[28] The cumulative effects could be the ghettoisation of CBNRM.

[29] By so saying I do not imply that South Africa is unique in the region.

[30] These approaches are not meant to transfer land rights to communities.

[31] The three programmes underpinning South Africa's land reform are: land redistribution, tenure reform and land restitution.

[32] There were racial motivations behind the removals (Ramutsindela 2002).

[33] The Makuleke are just a small portion of people who live along the Kruger National Park.

[34] The absence of land restitution in protected areas is a global phenomenon. As the MacKay (2002: 4) has observed, "despite international guarantees, there are few examples of restitution of lands within protected areas in domestic practice. Most of the extant examples are connected to recognition of aboriginal title or treaty rights in domestic law. Australia, Aotearoa-New Zealand, the United States and South Africa all provide examples of this. In Latin America, restitution has occurred in connection with recognition of indigenous rights to own traditional lands and resources under International Labour Organisation Convention No. 169 and accompanying domestic legal reforms."

[35] Interviewed by Mariam January, September 4, 2002, Kuboes.

[36] Hopefully, the success of their land claim in 2003 will set new parameters in which meaningful compromises can be reached.

CHAPTER 7

THE PACKAGING OF COMMUNITY BENEFITS

INTRODUCTION

That communities should benefit from protected areas is no longer an issue in the 21st century. Governments, nature conservationists, NGOs, the private sector and donors have all embraced the common language of community benefits from protected areas.[1] In fact, community participation and the sharing of benefits have become a condition for funding by most donor agencies. The Global Biodiversity Forum has been attempting to link trade and biodiversity and to realign that link with the logic of sustainable development. In its meeting from 5-7 September 2003, the Global Biodiversity Forum concluded that, foremost, trade must benefit the poor[2] by opening opportunities for the sustainable use of natural resources (Global Biodiversity Forum 2003). This effectively places natural resources in the commodity chain of the global economy.

The theme of the 5th World Parks Congress on 'Benefits beyond boundaries' captures the euphoria of community benefits from protected areas. According to Miller (2003: 5) that theme is a way of "challenging ourselves to understand the many values and benefits that protected areas offer." Unsurprisingly, the Congress[3] message to the Convention on Biological Diversity was to urge the parties, among other things, to "ensure that indigenous and local communities fully participate in the establishment and management of protected areas and that they share in the benefits from these areas" (IUCN 2003a: 3). The idea of benefits from parks presents conceptual and empirical challenges. Conceptually, the questions of what these benefits are and who defines them for whom comes to the fore. At the empirical level, the question can be raised as to how we separate benefits from nature conservation from those of other development schemes.[4]

The purpose of this chapter is to analyse the notion of community benefits in the context of protected areas, focusing mainly on national parks and nature reserves. The analysis of community benefits is important for the theme of this volume, because benefits that communities derive (or should derive) from protected areas are used to measure changes in nature conservation philosophies and practices. The questions are: how different are those benefits from what communities had, before changes in land rights and land uses were introduced? Who defines benefits for whom? The point of departure for this chapter is that most of the benefits that should accrue to communities in southern Africa are pre-determined in accordance with models that have been constructed at the global level.

I argue that the packaging of benefits reflects long-established tendencies of reducing local black people to a common denominator. This chapter also highlights a growing tendency towards the standardisation of benefits, reducing official views and community expectations to the same logic. Indeed, the boundaries between communities' expectations and official offerings are becoming increasingly blurred. I will demonstrate the extent to which this has occurred in South Africa by using results from a national survey. The survey reveals the congruence between global propositions and local expectations. One of the most prominent features of community benefits from protected areas is ecotourism. In southern Africa (and in other developing countries) ecotourism has embraced the idea of exotic cultures; re-creating cultures as part of the landscape. How can we, however, differentiate cultural tourism from earlier ideas of wilderness and the noble savage? As I illustrate in the discussion below, benefits from protected areas remain differentiated along class, race and property rights.

ON THE MEANINGS OF BENEFITS

> At both the field and policy levels, the links between poverty and environment remain ill defined. To push at the forefront of the poverty and environment nexus would require defining the policies that can protect biodiversity most effectively while also helping the poor. What is known is that alleviating poverty will not necessarily lead to improvements in biodiversity conservation (Brandon 1997: 104-105).

> Giving people a share of the profits that can be made from conservation in exchange for extinguishing their rights and their local political economy, and transforming their way of life, may not seem like a very fair deal to many indigenous peoples (Colchester 2000: 119).

The two quotations above highlight not only the difficulty of evaluating the benefits from protected areas, but also indicate the elusiveness of the notion of benefits. Nature conservationists have long used the notion of benefits in the context of biodiversity protection. The view is that people would value biodiversity if it is beneficial to them. Subsequently, the IUCN developed categories of protected areas, most of which allow for some use of natural resources. The benefits from protected areas are defined from the perspective of biodiversity protection rather than from the perspective of the various participants. Notably, the different stakeholders have defined benefits to suit their interests, some of which have actually been at variance with nature conservation imperatives. In other words, in the absence of a common understanding of what the benefits are or should be, various participants have invented their own ideas about benefits from protected areas. It is therefore not surprising that 'fortress conservationists' see the use of protected areas for biodiversity protection as a fruitless exercise. Certainly, benefits that accrue from protected areas were and remain poorly defined. This applies to benefits for nature conservation as well as for people. For protected areas, the motives behind the use of benefits as a sweetner[5] has neither been publicly stated nor admitted.

As we have seen in the preceding chapters, the rationales for establishing national parks have always been underpinned by notions of benefits.

Notwithstanding its various connotations, 'benefit' has generally been used by conservationists to mean 'something that improves' or offers 'advantage.' For example, national parks were to improve the security of nature, as evidenced by the conservation-for-future-generation thesis, which is anchored on ideas about securing nature. Had it not been for national parks, the habitats, fauna and flora found in today's national parks would have been completely different. Indeed, the global security of nature has gained world currency as a driving force behind protected areas.

Lack of participation by local populations in establishing national parks meant that those populations remained unclear about the purpose of the parks and the benefits that would go with such protected areas. More crucially, their own ideas about the benefits of, or from, nature were ignored. Herein lie the politics of the beneficiation framework: whereas different societies had their own views of how nature is of benefits to them, the creation of protected areas led to the redefinition of how local communities would henceforth benefit from nature. A striking feature of community benefits is their prescriptiveness. It is generally assumed that local communities would benefit from protected areas in material terms. Understandably, the majority of local communities adjacent to protected areas are poor,[6] and therefore their socio-economic conditions cannot be ignored. However, their poverty can be partly ascribed to the very protected areas from which they are to obtain benefits of some sort.

Two broad categories of material benefits for local communities have emerged: The first permits local populations to access some of the park resources, hence most of the benefits relate to access to resources: hunting, grazing, wood, medicinal plants, visits to graves, and so forth.[7] As these resources are usually what were available for use by the community before their relocation from the area of the park, it is doubtful whether they should be called benefits at all. There is a move towards giving communities opportunities for limited access to some park resources. While the move is and should be appreciated, it is still not easy for most communities to access park resources. That access has to be negotiated in the first instance. In other words, access to park resources is a reaffirmation of what communities used to do in the past. The only major difference is that such communities are allowed to continue with their past practices under negotiated terms and procedures.

The second and dominant category of material benefits refers to the generation of profit and job creation. It is argued that local communities derive economic benefits from national parks and reserves that they could not have derived in the absence of protected areas. As I show below, it is generally expected that communities will benefit from protected areas in one way or another. Local communities themselves have furthermore absorbed the materialism of protected areas. Thus, our conceptualisation of how local communities should benefit from protected areas has been seriously constrained by the socio-economic conditions of those communities. There are also assumptions about what those benefits entail and how they should be accessed. One of the dominant assumptions is that the poor socio-economic conditions of local people prevent them from accessing non-material benefits.

Interestingly, national parks are pictorialised as a biblical paradise where one's soul can come to rest. As Terborgh (1999: 19) commented,

> essentially, all the utilitarian arguments for conserving biodiversity are built on fragile assumptions that crumble under closer scrutiny. Instead, the fundamental arguments for conserving nature must be spiritual and aesthetic, motivated by feelings that well up from our deepest beings. What is absolute, enduring and irreplaceable is the primordial nourishment of our psyches afforded by a quiet walk in an ancient forest or the spectacle of a thousand geese against a blue sky on a crisp winter day. There are no substitutes for these things, and if they cease to exist, all the money in the world will not bring them back.

The implication of the spiritual and aesthetic arguments is that people go to national parks for spiritual nourishment.[8] The question that arises is, whose spiritual life needs nourishment from national parks? If national parks provide spiritual nourishment, why are some people forced to leave areas that provide such nourishment? Could it be that resident people were removed in order to 'preserve the source of inspiration' to humanity as a whole? If so, why have national parks been 'closed' to people who lived in and around them – where are they expected to find spiritual nourishment? Answers to these questions point to one conclusion, namely: the exclusionary nature of enjoyment from national parks. That exclusion reflects divisions along race and class. The underlying, but unstated assumption is that people of a lower class are unable to enjoy the spiritual benefits from nature. In late 19th and early 20th century Sweden,

> the newly established working class found itself in conflict over the ways in which [the] new leisure time was spent. With the increased availability of mass transportation, higher wages, and shorter working weeks, the countryside and seaside became available to the class. Many middle-class observers were put off by these developments, complaining that the problem with working-class vacations was that they did not behave (Neumann 1998: 22).

In reinforcing the view that members of the lower classes are unable to appreciate nature and landscapes, Macnair (cited in Lowenthal and Prince 1964: 326) commented that,

> the man-in-the-street … however you educate him … will never be interested. The chap who is interested is somebody with a particular form of mentality which has grown up with him through, tradition, through inheritance and lots of other things.

Those assumptions pervade the contemporary tourist industry, which is targeted at high-income groups. Notwithstanding the economic logic of income, mobility and profit, the tourist industry is founded on, and perpetuates, the idea that only rich people have a high taste for nature. Equally, there seems to be a racist belief that non-whites are inherently incapable of enjoying nature. The Missionary David Carnegie described the Ndebele of Zimbabwe as people,

> who see no beauty or variety in earth or sky. The book of nature is shut up and sealed, there is no music in the moaning of the wind … nor loveliness in the golden-tinted sunsets. Nature's messengers inspire only fear and distrust (cited in Ranger 1999: 16).

Raval (1994: 312) presents an entirely different picture of the native's appreciation of nature by documenting how a Maldhari who had been resettled from Gir National Park in India, missed Gir "when the sky gets dark with heavy clouds and thunders, the big trees sway in the wind, the peacocks sing."

Non-whites have enjoyed nature in their own ways – and these depended very much on their own ideas about nature and how it should be enjoyed. To propose that nature should be enjoyed in a particular way is highly presumptuous. I reiterate that non-western societies are expected to enjoy nature in accordance with dominant western values. Read from this angle, the failure of non-whites to demonstrate a western taste of nature is misconstrued as lack of appreciation of nature. Out of all these have emerged western views of how local (non-white) communities should benefit from nature. As I show in the rest of this chapter, those views have reduced benefits for local peoples from nature to development ideals. Local populations are increasingly absorbing those views, not because they have developed western tastes for nature, but because such views have received official endorsement as a strategy for managing and developing local communities in and around protected areas.

Views on ways in which local communities should or could benefit from national parks are similar to those that relate to benefits from community-based natural resources.[9] In fact, the framing of benefits from CBNRM is often used as a model of how local communities can benefit from parks. I emphasise that CBNRM and its related acronyms have emerged as a framework for resolving the age-old problem of contests over resources by using resource use rights rather than ownership rights as a preferred solution.

THE CONGRUENCE OF PERCEPTIONS OF BENEFITS

Results from the national survey in South Africa are relevant to the understanding of ideas about benefits from national parks and nature reserves in the region.[10] The survey[11] was carried out in July/August 2001 and involved 2 470 respondents across South Africa. Respondents were asked to indicate how they expect local communities to benefit from national parks. Four major categories of local community benefits of national parks – job creation, socio-economic development, exposure to visitors and other – were considered by respondents, together with the no benefit option. Job creation benefit overwhelmingly dominates perceptions within the South African population units, as classified in terms of the province, gender, race group and living standard attributes (Table 7.1). The sample reflects South Africa's population composition. It appropriately and proportionately embraced the provincial, gender, race and living conditions attributes of that country's population structure.

Notwithstanding variations in perceptions of particular benefits, the overwhelming majority of respondents (85.8%, on average) held the view that national parks benefit local communities in one way or the other. Job creation ranks the highest in the categories of benefits, with 46, 77% of the respondents expecting national parks to yield jobs to local communities. This is followed by the benefits

from exposure to visitors (21, 12%). Of the 2 470 respondents, 12, 29% were of the view that national parks will yield socio-economic benefits to local communities, while 5, 60% suggested that other benefits that are not in the given categories would also accrue to local communities. A significant proportion (14, 22%) of the sample, however, did not think that national parks would benefit local communities.

Table 7.1 Percentage respondents per category of benefits

	Job creation	Socio-economic development	Exposure to visitors	No benefits	Others	Total
Males	49.42	13.50	20.83	11.02	5.24	45.36
Females	44.56	11.29	21.38	16.86	5.91	54.64
Africans	47.22	10.55	21.05	14.66	6.53	77.31
Coloureds	54.63	5.90	22.03	15.53	1.90	7.96
Indians	29.99	33.06	14.94	18.21	3.80	2.86
Whites	42.75	23.18	22.66	8.78	2.63	11.87
Total (%)	46.77	12.29	21.12	14.22	5.60	100

Source: Survey 2001.

Marginal differences reflected in the benefit perception patterns do not seem to be linked in any significant way to the poverty and development attributes variations, such as human development index (HDI), unemployment rate and dependency ratio (Table 7.2).[12] In relation to the benefit perceptions, the provinces with an HDI below the national average – Eastern Cape, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and North-West – would have been expected to show significant differences from those provinces with an HDI above the national average – Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape and Western Cape. Additionally, the unemployment rates of Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo and North-West, in contrast to those of Free State, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northern Cape and Western Cape, are significantly above the national average. There are also significant provincial differences in dependency ratios between Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and, to a limited extent, Northern Cape and North-West, on the one hand, and those of the Free State, Gauteng and Western Cape, on the other. These differences are significant, and can be expected to reflect in the benefit perception patterns. However, the data in Table 7.1 does not support that expectation.

Different race groups – particularly the division between Africans and coloureds, on the one hand, and Indians and Whites, on the other – do register significant differences in HDI. Whereas the former race groups score an HDI below the national average of 0.667, the latter register well above 0.800 (Table 7.3). Only the

Africans register an unemployment rate and a dependency ratio well above the national averages. Whereas those of the coloured race group hover around the national averages, the same measures are far below these averages for Indians and whites. These significant race group variations in the poverty and development attributes are not reflected in the benefit perception patterns. Apparently, poverty and development attributes are not part of the determinants of the South Africans' perceptions of the local communities' benefits from national parks. A reasonable expectation for South Africa is that the pattern of perceptions would maintain a significant association with those attributes' variations with province and race.

Table 7.2 Perceived benefits and the level of living according to provinces

Province	Benefits	HDI	Unemployment rate	Dependency ratio
Eastern Cape	86.53	0.507	48.5	82
Free State	81.83	0.657	30.0	55
Gauteng	89.70	0.818	28.2	41
KwaZulu-Natal	78.74	0.602	39.1	67
Limpopo	84.76	0.470	46.0	90
Mpumalanga	93.05	0.694	32.9	69
Northern Cape	78.73	0.698	28.5	62
North West	86.25	0.543	37.9	63
Western Cape	89.49	0.826	17.9	51

Source: Survey 2001

Essentially, the survey confirms the hegemony of the developmental paradigm. The human development index, unemployment rate and dependency ratio are useful indicators of poverty and development. I have linked these indicators to the national survey results in terms of the attributes of geographical organisation of provinces and race groups. In terms of these indicators, it could reasonably be assumed that a correlation exists between poverty, on the one hand, and particular provinces and race groups, on the other hand. It is therefore logical to assume that patterns of perceptions would vary with variations in levels of development or poverty, as entrenched in the spatial organisation of provinces and race classification. The results described above, however, suggest otherwise. Provincial correlation coefficients that reflect the strengths and directions of the relationship between prevalence of benefit and no benefit perceptions, on the one hand, and HDI, unemployment rate and dependency ratio, on the other, are negligible. All the correlations fall between –0.32 and 0.32, which imply weak and insignificant relationships. The same is true for the race groups correlation between perceptions

prevalence and these indicators of poverty and development, with correlation ranging between –0.32 and 0.32. These patterns of perceptions show no significant association with the realities of deprivation, unemployment, poverty, inequalities, HDI and dependency ratio. Against this backdrop, perceptions of benefits from national parks are not necessarily influenced by socio-economic conditions. Rather, they appear to be part of the hegemonic view of protected-area-related benefits. In reality, access to benefits depends on a number of factors. I examine some of these in the section that follows.

Table 7.3 Perceived benefits and the level of living according to race groups

Race groups	Benefits	HDI	Unemployment rate	Dependency ratio
Africans	85.35	0.500	42.5	67
Coloureds	84.46	0.663	20.9	58
Indians	81.79	0.836	12.2	45
Whites	91.22	0.901	4.9	46
National Average	85.78	0.667	33.9*	63

Source: South Africa 2001
*In 2001, the national unemployment rate was estimated to be 40%.

CONTEXTUALISING BENEFITS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Benefits and Land Rights

There is a strong view that local community benefits from protected areas are inextricably linked to land rights and ownership (see Chapter 6). In other words, the manner and extent to which communities are able to extract benefits from protected areas are contingent on land rights. This is true of communities who have successfully lodged land claims in South Africa's national parks. By October 2003, those were still the only communities that had special privileges in the parks. For instance, the Makuleke are developing a six-star 36-bed lodge, Outpost,[13] in the area they had claimed in the Kruger National Park.[14] They are able to do this through their partnership with the private sector.[15] The benefits from the partnership are that "the Makuleke have a guarantee that all jobs in the lodge will go to local people. They receive 10% of turnover generated by the high-value business. And they receive a further 2% of turnover that goes into a bursary fund to train local residents" (Makuleke Community Property Association 2003: n.p.). Furthermore, Wilderness Safari plans to invest R45 million in order to develop four top-of-the-range safari lodges in the Makuleke region (i.e. Kruger National Park). Tables 7.4 and 7.5 below summarise the predicted revenues. The timing of these developments

coincide with the global tourist project in the area, the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Parks (see Chapter 8). Moreover, the lodges are designed to meet the taste of the Euro- and Dollar-tourists.

Table 7.4 Predicted revenues from partnership with the Wilderness Safari

Source	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Concession fees	1, 523, 241	2, 100, 150	2, 689, 748	3, 166, 555
Permanent jobs	1, 411, 200	1, 720, 320	1, 942, 080	2, 056, 320
Anti-poaching	300, 000	300, 000	300, 000	300, 000
Total	2, 934, 441	3, 820, 470	4, 631, 828	5, 222, 875

Source: Makuleke Communal Property Association n.d.

Table 7.5 Predicted revenue from the partnership with the Outpost

Source	Year 1	Year 2	Year 3	Year 4
Concession fees	502, 399	681, 382	770, 365	859, 349
Permanent jobs	490, 140	588, 168	635, 221	686, 039
Anti-poaching	130, 000	130, 000	130, 000	130, 000
Total	1, 082, 539	1, 269, 550	1, 405, 586	1, 545, 388

Source: Makuleke Communal Property Association n.d.

The Mdluli community – found between the Numbi and Pretoriuskop gates of the Kruger National Park – would be following in the footsteps of the Makuleke. Though they have already build Phumulani Lodge on their communal land outside the Kruger National Park, they plan to build another lodge inside the park on the 1600ha of land they have regained through land restitution.

The Khomani San and the Mier also have opportunities to offer concession to private developers. As part of the contractual agreement, the Khomani San, Mier and SANParks agreed to establish a 'co-operation lodge' at Klein Skrij Pan. Subsequently, the Joint Management Board of the three parties invited concessionaires to design and build the lodge, and to operate it for a period of seven years (*Sunday Times*, 27 April 2003a: 20).

Undoubtedly, the Nama in the Northern Cape would be able to negotiate some tangible benefits from the Richtersveld National Park after the success of their land claim in 2003. After the establishment of the park in 1991, it had been difficult for the Nama to negotiate the benefits from the park as they did not own the land.[16] The only benefits – if it is a benefit at all – was for resident livestock farmers to remain in the park and to graze their livestock there.

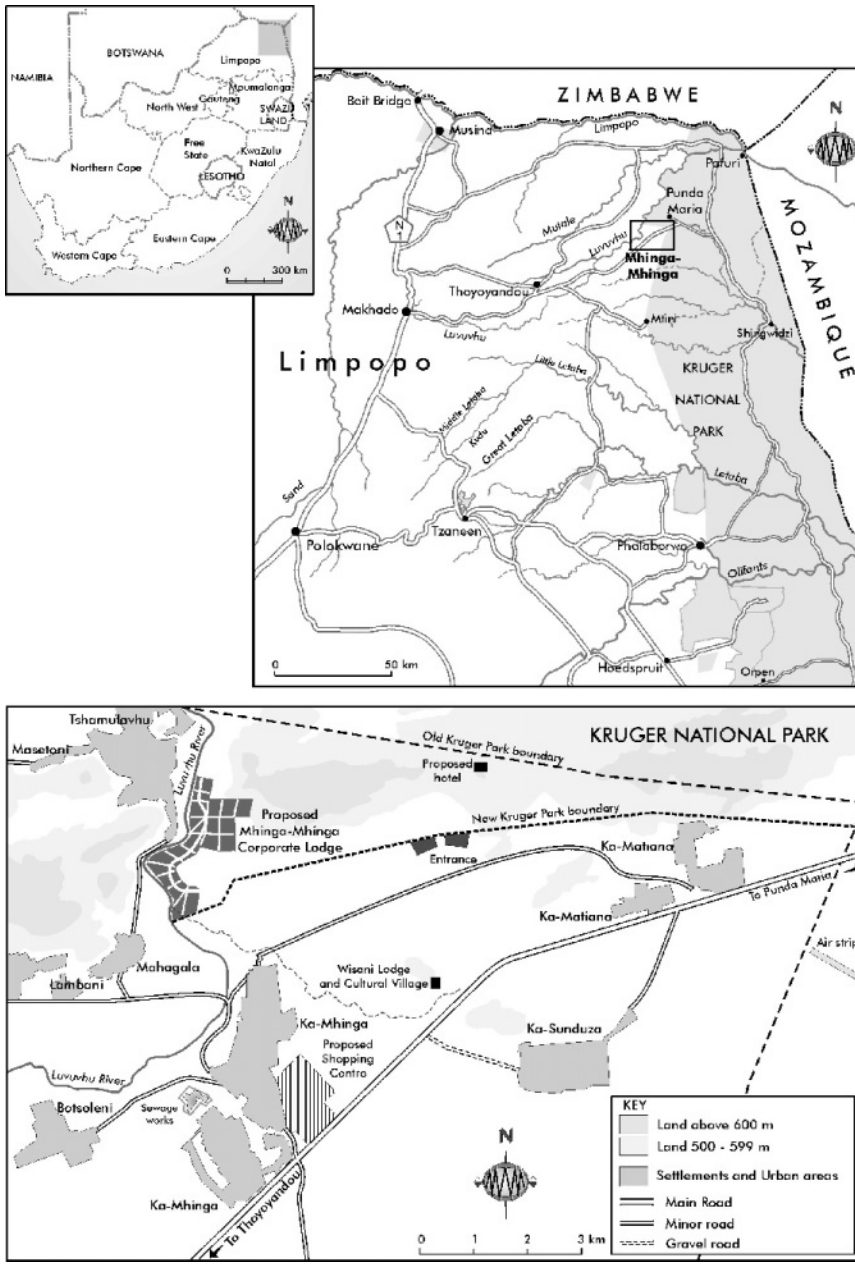

Figure 7.1 Mhinga Mhinga Leisure Development Project
Source: Adapted and redrawn from various sources

The tale told by these examples is that communities bordering South Africa's national parks, and who have no legally recognised land claims, have not been able to effectively negotiate benefits from the adjacent national parks. The Mhinga community, which is located near the Makuleke and some 10km from the Phunda Maria Gate of the Kruger National Park, is one of the most enterprising communities along the boundary of the park. It developed Wisani Lodge in 2000 approximately 8km from the park and under its Mhinga Mhinga Leisure Development,[17] it plans to develop an 18 Golf Course and a 90-bed Safari Lodge (Limpopo n.d). Arguably, the community is unable to build the lodge inside the park because it failed to regain the land it claimed inside the park.[18] It has proposed to incorporate 2000ha of communal land into the park (Figure 7.1), and hopes to use the incorporation to negotiate for a long-term concession within the park (Limpopo n.d.).

Admittedly, land rights on their own do not guarantee community benefits from national parks. For instance, the Khomani San in South Africa have regained their land rights in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (see Chapter 6). However, organisational problems and conflict of interest between the Mier and the Khomani San,[19] who are beneficiaries of the same land claim, have complicated the way in which the two groups would access benefits. In contrast to the Mier, who want to use the land for commercial purposes, the Khomani San prefer to use it for cultural purposes. Following the success of their land claim, the Khomani San began to display the cultural artifacts alongside the road to the park in order to sell these to tourists[20] (Figure 7.2). They are also eager to display themselves to amuse tourists.[21] In other words, the Khomani San will benefit from their land claim by, among other things, cultural tourism.

'Selling' Culture

Cultural tourism has the intriguing dimension of human gradation that cuts through the analysis of this volume. Whose culture makes tourism and for whom? The question is pertinent because some people have to sell their culture in and around nature reserves and national parks. Robins' (2001: 850) comment on the Khomani San (in southern Africa) lays the foundation of the point I want to make:

> The representations of 'bushmen' as 'First People' that are reproduced daily at South African museum dioramas and San tourist villages continue to ignore the devastating consequences of San genocide, land and cultural dispossession and contemporary rural poverty and social fragmentation. However, drawing attention to this devastating San past and present does not necessarily appeal to tourists who want to see [the San] in loincloths and carrying bows and arrows. Neither does it necessarily appeal to donors looking for 'First People.'

The San referred to above have won the land claim, as I pointed out in the preceding discussion. If, indeed, tourists do want to see them in the park, the land claim might be interpreted as confirming the continuous presence of the San in the park. As they only have their culture to sell to tourists, how would their presence in the park be viewed differently from earlier images of the San as part of the fauna?[22] The Nama in the Richtersveld are worried that Ais-Ais/Richtersveld Transfrontier Park

between South Africa and Namibia (see Chapter 8) could 'cage' them like animals in the zoo. This is clearly captured by Willem de Wet from Kuboes village (i.e. Richtersveld): "Yes, the park is going to be a good thing but I am concerned about the impact the tourists are going to have on our dignity. I don't want them to look out of their buses at my people as if they were animals in a zoo" (*Sunday Times*, 3 August 2003b: 5).

Figure 7.2 The Khomani San artifacts along the road to the park
Source: Photograph by Ramutsindela

There is also a question of who uses native culture and who benefits therefrom. Undoubtedly, cultural villages in and around national parks could be built by, and profit entrepreneurs who do not belong to the cultural group in question – exploiting culture as a resource. For instance, Phumulani Lodge is said to be an experience created by the Mdluli tribe for their people as an expression of their tribal cultures (Mpumalanga n.d.). Though the late Chief Mdluli might have lodged the land claim in the park in 1988 for the sake of his subjects, there are allegations that the establishment of Phumulani Lodge by Africa Heritage Enterprise was meant to serve the interests of whites, who were well-connected in government circles.

These criticisms are not meant to diminish the value of cultural tourism. Rather, they are useful examples of the exploitation of the culture of the other for commercial purposes – the commodification of culture. The proliferation of curios at park entrances suggests that most of the local populations who do not own land in parks will mainly operate outside the parks. Further, the absence of land restitution

in other parts of the region severely limits the extent to which communities can benefit from parks. While the Khomani San on the South African side have some access to the park, their counterparts in Botswana and Namibia have very little or no chance of benefiting from national parks in their respective countries.

In the Absence of Land Restitution

The southern San on the Botswana and Namibian side have not had the opportunity to reassert their identities through land restitution in national parks, mainly because there is no land restitution in those countries. Botswana seems to be worried that the ways in which South Africa is addressing the legacies of colonialism and apartheid might raise expectations among local communities in Botswana. It has been reported that Botswana officials are of the view that "Botswana is directly affected by virtually every socio-political development in South Africa. Plans for spreading Botswana's wealth are being hurt by South Africa's selective transformation exercise" (*Mail & Guardian*, 14-19 March 2003: 18).

Though Namibia was also subjected to South Africa's apartheid ideology and its consequent bantustan policy, the absence of land restitution after independence has severely limited the ways in which local communities could negotiate their power over park resources. For example, the infamous Odendaal Commission Report led to the removals of the Ovambo from Etosha National Park in the 1970s. As was the case in South Africa, the Ovambo were removed to their 'homeland.' Communities such as the Ovambo have suffered the same fate as those in South Africa, but the process of restoring land rights to victims of removals from national parks in the two countries is dissimilar. Essentially, victims in Namibia would need other mechanisms for asserting power over park resources.[23]

In the absence of land rights in Sehlabathebe National Park, Lesotho has yet to find ways in which communities might benefit from the park. It has been acknowledged that "local communities do not directly benefit from the revenues generated from [the park], as a result they are paying opportunity costs of not utilising the rangeland resources while they get nothing in return" (Lesotho 1999a: 157-158). The Lesotho government hopes to develop the tourism infrastructure in national parks and nature reserves by 2006 and to empower local communities with entrepreneurial skills for tourism (Lesotho 2000a). For Sehlabathebe, the crucial issue would be how to meet the demand for grazing land in the park. With limited experiences of people and parks dynamics,[24] officials have acknowledged that, "it is necessary to critically address the question of community rights. If there is no recognition of any community ownership of land in which tourism products are located, then communities will remain junior partners at best, and employment seekers at worst" (Lesotho 2000a: 81). The government hopes to use a competitive bidding process to ensure maximum benefits to communities. Other proposals include the use of fodder bank for stock farmers,[25] the training of herdboys for eco-tourism. For the moment, horse riding seems to be the main activity through which communities around the park can extract some financial rewards from visitors. At

the workshop facilitated by Earthplan (Lesotho 1999b: 15), it was acknowledged that, "use of local horses to collect tourists from Bushman's Nek in South Africa and bring them into the park is at present the only benefit."

Namibia has attempted to develop a general policy for people found inside national parks, but has yet to come up with a coherent strategy of how neighbouring communities would benefit from parks. The Ministry of Environment and Tourism's first step towards opening up park resources for the benefits of neighbouring community was the offer of a tourism concession within the Mudumu National Park in 1996. The concession was offered to a neighbouring community that had been removed from the park (Jones 1997). However, such measures have not been extended to other national parks in that country. Most neighbouring communities are expected to benefit from their own conservancies, raising the question of whether CBNRM are meant to divert the attention of communities away from national park resources.

Unlike in South Africa where land restitution has provided the context in which benefits could be negotiated, most communities in the region remain marginalised. Moreover, talk about community benefits usually surfaces in those areas that are of concern to nature conservationists. There benefits could even be advanced before the actual operation of nature conservation schemes. As we have noted, Shewula Nature Reserve (in Swaziland) emerged as part of the strategy to link communal land to their neighbouring Hlane National Park and Mlawula Nature Reserves in preparation for the Lubombo Transfrontier Park. Notably, benefits were advanced to the Shewula Community in the form of a community lodge,[26] and Orphans Care Programme. Benefits of this nature are becoming a common feature, particularly in communal areas that would be affected by transfrontier parks. These come in the form of poverty relief programme. For instance, the Peace Parks Foundation allocated R17 million for poverty alleviation programmes in southern Africa in 2002 (Peace Parks Foundation 2002). These programmes should not be confused with benefits that should accrue directly from national parks. Admittedly, the connection between nature conservation and poverty alleviation forms an important pillar of transfrontier projects. In the chapter that follows, I will analyse the development of transfrontier parks in the region against the global concerns for linkages in the land and seascapes.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted that the benefits for local people are mainly used to develop conservation-oriented behaviour among local people. It further shows that local people themselves have absorbed the benefit package in ways that harmonises local expectations with global offerings. A national survey of South Africans' perceptions of how local communities benefit from national parks, reveals the congruence between global propositions and local expectations. Moreover, the economic benefits from protected areas come at the top. Conceptually, the acceptance of the economic beneficiation framework by all parties involved and

affected by protected areas signifies the colonisation of society and the production of common mentalities by capital (Kovel 1997). In the chapter that follows, I elaborate on the development of these mentalities in a regional context.

NOTES

[1] It is often claimed that contemporary nature conservation schemes, in contrast to their colonial predecessors, are able to distribute the benefits of nature conservation to local communities.

[2] The debate on the benefits of the poor from trade is divided into two main camps, with some commentators attempting to straddle both camps.

[3] That is, the 5th World Parks Congress.

[4] As I show later in this chapter, there are development schemes in areas adjacent to protected areas that have very little to do with nature conservation. Most of those schemes are meant for local economic development.

[5] Particularly in terms of community involvement.

[6] As defines in terms of current development ideologies.

[7] The allocation of these benefits can lead to friction in local communities. For instance, in Brazil, the government's decision to allow only 'traditional' populations to remain in the park provoked internal dissention among local population (Ghimire and Pimbert 1997).

[8] National parks offer environmental settings that allow one to achieve solitude. In this sense, solitude can be regarded as a benefit from national parks (see Long and Averill 2003).

[9] The major differences is on how benefits from parks should be assessed since national parks are governed by sets of rules that do not necessary apply to community-based natural resource schemes. Despite this difference, the list of benefits remains the same.

[10] Notwithstanding local variations, global models of community benefits from protected areas have been applied in the region.

[11] I commissioned the Human Sciences Research Council (South Africa) to carry the survey on my behalf.

[12] The latter are all significantly variable in terms of province and gender.

[13] To be developed by Webber Wentzel Bowens.

[14] Known as the Makuleke Region of the Kruger National Park.

[15] Some R60 million had been mobilised by mid-2003.

[16] It is premature to comment on how those benefits would be since the land restitution became successful in 2003.

[17] In partnership with Limpopo Province.

[18] It is still awaiting the outcome of the second attempt to claim the land inside the park.

[19] The two are beneficiaries of the same land claim.

[20] They could have done this without the land claim. Besides generating income from park entrance fees, selling of wildlife quotas, licensing, and so on, local communities are increasingly being encouraged to use cultural tourism as a strategy for development. For the purpose of our discussion, we focus on aspects of cultural tourism that are aligned with benefits from national parks. It is often assumed that people who live in and adjacent to national parks would be able to sell their cultural artefacts to tourists. The development of the tourist market in and around communities who live adjacent to national parks begs the question of whether communities are benefiting from parks or from their entrepreneurial skills.

[21] When visiting the park in July 2002, I found three members of the Khomani San along the road to the park. Soon after stopping the car by the their road stall, one man quickly grabbed his loin skins from the ground to show me that he can put it on if I want to see him in his traditional attire.

[22] This question can be broadened to include all natives who were viewed by Europeans as closer to nature.

[23] This is due to the fact that they do not have land rights.

[24] The recently established state protected areas of Bokong, Tsehlanyane and Liphofung have no formal mechanisms for any co-management or revenue sharing agreements (Lesotho 2000a).
[25] Interview, Teboho Maliehe, September 26, 2003.
[26] Shewula Mountain Camp. The Camp was built with the assistance of DFID and Cospe.

CHAPTER 8

TRANSFRONTIER PARKS: NEW REGIMES AND OLD PRACTICES

INTRODUCTION

Nature conservationists have hailed the amalgamation of contiguous protected areas and a mosaic of different land use types into transfrontier parks[1] across international boundaries as the 21st century model for managing protected areas. Transfrontier parks (hereafter TFPs) represent a shift towards transboundary cooperation as a vehicle for managing ecosystems that had been bisected by political boundaries, particularly between states. National parks will therefore no longer remain as isolated pockets in their respective countries. This begs the question of whether Taps manifest rationales and interests that differ from those we have witnessed in the establishment of national parks. Does the new model for biodiversity conservation (i.e. TFPs) represent a shift in our understanding of society-nature relations? The question is pertinent because it is claimed that TFPs represent a radical departure from past nature conservation philosophies and policies.

The principal aim of this chapter is to highlight the links and/or differences between the ideas that underpinned national parks and those of TFPs. The chapter shows that, as in national parks, environmental anxieties and political and economic imperatives have also underscored TFPs. Ecologically, TFPs represent the re-invention of the notion of wilderness. The link between wilderness and TFPs is articulated in the vision of re-establishing the 'natural' ecological systems that had been interrupted by humans. Ecological rationales for transfronier parks are, largely, an expression of the philosophy of bioregionalism[2] and the need for international collaboration in biodiversity protection.[3] In Africa, they represent a reincarnation of the vision of what the continent once looked like before colonialism. The 'natural systems' referred to in bioregionalism accentuate the physical environment, an evidence of the continued division between society and nature. Reference to the social component of the environment is only made with regard to tourists, who would be able to roam freely throughout the park like the animals they have come to see, and with regard to local communities who should benefit in some ways from the park.

Politically, TFPs represent the way in which the state becomes a conduit for various interests in nature conservation. In southern Africa they demonstrate the use of political changes and the manipulation of the language of decolonisation in advancing vested interests and different objectives. It is not surprising that the end of the Cold War saw the establishment of five transboundary biospheres in Europe,[4]

while the end of apartheid rule in South Africa witnessed the emergence of transfronier parks in southern Africa. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) (n.d., p.5) noted that although the first steps towards transboundary reserves had been taken in the late 1970s, interest in transboundary biosphere reserves in continental Europe only increased "with the breaking down of the barriers between the Socialist countries and the countries of western Europe, and with measures for promoting co-operation between the countries of the European Union, actual and projected."[5] In Africa, TFPs chime with the ideals of the unity of Africa. Economic interests are one of the strongest driving forces behind TFPs. In developing countries, TFPs embody the enlargement of the conservation-for-development approach (Simon 2003b).[6]

GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE OF LINKAGES

As I have shown in Chapter 3, national parks have had negative consequences on nature, because nature conservation policies were and still are underpinned by a mix of interests, some of which had very little to do with nature conservation. TFPs are one of the measures taken to address the dismemberment of ecological systems and habitats. Ecologically, the need for TFPs arises from findings on species behaviour and the search for appropriate management structures. It is widely acknowledged that habitats are critical for the survival and reproduction of species, and thus the fragmentation of habitats is considered detrimental. In recent years, research has advanced the need for linking isolated patches of habitat. Concerns over habitat fragmentation are not new, but the explosion of interests in habitat connectivity can be ascribed to the rapidity and scale at which the physical environment is degrading. The linkage is said to increase the viability of local species population by allowing access to larger area habitat; allowing seasonal migration, permitting genetic exchange with their populations; and allowing local animal populations to move away from a degraded habitat (Bennett 2003a).

Despite difficulties in scientifically demonstrating the impact of linkages on species populations, Bennett (2003b) drew four examples to illustrate the value of linkages in land/seascapes. First, he showed that the Woeste Hoeve Ecoduct[7] in the Netherlands enhanced the local movement of deer, wild boar and badges. The second example demonstrates that the probability that the silver-spotted skipper would colonise its new habitat depended primarily on the patch size and its degree of isolation. It was concluded that the most important determinant of colonisation was the degree of isolation of a habitat patch. That is, the greater the distance from a populated patch, the smaller the chance of colonisation. Third, the restoration of the Cascade Corridor by Parks Canada in 1997 increased the attraction of the corridor for wolves, both as a linkage and as an additional habitat. Fourth, the migration of the Green Turtle shows that their migratory range requires protection of littoral areas over a long distance. These examples have been used to show the positive effects of linkages in the landscapes and to highlight the fact that, "minimizing the effects of

isolation by enlarging landscape connectivity is one way to counter the adverse effects of fragmentation" (Bennett 2003b: 11).

In the case of national parks, the idea of linkages has been used to suggest joining together protected areas to re-establish the migratory routes of wildlife and to increase the gene pool. Ecologically, the aim is to establish bioregions. Sale (2001: 41) view a bioregion as "a way of living and thinking which views the world in terms of the actual contours and life-forms of the earth – measured by the distinct flora and fauna, the climate and soils, the topography and hydrology, and how all these work together." I must emphasise that landscape connectivity processes are primarily concerned with the physical environment,[8] as opposed to living conditions of human beings. In terms of the theme of this volume, concerns with the physical environment at the expense of humans are a continuation of the idea that the human hand is absent in the making of landscapes, which was pertinent in the history of national parks. More crucially, the suggestion that bioregions are defined natural systems masks the political processes behind their establishment.

TFPs IN SOUTHERN AFRICA[9]

Despite their recent development on the African continent, the idea of a TFP is not new. Czechoslovakia and Poland attempted to resolve their post-War boundary dispute by means of a TFP (Goetel 1925). However, the concept was only put into practice when the Waterton-Glacier National Park between the United States and Canada was established in 1932 (Westing 1999). In southern Africa, earlier schemes with regard to TFPs included the proposal by the Portuguese ecologist, Gomes de Souza, to establish such a park on the South Africa-Mozambique border in 1938. The South African Defence Force endorsed the proposal, hoping to use the scheme to stabilise the area next to the Kruger National Park and to gather intelligence information.[10] At the time, the idea of a TFP was to support white rule in the region and had very little to do with nature conservation *per se*. It was primarily intended to reinforce white domination in the region.[11]

A combination of several factors – the end of the Cold War; dramatic political changes in southern Africa; new directions in the protection of biodiversity; increasing globalisation; and problems experienced by individual states – offered fertile ground for advancing ideas and plans for TFPs in southern Africa. Notably, Anton Rupert emerged as a leading protagonist and financier of the new schemes. He used his political and business connections[12] to lay the foundation for TFPs in the region. Following his official meeting with President Joaquim Chissano on 27 May 1990, he successfully sold his TFP idea to all regional leaders and subsequently honoured them as patrons of his Peace Parks Foundation.[13]

The advancement of the TFP idea required the necessary conditions at state level, in the first place. After all, TFPs require the involvement of the various states. Some of the internal consideration that enticed states to participate in TFP projects were the following: the devastating effects of civil war and the high demand for socio-economic development in Mozambique; the restructuring of the management

of protected areas and the problem of elephant overpopulation in South Africa; weaknesses in national park legislation in Lesotho; the low percentage of land under protected areas in Lesotho, Mozambique, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe; and the lack of funds for, and capacity in, biodiversity protection. In other words, each state anticipated some gains from the projects, although how these would accrue and be useful for solving domestic problems, remained unclear. The following examples illustrate some of those interests: In the case of Mozambique, the premise of TFPs was the need to rebuild and protects that country's natural assets. As the World Bank (1996: 3) commented, "the [Mozambican] government recognises the importance of preserving and maintaining its natural assets, but has been hampered by years of war and its very limited capacity to tackle even the most pressing problems in the forestry and wildlife sectors."

In South Africa, TFPs provided SANParks with an opportunity to resolve the problem of elephant overpopulation by translocating the surplus to Mozambique. Subsequent to the division of South Africa into nine provinces in 1994, the democratic government was faced with the challenge of institutional rearrangement in nature conservation management. The Kumbleben Commission (1998), which investigated the matter, recommended the establishment of a unified structure for managing state protected areas across the different provinces. However, some provinces were reluctant to relinquish their control over provincial national parks and reserves. Against this background, the coming of TFPs facilitated the restructuring of nature conservation management in the country (see Ramutsindela 2004b).

Officials in the Department of National Parks in Lesotho are looking forward to the Maluti-Drakensberg TFP (i.e. between Lesotho and South Africa) as a solution to what they see as the Lesotho government's lack of interest in protected areas.[14] The park furthermore offers them the chance to incorporate the nearby mountains into the Sehlabathebe National Park, thereby blocking the footpaths that are used by Basotho for entering South Africa.[15] It is hoped that this would reduce stock theft between the two countries. Lesotho has already gained from the TFP in terms of improvements in the national legislation. For instance, the legal standing of Sehlabathebe National Park was questionable, mainly because the National Parks Act (11) of 1975, by which it was established, was based on the Historical Monument, Relics, Fauna and Flora Act (41) of 1967.[16] The 1967 Act was not intended to cover national parks (Lesotho 1967). Furthermore, the National Parks Act of 1975 only became effective 12 years later on 29 June 1987 (Lesotho 1987). The Maluti-Drakensberg TFP required clarity of the legal status of Sehlabathebe National Park. This was done in terms of Legal Notice 181 of 2001, by which the park became a Selected Development Area (Lesotho 2001a).

In other words, southern African states participated in TFPs for various reasons. However, those variations are temporarily masked by a search for a collective regional outlook. Various factors account for the emergence of an apparently unified regional voice towards TFPs. Firstly, the nature of TFPs requires the participation of neighbouring states. In the case of southern Africa, as defined in this volume, the promotion of the TFP idea requires the participation of more than two states,

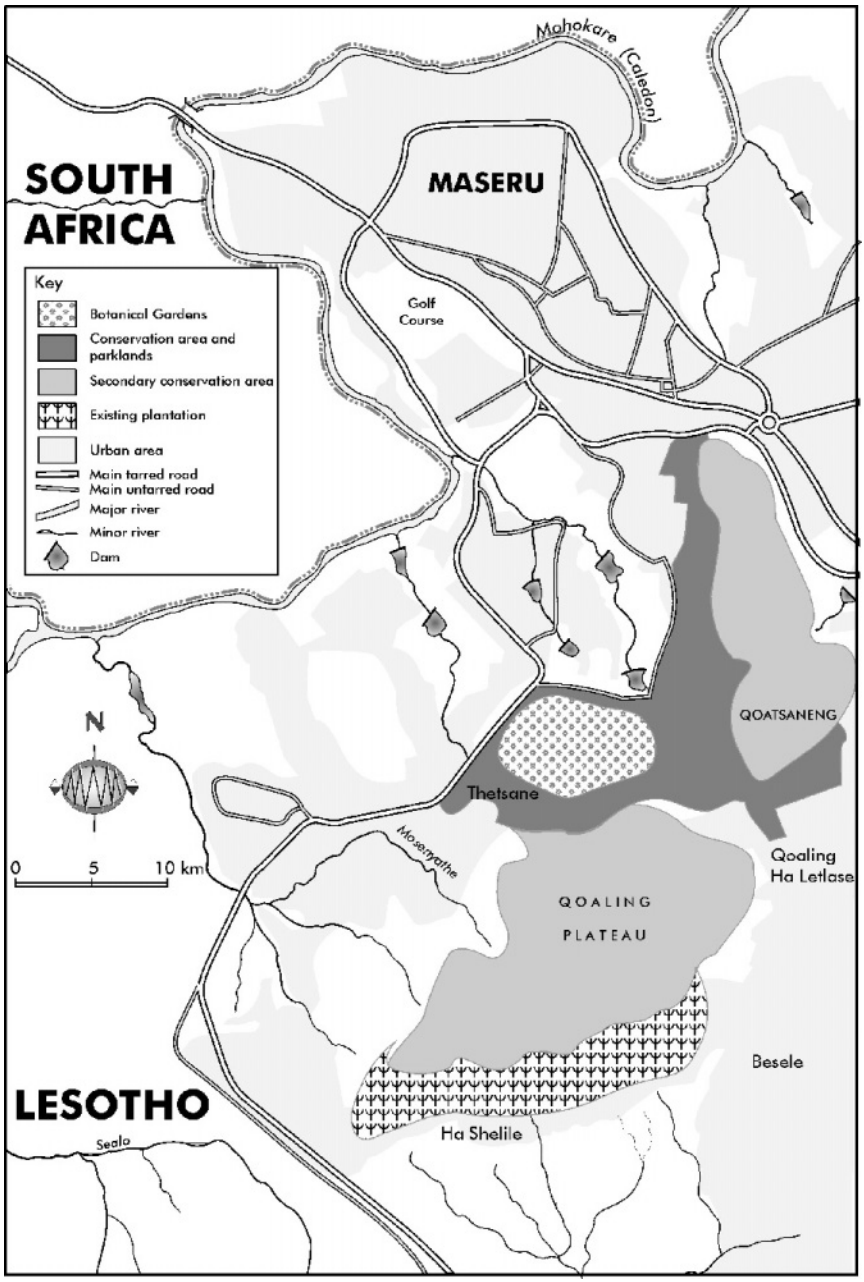

Figure 8.1 Small scale ex-situ conservation in Lesotho
Source: Lesotho 2002

because of the particular geography of the states.[17] Secondly, the promotion of TFPs coincided with regional initiatives that sought to encourage collaboration among southern African states. Thirdly, donors are more interested in funding a region rather than individual states. The main financier of TFP initiatives in southern Africa, the Peace Parks Foundation,[18] is unwilling to fund nature conservation projects at a national level. According to Werner Myburgh,[19] the Foundation is not concerned with national parks and reserves that do not form part of TFPs. It leaves that responsibility in the hands of other NGOs such as the World Wildlife Fund. The same rationale is advanced by the USAID.[20] Against this background, Lesotho's initiative to link small areas as *ex situ* conservation[21] (Figure 8.1) does not appeal to TFPs ideologues, despite its ecological value.

Fourthly, potential benefits from ecotourism for participating states appear to be much higher than those from isolated national parks. By facilitating the movement of tourists between and among states, TFPs are expected to increase the number of tourists substantially. For example, it is anticipated that Mozambique and Zimbabwe will benefit from approximately one million visitors to the Kruger National Park annually. In fact, such spin-offs from ecotourism are one of the main driving forces behind the involvement of other southern African states in TFP projects. Anecdotal evidence suggests that, of the three TFPs – the Kgalagadi, Great Limpopo and Ais-Ais/Richtersveld (Figure 8.2) – for which the treaties were already signed in 2003, the highest attention is given to the Great Limpopo TFP, because of its potential economic rewards.[22] Such regionally based funding is used as an incentive to encourage co-operation among states; making TFPs a regional concern.

A rejuvenated Southern African Development Community (SADC) has emphasised the need for regional co-operation. In particular, the SADC Wildlife Sector Policy emphasises the need for extending ecosystems across the national boundaries of member states (SADC 1997). Furthermore, the SADC's Regional Policy Strategy for Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources calls for effective management and utilisation of natural resources. Among the specific objectives of the Policy is the support for regional ecosystems and landscapes across national borders. Proponents of TFPs parks capitalised on this need to promote their conservation ideals. In practice, the call for regional co-operation enables them to lobby for political support and to seek official endorsement. Thus, TFPs are presented as an excellent opportunity for regional co-operation.

At the political level, proponents of TFPs view them as an effective step towards decolonisation. Accordingly, the Southern Africa Initiative of German Business (n.d.: 6) claimed that TFPs "open up Africa's borders." It goes on to blame colonists (including the Germans) for putting up irrational fences on the continent that supposedly had no boundaries – a typical Eurocentric view of Africa as *terra nullis*. Truly so, colonial boundary makers in Africa have been accused of having been ignorant of realities[23] on the ground, hence both natural systems and Africans[24] suffered. The new conservationists claim that they can rectify this situation by reuniting both natural systems and the people of the continent.

In the context of decolonisation it was determined that boundaries should be redrawn in order to erase the vestiges of colonialism and to foster unity on the

continent. Unless boundaries were changed, it was argued, decolonisation of Africa would remain an unfinished business.[25] In this context, the decolonisation of African boundaries was limited to changing physical lines on maps (Ramutsindela 1999). Unsurprisingly, suggestions were made that Africans should sit down with a square rule and redraw the map;[26] the intention being to either enlarge African states (Gakwandi 1996) or to demarcate smaller states along linguistic and cultural lines (Bello 1995).[27] It was hoped that such efforts would ease existing tensions within states and reduce conditions leading to the problem of refugees, among other things (Gakwandi 1996). Proponents of boundary changes have been disappointed by the continued existence of inherited colonial boundaries, which has variously been ascribed to the interest of African leaders in maintaining the status quo, the impact of the Cold War and the reinforcement of those boundaries by border communities.[28] Indeed, Afrocentric history suggests that African communities were not in fact passive recipients of colonial boundaries.

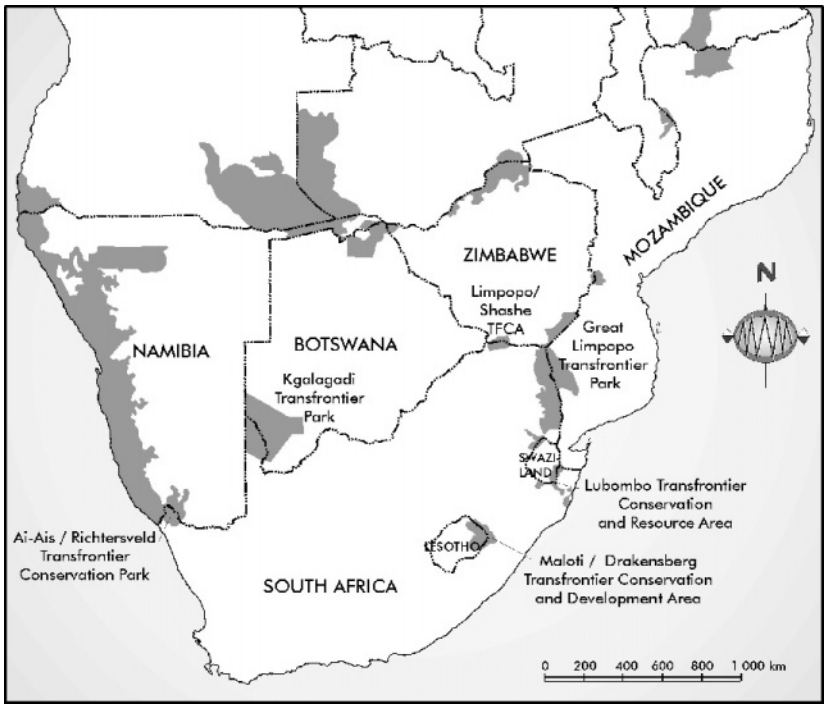

Figure 8.2 Transfrontier parks' sites
Source: Peace Parks Foundation 1999

Arguably, the anti-colonial stance adopted by contemporary conservationists chimes with post-independence political ideals of continental unity. As we shall see below, politicians in the region have absorbed the language of TFP ideologues. It

could be argued that the use of that language by conservationists serves to hide their fear of being seen as modern-day colonisers. For instance, the former director of the Peace Parks Foundation, John Hanks (n.d.), cautioned that, "every effort must be made to avoid the impression that [TFPs] are being imposed upon countries by outside agencies." Hence, efforts have been made to present the schemes as an initiative of African leaders to be learnt by outsiders, including Europe. In fact, conservationists and their global financiers have praised African leaders for coming up with the idea of TFPs so that the projects (i.e. TFPs) could gain public acceptance.[29]

BREAKING DOWN COLONIAL BOUNDARIES IN PRACTICE

The African Experiment

The first TFP park to be established on the continent in May 2000, the Kgalagadi, highlights the use of ideas of decolonisation in the promotion of TFPs. The Kgalagadi is an amalgamation of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (South Africa) and the Kalahari National Park (Botswana). There is no fence separating the two countries along the parks. The only boundary markers along the dry Nossob River are small painted cement blocks that do not hinder wildlife movement at all (Figure 8.3).

Furthermore, conservation authorities in the two countries have in the past managed the two parks jointly, with South Africa having an upper hand. For instance, the warden of the park on the South African side, Joep le Riche, reinforced laws on both sides of the border in the 1940s, and he and his staff, were made honorary rangers in Botswana in 1964.[30] In this context, the Kgalagadi has been a *de facto* TFP since 1938, and was therefore relatively easy to establish.[31] Unlike many TFPs that required the services of project co-ordinators, the Kgalagadi was established without one. Arguably, the Kgalagadi was a strategic choice for marketing the idea of a TFP in the region. It would have been difficult to promote such an idea in highly complex situations. Rupert conceded that the establishment of the Kgalagadi was "a very important breakthrough for the growth and development of peace parks in the rest of Africa" (Peace Parks Foundation 1999: 1). For that breakthrough to occur, however, Namibia was excluded; although the migratory routes that were being re-established extend to that country. Namibia was excluded for political expediency and convenience (Ramutsindela 2004b).

Facing the Challenge

The challenge of breaking down the actual fences has been encountered in the Great Limpopo on the Mozambique-South Africa-Zimbabwe border. In South Africa, the management of the Kruger National Park (KNP) elephants population posed a dilemma which swung between "headaches and heartaches" for about 35 years (White, cited in Michler 2002). After the elephant population had exceeded the

carrying capacity of the KNP in the 1970s, park authorities resorted to annual culling until 1994 when public outcry brought about a moratorium. The international ban on the sale of elephant products furthermore meant that park authorities had to resort to controlling the elephant population through methods such as translocation, sale, and contraception. In the circumstances, TFPs are perhaps the best option, and hence the Great Limpopo is seen as the best possible solution.

Figure 8.3 A boundary marker along the Nossob River
Source: Photo by Ramutsindela

The three countries accordingly signed a Memorandum of Understanding in October 1999, and the tri-lateral international agreement on 10 November 2000, after which the first 40 elephants were relocated from KNP to Coudata 16 in Mozambique.[32] Accordingly, South Africa's Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Valli Moosa (2001), commented that, "the fences erected by erstwhile colonialism would be brought down on a systematic basis to create a common conservation area that straddles three countries." It took a year before the fence actually began to come down, as there were delays in getting the three countries to sign the required treaty.[33] Following the signing of the treaty on 9 December 2002, South African authorities began removing a portion of the fence between South Africa and Mozambique.

With more TFPs planned on the continent, many more fences are expected to come down. In practice, the pulling down of the fence amount to the re-establishment of ecological regions that were affected by state boundaries as we have noted. This profoundly changes the shapes and sizes of natural landscapes.

However, it limits the idea of decolonisation to a process of re-establishing habitats and animal migratory routes. It is anticipated that such unity would take place though the joint management of natural resources by African leaders. However, it is questionable whether TFPs are owned by Africans themselves. Proponents of TFPs seem to have been sensitive to the composition of people involved in the projects. The first international co-ordinators of TFPs in the region were all white, and the Peace Parks Foundation is predominantly Afrikaner. Once the idea (i.e. of TFPs) had become acceptable in official circles, black international co-ordinators were appointed in part to de-racialise the profile of proponents of TFPs.

Indications are that global forces are behind the establishment of TFP on the continent. These include individuals such as Prince Bernhard (Netherlands) and institutions such the IUCN, World Bank, USAID, Institute of German Business, and the like. In Southern Africa, the Peace Parks Foundation functions as a catalyst for TFPs and considers states in the region as its clients. Of course, states are required to sign the necessary protocols, but the actual direction, financing and planning of such parks is done by the Foundation. For instance, relevant state departments in the region rely on information supplied by the Foundation.[34]

The treaties that have been signed so far are clear on the purpose of TFPs in terms of biodiversity. Nevertheless, they remain vague on a number of issues, leading to confusion over the socio-economic goals of TFPs. One area of great confusion, which is relevant to the discussion of this volume, relates to the socio-political meanings attached to the breaking down of colonial boundaries.

(MIS)REPRESENTATIONS OF THE FENCELESS LANDSCAPE

Certainly, decolonising African boundaries implies that Africans hitherto divided by colonial boundaries should be reunited across such boundaries. Officials and conservationists have deliberately promoted the view that TFPs will facilitate the re-unification of colonially divided communities. That Africans were arbitrarily divided by colonial boundaries is historically and politically indisputable. Historically, communities across colonial boundaries found their own ways of communicating with their relatives and participated in all sorts of cross-border schemes. It is for this reason that Griffin *et al.* (1999: 32) have argued that,

> for local communities, [TFPs are] not a new fad, but a daily reality. Hence, regional initiatives to support [TFPs] could genuinely foster a local cultural renaissance. Socially, groups that may feel marginalised by their location in regard to boundaries would enjoy the enhanced status and identity that formal recognition of cross-border collaboration and communication might give.

TFPs raise the hope that the people of Africa would be re-united in the process. Muleso Kharika has expressed the view that, if everything has failed, Africa may have to use TFPs to achieve unity.[35]

While it is true that TFPs will bring marginalised communities to the attention of officials and entrepreneurs, it is false to assume that TFPs are meant to re-unite communities that had previously been divided by colonial boundaries. In fact the

three treaties signed so far (i.e. 2003) do not suggest the re-unification of communities. Instead, the four-paragraph Foreword to the Treaty on the Great Limpopo and the six objectives contained in that treaty (in terms of Article 4) are all focused on the management of biodiversity.[36] The Foreword reads:

> As an affiliation of nations stepped in a common tradition of close association with our sustaining earth, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe join in recognition of our mutual responsibility to protect and preserve our natural resources for the common good of all.
>
> We embrace this responsibility as Partners and undertake to develop a wildlife sanctuary across political boundaries, where animals may freely roam and flourish in keeping with natural ecological processes.
>
> We do this because as sure as the flower and the bee depend on each other for survival, so too the well-being of humankind is bound to our effective custodianship of the natural heritage entrusted to us.
>
> We furthermore undertake to uphold high ideals and standards in jointly managing this natural treasure, for the spiritual and social upliftment of our people, and for succeeding generations to come (Treaty on the Great Limpopo 2002: 2).

In terms of the objectives of the treaty, local communities[37] are mentioned in Article 4 (b) as follows: [To] promote alliances in the management of biological natural resources by encouraging social, economic and other partnerships among the parties, including the private sector, *local communities*[38] and non-governmental organisations.

I argue that there is neither institutional support for the re-unification of communities, nor the political intention to achieve it. Communities on both sides of the international border are still governed by laws in their respective countries. Furthermore, each government has the responsibility to solve problems arising from communities in its area of jurisdiction, including in those areas that fall within TFPs. Unlike ecological concerns, there is no legal framework that enables communities on both sides of the international boundary to negotiate and pursue common interests across boundaries.

The view that local communities across state boundaries would be re-united through TFPs is being used to promote TFP projects. For example, the Mozambican President Joaquim Chissano commented that, "we have started opening borders for animals – they are far more disciplined than men – but are looking at ways we can open the borders for all."[39] Chief Mhinga, in the Limpopo province, likened the breaking down of the fence between South Africa and Mozambique to the falling of the Berlin Wall (*Sunday Times*, 15 December 2002: 12). To him, the TFP project would enable him to be reunited with his relatives in Mozambique.[40]

Incidentally, the Great Limpopo affects the Shangaan found in Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, who had been torn apart by colonial boundaries and other processes. Figure 8.4 shows the historical location of the Shangaans in the area that has been designated for the Great Limpopo.

There are mixed reactions to the impact of the Great Limpopo in those communities. Firstly, there is a feeling that TFPs seem to target areas that are occupied by 'soft' communities. A participant at the short course on transborder

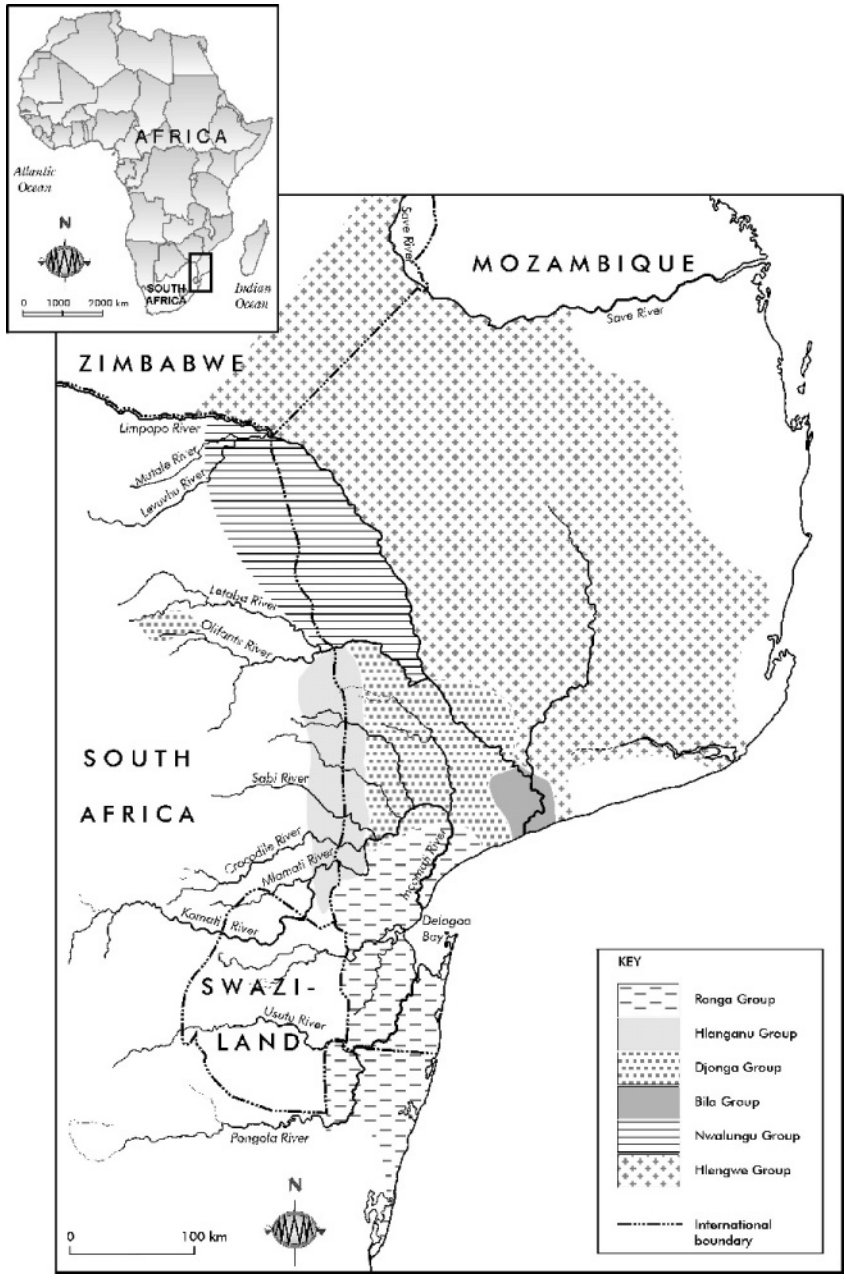

Figure 8.4 The historical location of the Shangaan
Source: Adapted from Junod 1927

natural resource management[41] gave the view that the Great Limpopo undermines the integrity of the Shangaans. Secondly, there is a view that TFPs such as the Great Limpopo could provide fertile ground for the emergence of sub-nationalism. Thirdly, there is concern that the Great Limpopo would open the floodgates of illegal immigrants, particularly from Mozambique (Figure 8.5). These concerns raise critical questions about perceptions of, and practices around, TFPs.

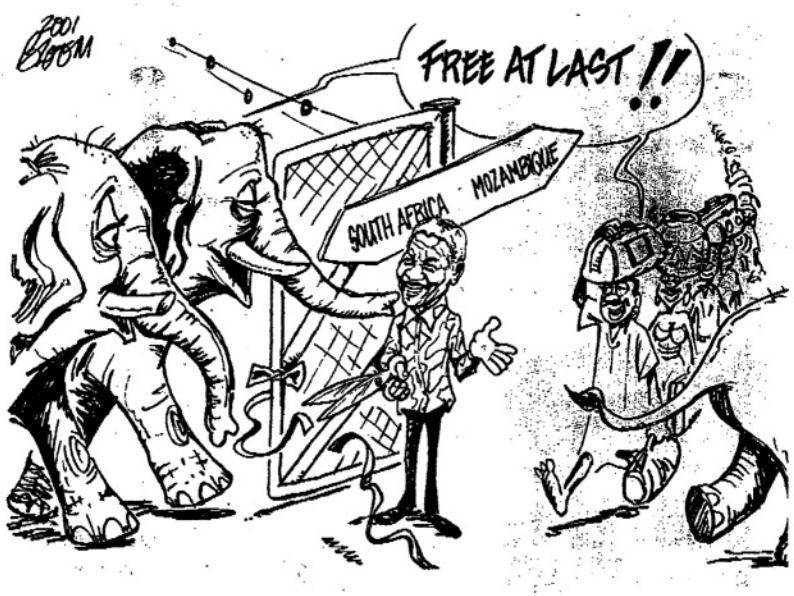

Figure 8.5 The portrayal of elephants and illegal immigrants
Source: Mail & Guardian 2001a

PERCEPTIONS AND PRACTICES

The test of whether TFPs as conservation schemes are radically different from colonial conservation measures or not, would lie in the relationship between communities and the TFPs. Two aspects of that relationship are community participation and resource rights and use. As we have seen in Chapters 3 and 4, local communities did not participate in the establishment of national parks. This begs the question of whether they will in fact participate in TFPs.

It should be noted that TFPs were established at the time of global pronouncements on community participation. The implication is that TFPs cannot ignore processes of community participation. Meaningful community participation requires local communities and the public at large to be aware of TFPs and to understand the impact of TFPs on their lives and properties. For the moment, lack of awareness of TFPs abounds at various levels. At the national level, a survey of 3 495 South Africans shows that 83.3% against 16.7% of the respondents were not even

aware of TFP initiatives in October 2002. Such ignorance was highest (80.7%) among Africans (Table 8.1). At the village level, the Wits Refugee Research Programme (2002) found that 40% of households living within the area of the Great Limpopo had never even heard about the TFP. Of the 60%[42] who had heard about the Great Limpopo, 71% had no information about it, and 83% had never been consulted.[43] Surprisingly, game wardens and rangers in the Kruger National Park were also less knowledgeable about the Great Limpopo.[44] One game ranger estimated that 90% of his colleagues do not know what is going on with the TFP. The situation is worse in Lesotho's Sehlabathebe National Park where the only game warden, Mr Nkuebe, has not been invited to participate in the discussions for the establishment of the Maluti-Drakensberg TFP, and has no idea how this project would work. How can meaningful participation take place under such conditions?

It has been claimed that TFPs respect communities and their land rights. According to Warburton-Lee (1999: 23)

> Land claims will be processed and land returned to its rightful owners who will be able to decide how, if at all, they wish to join in with the [TFP] conservation process. Where communities are occupying land within potential [TFP] boundaries they will be given the choice of weather to lease the land to the [TFPs] and seek employment within the resulting tourism job base or to remain *in situ* and to continue their existence as farmers or pastoralists. If they choose the latter there is no question of them being forced off the land and safeguards will be put in place to protect them from threats to themselves, their stock and crops posed by wildlife.

Table 8.1 Level of awareness of TFP initiatives, South Africa

Race groups	No. of people aware (%)	No. of people unaware (%)
Africans	43.7	80.7
Whites	43.9	8.4
Coloureds	8.8	8.6
Indians	3.5	2.3
Total	100	100

Source: Survey 2002

Casual observation and preliminary research results show that there are limitations on community options, not least because the land rights of communities are yet to be clarified. Furthermore, TFPs do not offer support to land restitution. There is evidence that claims such as those of the Makuleke were opposed by nature conservationists on the ground that land restitution would jeopardise the envisaged TFP when the land claim was lodged in 1996 (see Chapter 7). It is debatable whether the Makuleke's successful land claim depended on the limitation of options. Preliminary results from Mozambique show that TFP enthusiasts do not readily acknowledge community options for land in TFPs parks. The majority (83%) of resident people on the Mozambican side of the Great Limpopo does not want to

leave their land for the sake of the TFP. They would "prefer the danger of living with animals to being moved off their ancestral land" (Wits Refugee Research Programme 2002: 3). There are concerns that TFPs could lead to loss of control over local resources by host communities – through inflationary consequences of tourism, e.g. prices of goods in local outlets increasing to levels beyond the reach of locals, in response to the ability of wealthy tourists to pay such prices; inflation of land prices as a result of competition for land from potential buyers. Some comments on land in TFP areas are in order.

LAND AND THE 'NEW' CONSERVATION

As we have noted in the previous chapters, the IUCN requires each country to set aside 10% of its land under protected areas. Countries in southern Africa are far from meeting this requirement, and thus have to seek ways of releasing additional land for conservation. The main options are either to release additional state land or to buy land (see Chapter 5). In practice, states pursue these options in tandem, and prefer to release state land as the cheaper option. However, other competing demands for state land to be used for housing have already placed severe constraints on the availability of that land. Attempts have thus been made to purchase private land from money raised through the sale of wildlife, and from donors. Unsurprisingly, the decision at the 2002 CITES meeting to allow South Africa and Botswana to sell their ivory stock has been welcomed as a necessary fund-raising opportunity for biodiversity protection.

Strategies for Releasing Land for TFPs

Generally, states in the region have limited resources for purchasing private land. Under these circumstances, national and international donors and private individuals have offered to purchase additional land for nature conservation, a move that is welcomed by governments. In recent years, most of the funding has been directed towards the development of TFPs. For instance, the German government awarded a grant of R40 million to the development of Coutada 16 in Mozambique as an integral part of the Great Limpopo, and Rupert put up the first R10 million (of the R20 million) needed to relocate the elephants from KNP. Strategies by donors to acquire land include the incorporation of private property into, and the purchase of land for, TFPs. For example, De Beers has incorporated its 36 000 ha Venetia Limpopo Nature Reserve and its Schroda property into the Limpopo-Shashe TFP (Peace Parks Foundation 1999). Unlike many TFPs that are founded on state land, the kernel of the Limpopo-Shashe is private land on the South African side.

Private Land

White private landowners have shown interest in committing their land to TFPs because they view TFPs as a strategy to ensure long-term security of their land on the continent (see Chapters 4 and 5).[45] Moreover, the land value in and around areas

designated for TFPs has increased, as speculation drives up land prices to unaffordable levels. This means that even people, who are not interested in conservation, see TFPs as creating a lucrative land market. The inflation of land prices resulting from competing buyers, however, makes land inaccessible to many local people. In some cases, African communities adjacent to areas earmarked for TFPs have been lured to release their land for these conservation projects. This occurs in three main ways, the first being to encourage and finance community conservancies, as the example of the Richtersveld community in the Richtersveld/Ais-Ais TFP between South Africa and Namibia shows.[46] Communities do this in the hope that they will benefit from the anticipated tourism boom. Indeed, it is claimed that TFPs would create employment opportunities in depressed rural areas – a claim that appeals to rural people who face grinding poverty and high unemployment. In this context, the mushrooming of conservancies in the region is inextricably linked to the ideals of TFP projects, particularly conservancies adjacent to international boundaries. For example, Malilangwe, Save and Chiredzi in Zimbabwe are an integral part of the Great Limpopo.[47] Conceptually, the creation of conservancies by African communities appeals to both Africanists and conservationists. Africanists view conservancies run by Africans as a demonstration of the interest of Africans in matters of nature conservation and thus as discounting the long-held and erroneous view of Africans as inimical to nature. For conservationists, such conservancies serve to expand the area under conservation with limited financial and human costs.

Communal Land

Secondly, local communities are encouraged to lease their land to TFP projects, even if the land was not originally used for conservation, as shown by the Mhinga community. Chief Mhinga has voluntarily joined a portion of his land to the KNP in anticipation of the financial benefits from the Great Limpopo (see Chapter 7). There is also the voluntary option for communities to lease their land to national parks that are integral to TFPs. As I have explained above, the Makuleke and the Khomani San in South Africa have regained their land rights in national parks, which are integral to TFP initiatives. The two have incorporated their land into national parks through a contractual arrangement. In turn, their land has been incorporated into the respective TFP. In contrast to the populist view of the proponents of TFPs, the initial intention of the said communities was not to incorporate their land into TFPs, but was a result of land claims, which forced the SANParks and communities to arrive at the compromised settlements. In the Kgalagadi, the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between South Africa and Botswana in 1997 preceded the settlement of the Khomani San land claim that took place in March 1999, yet the Khomani San were not even aware of the TFP to which their land would belong. In both cases, communities have played a marginal role, if any, in the TFPs into which their land has been incorporated.

Forced Removals

The third strategy of releasing land occupied by communities resembles the dark days of colonialism: forced removals. In contrast to repeated claims by proponents of TFPs that people will not be removed to give way to TFPs, removals can definitely not be avoided if the proposed plans for TFPs are to be realised. A significant number of Mozambicans[48] are facing removals that are directly linked to the creation of the Great Limpopo. The linking of parks such as Limpopo, Banhine and Zinave (Figure 8.6) will seriously affect the ways in which the communities have used natural resources in that area.

Of course, the government of Mozambique rather than proponents of TFPs will be bearing the brunt for removals. Elsewhere in Botswana, the highly contentious and pending removal of the Basarwa from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve has variously been linked to mining interests, ethnicity and development ideologies (see Chapter 4). It is relevant to the theme of this paper that the removal would open the space for a possible conservation corridor that would stretch from the Kgalagadi through the Central Kalahari Game Reserve to the Chobe National Park (Getaway 1996). More such conservation corridors are planned throughout the region and the continent to realise what has been dubbed the African Dream – the linking up of Africa from Cape to Cairo through the recreation of the wilderness.[49] Elsewhere in the Ais-Ais/Richtersveld TFP, the few park residents on the Namibian side are considered illegal by the Namibian authorities and are likely to be removed from the park (Jones and Chonguica 2001).

THE IMPLICATION OF TFPs ON NATURAL RESOURCES

All these raise the question of the implications of TFPs for land and biodiversity rights. At face value, the enlargement of national parks appears to be a national effort to increase the amount of land under protected area. However, in practice most of the efforts to increase national parks feed into the TFP idea, since national parks are the cradles of TFPs as we have pointed out. The ultimate aim of TFPs is to bring together a mosaic of different land parcels so that national parks will exist alongside private reserves, farms, hunting concessions, communal land and commercial enterprises; all managed under a single system of land use. On both sides of the international boundary, land is first placed under national conservation agencies before it can be managed as a TFP. For instance, the Peace Parks Foundation buys land and leases it to national agencies that, in turn, co-manage land and biodiversity as international assets. The example of wildlife clarifies the point: as wildlife would be allowed to roam freely, a particular country will no longer claim ownership of wildlife, as it would be internationally owned. In the same way, land in TFPs remains part of the territory of respective states but land use rights belong to conservation agencies. States will no longer dictate land use policy. After all, the current thinking in conservation circles is that states cannot be entrusted with conservation (see Chapter 5). One of the long-term goals of TFPs is for land under conservation to be owned by the international community.[50] In contrast to populist

views of decolonisation, the potential for further alienation of African land through the TFPs is high. Moreover, while the TFP idea has gained momentum, the ordinary citizens are not aware of it, as I show above.

Figure 8.6 National parks in Mozambique
Source: Adapted from various sources

CONCLUSION

The analysis presented in this chapter shows that champions of TFPs continually invoke images of a decolonised Africa free of the obstructions imposed by colonial boundaries. Such images chime with pan-Africanist ideals of a decolonised and

united continent. Attempts to use unitarist and regionalist approaches to achieve those ideals have been unsuccessful. Furthermore, proposals for re-drawing the map of the continent have remained nothing but hot air. All these, together with the pressing demand for development, has created a platform on which TFPs could be launched as a mechanism for opening up Africa's colonial boundaries. This is done by joining together national parks across international boundaries to allow animals and tourists to roam freely through the area. In this way, boundaries would no longer interrupt the integrity of natural systems and would therefore foster the integration of ecosytems.[51]

The analysis presented here shows that the emergence of TFPs in post-1990 southern Africa is a product of a global shift in conservation philosophies and strategies and their importation into the region. Their regional adaptation is ascribed to the drive for regional co-operation, socio-economic conditions and the interests of financiers. Though the schemes are new and have not been properly assessed, they nevertheless provide a template on which pertinent questions of the politics of conservation could be raised. It remains to be seen whether the new schemes will break down colonial boundaries beyond the freeing of animals. More crucially, the new schemes need to be assessed against the thick record of colonial conservation history.

NOTES

[1] Various concepts have been used to describe what I have referred to as transfrontier parks in this volume. These are: transboundary protected areas, peace parks, superparks, transboundary natural resource management and transfrontier conservation areas. These concepts describe phenomena, which are conceptually the same. In this chapter, I prefer to use the concept of the transfrontier park in order to emphasise on ideas about parks and to highlight continuity in the national park idea in new contexts.

[2] According to Frenkel (1994: 289), "bioregionalism is a contemporary North American ecological movement committed to developing communities integrated with ecosystems."

[3] In developing countries, the need for international collaboration is highest, not least because of a lack of necessary resources for effective biodiversity protection.

[4] These are the Danube Delta (Romania/Ukraine), East Carpathians (Poland/Slovakia/Ukraine), Krkonosekaronosze (Czech/Poland), Tatry/Tatras (Poland/Slovakia) and Vosges du Nord/Pfalzer Wald (France/Germany) Biosphere Reserves.

[5] This interest was clearly shown in the Seville Conference on Biosphere Reserves that was held in 1995. The Conference gave new impetus to the idea of joining together biosphere reserves across political boundaries (UNESCO n.d.).

[6] Other interests will become clear with time. Van der Linde *et al.* (2001:12) are of the view that, "given the multiple use of certain boundary sites and the multiple interests of different stakeholders, numerous parties may be involved for different reasons."

[7] The ecoduct was constructed to reconnect a habitat that was fragmented by the construction of the road in 1988. By linking isolated habitats, the ecoduct enabled previously fragmented populations of deer, wild boar and badgers to re-establish their migratory patterns.

[8] Particularly as reflected in the view that habitat corridors are bandages for a wounded natural environment.

[9] The transfrontier park ideals of the IUCN (2001) are particularly relevant to Africa: supporting long-term co-operative conservation of biodiversity, ecosystem services, and natural and cultural values across boundaries; promoting landscape-level ecosystem management through integrated bio-regional land-use planning and management; building trust, understanding, reconciliation and co-operation

between and among countries, communities, agencies and other stakeholders; preventing and/or resolving tension, including over access to natural resources; promoting the resolution of armed conflict and/or reconciliation following armed conflict; sharing biodiversity and cultural resource management skills and experience, including co-operative research and information management; sharing biodiversity and cultural resource management; promoting more efficient and effective co-operative management programmes; promoting access to, and equitable and sustainable use of natural resources, consistent with national sovereignty; and enhancing the benefits of conservation and promoting benefit-sharing across boundaries.

[10] Colonel Gert Otto hoped to use his Renamo contacts to gather intelligence information for the security forces (SANParks 1997).

[11] This is evidence of the fact that nature conservation schemes are not devoid of political interests.

[12] Interview, Werner Myburgh, Stellenbosch, November 5, 2002. Ellis (1994: 60) described Rupert as "a made man, well-connected, cosmopolitan, and wealthy enough to make donations to whichever charitable causes he chose."

[13] The Stellenbosch-based Foundation was established in 1997 as a catalyst of, and financier for, transfrontier park projects.

[14] Personal communication, Bokang Theko, November 1, 2003.

[15] Interview, A. Nkuebe, November 1, 2003.

[16] Interview, J.M.M. Mosenya, September 25, 2003.

[17] For instance, the involvement of South Africa in transfrontier park projects requires that the government should engage with all its neighbouring countries if it is to succeed.

[18] A substantial amount of funding transfrontier parks in southern Africa is channelled through the Foundation.

[19] Interview, November 5, 2002.

[20] Interview, Deborah Kahatano, August 25, 2003.

[21] "*Ex situ* conservation involves conservation of genetic resources of wild and domesticated animals, plants, and micro-organisms outside their own natural habitats" (Lesotho 2000b: 30).

[22] According to the former international co-ordinator, Leo Braack, the Great Limpopo "comes top of the list when the realities of economic development are factored in" (*Financial Mail* 2000: 15).

[23] The political, social and economic realities of pre-colonial Africa were ignored when the boundaries were drawn. Katzellenbogen (1996) has mooted the idea that imperialists did not know what they were doing when drawing colonial boundaries. He commented that, "examining some specific instances of colonial boundary setting certainly helps dispel any lingering belief that nineteenth-century imperialists knew what they were doing" (1996: 23). Further evidence of this is that straight lines and geographical features were used in the setting of colonial boundaries – a reflection of the fact that no one really knew what resources might be developed.

[24] Asiwaju (1985) provides a checklist of people separated by colonial boundaries.

[25] Kwame Nkrumah (1963) devoted two of the four pages of the preface to his book, *I speak of Freedom*, to the call for dismantling colonial boundaries. See also Mazrui (1993)

[26] Wole Soyinka (cited in Asiwaju 1998)

[27] The conceptualisation of boundaries as physical lines on maps imposes serious limitations on our understanding of political boundaries on the continent and beyond. Boundaries encompass non-physical attributes that do not necessarily follow the contours of lines on maps.

[28] The resolution by the OAU to maintain boundaries existing at the time of independence, manifests the interest African leaders had on colonial boundaries. Accordingly, Herbst (2000: 25) has argued that, "African boundaries have been perhaps the critical foundation upon which leaders have built their states … and [used them to shape other buffer institutions to] insulate polities from international pressures." See also Mayall (1992) and Nugent (1992).

[29] As I show later, the public is not even aware of such schemes.

[30] He had to determine whether poachers should go before Bechuanaland or South African courts (Nussey 1993; de Villiers 1999).

[31] National parks on the South Africa-Botswana border provided conditions under which the TFP idea could be experimented in the region – and the continent for that matter – without difficulties, because they had always existed as a *de facto* TFP. In contrast to many colonial borders in southern African Africa, the South Africa-Botswana border along the Nossob River has been porous and persons in South Africa historically managed wildlife conservation in both countries.

[32] As I have argued elsewhere (Ramutsindela 2004b), Mozambique's formal participation was required as it was anticipated that the country would contribute about 72% of land towards the establishment of the Great Limpopo – with South Africa and Zimbabwe contributing 21% and 7% respectively. Moreover, the country offered opportunities for investment following the signing of the Peace Accord in 1992 and the adoption of the market economy by the Chissano government. Subsequently, Mozambique became the highest FDI earner in the region in 2002 (*Mail & Guardian* 14-20 February 2003: 22). Surely, the high level of poverty in that country made TFP – and their promise for poverty alleviation – appealing to government and local communities. For conservationists, the decimation of wildlife in Mozambique during the war and the country's assumed and real lack of environmental management skills provided the justification for urgent global intervention

[33] Internal politics within and between countries involved and concerns over security stagnated the project till the 9 December 2002 when the treaty among the three countries was ultimately signed.

[34] Outside South Africa, there is a view that everything is done in South Africa (Interviews, Joyce Bakane, September 10, 2001; Grace Mutero, October 30, 2002). In South Africa, officials from the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism have referred me to the Peace Park Foundation for any information I need on transfrontier parks.

[35] Interview, December 6, 2001.

[36] As are the treaties on the Kgalagadi and Ais-Ais/Richtersveld.

[37] Defined in the treaty as follows: '"Local communities' or 'communities' means groups of people living in and adjacent to the area of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, bound together by social and economic relations based on shared interest" (Treaty on the Great Limpopo 2002: 6).

[38] My emphasis.

[39] *Sowetan*, (10 December 2002): 3.

[40] This is in line with the populist view that transfrontier parks would reunite former colonially divided subjects.

[41] The course was organised by PLAAS, IUCN and CASS, and was held in Cape Town from 18 August to 18 September 2003.

and CASS are organising here in Cape Town. The course will run from 18 August to 18 September.

[42] Largely coming from Massingir District.

[43] While such ignorance could be ascribed to the remoteness and illiteracy of the concerned Mozambicans, it is reasonable to expect that South Africans would be better informed of TFPs. This is so because South Africa is much more developed than its neighbouring countries, is playing a critical role in the establishment of TFPs, and hosts leading institutions in TFP projects.

[44] I found out this perception during a workshop on Environmental and Social Impact assessment, which was held at Skukuza on 30 January 2003.

[45] Land invasions in Zimbabwe, Namibia's ambivalence of white commercial farms and the continuous killing of white farmers in South Africa have added fears that African states offer no security to whites, particularly white farmers.

[46] Private game farmers found away from designated TFPs have adopted this strategy.

[47] *Mail & Guardian* (26 October – 1 November 2001b): 17.

[48] The number of people affected varies from seven to thirty thousands depending on who is telling the story.

[49] This is reminiscent of Rhodes' Cape to Cairo imperial ambition.

[50] Interview, Werner Myburgh, November 5, 2002.

[51] Asiwaju (1996) has long called for the integrative functions of African boundaries.

CHAPTER 9

CONCLUSION:
SCIENCE AND (TRANS)NATIONAL PARKS

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapters, I highlighted the contexts in which the national park idea and the associated practices permeated into the colony and postcolony. This chapter is intended to summarise the three main points that are central to the thesis of this volume. First, it draws on material from different chapters to highlight the hegemony of the western view of nature and its implication for science, society and nature. It uses geography (as a scientific field) to highlight the way in which scientific disciplines perpetuate the society-nature dualism in the face of repeated calls for a holistic approach to the relationships between society and nature. Second, the chapter recasts material, which have already been presented in this volume, in order to emphasise the continued human gradation in national and TFPs. I argue that, despite pronouncements on 'new' nature conservation philosophies and practices, the evidence on the ground shows the continuing hierarchical ordering of humans. This is clearly shown in the management of resources, land rights and the distribution of benefits. In other words, power relations remain skewed against the same victims of colonial nature conservation policies. Third, the chapter also highlight that economic interests in national park resources gained momentum as a result of the gradual withdrawal of the state from national park affairs, and because of the need for profit making. The increasing penetration of global capitalism into national and TFPs begs the question of the extent to which capitalist interests influence contemporary views of landscapes. More crucially, the question of how science – in the past and in the present – shapes our ideas about landscapes, still has to be answered in a systematic way. That answer would be crucial for building the foundation for a comprehensive scientific research on the society-nature dynamics.

SOCIETY-NATURE DUALISM AND SCIENCE

> Indeed, as a university discipline, geography was implicated historically in what, a century ago, seemed perfectly normal ideas about the 'natural' superiority of Caucasians over non-western peoples. Illicitly adapting the biologist Darwin's ideas about 'natural selection' among species to the supposed 'fight for survival' among different 'racial' groups, a form of 'social Darwinism' saturated geographical thinking during the early twentieth century (Castree 2001: 12).

Although geography is not the only discipline that has suffered form social Darwinism, its preoccupation with humans and the physical environment, places it at the centre of discussions on society and nature. That is to say that, geographic approaches to society and nature (as separate or combined elements of reality) not only reflect on the nature of the discipline, but also highlight the moral standpoint of its scientific community. As Peet (1998: 8) has noted, the cliché that 'geography is what geographers do', "expresses the making of geography through daily praxis – for example, teaching actively shapes the ideas being transmitted, research constantly reveals inadequacies and potentialities, even the act of writing constantly throws up new potentialities." The questions that are relevant to the discussion of this volume are: how does geography perpetuate the hegemonic western views of nature and why? How far does it engage with the human gradation that is embedded in that view? If indeed the society-nature interface has been a niche area of geography, the logical question is how geography has used that niche area to contribute to both social and natural sciences? Put the other way around, what is geography's key contribution to the science of nature? These questions are important, because, as we have seen, the society-nature dualism has far reaching implications on nature conservation policies and practices. After all, conceptualisations of nature filter into the bases on which it is defended (Coates 1998).

Whether it was by default or by intention, the denial of the human hand in shaping landscapes seems to be more pronounced on non-western societies than on those in the west. This is partly because of conceptualisations of landscapes, their geographical locations, and the one-sided scientific explanations of land degradation. Despite the dynamism of landscapes, which cannot be adequately captured by one-sided scientific explanations, black people have been singled out as the most dominant factor behind land degradation. Moreover, environmental degradation has been ascribed to the poor, particularly in non-western societies.

A counter-narrative that seeks to correct this bias has emerged from both natural and social scientists. For example, the soil scientist Kate Showers (1989), has shown that dongas in Lesotho are more the result of colonial intervention rather than of Lesotho farmers alone. The climatologist Peter Lamb (1978), challenged the human degradation narrative by showing the impact of climate on desertification in the Sahel. For their part, social scientists have sought to profile the extent to which non-western societies enriched the environment (Fairhead and Leach 1996). The emergence of these counter-narratives suggests that expertise from both the natural and social sciences could be harnessed for a better understanding of the relationships between society and nature. With regard to geography, the strength of physical and human sub-disciplines, could make the study of nature more fascinating than has been achieved so far. This demands from us a rethinking of concepts and the willingness to venture into new research territories, instead of quarrying our familiar research sites. Concepts such as conservation, preservation and heritage, which incorporate both 'natural' and 'cultural' components, could be used to broaden the scope of geographical inquiry into society and nature (Meadows and Ramutsindela Forthcoming).

Furthermore, concepts such as these could also be used to broaden the perspective of a particular sub-field. In this regard, Massey (1999) has suggested that human geography should emphasise the perspective of space-place-nature, and should transcend the human and non-human binary. In the social sciences attempts are being made to incorporate non-human aspects of nature through the concept of the environment. However, the cores of fields of science are still being vigorously defended. Most recently, Dayton (2003) has proposed that natural science courses should be reinstated in all academic institutions in the United States in order to expose students to the fundamentals of natural science. Although this is a legitimate proposal to make, the conclusion that meaningful conservation and restoration can only be accomplished through the study of natural history is an indication of the continuity of 'science wars.' Accordingly, Baber (2001: 42) concluded that, "the issue at the heart of 'science wars' of whether science is only nature and not culture or only culture and not nature overstates idealised views of both science and society."

Beyond disciplinary concerns, our focus should be on understanding the multifaceted dimensions of nature and its dynamism. Bioregionalism, as the founding philosophy of TFPs, has reopened discussions on the dynamism of ecosystems and societies. The question, though, is whether TFPs offer the platform for expanding the frontiers of our knowledge of society and nature?

TFPs and Scientific Rethinking

Scientific research has bolstered the view that landscapes have been shaped by natural processes. By presenting landscapes as 'natural', natural science has undermined the human influence on what appears to be natural environments.[1] Hence, the national park idea emerged from the quest to preserve pristine nature and to prevent humans from interfering with it. The irony is that national parks were established through human interference, and that their establishment interfered with both the livelihood of most humans and ecosystems. In other words, most, if not all, national parks developed as an island of biodiversity, despite scientific knowledge about ecosystems existing at the time of their establishment. This has had a negative impact on the very nature that national parks were meant to protect. Proponents of national parks paid little or no attention to that impact, mainly because they were concerned with promoting the idea of a national park. Moreover, political and economic interests in national parks meant that nature conservation was not always the primary motive behind the creation of national parks.

The results from all this were that national parks were established to serve competing interests, some of which compromised the imperatives of nature conservation. For instance, national parks were often established in those areas that promised economic returns. Proponents of national parks ignored the flora and fauna and rare habitats that were not of immediate political and economic significance. Against this background, it can be argued that national parks reflect a conservation bias. This bias is clearly seen in the following aspects:

- The selection of species
  One of the defining features of national parks has been the preference for preserving certain species above others. A good example of this is the designation of royal game in the British Empire. In recent years, the Big Five (rhino, buffalo, leopard, elephant, lion) have been given prominence in the establishment of privately owned protected areas in southern Africa, because of their potential ability to attract tourists. However, increasing attention towards species that are facing threats of extinction would most probably change policies towards the selection of species for preservation. There is therefore a high probability that protected areas, including national parks, will become more diversified than they have been in the past;

- The sizes of national parks
  It is generally agreed upon that most national parks are smaller than the ecological systems that they were meant to conserve. The logical solution to this mismatch seems to be to enlarge national parks in the form of TFPs. Nevertheless, questions are being raised as to whether the boundaries of TFPs follow those of ecosystems. And how big should a tranfrontier park be?

- The geographic location of parks
  In southern Africa, national parks form part of border landscapes, and have been used to bolster the territorial limits of states. This pattern was set by European imperialists and was subsequently appropriated by post-independence governments. It is anticipated that the rise in privately protected areas would bring about changes in the distribution of protected areas; and

- Differential concerns over landscapes and seascapes
  Nature conservation and the consequent system of protected areas have been biased towards terrestrial ecosystems to the negligence of marine ecosystems. Unsurprisingly, freshwater ecosystems have become the world's most critically endangered biome. The first step towards addressing the urgent need to protect the seascapes would be to change the perceptions of oceans as a boundless resource. In-depth analyses of the status and threats of marine ecosystems should follow this.

The conservation bias referred to above, and which has been discussed in detail in Chapter 6, has not been used in this volume to underestimate the value of national parks in nature conservation. Rather, I have elaborated on it in order to enhance our analysis of the human intervention in nature through conservation schemes. As I have shown somewhere in this volume, national parks have played a critical role in shaping our systems of thought and attitudes towards nature conservation. Indeed, national parks have become an acceptable currency in biodiversity policies. In fact,

interest in establishing national parks has increased over the past years. This is evidenced by the number of established and proposed national parks, the increase in investment in national parks, and so on. It could be argued that the celebrated 10% of land under protected areas globally, is a tangible result of the national park idea.

For our purpose, it is important to note that the conservation bias is not only reflected in nature conservation practices and policies, but it is also reflected in scientific propositions as well. For instance, natural scientists are at the forefront of propositions for enlarging national parks across political boundaries. While these scientists have done rigorous analyses of the need to enlarge protected areas according to 'nature's design', they have not shown the same level of commitment to understanding the implication of that process to humans. In this regard, social scientists are expected to fill the gap about the impact of cross-border nature conservation on humans. They have to catch up with what has already been established and well defended! This creates a platform on which the asymmetry of knowledge of society and nature would be reproduced. Moreover, the nature of problems that will certainly emerge from TFPs will most probably create an intellectual environment that allows the continuous application of specialised knowledge from other branches of science.

Lessons from the national park idea are that the society-nature dualism is loaded with power – the power to define nature in terms of human interests and aspirations; the power to construct and appropriate landscapes; and the power to define others and their access to products of nature.

DEFINING OTHERNESS AND HUMAN GRADATION

Examples from the North

I insist that, from its conception, the national park idea encapsulated the definition of the other. After all, that idea implies the separation of humans from other species, and suggests the superiority of humans above non-humans. Interestingly, the superiority complex also manifested itself in the grading of humans. That is, the national park idea not only reflected the separation between society and nature, but its original formulation was imbued with the hierarchical ordering of humans. This is clearly shown in George Catlin's view of the Native American as the 'vanishing American', who should be preserved together with their surrounding physical environment as an inseparable unit. In other words, the Native American formed part of the natural landscape, while white Americans – who defined that landscape – occupied a superior position. Thus, the West American landscape acted as a filter for human gradation. Although those landscapes were used to mobilise national aspirations, they were instrumental in shaping up an exclusive settler identity. It should be emphasised that the idea that the Native Americans and their surrounding should be preserved by means of a national park is one of the earliest expressions of racial stereotypes in national park systems. Such stereotypes defined the place of non-western societies in protected areas; their impact on landscapes and the

environment as a whole, and the way they should relate to, and access resources from, protected areas (particularly national and TFPs).

The use of national parks in the grading of humans is a manifestation of complex power structures that form a strong strand in the history of society and nature. The consequences of national parks on humans reveal that non-western societies, particularly Africans, suffered the most. This is not surprising because Africans are the most humiliated of all peoples in modern history (Mazrui 1980). "In terms of physical brutalization", Mazrui (1980: viii) wrote,

> the holocaust suffered by the Jews under the Nazis and the genocidal treatment which native Americans and native Australians received from white people, were as gruesome as anything experienced by black people. But Africans have been humiliated in history in ways that range from the slave trade to being segregated and treated as third-class citizens in parts of their own continent to the present day, in spite of being numerically the majority.

The three inter-related systems of humiliation that Mazrui has referred to have relevance to our discussion of national parks. Racism in national parks is one example of the form of humiliation that Africans had been subjected to. Examples from national parks in southern Africa illustrate some aspects of that humiliation.

Southern African Experiences

The spread of the national park idea into southern Africa also meant that new[2] elements of human gradation were introduced in the region. In the context of nature and society, Africans in the region took the position[3] that was initially occupied by native Americans. Unsurprisingly, Africans formed part of the natural landscape and were allowed to co-exist with wildlife on the basis that they were closer to nature than their European counterparts. Their position in the hierarchy of creation determined the manner in which they were to be treated.

When agents of civilisation sought to conquer nature, Africans, too, were to be conquered as part of nature. In Zimbabwe, colonists hunted Africans like wildlife. Moreover, departments that were responsible for nature conservation were also in charge of the administration of Africans. And natives in general were described in zoological terms.[4] Furthermore, the ways in which Africans interacted with their physical environment were undermined on racial scientific grounds.

Accordingly, Africans were forced to adopt a hegemonic western view of nature. Thus, they were to see nature through a western lens. New western definitions of nature were imposed upon them. Their sacred spaces and natural resources assumed meanings that were alien to them. Consequently, Africans found themselves immersed in a society-nature crisis that has not been successfully resolved in the 21st century. And that crisis – appearing as lack of environmental education and lack of interest in biodiversity by the African – has provided fertile ground for the proliferation of nature conservation policies and schemes that have yet to empower the African.[5]

In southern Africa, and the African continent as a whole, Africans were dispossessed of their land. Their land was considered *terra nullis* in terms of Roman

Dutch law. Thus, the imposition of Eurocentric land rights laws in southern Africa was instrumental in the loss of land by the Africans. Moreover, those laws were tightened further as a coercive measure to force Africans not only to leave their land, but also to sell their labour as well. All this meant that Africans were removed from their land in order to serve white interests. Some of the removals also took place in the pretext of nature conservation. Thus, national parks emerged from the quest to control land, particularly in southern Africa. Against this background, national parks not only undermined indigenous tenure systems in the region, but also redefined land use.

The loss of land by the indigenous people accompanied the consolidation of the colonial state. And most of the indigenous land submerged into state and privately owned land. Subsequently, national parks developed on state land. The use of state land in nature conservation was also influenced by the belief among nature conservationists that the state had the power to protect national parks against indigenous people. In line with trends elsewhere, the collapse of the colonial state in southern Africa was followed by the rise in the private landholding system in nature conservation. The region experienced an increase in the number of private nature reserves. I ascribe this development to the penetration of capitalism into nature conservation. More importantly, this occurred as an expression of Afro-pessimism.

It was anticipated that the suffering that national parks brought to black people in Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe would come to an end in the post-independence political dispensation. However, the situation on the ground suggests that liberation did not bring about fundamental changes in the perceptions and treatment of local people in and around national parks. In this regard, Murombedzi (2003: 30) has concluded that,

> the post-colonial/neo-colonial governments of southern Africa have continued with, sometimes even strengthened, colonial conservation practices. In many case[s], conservation has increased in the post-colonial era, with many new [protected areas] being proclaimed on the same bases as colonial [protected areas], and with little or no regard for the conservation and livelihood practices of the local populations.[6]

In abstract terms, the emergence of the postcolony did not usher in the reconceptualisation of the society-nature dualism and its attendant practices. In no way do I suggest that nothing has been done to address the legacy of colonialism in national parks. Rather, I claim that post-independence approaches to people and parks have been constrained by the acceptance of Eurocentricism as an absolute. Furthermore, the colonial practices on, and perceptions of, people and parks have persisted in southern Africa. The practices are clearly visible in the area of resource rights. Local black people are still far from gaining the resource rights, which they lost to the establishment of national parks. In cases such as Botswana and Mozambique, local people were still facing threats of removals in 2003. With the exception of South Africa, where land restitution encompasses land in national parks, there is no institutional mechanism for opening up park resources to local communities in the region. The trend is rather towards devolving natural resource management to communities who live in communal land, hence the emergence of

communal conservancies. This trend is more likely to sustain the boundary between people and parks.

The grading of humans can also be seen in the nature and distribution of benefits from park resources. Governments, conservationists, donors and NGOs, all share the view that local people should benefit from parks in material terms. Moreover, local people themselves have absorbed materialism. There is nothing inherently wrong with material benefits, as most communities who live inside or adjacent to national parks do not have access to basic needs. In other words, benefits from national parks are viewed by, and presented to, local black people from the perspective of development. I argue that this perspective homogenises a heterogeneous group of people by using poverty as a common denominator. By ignoring the spiritual and other non-material needs of local black people, the conservation-for-development perspective reinforces the distinctions that have existed in society over the years. Conceptually, socio-economic conditions have emerged as new parameters for perpetuating the same distinctions that had initially been anchored on overt racial grounds.

Evolving policies on natural resource management in the region suggest that national parks will remain much the same, despite repeated pronouncements on 'new' ideas about people and parks. This assumption is defendable from at least two main grounds. First, the now fashionable trend towards community-based natural resource management has shifted the focus of the contested terrain of national parks to natural resources found in communal land.

Second, market forces have assumed a leading role in national parks affairs. These have marginalised the roles that the state and surrounding poor communities could play in national parks. The implications of economic forces have been summarised below.

NATIONAL PARKS, NATURE RESERVES AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS

> From its inception, the national park has been the principal site where nature is marketed for mass consumption by an increasing mobile and urban society. Their roles in situ gene banks and endangered species are, in effect, the more recent layers of meanings attached to nature (Neumann, 1998: 24-24).

Economic interests have been central to the development of national parks. In developed countries, the first generation of national parks was in part influenced by industrialisation. This is clearly shown in Canada, where there was a strong link between the development of the railways and national parks. Subsequently, national parks were meant for the enjoyment of tourists, leading to the rise in contemporary ecotourism. These developments provided fertile ground for the penetration of capitalism into national parks. That penetration has occurred in different forms. For instance, there is a general perception that national parks are sustainable only if they can pay for themselves. Their ability to pay for themselves, in turn, hinges on private sector investment. Against this backdrop, southern Africa has experienced a significant growth in private sector investment in protected areas, including national

parks. Globally, the private sector plays a significant role in financing protected areas (Table 9.1).

A combination of factors accounts for this growth. These include the region's richness in biodiversity, the political and economic climate, the socio-economic conditions of people living in or adjacent to national parks, and the need to cater for the taste of international tourists. More crucially, the state's financial contribution to national parks has dwindled over the past years, supposedly because the state has been under pressure to meet the basic needs of the poor black majority.

Table 9.1 The GEF portfolio allocations and co-financing, 2002

Source	Amount (%)
Private sector	36.8
Bilateral	1.3
Foundations	0.03
Governments	13
Multilateral	23.2
NGOs	0.39
Others	25.2

Source: Global Environment Facility 2002

For the moment, capital investment in the region's protected areas is mainly directed towards privately owned nature reserves and TFPs, as these promise the highest economic gains. As we have noted, private nature reserves appeal to governments in the region, because they increase the number of areas under nature conservation without financial costs to governments. Moreover, such reserves are established on private land.

Although TFPs are couched in ecological terms, strong economic interests underpin them. As we have noted, TFPs, such as the Great Limpopo, have generated high interest among entrepreneurs, because of their potential economic rewards through foreign tourism. In this sense, the importance of TFPs will most likely depend on economic rather than ecological significance, thereby following the same logic that underscored the development of national parks in the past. Nevertheless, the convergence of economic and ecological interests over TFPs suggests the need for multidisciplinary approaches to the emerging cross-border landscapes. This is important, because TFPs affect (and are affected by) the sovereignty of the state; global and national nature conservation policies; the market; non-governmental organisations; farmers; local communities; and so forth.

In the context of the thrust of this volume, TFPs represent the culmination of economic interests that had developed as part of the original national park idea.

They have simply intensified and expanded the scale at which those interests can be pursued under new conditions. Unsurprisingly, there is concern among nature conservationists that economic interests in TFPs could override ecological considerations.

I submit that the economic logic of contemporary ecotourism is largely a continuation of commercial interests that have long been associated with nature conservational. Many of the areas that did not promise economic benefits were considered as being of no conservation value, despite their richness in biodiversity. The link between conservation and economics indicates that nature conservation is imbued with values that do not fit neatly into concerns for nature. Economic values have profoundly shaped our preferences for nature in general, and national parks in particular. The corollary to the attachment of western capitalist values to nature has been the suppression of values held by non-western societies. Current policies and practices do not provide the platform on which the previously suppressed values could be reaffirmed. Instead, they contribute to widening the gap that colonialism has set in motion. It is this continuity of colonially inscribed value systems and practices that this volume has attempted to highlight.

It follows that postcolonial theory, as a body of knowledge, is useful for understanding the trajectories of the national park idea, mainly because it enables the development of analyses that transcend time and space. This volume has adopted a postcolonial perspective in order to demonstrate the links between past and contemporary national park policies and practices. It therefore affirms the view that postcolonialism transcends the periodisation of history. However, the challenge to scholarship would be to relate the various threads of postcolonial experiences so as to account for the bases of continuities. With regard to national parks, the challenge would be to relate experiences from different sites and places on the one hand, and to use those experiences to understand other aspects of the postcolonial realities.

NOTES

[1] Against the findings that the human hand has contributed towards the development of landscapes.

[2] Stereotypes about indigenous people in the region existed long before the creation of national parks. In fact, national parks thrived on those stereotypes, and added new dimensions into race relations.

[3] In terms of the hierarchy and relationships between humans and non-humans.

[4] According to Fanon (1967: 33), the settlers "speaks of the yellow man's reptilian motions, of the stink of the native quarter, of breeding swarms, of foulness, of spawn, of gesticulations."

[5] In the context of access to, and control of natural assets.

[6] In the same vein, Neumann (1998: 33) has expressed the view that the exposure to the national park idea in developing countries have proven irresistible to governments: "the Third World need only to be exposed to the modern world to become dissatisfied with 'traditional' ways and eventually abandon their own culture for the West's."

CHAPTER 10

POSTSCRIPT: THE DURBAN ACCORD AND THE NEXT TEN YEARS

INTRODUCTION: REFLECTIONS ON THE WORLD PARKS CONGRESS

The hosting of the 5th World Parks Congress by South Africa had symbolic meanings. First, it was a recognition of the position of South Africa in global politics and the roles it is expected to play in southern Africa and the African continent as a whole. Against this backdrop, the Patron of the Congress, Queen Noor (of Jordan), remarked that, "the world could not have chosen a better place for [the Congress]." Though she might have said this because of South Africa's credentials as one of the nature and conservation nuclei of the world, and also as a country that has taken a lead in the partnerships for conservation in southern Africa, political influence also played a significant role in the choice of South Africa as a host.[1] Accordingly, Nelson Mandela was made a patron of the Congress in recognition of South Africa's political history. More crucially, South Africa positioned itself as a representative, and perhaps even a leader, of the African continent in nature conservation matters. Thus, South Africa hosted the Congress on behalf of Africa. Minister Valli Moosa (2003) remarked that the Congress "will be an opportunity for Africa to influence the global perspective [on conservation and protected areas]."

Second, the Congress was held in (South) Africa in recognition of the continent's richness in biodiversity. Indeed, Africa "is home to almost one third of the World's terrestrial biodiversity … [and has] more than 1 200 national parks, wildlife reserves, and other protected areas, representing an area … equal to 9% of Africa's total land area" (IUCN, 2003b: 75).

Thirdly, the continent represented 'the home' of people who are central to conservation thinking. This is confirmed by Africa being the only continent that was listed in the motions for the Congress (see Table 10.1). Indeed, this was evidenced by pictures of Africans hung on the walls in Durban's streets and skyscrapers. As much as these pictures might have been used to welcome delegates to 'Africa', they also reflect on the type of people who are of major concern to world conservation movements.

Unsurprisingly, the continent had the highest share (38%) of the IUCN annual budget in 1997 (Table 10.2). Accordingly, the IUCN's (n.d.) booklet entitled, 'safeguarding humanity's common heritage' had four pictures, with an African as the only human being in those pictures (Figure 10.1). Conceptually, images of Africans at the Congress highlight concerns among nature conservationists with regard to non-western societies. Unsurprisingly, the impressive gallery of pictures,

photographs and audio-visual material at the Durban Exhibition Centre showed two main things, namely, non-western societies and the natural environment (Personal Observation, 10-14 September 2003).

Table 10.1 5th World Parks Congress Motions

Motion No.	Title
5.01	Capacity building for the 21st century
5.02	Strengthening individual capacities and training institutions
5.03	Protected areas learning network
5.04	Building comprehensive and effective protected area systems
5.05	Global change and protected areas
5.06	Strengthening mountain protected areas as a key contribution sustainable mountain development
5.07	Financial security for protected areas
5.08	Private sector funding of protected areas
5.09	Integrated landscape management to support protected areas
5.10	Policy linkages between protected areas and relevant international conventions and programmes
5.11	A global network to support the development of transboundary conservation/protected area initiatives
5.12	Tourism as a tool for conservation and support of protected areas
5.13	Spiritual values of protected areas
5.14	Cities and protected areas
5.15	Peace, conflict and protected areas
5.16	Good governance and protected areas
5.17	Recognising and supporting a diversity of governance types for protected areas
5.18	Management effectiveness evaluation to support protected area management
5.19	IUCN protected area management categories
5.20	None
5.21	The World Heritage Convention
5.22	Building a global system of marine and coastal protected area networks
5.23	Protecting marine biodiversity and ecosystem processes through marine protected areas beyond national jurisdiction
5.24	Indigenous People and protected areas
5.25	Co-management of protected areas
5.26	Community conserved areas
5.27	Mobile Peoples and conservation
5.28	Protected areas: mining and energy
5.29	Poverty and protected areas
5.30	Africa's protected areas

Source: IUCN 2003c

Table 10.2 IUCN expenditure by region

Region	Expenditure (%)
Headquarters (Globally)	33
Southern Africa	13
Eastern Africa	10
West Africa	10
Central Africa	5
North Africa and Central Asia	1
South and East Asia	7
North America	6
Central America	4
South America	2
Europe	3
Pakistan	6
TOTAL	100

Source: IUCN 1997

In terms of the theme of this book, the three points mentioned above suggest that the future of Africa's biodiversity hinges on the purchase of African states and their citizens. The question that arises from this is whether there has been a shift in perceptions of Africa and its people (in respect of biodiversity). The Durban Accord suggests ways in which this question could be answered in future.

DURBAN ACCORD: GLOBAL COMMITMENTS

Although called the Durban Accord, the recommendations of the 5th World Parks Congress predated the Congress after which they are named. A number of steps were taken before the Congress to prepare the recommendations. These include the appointment of the World Parks Congress Recommendations Preparatory Committee (IUCN 2003c).[2] Subsequently, 31 topics for which motions could be prepared were identified and linked to workshop streams and themes. Authors for the various streams and themes prepared motions that were to form the basis of the Congress Recommendations. These were reviewed by the Recommendations Preparatory Committee. Out of this process emerged 29 motions (Table 10.1 above), which were prepared for consideration at the Durban Congress.

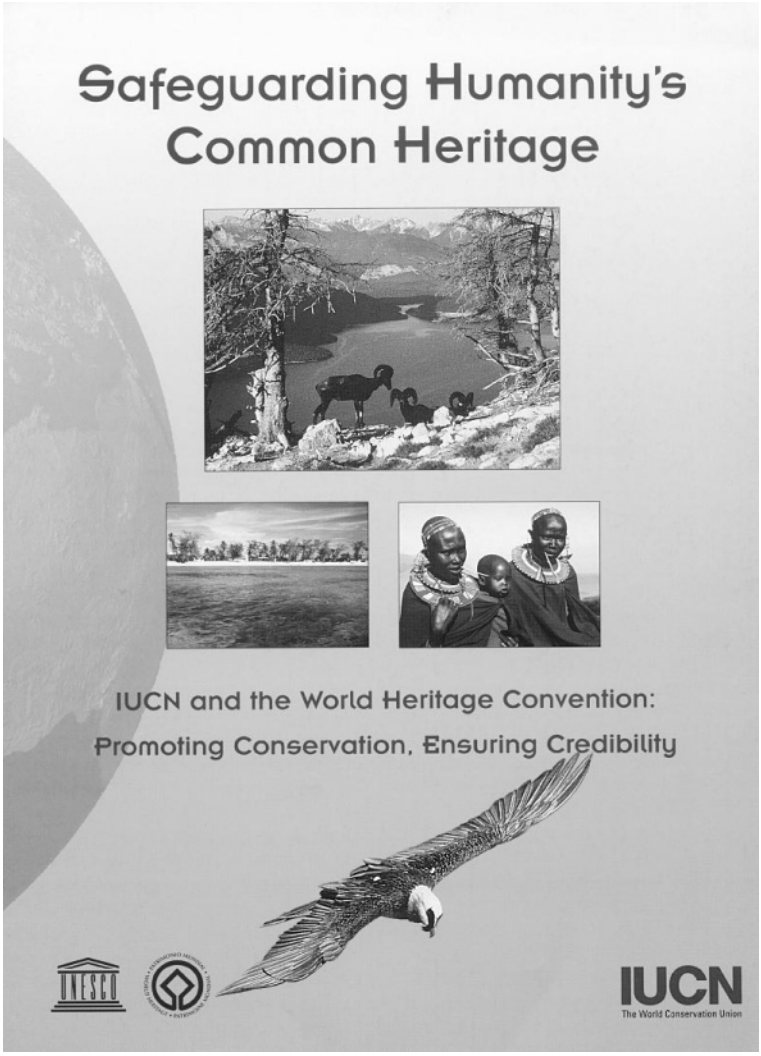

Figure 10.1 Picture of the common heritage
Source: IUCN, n.d.

Moreover, the resolutions were drafted as follows: In the fulfilment of our commitment, those gathered at the Vth IUCN World Parks Congress in Durban, South Africa, in 2003 pledge for the next decade our support for and active engagement in:

- Promoting protected areas;[3]
- Including stakeholders in protected areas;[4]

- Developing a global system;[5]
- Improving planning and management;[6]
- Increasing financial support (IUCN 2003c: 2-3).[7]

For the next ten years (i.e. from 2004) the Action Plan[8] of the Durban Accord will provide the blueprint for nature conservation activities. Accordingly, a series of targets has been identified as the benchmarks for checking and reporting progress. The following key targets were set in September 2003:

1) Action to be taken in protected areas to reduce the costs of poverty alleviation.
This would require all countries to develop schemes for poverty alleviation in protected areas. In this regard, the IUCN would be required to develop and disseminate best practice on poverty alleviation, disaster prevention and mitigation, and training programmes. For their part, governments would be expected to work with businesses, protected area agencies and NGOs, in order to position protected areas as key components of sustainable development. In other words, governments will continue to play a facilitative role;

2) Specific action by all signatories of the Convention on Biological Diversity will be taken to improve the role of protected areas in biological conservation. Priorities will be given to capacity building, strengthening funding mechanisms and addressing gaps in the protected area coverage. The outcome would be to improve biodiversity protection. This is in line with the goal that the 6th Conference of the Parties of the Convention on Biological Diversity has set to significantly reduce the rate of biodiversity loss by 2010;

3) To develop a system of protected areas representing all of the world's ecosystems by 2010. The system is proposed on the basis that protection at ecosystem level is essential for protecting individual components such as dependent species, habitats and landscapes (IUCN 2003c). Obviously, factors such as vulnerability, threats, scarcity and rarity will play a significant role in the search for ecosystem boundaries. In other words, protected areas will be linked as natural functioning systems;

4) To link protected areas into wider ecological/environmental systems on land and sea by 2015. National governments will be expected to expand protected areas beyond existing boundaries, while international bodies such as the IUCN will provide a global scheme of biogeographical subdivisions. Ecological networks and corridors will play a critical role in connecting protected areas and their

surroundings. Transfrontier parks are an example of how this will occur. Against this background, we should expect to see the development of more transfrontier parks from now onwards;

5) To ensure that all protected areas will have effective existence by 2015.
Biodiversity loss, habitat fragmentation and landscape destruction are partly ascribed to ineffective management structures. To this end, a global assessment of the effectiveness of protected areas management will be required. Moreover, the assessment will consider factors such as climate change in order to develop adaptation plans. The implications are that a wide range of scientific, technical and indigenous knowledge should be collated and applied in both the training of professionals and management structures;

6) To ensure that all relevant protected areas have representation of Indigenous Peoples and local communities in their management by 2010.
Indigenous People have often been ignored during the establishment of protected areas. With international instruments at their disposal and in their favour, Indigenous People can no longer be ignored in matters pertaining to protected areas. Unsurprisingly, Aroha Mead from the Moari of New Zealand, spoke at the opening ceremony. Understandably, this was the first time an indigenous person was invited to speak at the opening ceremony of the World Parks Congress (Our Voices 2003). At the World Parks Congress, Indigenous Peoples and Mobile Peoples[9] met at the Community Park, which was established inside the Durban Exhibition Hall, to develop a collective voice in order to advance their interests in protected areas, including sacred spaces.

While the World Parks Congress recognised that Indigenous Peoples and local communities have knowledge, skills and institutions of great value for biodiversity and landscape conservation (IUCN 2003c), the drafters of the Congress targets did not indicate specific actions that should be taken in this regard. I emphasise that, of all the nine targets of the Congress, the representation of Indigenous Peoples and local communities in the management of protected areas was the only target, for which no action was suggested. The implication is that the representation of local communities in protected areas management will not be appropriately monitored, as there are no clear guidelines on how this should be done. Under these circumstances, local communities will remain on the margins, unless they actively develop their own actions in order to gain representation;

7) All protected area authorities to take action to make the distribution of costs and benefits of protected area more equitable.
The aim of distribution costs and benefits is to establish greater support for protected areas from diverse constituents. For the next ten years, governments and protected areas agencies will be expected to increase their contribution towards the welfare of people in or near protected areas. The primary stakeholders will continue to be resident communities and also, those who have lived in or adjacent to protected areas. In this regard, community conserved areas (CCAs) are expected to play the crucial role of distributing benefits. These will increasingly gain recognition in national and international conservation systems as protected areas;[10]

8) To achieve financial and other support from all major stakeholder constituencies.
The Congress acknowledged the huge problem of financing plans to achieve all the targets it aims to achieve in the next ten years. To this end, "global conventions and congresses [should] ensure that those stakeholders with interests in, or which affect, protected areas are actively involved in developing the new agenda for protected areas. This should include stakeholders with interests in exploitation of natural resources" (IUCN 2003c: 21). Accordingly, national governments are expected to improve economic instruments in order to demonstrate benefits from protected areas. Moreover, partnerships with business and other interested parties will probably play a leading role in financing protected areas. Private Landowners (2003) made seven recommendations in this regard. These are: a) strengthening the legal framework for private lands conservation; b) strengthening economic incentives[11] for private land conservation; c) strengthening institutional capacity for private lands conservation; d) improving and expanding education and training opportunities for private lands conservation; e) increasing public-private collaboration in the management and conservation of protected lands; f) promoting community involvement and rural development through privately owned protected areas; and g) creating information networks. With regard to governments, it is expected that they should remove policy and institutional barriers to sustainable financing solutions. Undoubtedly, some of these will come through trade agreements and foreign aid;

9) Effective systems of governance to be implemented in all countries. The move is to develop an international charter on protected area governance. This will require a comparative analysis of protected area governance types and models, and the evaluation of the effectiveness

of different types and models. To this end, governments are expected to develop 'good governance' principles and to apply them in relevant protected area contexts. Such principles will most probably reflect those which underpin democratic ideals. The types and levels of democracy worldwide will therefore affect the ways in which resource governance will be structured. In theory, the fortunes of protected areas will most likely depend on the development of governance structures at global, regional and local levels. Thus, politics and nature conservation will, as in the past and in the present, continue to exist in tandem; and

10) To enhance resources secured for protected areas in developing countries
Most of the resources will be of a financial nature. At the international level, "major multinational companies whose activities are dependent on and have the potential to damage protected areas [are expected] to agree to collaborative funding of protected area management with GEF and other sources" (IUCN 2003c: 26). Conventions on Biological Diversity and the World Summit on Sustainable Development provide the basis on which industrialised countries are expected to assist developing countries with additional financial resources.

The conservation plans expressed in these targets are not new. However, the World Parks Congress targets represent renewed efforts and emphases, and strategies to enhance biodiversity protection. It should be noted that the Congress has highlighted the concern for protecting seascapes. In 2003 it was estimated that the protected areas globally cover 1% of the sea (IUCN 2003c). That is, freshwater systems are grossly under-represented in the global area network. In this regard, the 8th meeting of the Subsidiary Body on Scientific, Technical and Technological Advice, held in March 2003, concluded that, "data available indicate that regionally and globally, marine and coastal protected area networks are severely deficient, and probably protect a very small proportion of marine and coastal resources" (IUCN 2003c: 55). Governments and interested parties are therefore called to establish a global system of representative networks of marine and coastal protected areas by 2012.[12]

Mining in protected areas remains a thorny issue. Whereas Congress Participants support the IUCN recommendation for the protection and conservation of biological diversity of protected areas from the negative impacts of mining and exploration,[13] there was a feeling that the dialogue on mining and conservation should continue. For instance, the motion on 'protected areas: mining and conservation' read that, "participants in the 5th World Parks Congress recognise that elements of the conservation community and of the mining and energy industry have expressed a commitment to conserve biodiversity, and maintain protected areas, will continue to

develop and strengthen their ongoing dialogues and will endeavour to make them more inclusive" (IUCN 2003c). Against this backdrop, the International Council on Mining and Metals (ICMM)[14] has already initiated a dialogue on mining and protected areas. This has culminated in the ICMM Council adopting a landmark position statement on 18 August 2003, in which ICMM corporate members agreed to recognise existing World Heritage properties as 'no-go' areas (ICMM 2003).

CONCLUSION

Scientific analyses (and even divination for that matter) have their own pitfalls in foretelling the future. Nevertheless, the background that has been laid at the 5th World Parks Congress will direct many of the activities in matters related to protected areas. This will occur after the approval of the recommendations by the Action Plan by the World Conservation Congress in 2004. The targets, which have been set, however, will not be achieved without the co-operation of the local communities, private sector, NGOs, governments and international instruments. Nevertheless, the experience that has been gained from the previous four World Parks Congresses, together with the successes achieved, will be instrumental towards achieving the targets that have been set. Much will depend on the effectiveness or otherwise of existing international and national instruments. In southern Africa, South Africa will be expected by both the international community and the neighbouring countries to be a catalyst in regional programmes. After all, South Africa has become something of a model on its own.

NOTES

[1] The perception that South Africa's Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Valli Moosa, might have opted to organise the Congress in order to score political points for the 2004 general elections has been nullified by Moosa's public announcement that he will not be available for the cabinet post after the 2004 election. Whatever his future career would be, he will most probably be remembered as one the most courageous Environmental Minister in post-apartheid South Africa.

[2] The committee members were Bruce Amos, Steve Edwards, Adrian Phillips, Marija Zupancic Vicar and Pedro Rosabal.

[3] As part of the vibrant natural systems and as essential for the economy and society.

[4] These refer to the recognition of people as an essential part of protected areas, and the need to stimulate local engagement and empowerment in the management and use of protected areas. Interestingly, land restitution and mining in protected areas have been lumped together under one category of conflict resolution. This confirms my view that nature conservationists do not willingly support land restitution (see Chapters 6 and 7).

[5] The idea is to complete a global system of protected areas on land and at sea, the specific focus being on gaps in protected areas such as the high seas, regional seas, grassland, plants and fish.

[6] Nine pledges were made with regard to improving the management of protected areas at local, regional and global levels.

[7] The Congress pledged to secure substantial resources from public, private and charitable sources.

[8] It should be noted that 'the Action Plan will be subject to discussion and approval at the World Conservation Congress in 2004 as the Congress is the only formally mandated assembly of IUCN members' (IUCN 2003c: 28).

[9] There is still a great deal of confusion on the definitions of Indigenous, Mobile and local communities. This is because of different interpretations of lifestyles. For instance, Mobile Peoples see their needs as different from those of 'settled' communities. The difficulty is in how all these marginalised people could develop strategies that yield collective strengths. They possibly need collective wisdom in order to engage with powerful players in nature conservation.

[10] In the sense that they achieve the goals of conservation of biodiversity regardless of the objectives of their management.

[11] These include "property tax exemptions for lands placed in conservation status, payments for the environmental services provided by conservation lands, development of markets for environmental goods and services, purchase or transfer of development rights, and other forms of government financial and technical assistance" (Private Landowners 2003: n.p.).

[12] This implies a substantial increase in marine and coastal protected areas.

[13] This recommendation was made by the IUCN at the 2nd World Conservation Congress, which was held in Amman (Jordan) in 2000. The IUCN recommended that governments should ban mining in Categories I-IV Protected Areas.

[14] The ICMM represents the 15 leading mining and metal producing companies of the world.

REFERENCES

Abell, R.M., Thiene, E., Dinerstein, E. and Olson, D. (2002). An information paper summarising WWF's Sourcebook for Conducting Biological Assessments and Developing Biodiversity Visions for Ecoregion Conservation, Volume II: Freshwater Ecoregions. Washington DC: World Wildlife Fund.

Abler, R.F., Marcus, M.G., and Olson, J.M. (Eds.) (1992*). Geography's inner worlds: pervasive themes in contemporary American geography.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Abrahamsen, R. (2003). African studies and the postcolonial challenge. *African Affairs* 102, 189-210.

Adams, W. and Mulligan, M. (Eds.) (2003). *Decolonising nature: strategies for conservation in a post-colonial era.* London: Earthscan.

Adams, J.S. and McShane, T.O. (1996*). The myth of wild Africa – conservation without illusion.* Berkeley: University of California.

Adams, W. (2003). Nature and the colonial mind. In W. Adams and M. Mulligan (Eds.) *Decolonising nature: strategies for conservation in a post-colonial era*. London: Earthscan.

Adams,W. and Hulme, D. (2001a). Conservation and community. In D. Hulme and M. Murphree (Eds.) *African wildlife and livelihoods*, 9-23. Oxford: James Currey.

Adams, W. and Hulme, D. (2001b). If community conservation is the answer in Africa, what is the question? *Oryx* 35, 193-200.

African National Congress, (1992). Policy statement on national parks, nature reserves and rural development. Johannesburg.

Agrawal, A. (1997). Community in conservation: beyond enchantment and disenchantment. Gainesville, F.L: Conservation and Development Forum.

Ahmad, A. (1995). The politics of literary postcoloniality. *Race and Class* 36, 1-20.

Ake, C. (1996). *Democracy and development in Africa.* Washington DC: Bookings Institution.

Alden, W. (2001). Reconstructing the African commons. *Africa Today* 48, 77-99.

Anderson, B. (1991*). Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London: Verso.

Asiwaju, A.I. (1985). Partitioned culture areas: a checklist. In A.I. Asiwaju (Ed.) *Partitioned Africans: ethnic relations across Africa's international boundaries*, 1884-1984, 252-259. London: Hirst and Co.

Asiwaju, A.I. (1996). Borderlands in Africa: a comparative research perspective with particular reference to Western Europe. In P. Nugent and A.I. Asiwaju (Eds*.) African boundaries: barriers, conduits and opportunities*, 253-265. London: Pinter.

Asiwaju, A.I. (1998). Fragmentation or integration: what future for African boundaries? Paper presented to the Fifth Conference of the International Boundaries Research Unit, 15-17 July. Durham.

Barber, Z. (2001). Colonizing nature: scientific knowledge, colonial power and the incorporation of India into the modern system. *British Journal of Sociology* 52: 37-58.

Barnard, P. (1998). Biological biodiversity in Namibia: a country study. Windhoek: Namibian National Biodiversity Task Team.

Barnes, J.I. and de Jager, J.L.V. (1995). *Economic and financial incentives for wildlife use on private land in Namibia and the implications for policy (Research Paper 8.* Windhoek: Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

Beinart, W. (2000). African history and environmental history. *African Affairs* 99, 269-302.

Beinart, W. (2002). South African environmental history in the African context. In S. Dovers, R. Edgecomb and B. Guest (Eds*.) South Africa's environmental history: cases and comparisons*, 215-226. Cape Town: David Philip.

Beinart, W. and Coates, P. (1995). *Environment and history: the taming of nature in the USA and South Africa*. London: Routledge.

Bella, L. (1986). The politics of preservation: creating national parks in Canada, and in the United States, England and Wales. *Planning Perspectives* 1, 189-206.

Bello, A. (1995). The boundaries must change. *West Africa* (10-16 April), 546.

Bennett, A.F. (2003a). *Linkages in the landscape: the role of corridors and connectivity in wildlife conservation.* Gland: IUCN.

Bennett, G. (2003b). Linkages in practice: a review of their conservation value. Paper presented at the 5th World Parks Congress, 8-17 September. Durban.

Blackie, R. (1999). *Communities and natural resources: trends in equitable and efficient use. Research Discussion Paper 29*. Namibia: Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

Bochat, L. (2003). Nomads no more. *Africa Geographic* 11, 80-86.

Bond, P. (2002). *Unsustainable South Africa: environment, development and social protest.* Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.

Bonner, R. (1993). *At the hand of man: peril and hope for Africa's wildlife*. London. Earthscan.

Borchet, P. and Johns, M. (1994). The environment must win. *Africa Wildlife and Environment* 2, 20.

Botswana, (n.d.). Tourism in Botswana [Brochure]. Gaborone.

Botswana, (1968). *Report of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, March 1965 to December 1968*. Gaborone: Government Printer.

Botswana, (1998a). *Botswana National Settlement Policy.* Gaborone: Government Printer.

Botswana, (1998b). Community-based natural resource management programme formulation report. International Fund for Agricultural Development.

Boyer, R. and Drache, D. (1996). Introduction. In R. Boyer and D. Drake (Eds.) *State against markets*, 1-27. London: Routledge.

Brandon, K. (1997). Policy and practical considerations in land-use strategies for biodiversity conservation. In R.A. Kramer, C.P. van Schaik and J. Johnson (Eds.) *Last stand: protected areas and the defense of tropical biodiversity*, 90-114. New York: Oxford University Press.

Brandon, K., Redford, K.H. and Sanderson, S.E. (Eds.) (1998*). Parks in peril: people, politics and protected areas.* Washington D.C.: Island Books.

Brechin, S.R., West, P.C., Harmon, D. and Kutay, K. (1991). Resident peoples and protected areas: a framework for inquiry. In P.C. West and S.R. Brechin (Eds.) *Resident peoples and national parks: social dilemmas and strategies in international conservation*, 5-28. Tucson: University of Arizona.

Breytenbach, J. (1997). *Eden's exiles: one soldier's fight for paradise*. Cape Town: Queillerie.

Broekhuis, J.F. (1997). Land use planning for wildlife conservation and economic development. *In Proceedings of a National Conference on Conservation and Management of Wildlife in Botswana*, 10-151. Gaborone.

Bronstein, J.L. (1999). *Land reform and working-class experience in Britain and the United States, 1800-1862*. California: Stanford University Press.

Brook, D. (1998). Environmental genocide: Native Americans and toxic waste. *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 57, 105-113.

Brubaker, E. (1995). *Property rights in the defence of nature*. London: Earthscan.

Burnett, G.W. and Butler Harrington, L.M. (1994). Early national parks adoption in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Society and Natural Resources* 7, 155-168.

Business Day, (2003). Tax breaks offered to extend wildlife areas (September 10). Johannesburg

Business Day, (2003). Conservation versus privatisation (September 10). Johannesburg.

Campbell, M.C. and Salus, D.A. (2003). Community and conservation land trusts as unlikely partners? The case of Troy Gardens, Madison, Wisconsin. *Land Use Policy* 20: 169-180.

Cape Argus, (2003). SANParks backtracks on Kruger (July 30). Cape Town.

Cape Times, (2003). Major addition of land to country's nature reserves (October 14). Cape Town.

Carruthers, J. (1989). Creating a national park, 1910-1926. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, 188-216.

Carruthers, J. (1995). *The Kruger National Park: a social and political history*. University of Natal Press: Pietermaritzburg.

Castree, N. (2001). Socialising nature: theory, practice, and politics. In N. Castree and B. Braun (Eds.) *Social nature: theory, practice and politics*, 1-21. Oxford: Blackwell.

Cernea, M.M. and Schmidt-Soltau, K. (2003). National Parks and poverty risks: is population resettlement the solution? Paper presented at the World Parks Congress, 8-17 September. Durban.

Chambers, R. (1983). *Rural development: putting the last first*. Harlow: Longman.

Chhabra, D., Healy, R. and Sills, E. (2003). Staged authenticity and heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, 702-719.

Christopher, A.J. (1983). Official land disposal policies and European settlement in southern Africa, 1860-1960. *Journal of Historical Geography* 9: 369-383.

Christopher, A.J. (1988). *The British empire at its zenith*. London: Croom Helm.

Coates, P. (1998). *Nature*. Oxford: Blackwell.
Colchester, M. (2000). Salvaging nature: indigenous peoples and protected areas. In K.B. Ghimire and Pimbert, M.P. (Eds.) *Social change and conservation*, 97-130. London: Earthscan.
Coleman, J.S. (1994). *Nationalism and development in Africa*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
Conca, K. (1995). Greening the United Nations: environmental organisations and the UN system. *Third World Quarterly* 16, 441-457.
Cosgrove, D.E. and S. Daniels (Eds.) (1993). *The iconography of landscapes: essays on the symbolic representation, design and use of past environments*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Cremo, M.A. and Goswani, M. (1998). *Divine Nature: a spiritual perspective on the environmental crisis*. Bombay: Bhaktivedanta Book Trust.
Cumming, D.H.M. (1981). National parks and Zimbabwe: ideals concepts and ideals for the 1980s. Cyclostyled Parks and Wildlife Board Report.
Daily News, (2002). Game where everyone wins (December 6). Durban.
Dasmann, R.F. (1972). Towards a system for classifying natural regions of the world and their representation by national parks and reserves. Biological Conservation 4, 247-255.
Davies, R. (1997). *The history of Madikwe Game Reserve. In North West Parks Tourism Board, Madikwe Game Reserve – A synopsis*. Mmabatho: North West Parks & Tourism Board.
Dearden, P. and Berg, L.D. (1993). Canada's national parks: a model of administrative penetration. *Canadian Geographer* 37, 194-211.
De Villiers, B. (1999). *Peace Parks: the way ahead.* Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.
Dicken, P. (1997). Transnational corporations and the nation-state. In A. Mabogunje (Ed), *State of the earth: contemporary geographic perspectives*, 334-354. Oxford: Blackwell.
Dirlik, A. (1994). The postcolonial aura: third world criticism in the age of global capitalism. *Critical Inquiry* 20, 328-356.
Doornbos, M. (1990). The African state in academic debate: retrospect and prospect. *Journal of Modern African Studies* 28, 179-198.
Drummond, J. (1991). The demise of territorial apartheid: re-incorporating the Bantustans in a 'new' South Africa. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 82: 338-433.
Duffy, R. (2000). *Killing for conservation: wildlife policy in Zimbabwe*. Oxford: James Currey.
Eagles, P.F.J. and McCool, S.F. (2002). *Tourism in national parks and protected areas: planning and management*. Wallingford: CABI.
Echtner, C.M. and Prasad, P. (2003). The Context of Third World Tourism Marketing. *Annals of Tourism Research* 30, 660-682.
Ellis, S. (1994). Of elephants and men: politics and nature conservation in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 20, 53-69.
Fabricius, C., Koch, E. and Magome, H. (2001). Towards strengthening collaborative ecosystem management: lessons from environmental conflict and political change in southern Africa. *Journal of the Royal Society, New Zealand* 31, 831-844.
Fairhead, J. and Leach, M. (1996). Misreading the African landscape. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Fanon, F. (1967). *The wretched of the earth*. London: Penguin.
Ferraro, P.J. (2002). The local costs of establishing protected areas in low-income nations: Ranomafana National Park, Madagascar. *Ecological Economics* 43, 261-275.
Financial Mail, (2000). Seeking solutions to the land claim problem (November 3). Johannesburg.
Fisch, M. (1999). *The Caprivi strip during the German colonial period 1890 to 1914*. Windhoek: Out of Africa Publishers.
Forest Peoples Programme, (n.d). Indigenous Peoples and protected area: from principles to practice [Brochure]. Morenton-in-March.
Foster, S., Mommsen, W.J., and Robinson, R. (Eds.) (1988). *Bismarch, Europe and Africa: the Berlin Africa Conference 1884-1885 and the onset of partition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Freedom Park Trust, n.d. Freedom Park: a conceptual framework [Brochure]. Pretoria.
Frenkel, S. (1994). Old theories in new places? Environmental determinism and bioregionalism. *Professional Geographer* 46, 289-295.
Gakwandi, A.S. (1996). Towards a new political map of Africa. In T. Abdul-Raheem (Ed.) *Pan Africanism: politics, economy and social change in the twenty-first century*, 181-190. London: Pluto.
Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and nationalism*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Getaway, (1996). Superparks: the impossible dream? [Magazine, November], 88-97.
Ghimire, K.B. and M.P. Pimbert (Eds.) (1997). *Social change and conservation: environmental politics and impacts of national parks and protected areas.* London: Earthscan.
Giliomee, H. (1992) 'Broedertwis': intra-Afrikaner conflicts in the transition from apartheid. *African Affairs* 9, 339-364.
Global Biodiversity Forum, (2003). 18th Session of the Global Biodiversity Forum: Biodiversity, Trade and Sustainable Development [Pamphlet].
Global Environment Facility, (2002). *Annual Report*. Washington DC.
Gober, P. (2000). In search of synthesis. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 90, 1-11.
Goetel, W. (1925) Great program of Poland and Czechoslovakia for national parks. *Zoological Society Bulletin* 28, 26-36.
Gordon, R. (1992). *The Bushman myth and the making of a Namibian underclass*. Boulder: Westview Press.
Graham, E.H. (1944). *National principles of land use*. London: Oxford University Press.
Griffin, J., Cumming, D., Metcalfe, S., Sas-Rolfes, M., Singh, J., Chonguica, E., Rowen, M. and Oglethorpe, J. (1999). *A study on the development of Transboundary Natural Resource Management Areas in southern Africa.* Washington DC: Biodiversity Support Programme.
Grimwood, I.R. (1973). *The establishment of national parks: report to the government of Swaziland*. Rome: Food and Agricultural Organization of United Nations.
Grove, A.T. (1989). *The changing geography of Africa.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Grove, R.H. (1995). *Green imperialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Guelke, L. (2003). The tragedy of privatisation: some environmental consequences of the Dutch invasion of KhoiKhoi South Africa. *South African Geographical Journal* 85, 90-98.
Hachileka, E. (2003). Sustainability of wildlife utilisation in the Chobe District, Botswana. *South African Geographical Journal* 85, 50-57.
Hackel, J.D. (2001). A case of conservation and development conflicts: Swaziland's Hlane Road. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, 813-831.
Hamin, E.M. (2001). The Us National Park Service's partnership parks: collaborative responses to middle landscapes. *Land Use Policy* 18, 123-135.
Hanks, J. (n.d.). Peace parks [Unclassified material]. Pretoria.
Harries, P. (1987). 'A forgotten corner of the Transvaal': reconstructing the history of a relocated community through oral testimony and song. In B. Bozzoli (Ed.) *Class, community and conflict: southern African perspective*, 93-134. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.
Heathcote, R.L. (1972). The visions of Australia, 1770-1970. In A. Rapoport (Ed.) *Australia as human setting*. Sydney: Angus and Robertson.
Herbst, J. (2000). *States and power in Africa: comparative lessons in authority and control*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Hey, D. (1995). *A nature conservationist looks back*. Cape Town: Cape Nature Conservation.
Hudson, D.J. and Murray, M.L. (1997). Possible effect of the human population growth in the next twenty years on wildlife conservation. In Proceedings of a national conference on conservation and management of wildlife in Botswana, 85-93. Gaborone.
Hughes, D.M. (2001). Cadastral politics: the making of community-based resource management in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. *Development and Change* 32, 714-768.
Hugo, T. 2002 Presentation on Qwaqwa park. Proceedings of the Seminar on Conflict Management in Planning and Managing Protected Areas, 28 January-8 February. Golden Gate Highlands National Park.
Hulme, D. and Murphree, M. (1999). Communities, wildlife and the 'new conservation' in Africa. *Journal of International Development* 11, 277-285.
Hulme, D. and Murphree, M. (Eds.) (2001). *African wildlife and livelihoods*. Oxford: James Currey.
ICMM, (2003). 'No-Go' pledge signals a new era of collaboration with the conservation movement [Newsletter, September].
IUCN, (n.d.). Safeguarding humanity's common heritage [Booklet].
IUCN, (1997). *Annual Report*. Washington DC.
IUCN, (2001). *Transboundary protected areas for the peace and co-operation*. Washington D.C.
IUCN, (2003a). *Securing protected areas in the face of global change*. Washington DC: World Commission on Protected Areas.

IUCN, (2003b). Guide to the WPC Recommendations Procedures, Vth World Parks Congress, 8-17 September. Durban.
IUCN, (2003c). Durban Accord: our global commitment for people and the earth's protected areas (Draft). Durban.
IUCN, (2003d). WPC Recommendation 5.28. Durban.
Jeffrey, M.I. (1999). National parks and protected areas – approaching the next millennium. *Acta Juridica*, 163-187.
John, G.E. (2001). Cultural nationalism, westward expansion and the production of imperial landscape: George Catlin's Native American West. *Ecumene* 8, 177-201.
Jones, T.B. (1995). *Wildlife management, utilisation and tourism in communal areas. Research Discussion Paper No. 5*. Windhoek: Ministry of Environment and Tourism.
Jones, T.B. and Chonguica, E. (2001). *Review and analysis of specific transboundary natural resource management (TBNRM) initiatives in the southern African region.* Harare: IUCN-ROSA.
Junod, H.A. (1927). *The life of a South African tribe*. Imprimerie Attinger Freres (Switzerland).
Kahn, P.H. (1999). *The human relationship with nature: development and culture*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Katz, E. (2002). The liberation of humanity and nature. *Environmental Values* 11, 397-405.
Katzellenbogen, S. (1996). It didn't happen in Berlin: politics, economics and ignorance in the setting of Africa's colonial boundaries. In P. Nugent and A.I. Asiwaju (Eds.) *African boundaries: barriers, conduits and opportunities*, 21-34. London: Pinter.
Kay, C. (2003). Commercialisation of protected areas. *African Wildlife* 57, 6-9.
Kibreab, G. (2000). Common property resources and resettlement. In M.M. Cernea and C. McDowell (Eds.) *Risks and Reconstruction: experiences of resettlement and refugees*, 293-331. Washington DC: World Bank.
Kidner, D.W. (2001). *Nature and Psyche: radical environmentalism and the politics of subjectivity*. New York: State University of New York.
Koch, E. (1998). 'Nature has the power to heal old wounds': war, peace and changing patterns of conservation in southern Africa. In D. Simon (Ed.) *South Africa in southern Africa: reconfiguring the region*. Oxford: James Currey.
Kumbleben Commission, (1998), Report of the Board of Investigation into the Institutional Arrangements for nature Conservation in South Africa. Pretoria.
Lamb, P.J. (1978). Large scale Tropical Atlantic surface circulation patterns associated with Sub-Saharan weather anomalies. *Tellus* 39, 240-251.
Land Claims Commission, (1996). Makuleke land claim [File]. Pretoria.
Langholz, J.A. and Lassoie, J. (2001). Perils and promise of privately owned protected areas. *BioScience* 51, 1079-1085.
Langholz, J., Lassoie. J., and Schelhas, J. (2000). Incentives for Biological Conservation: Costa Rica's Private Wildlife Refuge Program. *Conservation Biology* 14, 1735-1743.
Lawrie, G. (1963). *New light on South West Africa: some extracts from and comments on the Odendaal Report*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
Leiff, B. (1985). Waterton Lakes Biosphere Reserve: developing a harmonious relationship. *Parks* 10, 9-11.
Lesotho, (n.d.). [Unclassified Document]. Maseru: Department of Nature Conservation.
Lesotho, (1967). *Historical Monument, Relics, Fauna and Flora Act, 41*. Maseru: Government Printer.
Lesotho, (1970). *First Five-Year Development Plan, 1970/71-1974/75*. Maseru: Central Planning and Development Office.
Lesotho, (1987). *Notice No. 91*. Maseru: Ministry of Agriculture Co-operatives and Marketing.
Lesotho, (1999a). *State of the environment in Lesotho*. Maseru: National Environment Secretariat.
Lesotho, (1999b). Proceedings of a conference facilitated by Earthplan (Lesotho) on behalf of the Lesotho Highlands Development Authority, 24-27 March. Maseru.
Lesotho, (2000a). *Draft National Policy for the Development and Promotion of Tourism in the Kingdom of Lesotho*. Maseru: Ministry of Tourism, Spots and Culture.
Lesotho, (2000b). *National Strategy on Lesotho's Biological Diversity: conservation and sustainable use.* Maseru: National Environment Secretariat.
Lesotho, (2001a). [Unclassified archival material]. Department of Nature Conservation.

Lesotho, (2001b). *Declaration of Sehlabathebe National Park Notice, 181*. Maseru: Ministry of Agriculture Co-operatives and Land Reclamation.
Lesotho, (2002). Proposed regions for the management of protected areas. Maseru: Department of Nature Conservation.
Lesotho Highlands Development Authority, (n.d.). *The protected gems of the 'Mountain Kingdom', Lesotho* (Brochure). Maseru.
Lester, A. (1998). Reformulating identities: British settlers in early nineteenth-century South Africa. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 23, 515-531.
Levin, R. and Weiner, D. (1997). From apartheid to development. In R. Levin and D. Weiner (Eds.) *No more tears: struggles for land in Mpumalanga, South Africa*, 3-25. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.
Limpopo, (n.d). Mhinga Mhinga Leisure Development [Brochure]. Polokwane: Trade and Investment Limpopo.
Long, C.R. and Averill, J.R. (2003). Solitude: an exploration of benefits of being alone. *Journal of the Theory of Social Behaviour* 33, 27- +
Lowenthal, D. and Prince, H. (1964). The English landscape. *Geographical Review* 55, 186-222.
Lowry, A. and Donahue, T.P. (1994). Parks, politics, and pluralism: the demise of national parks in Togo. *Society and Natural Resources* 7, 321-329.
Lusigi, W.J. (1981). New approaches to wildlife conservation in Kenya. *Ambio* 10, 87-92.
MacArther, R,H. and Wilson, E.O. (1967). *The theory of island biogeography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
MacKay, F. (2002). Addressing past wrongs. Forest Peoples Programme Occasional Paper (October). Moreton-in-Marsh.
Mackenzie, J.M. (1988). *The empire of nature: hunting, conservation and British imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
Mail & Guardian, (1999). The bittereinders of the Kalahari (July 2-8). Johannesburg.
Mail & Guardian, (2001a). People think I'm crazy (July 20-26). Johannesburg.
Mail & Guardian, (2001b). Kruger man charged over animal sales (May18-24). Johannesburg.
Mail & Guardian, (2001c). Cartoon. Johannesburg.
Mail & Guardian, (2003). SA politics impact on Botswana (March 14-19). Johannesburg.
Makuleke Community Property Association, (n.d). Our hearts are healing: removals, restitution and development in the Makuleke Region of the Kruger National Park [Booklet]. Makuleke.
Mamdani, M. (1996). *Citizen and subject: contemporary Africa and the legacy of late colonialism*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
Mamdani, M. (2001). *When victims become killers: colonialism, nativism, and the genocide in Rwanda*. Oxford: James Currey.
Margules, C.R., Pressey R.L. and Williams, P.H. (2002). Representing biodiversity: data and procedures for identifying priority areas for conservation. *Journal of Biosciences* 27, 309-326.
Marks, S. and Trapido, S. (Eds.) (1987). *The politics of race, class and nationalism in twentienth century South Africa*. London: Longman.
Massey, D. (1999). Issues and debates. In D. Massey, J. Allen and P. Sarre (Eds.) *Human Geography Today*, 3-21. Cambridge: Polity.
Matondi, P. (2003). Presentation at the Workshop Session on Policy, Legislation and Institutional Frameworks Shaping Natural Resource Management and Governance, 29 August. Cape Town.
Matsebula, J.S.M. (1972). *A history of Swaziland*. Johannesburg: Longman.
Mayall, J. (1992). Nationalism and international security after the Cold War. *Survival*, 19-35.
Mazrui, A. (1980). *The African condition: a diagnosis*. London: Heinemann.
Mazrui, A. (1993). The bondage of boundaries. *Economist* (September 24), 32-36.
Mazrui, A. A. (1996) Global Africa: from abolitionists to reparationists. In T. Abdul-Raheem (Ed*), Pan Africanism: politics, economy and social change in twenty-first century*, 123-141. London: Pluto Press.
Mbaiwa, J.E. (2002). *The socio-economic and environmental impact of tourism development in the Okavango Delta, Botswana: a baseline study.* Maun: Harry Openheimer Okavango Research Centre.
Mbembe, A. (2001). On the postcolony. Berkeley: University of California Press.
McAfee, K. (1999). Selling nature to save it? Biodiversity and green environmentalism. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 17, 127-252.

McCann, J.C. (1999). *Green land, brown land: an environmental history of Africa, 1800-1990.* Oxford: James Currey.

McCloskey, M. (1991). Twenty years of change in the environmental movement. *Society and Natural Resources* 4, 273-284.

McNeely, J. (2002). Threatened or threatening: our love-hate relationship with nature and its conservation. In M.D. Gleich, D. Maxeiner, M. Miersch and F. Niclay (Eds.) *Life counts: cataloguing life on earth*, 116-127. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press.

McNeely, J.A., Harrison, J. and Dingwall, P. (1994). *Protecting nature: regional reviews of protected areas*. Gland: Switzerland.

McNeely, J.A. and Pitt, D. (Eds.) (1985). *Culture and conservation: the human dimension in environmental planning*. London: Croom Helm.

Meadows, M.E. and Ramutsindela, M. (Forthcoming). Conservation, preservation and heritage. In J.A. Matthews and D.T. Herbert (Eds*.) Common heritage, shared future: perspectives on the unity of geography*. London: Routledge.

Mels, T. (2002). Nature, home and scenery: the official spatialities of Swedish national parks. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 20, 135-154.

Mendelsohn, J., Obeid, S. and Roberts, C. (2000). A profile of north-central Namibia. Windhoek: Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

Miller, K. (2003). Benefits beyond boundaries. Address delivered at the 5th World Parks Congress, 8-17 September. Durban.

Mitchell, D. (1992). Iconography and locational conflict from underside: free speech, people's park and the politics of homelessness in Berkeley, California. *Political Geography* 11, 152-169.

Mitchell, P. (1954). *African afterthoughts*. London: Hutchinson.

Mitchell, W.J.T. (Eds.) (1994). *Landscape and power*. Chicago: University of Chicago.

Mittermeier, R.A. and da Fonseca, G.A.B. (2003). Parks: creating a living legacy. *Conservation Frontlines*, 2-4.

Mohan, G. and Holland, J. (2001). Human rights and development in Africa: moral intrusion or empowering opportunity? *Review of African Political Economy* 28, 177-196.

Mombiot, G. (2000). *Captive state: the corporate takeover of Britain*. London: Macmillan.

Mongwe, A. and Tevara, D. (2000). Land rights and Basawra people in Botswana. In D. Tevara and S. Moyo (Eds.) *Environmental Security in southern Africa*, 75-88. Harare: SAPES Books.

Monyatsi, M. and Mokhethi, N. (2002). Conflict management strategies used at Sehlabathebe National Park, Lesotho. In Proceedings of the Seminar on Conflict Management in Planning and Managing Protected Areas, 22-23. 28 January – 8 February. Golden Gate Highlands National Park.

Moosa, V. (2001). Speech delivered on the relocation of elephants from Kruger National Park to Mozambique [October 4]. Kruger National Park.

Moosa, V. (2003). Message from the host. Legotla (September).

Mouton, B.F. (1996). Makuleke's location, district of Zoutpansberg, Northern Province. Report No. 115/95. Pretoria: Department of Land Affairs.

Mozambique, (n.d.). Tourism in Mozambique [Pamphlet]. Maputo.

Mpumalanga, (n.d). Phumulani Lodge [Brochure]. Hazyview: Mpumalanga Tourism Authority.

Murombedzi, J. (2003). Pre-colonial and colonial conservation practices in southern Africa and their legacy today. In W. Whande, T. Kepe, and M. Murphree (Eds.) *Local communities, equity and conservation in Southern Africa*, 21-32. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies.

Murray, C. (1992). *Black mountain: land, class and power in the eastern Orange Free State, 1880s-1980s*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Namibia, (2001). Concept plan for the establishment of a contractual Peoples' Park in North-western Namibia. Windhoek: Ministry of Environment and Tourism.

Namibia Wildlife Resorts. (n.d.) Tourism in Namibia [Brochure]. Windhoek.

Nash, R. (1982). *Wilderness and the American mind (3rd edition*). New Haven: Yale University Press.

National Parks Board, (1997). Submission to the Regional Land Claims Commissioner. Pretoria.

Nature Conservancy, (2001). Private land management and conservation: a guide to organisations. Arlington.

Nature Conservancy, (n.d.). The power of partnerships. Arlington.

Naughton-Treves, L. and Sanderson, S. (1995). Property, politics and wildlife conservation. *World Development* 23: 1265-1275.

Netherlands (Government), (2003). Strategic Round table on the role of Protected Areas and Ecological Networks in Biodiversity Policies. Proceedings of a meeting, 5-6 June. The Hague.

Neumann, R.P. (1998). *Imposing wilderness: struggles over livelihood and nature conservation in Africa.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Nielsen, S. and Chikoko, H. (2002). This part of Gonarezhou Park belongs to us. *Transborder Dialogue* 1: 1&3.

Nijman, J. (1999). Cultural globalisation and the identity of place: the reconstruction of Amsterdam. *Ecumene* 6, 146-164.

Nkrumah, K. (1961). *I speak of freedom*. London: Panaf.

Norton-Griffiths, M. (2003). The case for private sector investment in conservation: an African perspective. Paper presented at the World Parks Congress, 8-17 September, Durban.

Nugent, P. (1992). National integration and the vicissitudes of state power in Ghana: the political incorporation of Likpe, a border community, 1945-1986 (PhD Thesis). London: University of London.

Nugent, P. (1996). Arbitrary lines and the People's minds: a dissenting view on colonial boundaries in West Africa. In P. Nugent and A. I. Asiwaju (Eds.) *African boundaries: barriers, conduits and opportunities*, 35-67. London: Pinter.

Nussey, M. (1993). *The crowded desert: the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park*. Rivonia: Waterman.

Oates, J.F. (1999). *Myth and the reality of the rainforest: how conservation strategies are failing in Africa.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

O'Laughlin, B. (1995). Past, and present options: land reform in Mozambique. *Review of African Political Economy* 63, 99-106.

Our Voices, (2003). The delegation of Indigenous and Mobile Peoples meet in solidarity (September 9, Pamphlet).

Painter, J. (1995). *Politics, geography and 'political geography': a critical perspective*. London: Verso.

Papadakis, E. (1993*). Politics and the environment: the Australian experience*. St Leonards: Allen and Unwin.

Peace Parks Foundation, (1999). Foundation and Club News. Stellenbosch.

Peace Parks Foundation, (2002). Progress Report to Vodafone. Stellenbosch.

Peck, J.E. (1993). From royal game to popular heritage: wildlife policy and resource tenure under colonial and independent rule in Zimbabwe. Paper presented at the Thirty-Six Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, 4-7 December. Boston (Massachusetts).

Peters, P.E. (2002). Grounding governance: power and meaning in natural resource management. In T.O. Benjaminsen, B. Cousins and L. Thompson (Eds.) *Contested resources: challenges to the governance of natural resources in southern Africa,* 7-19. Bellville: Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies.

Peterson, J.H. (1991) Campfire: a Zimbabwean approach to sustainable development and community empowerment through wildlife utilisation (Occasional Paper). Harare: Centre for Applied Social Sciences.

Platteau, J-P. (2000). Does Africa need land reform? In C. Toulmin and J. Quan (Eds.) *Evolving land rights, policy and tenure in Africa*, 52-69. London: IIED.

Private Landowners, (2003). Private Protected Area Plan. Paper presented at the World Parks Congress, 8-17 September. Durban.

Proctor, J.D. (1998). Geography, paradox and environmental ethics. *Progress in Human Geography* 22, 234-255.

Pyle, R.M. (2003). Nature matrix: reconnecting people and nature. *Oryx* 37, 206-214.

Ramutsindela, M. (1999). African boundaries and their interpreters. *Geopolitics* 4, 180-198.

Ramutsindela, M. (2001). The bitter harvest of the bantustans. *South African Geographical Journal* 83, 175-182.

Ramutsindela, M. (2002). The perfect way to ending the painful past? The Makuleke land deal in South Africa. *Geoforum* 33, 15-24.

Ramutsindela, M. (2003). Land reform in South Africa's national parks: a catalyst for the human-nature nexus. *Land Use Policy* 20, 41-49.

Ramutsindela, M. (2004a). Green land, brown land, black land: an environmental history (Book Review). *Kronos* (In Press).

Ramutsindela, M. (2004b). Glocalisation and nature conservation strategies in 21st century southern Africa. *Tijdscrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 95, 61-72.

Ranger, T. (1983). The invention of tradition. In E. Hobsbawn, and T. Ranger (Eds.) *The invention of tradition*, 211-262. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ranger, T. (1996). Postscript: colonial and postcolonial identities. In R. Werbner and T. Ranger (Eds.) *Postcolonial identities in Africa*, 271-281. Zed Books: London.

Ranger, T. (1999). *Voices from the rocks: nature, culture and history in the Matopos Hill of Zimbabwe*. Oxford: James Currey.

Raval, S.R. (1994). Wheel of life: perceptions and concerns of resident peoples for Gir National Park in India. *Society and Natural Resources*, 7, 305-320.

Reader's Digest, (1997). *Game parks and nature reserves of southern Africa*. Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association (South Africa).

Reed, D. (2002). *Economic change, governance and natural resource wealth: the political economy of change in southern Africa*. London: Earthscan.

Reilly, T. (1985). *The Mlilwane story*. Ezulwini: Mlilwane Trust.

Richard, P. (1999). Basarwa subordination among the Bakgatla: a case study in northwestern Kgatleng, circa 1920-1979. *Pula: Botswana Journal of African Studies* 21, 14-23.

Roberts, C.M. (2003). Our shifting perspectives on the oceans. *Oryx* 37, 166-177.

Robins, S. (2001). NGOs, 'Bushmen' and double vision: the Khomani San land claim and the cultural politics of 'community' and 'development' in the Kalahari. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 27, 833-853.

Rosa, E.A. and Machlis, G.E. (2002). It's a bad thing to make one thing into two: disciplinary distinctions as trained incapacities. *Society and Natural Resources* 15, 251-261.

Rotberg, R.I. (1988). *The founder: Cecil Rhodes and the pursuit of power*. Cape Town: Jonathan Ball.

Rouget, M., Richardson, D.M. and Cowling, R.M. (2003). The current configuration of protected areas in the Cape Florist Region, South Africa – reservation bias and representation of biodiversity patterns and processes. *Biological Conservation* 112, 129-145.

Said, E. (1994). *Culture and imperialism.* London: Vintage.

Sale, K. (2001). There is no place like home. *Ecologist* 31, 40-43.

Sardar, Z. (1999). Development and the location of Eurocentricism. In R. Munck and D. O'Hearn (Eds.) *Critical development theory: contributions to a new paradigm*, 44-62. London: Zed Books.

Saturday Property, (1998). Knysna project shows conservation can pay (March 28/29). Cape Town.

Sawubona, (2003) Exploring new horizons. [September, Magazine].

Scholte, J.A. (1997). The globalisation of world politics. In J. Baylis and S. Smith (Eds.) *The globalisation of world politics: an introduction to international relations*, 13-30. London: Oxford University Press.

Schonewald-Cox, C.M. and Bayless, J.W. (1986) The boundary model: a geographical analysis of design and conservation of nature reserves. *Biological Conservation* 38, 305-322.

Schroeder, R.A. (1999). Geographies of environmental interventions in Africa. *Progress in Human Geography* 23, 359-378.

Schuurman, F. (Ed.) (2002). *Globalisation and development studies: challenges for the 21st century*. London: Sage.

Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity, (1992). *Handbook of the Convention on Biological Diversity*. London: Earthscan.

Shyamsundar, P. (1996). Constraints on socio-buffering around the Mantadia National Park in Madagascar. *Environmental Conservation* 23, 67-73.

Shohat, E. (1992). Notes on the post-colonial. *Social Text*, 31/32.

Showers, K. B. (1989). Soil erosion in the Kingdom of Lesotho: origins and colonial response, 1830s-1950s. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15, 263-286.

Shumba, M. (1998). Devolution of Natural Resource Tenure in Namibia. In E. Rehoy (Ed.) *Natural resources tenure in southern Africa: exploring options and opportunities – Proceedings of a workshop on land/resource tenure and decentralisation*, 74-82. Johannesburg.

Simon, D. (1993). The communal lands question revisited. *Third World Planning Review* 15, iii-vii.

Simon, D. (2003a). Dilemmas of development and the environment in a globalising world: theory, policy and praxis. *Progress in Development Studies* 3, 5-41.

Simon, D. (2003b). Regional development-environment discourses, policies and practices in post-apartheid southern Africa. In J.A. Grant and F. Soderbaum (Eds) *New regionalisms in Africa*, 67-89.
Sonoran Institute, (2003). Getting ahead in Greater Yellowstone. Bozeman.
Southall, R. (1992). Introduction: rethinking Transkei politics. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 11, 1-30.
South Africa, (1976). National Parks Act, 57. Pretoria: Government Printer.
South Africa, (2003a). People, parks and transformation in South Africa: a century of conservation, a decade of democracy. Pretoria: Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.
South Africa, (2003b). Private landowners will beef up conservation areas in SA. Legotla 1: 1.
South Africa, (2003c). National Environmental Management Protected Areas Bill Explanatory Memorandum. Pretoria.
South African Airways, (2003). Sawubona (Magazine).
South African Broadcasting Corporation, TV News (2002, November 8).
South African Broadcasting Corporation, TV News (2003, July 28).
South African Institute of Race Relations, (1995). Freehold key to land reform. *Frontiers of Freedom* 5, 7-9.
South African National Parks, (n.d.). New Clip. Pretoria.
South African National Parks, (1997). News Clip. Pretoria.
South African National Parks, (1999) News Clip (December 22). Pretoria.
South African National Parks, (2000). Annual Report. Pretoria.
South African National Parks, (2001a). Concession Contract. Pretoria
South African National Parks, (2001b). Annual Report. Pretoria.
Southern African Development Community, (1997). Wildlife Sector Policy and Development Strategy for the Southern African Development Community. Lilongwe.
Southern African Initiative of German Business, (n.d.). Peace Parks [Brochure].
Stanley, W.R. (2002). Namibia's unstable northern frontier. *Tijdscrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 93,369-382.
Star, Icons to some, eyesores to others (2003, August 4).
Stephens, S.E., Koons, D.N., Rotella, J.J. and Willey, D.W. (2003). Effects of habitat fragmentation on avian nesting successes: a review of the evidence at multiple spatial scales. *Biological Conservation* 115, 101-110.
Strong, M.F. (1991). ECO'92: critical challenges and global solutions. Journal of *International Affairs* 44: 287-300.
Sunday Times, (2002). Clan rejoices as their 'Berlin Wall' comes down (December 15). Johannesburg.
Sunday Times, (2003a). Concession opportunity: San and Mier contractual parks (April 27). Johannesburg.
Sunday Times, (2003b). Transfrontier park brings worry to the proud people (August 3). Johannesburg.
Swaziland, (1969). Post Independence Development Plan. Mbabane.
Swaziland, (1978). Third National Development Plan. Mbabane.
Swaziland, (1983). Fourth National Development Plan. Mbabane.
Swaziland, (1998). Development Plan 1989/99-2000/01. Mbabane: Government Printer.
Swaziland, (2002). A preliminary field assessment of protection of worthy areas in Swaziland. Lobamba.
Swaziland, (2003). Swaziland Review of Industry, Commerce and Tourism. Manzini.
Swaziland National Trust Commission, (n.d.). The Kingdom of Swaziland [Brochure]. Lobamba.
Taylor, I and Mokhawa, G. (2003). Not forever: Botswana, conflict diamonds and the bushmen. *African Affairs* 102: 261-283.
Terborgh, J. (1999). *Requiem for nature*. Washington DC: Island Press.
Thrift, N. (2002). The future of geography. *Geoforum* 33, 291-298.
Thompson, E.P. (1975). *Whigs and hunters: the origin of the Black Act*. London: Penguin.
Tichi, C. (1997). Pittsburgh at Yellowstone: old faithful and the impulse of industrial America. *American Literary History* 9, 522-541.
Times of Swaziland, (2003). Ex-MPs farewell party in pics (July 9). Mbabane.
Tlou, T. (1985*). A history of Ngamiland 1750 to 1906: the formation of an African state.* Gaberone: Macmillan.
Tlou, T. and Campbell, A. (1984). *History of Botswana*. Gaborone: Macmillan.
Tredgold, R.C. (1956). *The Matopos*. Salisbury: Government Printer.

Treaty on the Great Limpopo, (2002). Pretoria: Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.
Turnbull, M. (2002). The rise and fall of Lake Ngami. *Africa Geographic* 10, 82-85.
Union of South Africa, (1926a). National Parks Act. Pretoria: Government Gazette.
Union of South Africa, (1926b). Assembly Debates [24&31 May]. Pretoria: Government Printer..
United Nations, (1999). United Nations Development Programme, Project Number LES/97/G31/B/1G/99.
United Nations, (2002). *Africa Environments Outlook*. UNEP.
Van der Linde, H., Oglethorpe, J., Sandwith, T., Sneldon, D. and Tessema, J. (2001). *Beyond boundaries: transboundary natural resource management in Sub-Saharan Africa.* Washington DC: Biodiversity Programme.
Van Vlissengen, P. (2003). The making of a national park. *Earthyear* 3, 14-17.
Vreugdenhil, D., Terborgh, J., Cleef, A.M., Sinistsym, M., Boere, G.C., Archaga, V.L. and Prins, H.H.T. (2003*). Comprehensive protected areas system composition and monitoring.* Shepheredstown: World Institute for Conservation and Environment.
Warburton-Lee, J. (1999). Breaking down the barricades. *Geographical Magazine* 71, 18-25.
Weaver, J.C. 2001 Exploitation by design: the dismal science, land reform, and the Cape Boers, 1805-22. *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 29, 1-32.
West, H.W. 2000 On African landholding; a review of tenurial change and land policies in Anglophone Africa. Lampeter: Edwin Mellen Press.
Western, D. (1982). Amboseli National Park: enlisting landowners to conserve migratory wildlife. *Ambio* 11, 302-308.
Western, D., Wright, R.M. and Strum, S.C. (Eds.) (1994). *Natural connections: perspectives in community-based conservation*. Washington DC: Island Press.
White, J.M. (1969). *The land God made in anger. Liverpool*: Tinling.
Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa, (1996). Submission to the Regional Land Claims Commissioner. Pretoria.
WildNet Africa, (1997). News File (May 9).
Williams, A. (1997). The postcolonial flaneur and other fellow travellers: conceits for a narrative of redemption. *Third World Quarterly* 18, 821-841.
Wilshusen, P.R., Brechin, S.R., Fortwangler, C.L. and West, P. (2002). Reinventing a square wheel: critique of a resurgent 'protectionist paradigm' in international biodiversity conservation. *Society and Natural Resources* 15,17-40.
Wits Refugee Research Programme, (2002). A park for the people? Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park – community consultation in Coutada 16, Mozambique. Acornhoek.
Wooley, C. (2002). The myth of the 'pristine environment': past human impacts in Prince William Sound and the northern Gulf of Alasks. *Spill Science and Technology Bulletin* 7, 89-104.
World Bank, (1986). *Wildlands: their protection and management in economic development.* Washington DC.
World Bank, (1996). *Mozambique: transfrontier conservation areas pilot and institutional strengthening project, Report No. 15543-MOZ*. Washington DC.
World Bank, (1986). *Wildlands: their protection and management in economic development*. Washington DC.
World Wildlife Fund, (1987). Program in wildlands and human needs. Washington DC.
World Wildlife Fund, (2003). Freshwater Biodiversity and the 5th World Parks Congress: A call for action. Position Statement Submitted to the World Parks Congress, 8-17 September 8-17. Durban.
Xwe African Wildlife Investigation and Research Centre, (2002). The killing of the Kruger National Park.
Zube, E.H. and Busch, M.L. (1990). Park-people relationships: an international review. Landscape and Urban Planning 19, 117-131.

INDEX

The GeoJournal Library

1. B. Currey and G. Hugo (eds.): *Famine as Geographical Phenomenon.* 1984 ISBN 90-277-1762-1
2. S.H.U. Bowie, F.R.S. and I. Thornton (eds.): *Environmental Geochemistry and Health.* Report of the Royal Society's British National Committee for Problems of the Environment. 1985 ISBN 90-277-1879-2
3. L.A. Kosiński and K.M. Elahi (eds.): *Population Redistribution and Development in South Asia.* 1985 ISBN 90-277-1938-1
4. Y. Gradus (ed.): *Desert Development.* Man and Technology in Sparselands. 1985 ISBN 90-277-2043-6
5. F.J. Calzonetti and B.D. Solomon (eds.): *Geographical Dimensions of Energy.* 1985 ISBN 90-277-2061-4
6. J. Lundqvist, U. Lohm and M. Falkenmark (eds.): *Strategies for River Basin Management.* Environmental Integration of Land and Water in River Basin. 1985 ISBN 90-277-2111-4
7. A. Rogers and F.J. Willekens (eds.): *Migration and Settlement.* A Multiregional Comparative Study. 1986 ISBN 90-277-2119-X
8. R. Laulajainen: *Spatial Strategies in Retailing.* 1987 ISBN 90-277-2595-0
9. T.H. Lee, H.R. Linden, D.A. Dreyfus and T. Vasko (eds.): *The Methane Age.* 1988 ISBN 90-277-2745-7
10. H.J. Walker (ed.): *Artificial Structures and Shorelines.* 1988 ISBN 90-277-2746-5
11. A. Kellerman: *Time, Space, and Society.* Geographical Societal Perspectives. 1989 ISBN 0-7923-0123-4
12. P. Fabbri (ed.): *Recreational Uses of Coastal Areas.* A Research Project of the Commission on the Coastal Environment, International Geographical Union. 1990 ISBN 0-7923-0279-6
13. L.M. Brush, M.G. Wolman and Huang Bing-Wei (eds.): *Taming the Yellow River: Silt and Floods.* Proceedings of a Bilateral Seminar on Problems in the Lower Reaches of the Yellow River, China. 1989 ISBN 0-7923-0416-0
14. J. Stillwell and H.J. Scholten (eds.): *Contemporary Research in Population Geography.* A Comparison of the United Kingdom and the Netherlands. 1990 ISBN 0-7923-0431-4
15. M.S. Kenzer (ed.): *Applied Geography.* Issues, Questions, and Concerns. 1989 ISBN 0-7923-0438-1
16. D. Nir: *Region as a Socio-environmental System.* An Introduction to a Systemic Regional Geography. 1990 ISBN 0-7923-0516-7
17. H.J. Scholten and J.C.H. Stillwell (eds.): *Geographical Information Systems for Urban and Regional Planning.* 1990 ISBN 0-7923-0793-3
18. F.M. Brouwer, A.J. Thomas and M.J. Chadwick (eds.): *Land Use Changes in Europe.* Processes of Change, Environmental Transformations and Future Patterns. 1991 ISBN 0-7923-1099-3

The GeoJournal Library

19. C.J. Campbell: *The Golden Century of Oil 1950–2050*. The Depletion of a Resource. 1991 ISBN 0-7923-1442-5
20. F.M. Dieleman and S. Musterd (eds.): *The Randstad: A Research and Policy Laboratory.* 1992 ISBN 0-7923-1649-5
21. V.I. Ilyichev and V.V. Anikiev (eds.): *Oceanic and Anthropogenic Controls of Life in the Pacific Ocean.* 1992 ISBN 0-7923-1854-4
22. A.K. Dutt and F.J. Costa (eds.): *Perspectives on Planning and Urban Development in Belgium.* 1992 ISBN 0-7923-1885-4
23. J. Portugali: *Implicate Relations*. Society and Space in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict. 1993 ISBN 0-7923-1886-2
24. M.J.C. de Lepper, H.J. Scholten and R.M. Stern (eds.): *The Added Value of Geographical Information Systems in Public and Environmental Health.* 1995 ISBN 0-7923-1887-0
25. J.P. Dorian, P.A. Minakir and V.T. Borisovich (eds.): *CIS Energy and Minerals Development.* Prospects, Problems and Opportunities for International Cooperation. 1993 ISBN 0-7923-2323-8
26. P.P. Wong (ed.): *Tourism vs Environment: The Case for Coastal Areas.* 1993 ISBN 0-7923-2404-8
27. G.B. Benko and U. Strohmayer (eds.): *Geography, History and Social Sciences.* 1995 ISBN 0-7923-2543-5
28. A. Faludi and A. der Valk: *Rule and Order. Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century.* 1994 ISBN 0-7923-2619-9
29. B.C. Hewitson and R.G. Crane (eds.): *Neural Nets: Applications in Geography*. 1994 ISBN 0-7923-2746-2
30. A.K. Dutt, F.J. Costa, S. Aggarwal and A.G. Noble (eds.): *The Asian City: Processes of Development, Characteristics and Planning*. 1994 ISBN 0-7923-3135-4
31. R. Laulajainen and H.A. Stafford: *Corporate Geography*. Business Location Principles and Cases. 1995 ISBN 0-7923-3326-8
32. J. Portugali (ed.): *The Construction of Cognitive Maps.* 1996 ISBN 0-7923-3949-5
33. E. Biagini: *Northern Ireland and Beyond.* Social and Geographical Issues. 1996 ISBN 0-7923-4046-9
34. A.K. Dutt (ed.): *Southeast Asia: A Ten Nation Region.* 1996 ISBN 0-7923-4171-6
35. J. Settele, C. Margules, P. Poschlod and K. Henle (eds.): *Species Survival in Fragmented Landscapes*. 1996 ISBN 0-7923-4239-9
36. M. Yoshino, M. Domrös, A. Douguédroit, J. Paszynski and L.D. Nkemdirim (eds.): *Climates and Societies – A Climatological Perspective.* A Contribution on Global Change and Related Problems Prepared by the Commission on Climatology of the International Geographical Union. 1997 ISBN 0-7923-4324-7
37. D. Borri, A. Khakee and C. Lacirignola (eds.): *Evaluating Theory-Practice and Urban-Rural Interplay in Planning.* 1997 ISBN 0-7923-4326-3

The GeoJournal Library

38. J.A.A. Jones, C. Liu, M-K. Woo and H-T. Kung (eds.): *Regional Hydrological Response to Climate Change.* 1996 ISBN 0-7923-4329-8
39. R. Lloyd: *Spatial Cognition*. Geographic Environments. 1997 ISBN 0-7923-4375-1
40. I. Lyons Murphy: *The Danube: A River Basin in Transition.* 1997 ISBN 0-7923-4558-4
41. H.J. Bruins and H. Lithwick (eds.): *The Arid Frontier.* Interactive Management of Environment and Development. 1998 ISBN 0-7923-4227-5
42. G. Lipshitz: *Country on the Move: Migration to and within Israel, 1948–1995*. 1998 ISBN 0-7923-4850-8
43. S. Musterd, W. Ostendorf and M. Breebaart: *Multi-Ethnic Metropolis: Patterns and Policies.* 1998 ISBN 0-7923-4854-0
44. B.K. Maloney (ed.): *Human Activities and the Tropical Rainforest.* Past, Present and Possible Future. 1998 ISBN 0-7923-4858-3
45. H. van der Wusten (ed.): *The Urban University and its Identity.* Roots, Location, Roles. 1998 ISBN 0-7923-4870-2
46. J. Kalvoda and C.L. Rosenfeld (eds.): *Geomorphological Hazards in High Mountain Areas.* 1998 ISBN 0-7923-4961-X
47. N. Lichfield, A. Barbanente, D. Borri, A. Khakee and A. Prat (eds.): *Evaluation in Planning*. Facing the Challenge of Complexity. 1998 ISBN 0-7923-4870-2
48. A. Buttimer and L. Wallin (eds.): *Nature and Identity in Cross-Cultural Perspective*. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-5651-9
49. A. Vallega: *Fundamentals of Integrated Coastal Management*. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-5875-9
50. D. Rumley: *The Geopolitics of Australia's Regional Relations*. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-5916-X
51. H. Stevens: *The Institutional Position of Seaports*. An International Comparison. 1999 ISBN 0-7923-5979-8
52. H. Lithwick and Y. Gradus (eds.): *Developing Frontier Cities*. Global Perspectives – Regional Contexts. 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6061-3
53. H. Knippenberg and J. Markusse (eds.): *Nationalising and Denationalising European Border Regions, 1800–2000*. Views from Geography and History. 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6066-4
54. R. Gerber and G.K. Chuan (eds.): *Fieldwork in Geography: Reflections, Perspectives and Actions.* 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6329-9
55. M. Dobry (ed.): *Democratic and Capitalist Transitions in Eastern Europe*. Lessons for the Social Sciences. 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6331-0
56. Y. Murayama: *Japanese Urban System*. 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6600-X
57. D. Zheng, Q. Zhang and S. Wu (eds.): *Mountain Geoecology and Sustainable Development of the Tibetan Plateau.* 2000 ISBN 0-7923-6688-3

The GeoJournal Library

58. A.J. Conacher (ed.): *Land Degradation.* Papers selected from Contributions to the Sixth Meeting of the International Geographical Union's Commission on Land Degradation and Desertification, Perth, Western Australia, 20–28 September 1999. 2001 ISBN 0-7923-6770-7
59. S. Conti and P. Giaccaria: *Local Development and Competitiveness*. 2001 ISBN 0-7923-6829-0
60. P. Miao (ed.): *Public Places in Asia Pacific Cities.* Current Issues and Strategies. 2001 ISBN 0-7923-7083-X
61. N. Maiellaro (ed.): *Towards Sustainable Buiding*. 2001 ISBN 1-4020-0012-X
62. G.S. Dunbar (ed.): *Geography: Discipline, Profession and Subject since 1870*. An International Survey. 2001 ISBN 1-4020-0019-7
63. J. Stillwell and H.J. Scholten (eds.): *Land Use Simulation for Europe*. 2001 ISBN 1-4020-0213-0
64. P. Doyle and M.R. Bennett (eds.): *Fields of Battle*. Terrain in Military History. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0433-8
65. C.M. Hall and A.M. Williams (eds.): *Tourism and Migration*. New Relationships between Production and Consumption. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0454-0
66. I.R. Bowler, C.R. Bryant and C. Cocklin (eds.): *The Sustainability of Rural Systems*. Geographical Interpretations. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0513-X
67. O. Yiftachel, J. Little, D. Hedgcock and I. Alexander (eds.): *The Power of Planning*. Spaces of Control and Transformation. 2001 ISBN Hb; 1-4020-0533-4 ISBN Pb; 1-4020-0534-2
68. K. Hewitt, M.-L. Byrne, M. English and G. Young (eds.): *Landscapes of Transition*. Landform Assemblages and Transformations in Cold Regions. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0663-2
69. M. Romanos and C. Auffrey (eds.): *Managing Intermediate Size Cities*. Sustainable Development in a Growth Region of Thailand. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0818-X
70. B. Boots, A. Okabe and R. Thomas (eds.): *Modelling Geographical Systems*. Statistical and Computational Applications. 2003 ISBN 1-4020-0821-X
71. R. Gerber and M. Williams (eds.): *Geography, Culture and Education*. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0878-3
72. D. Felsenstein, E.W. Schamp and A. Shachar (eds.): *Emerging Nodes in the Global Economy: Frankfurt and Tel Aviv Compared*. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-0924-0
73. R. Gerber (ed.): *International Handbook on Geographical Education*. 2003 ISBN 1-4020-1019-2
74. M. de Jong, K. Lalenis and V. Mamadouh (eds.): *The Theory and Practice of Institutional Transplantation*. Experiences with the Transfer of Policy Institutions. 2002 ISBN 1-4020-1049-4
75. A.K. Dutt, A.G. Noble, G. Venugopal and S. Subbiah (eds.): *Challenges to Asian Urbanization in the 21st Century*. 2003 ISBN 1-4020-1576-3

The GeoJournal Library

76. I. Baud, J. Post and C. Furedy (eds.): *Solid Waste Management and Recycling*. Actors, Partnerships and Policies in Hyderabad, India and Nairobi, Kenya. 2004 ISBN 1-4020-1975-0
77. A. Bailly and L.J. Gibson (eds.): *Applied Geography*. A World Perspective. 2004 ISBN 1-4020-2441-X
78. (To be published)
79. M. Ramutsindela: *Parks and People in Postcolonial Societies*. Experiences in Southern Africa. 2004 ISBN 1-4020-2542-4

KLUWER ACADEMIC PUBLISHERS – DORDRECHT / BOSTON / LONDON