

**Transboundary Areas in Southern Africa: Meeting
the Needs of Conservation or Development?**

By

A.J. Mayoral-Phillips

Contents

Tables.....	iii
Acronyms.....	iii
Executive Summary.....	iv
Introduction.....	1
Transboundary: A Political Starting Point.....	1
Politics of Transboundary in Southern Africa.....	2
Transboundary Frameworks.....	2
Global History of Transboundary Areas.....	3
Transboundary Areas in Southern Africa.....	4
SADC Treaties, Protocols and Strategies.....	5
Other Transboundary Initiatives.....	6
The Realities of Transboundary: Conservation or People?	6
Plans for Land Use and Options Open to Local Populations	9
Previous Planning Rhetoric for TBNRM	10
Who and What Drives the Process?	11
What Next for the People: Conservation or Development?	12
Way Forward	13
References	16

Tables

Table 1: Typologies of Conservation Transboundary Areas	3
Table 2: Transfrontier Protected Areas by Regions	3
Table 3: Proposed Transfrontier Protected Areas in Southern Africa	4
Table 4: Perceptions of Communities in Massingir, Mabalane and Chicualacuala Districts	8
Table 5: Land Use Plans Proposed by the Peace Parks Foundation	9
Table 6: Framework for Transboundary Development Areas	15

Acronyms

CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks
FANR	Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources
IPP	International Peace Parks
IUCN	World Conservation Union
OUZIT	Ockavango Upper Zambezi Tourism Initiative
RRP	University of Witswatersrand Refugee Research Programme
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
TBCA	Transboundary Conservation Area
TBDA	Transboundary Development Area
TBNRM	Transboundary Natural Resource Management
TBNRMA	Transboundary Natural Resource Management Area
TFCA	Transfrontier Conservation Area
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WSTCU	Wildlife Sector Technical Co-ordination Unit
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

Executive Summary

Southern Africa's natural resource management areas are becoming 'transboundary'. Terminology is becoming both complex and confusing yet conservation-dominant. Transboundary conservation areas, transfrontier conservation areas and peace parks have all been packaged within global environmental rhetoric and as such few benefits have accrued towards community development and rural livelihood empowerment.

The paper questions the long-term sustainable viability of 'transboundary' conservation management and action plans. The paper raises the question that sustainable transboundary management of natural resources has become too 'conservation' based and not developmental.

Alarming evidence has emerged from a recent University of Witwatersrand Refugee Research Programme document entitled "A Park for the People?" that clearly demonstrates government, institutions and stakeholders involved in transboundary initiatives are bulldozing communities through the process in the name of conservation. To that end communities are confused due to a lack of consultation and involvement in the management and action plans. What can be concluded from the report is the creation of a conservation hinterland, incorporating a habitual exclusion zone.

The paper suggests a new framework and policy approach for effective co-management and harmonisation. Transboundary Development Area's (TBDA) defined as areas that "manage the use of all natural resources to meet the needs of all development". TBDA's incorporate the management practices of conservation areas but suggest that they have segregated state owned 'single-species' management plans outside of appropriate natural resource management techniques and strategies. Nevertheless, in order for transboundary conservation areas to work, three principles of democracy, sustainability and efficiency are suggested, whereby the community owns the means of production, creating a systemised process that is accountable and transparent, decentralised and developmental, all-inclusive from any dominant agenda, combining to strengthen, secure and promote long-term 'sustainable' community-livelihoods.

"In view of the fact that so many African borders are artificial creations that cut across ethnic groupings, it is not surprising that many of the continent's inhabitants have often expressed dissatisfaction with them" (Nkiwane, 1997:19)

Introduction

Sustainable natural resource management has been critically discussed throughout the southern African region in last two decades. Emphasis has been placed on rural community development, or 'Community Based Natural Resource Management' (CBNRM) to secure livelihoods by redressing rural poverty, redeveloping agrarian land systems, resolving rural population densities and redistributing socio-economic benefits. More recently, the southern Africa region finds itself developing a new process, 'Transboundary Natural Resource Management' (TBNRM). Although this is not a new concept outside of the African continent, it is nevertheless gathering momentum within southern Africa as the most 'appropriate' expanding developmental land utilisation form.

Griffin *et al* (1999) state TBNRM to be, "any process of co-operation across boundaries that facilitates or improves the management of natural resources-to the benefit of all parties in the area concerned". The areas for TBNRM to take place are defined as "an area in which co-operation to manage natural resources occurs across boundaries" (Griffin *et al*, 1999), known abbreviatively as TBNRMA's.

TBNRM is underpinned by the global notion that countries and regions must protect wilderness areas against a growing global population crisis. Within this rhetoric, institutions have incorporated global sustainable natural resource management strategies and tourism related action plans as wise-use models to address economic, political, cultural and ecological concerns of stakeholders across national boundaries.

This paper explores the relationship so far between communities and the TBNRM process, specifically clarifying emerging discourses that supposedly secure livelihoods and empower communities in transboundary areas? And what are the dominant organisations involved in TBNRM? Prior to exploring the rhetoric and reality, the author feels it necessary to define the terminology used in this paper.

Transboundary: A Political Starting Point

Politically, the rationale for transboundary formation is to improve regional ecological management, increase economic opportunities, decrease cultural isolation, and foster peace in a bilateral and regional framework (Griffin *et al*, 1999).

McNeil (1990) suggests the establishment of transboundary areas will build confidence and goodwill between border nations, as well as stimulate transboundary co-operation in resources management. Griffin *et al* (1999) furthers, by incorporating environmental security that includes re-conceptualising national security interests by incorporating the significance of natural resources into economic, cultural, and social developments across borders. Mathews (1989) and Kaplan (1994) highlight the need to incorporate transboundary as a solution to environmental degradation on human and wildlife populations that potentially lead to conflict over resources and political instability.

Politics of Transboundary in Southern Africa

Africa's political boundaries were first established during the nineteenth century in what has been termed the 'Scramble for Africa'. During the 'First Ordinary Session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Governments' for Africa in 1964, all member states pledged to "respect the borders existing on their achievement of national independence" (Resolution 16 (1)).

African Nationalists such as Nkiwane (1997) argue that these political boundaries are 'artificial' and 'anti-African'. The quote above by Nkiwane can be strongly defended when analysing colonial rule in Africa. Colonial governments acted independently of one another in formulating geographic boundaries in Africa. Boundaries were shaped upon geometric or linear projections on maps and/or followed geographic features, such as rivers, lakes, or mountain ranges.

Transboundary Frameworks

Environmental concerns have strongly emerged since the Earth Summit in 1992 for developing countries. Within this context, transboundary nature-based rhetoric has been driven within a multilateral approach, which according to de Fonatubert & Agardy (1998) may work more efficiently than the sum of unilateral efforts that ignore the environmental system.

These environmental problems have as Grundy-Warr & Rajah (1997, cited in Singh, 1999:1) suggest, reached a threshold at a time when:

-
- There are increasing global-scale interdependencies in economic, technological, military, cultural and ecological spheres of activity.
- Human beings have increasing capacity to intervene in and alter Earth life-sustaining processes.
- There are new dynamics in intergenerational relations, and:
- There are new scientific paradigms concerning the way the Earth functions.

Human and wildlife populations have traditionally migrated across or straddle political boundaries. International borders contain biologically intact ecosystems, which according to Griffiths (1995) and Westing (1998) are located in remote and inhospitable areas. Therefore, environmental-conservation rhetoric has shaped transboundary development. The emergence of Transboundary Conservation Area's (TBCA) as a multilateral approach encompassing conservation, sustainable development including tourism and peace, as the most appropriate cross-border mechanism for natural resource management, highlights this point.

A Transboundary Conservation Area (TBCA) is defined by the World Bank (1996 cited in Griffin *et al*, 1999:v) as "relatively large areas that straddle frontiers (boundaries) between two or more countries and cover large-scale natural systems encompassing one or more protected areas."

Nevertheless, defining TBCA's has become complex and interchangeable. Cumming (1999) identified 'geographical entity' and 'management regime' as the two variables in defining a TBCA. Cummings first defined TBCA's as:

“Existing designated national park, protected area, game or wildlife management area, indigenous forest area on an international boundary, or sufficiently close to a boundary to be part of a larger transboundary ecosystem, where there is a protected area on the boundary, or within the same ecosystem, in a neighbouring country.”

In addition to TBCA’s, two other types of transboundary areas have been classified. Firstly, ‘Transfrontier Conservation Areas’ (TFCA’s), and secondly, ‘International Peace Parks’ (IPP’s). Table 1 quantifies all three typologies.

TABLE 1: Typologies of Conservation Transboundary Areas

Transboundary Conservation Areas	Areas that span well-defined borders, within precise and linear concepts of international borders (Krukoski, 1998). Aim: conservation of biodiversity, cultural heritage and economic benefits
Transfrontier Conservation Areas	Areas that span regions where boundaries have not been agreed upon (Krukoski, 1998). Aim: as with TBCA’s. In addition to ameliorate tensions related to disputed borderlands
International Peace Parks	Areas that have definite political objectives and are largely symbolic in nature. Objectives: confirm, strengthen, or re-establish good relations with a neighbouring state(s); prevent escalation of border disputes; safeguard biodiversity areas from military activities (Shine, 1997).

Source: Singh, 1999

Global History of Transboundary Areas

The first ‘Transboundary Conservation Area’ (TBCA) was established in 1932 as an IPP between the Glacier National Park in the USA and the Waterton Lakes National Park in Canada. Previously, Poland and Czechoslovakia signed the Krakow Protocol in 1925 to formulate the framework for establishing international co-operation to manage border parks (Thorsell, 1990). By the late 1990's there were 136 protected areas, adjoining 112 international boundaries in 98 countries.

TABLE 2: Transfrontier Protected Areas by Regions - 1998

REGIONS	TRANSFRONTIER PROTECTED AREAS	PROTECTED AREAS	PROPOSED PROTECTED AREAS	PROTECTED AREAS WITH 3 COUNTRIES
N. AMERICA	8	42	4	0
C. & S. AMERICA	24	93	15	6
EUROPE	45	154	26	6
AFRICA	34	123	12	9
ASIA	25	76	12	3
TOTAL	136	488	69	27

Transboundary Areas in Southern Africa

There are 33 TBCA/TFCA's that have been listed as 'proposed' or 'legislated' under the 'Global Listing of Protected Areas' in Africa. Two of these relate directly or indirectly to this paper and are listed in Table 3. The Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park between Botswana and South Africa was the first in May 2000 to be formally legislated as a TBCA/TFCA in southern Africa.

TABLE 3: Proposed Transfrontier Protected Areas in southern Africa

COUNTRIES	DESIGNATED AREAS	LEGISLATION
Angola-Namibia	Iona National Park/Mocamedes Partial Reserve/Skeleton Coast Game Park	
Angola-Namibia-Zambia	Mucusso National Park/Luiana Partial Reserve/W.Caprivi Reserve/Mamili National Park	
Angola-Zambia	Luiana Partial Reserve/Sioma Ngweze National Park/West Zambezi Game Management	
Botswana-Namibia-South Africa	Kgalagadi TFCA Gemsbok National Park/Kalahari Private Reserve/Kalahari Gemsbok National Park	Signed May 2000
Botswana-South Africa-Zimbabwe	Limpopo Shashe TFCA Northern Tuli Game Reserve/Vhembe-Dongola Nature Reserve/Limpopo Valley National Park/Tuli Safari Area	In Development Process
Mozambique-South Africa-Zimbabwe	Greater Limpopo TFCA Coutada 16 (Soon to be proclaimed Limpopo National Park) Kruger National Park Gonarezhou National Park	Initial Agreement Signed November 2000 Heads of State Expected to Sign in April 2002-Delayed Wildlife release in June 2002
Mozambique-South Africa-Swaziland	Lubombo TFCA Maputo Game Reserve/Ndumu Game Reserve/Tembe Elephant Park Reserve/Hlane National Park, Mlawula Nature Reserve	Trilateral Agreement Signed June 2000
Namibia-South Africa	Ai-Ais Game Park/Fish River Canyon/Richtersveld National Park	In Planning
Zambia-Zimbabwe	Lower Zambezi National Park/Mana Pools National Park/Charara Safari Area/Sapi, Chewore, Dande Special Areas	
Zambia-Zimbabwe	Mosi-oa-Tunya National Park/Victoria Falls National Monument/Victoria Falls National Park/Zambezi National Park	

Source: Updated from Griffin *et al*, 1999

SADC Treaties, Protocols and Strategies

The SADC 1992 Treaty committed to a new regional community, reflecting the ‘cultural and environmental realities’ acknowledging, “Many people, wildlife, natural resources and ecological zones have always transcended national boundaries in the region”.

SADC supports the promotion of liberalised border policies that eliminate obstacles to the free movement among member states of capital and labour, goods and services, and of the region’s peoples. The treaty continues to state that policies and plans should be harmonised and the appropriate institutions should be created. (SADC 1992a, Article 5).

SADC’s Regional Policy and Strategy for ‘Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources’ (FANR) framework underpins policies, protocols and statements. FANR’s objectives as they relate to cross-border initiatives are:

- To ensure the efficient and sustainable utilisation, effective management and conservation of natural resources.
- To incorporate environmental considerations in all policies and programs and to integrate the sustainable utilisation of natural resources with development needs.
- To ensure the recognition of the value of natural resources so that they can contribute optimally to the welfare and development of all people of the region (SADC, 1992b).

SADC’s Wildlife Sector Technical Co-ordination Unit (WSTCU) recognises that “ecosystems and ecosystem processes extend across national boundaries of SADC member states” and therefore the sector will “strive to improve the quality of life of SADC people by means of a regional approach to sustainable utilisation of wildlife resources” (SADC, 1997b). The goals and objectives of the Wildlife Policy relating to transfrontier are:

- Support programmes aimed at the conservation of the regional ecosystems and landscapes, especially those that stretch across national boundaries (8.2.1);
- Facilitate actions aimed at preventing man-induced extinction of any indigenous wild plant and animal species, especially where populations are distributed across national boundaries (8.2.2);
- Develop common strategies to conserve populations of endangered, endemic and cross border migratory species (8.2.4);
- Support initiatives aimed at the development of transfrontier conservation areas (8.2.6) (SADC, 1997b).

These policy objectives have been integrated into SADC Wildlife Sector Protocol through “common approaches to the sustainable use and conservation of wildlife resources, harmonising legal instruments, exchanging information, and promoting the conservation of shared wildlife resources through the establishment of transfrontier conservation areas” (SADC: 1999:14).

In addition SADC is ratifying a ‘Protocol on the Movement of People’, and has drafted a ‘Tourism Protocol’ obligating member states to strive towards the “removal of practices that could be obstacles to regional tourism development” (SADC, 1998b). The draft identifies:

- Facilitation of intra-regional travel through the easing or removal of travel visa restrictions.
- Harmonisation of immigration procedures.
- Creation of a uni-visa for international tourists travelling in the region.
- Improvement in air transport networks.
- Creation of a favourable investment climate.
- Joint marketing and joint ventures.

The draft furthers by stating “policies for the development and marketing of tourism products and services of the region need to be harmonised” encouraging transfer of knowledge to the “more developed parts of the region to those not so advanced in tourism development” (SADC, 1998b).

Other Transboundary Initiatives

In addition to conservation-based transboundary areas, Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI's) have been aggressively promoted to unlock economic potential in specific spatial locations through the crowding of public sector expenditure and private sector investment. SDI's seek to strengthen trade relations, agriculture, tourism, communication, energy, minerals and upliftment in urban and rural areas (Buzzard, 2001). Several SDI's are underway or being considered, including the Maputo Development Corridor, Lubombo SDI, the Trans-Limpopo SDI, the Limpopo Valley SDI and the Ockavango Upper Zambezi Tourism Initiative (OUZIT). SDI's have arisen because of three realities:

- The need to concentrate limited state resources on the provision of hard infrastructure in areas with the highest economic potential and where leverage of private sector investment is most likely to be achieved.
- Sustainable economic growth is substantially dependent upon internationally competitive economic practice.

The zones have materialised because of historic under-investment, relative to potential, as a result of regional destabilisation.

The Realities of Transboundary: Conservation or People?

The realities of TBNRM areas, be it TFCA's, TBCA's, IPP's and even SDI's seems far removed from the rhetoric stated above. Clear evidence from two ratified TFCA's clearly demonstrates protectionist conservation ideology under the banner of 'sustainable natural resource management'.

The Kgalagadi TFCA has been well documented for its lack of involvement and consultation with 'Bushmen' communities in and around the TFCA. NGO's working closely with the Bushmen, conclude the effects of this process as having a long-lasting detrimental socio-economic impact upon them (Mayoral-Phillips, 2000). During the planning and implementation phases no reference was given to the Bushmen community by the Botswana government, and no economic management plan that included tourism development made reference to community involvement. Reference was made to community involvement on the periphery of the TFCA in

tourism zones, however there was no community consultation given to a tangible empowerment strategic management plan.¹

The problem was redressed by the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) and South African National Parks to include community empowerment within the economic and tourism management plan. However, alarmingly, DWNP was not keen on the term 'Community Economic Empowerment' but preferred alternatives, such as 'Community Relations'.²

In a more recent document by the University of Witwatersrand Refugee Research Programme (RRP), entitled "A Park for the People?" (2002), serious concerns emerge about the aggressive acceleration to the Greater Limpopo TFCA implementation phase.

The RRP found that there was a lack of information about the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park in particular in Coutada 16, at the grassroots level: 40% of those interviewed had never heard about it and there was a great deal of confusion among those who had. The 60% who had heard about a park were largely from Massingir District, a more accessible region of Mozambique. But even when these 60% were asked how informed they felt about the park, 71% responded that they had almost no information and 83% said that they had never been consulted about the Park. These findings contradict the statements made in the Suni/CREATE preliminary report, which was commissioned by Peace Parks Foundation and which is being used to inform a 'Development Plan' on how to deal with the communities in the area. This report states that, "each family now knows that the project will affect them and they have been informed personally of their being in the area of the Park." (Suni/CREATE preliminary report, p20, February 2002 cited in RRP 2002)

A striking finding concerning perceptions of the park is that of those 60% of respondents who had heard of the park, 61% reported that they were told that they would benefit from this park, but 76% believed that no-one or only a few would benefit from it in reality. This perception is supported by that fact that of the 150 field rangers who will be trained in total for the Mozambican side of the Park, only 29 individuals were selected from villages in the area to be trained, while the rest of the rangers are South African. Some villages for example, Chimange, refused to give one of their community members up for training saying that one person with one job could not support the entire village (RRP, 2002).

To illustrate the level of confusion experienced in different villages and areas, the range of perceptions recorded from respondents from the RRP report is reflected in Table 4.

¹ Reference to Kgalagadi Management Plan, April 1997; Bilateral Agreement between Botswana and South Africa; Joint Press Release, 12th April 1999.

² Terms of Reference for the preparation of the Tourism Community Empowerment Aspects of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park Management Plan, May, 2000.

TABLE 4: Perceptions of Communities in Massingir District

Communities in Massingir District had mostly heard of the plans for the Park. IUCN carried out house-to-house surveys in this district in September 2000, Suni/CREATE also did a survey in August/ September 2001 and the Mozambican Field Rangers carried out community meetings for awareness raising in some communities. Some of the perceptions raised in interviews with households and local village administrators are:

- That communities will have to move to a place called Sovila. Respondents reported that they were told this by IUCN.
- That 19 villages in Chicualacuala, 19 in Mabalane, and 16 in Massinger will be relocated. This was reported at the November 2001 Tri-National Community Workshop.
- That there is no concrete government plan on relocation. This was stated by local government officials.
- That a fence will be constructed to separate people living 20km west of the Limpopo and 20km north of the Elephants from the wildlife. This information was also reported to come from IUCN.
- That households will be paid for their land if they move. This perception reportedly is based on information from the Suni/CREATE study.
- That communities will be provided with all basic services and infrastructure if they agree to move. This information reportedly stems from the November 2001 Tri-National Community Workshop.
- That communities will be fenced in or forcibly moved if they do not leave voluntarily. This was reportedly threatened by Mozambican Field Rangers who visited Mavodze in December 2001 when told by the community that it did not want to move.
- That residents will benefit from the incoming tourists because the park will support the Mozambican economy. In some cases it was reported that jobs were offered, but without concrete information about what kinds of jobs. In other cases, there were no promises of jobs for local people.

Perceptions of Communities in Mabalane and Chicualacuala Districts

Communities in the region on the east side of Coutada 16 seem largely uninformed, gathering most of their knowledge about the park from rumours. Some heard the Radio Mozambique report (as stated above) or received information from local government administrators. The IUCN also visited Mapi according to the Mapi Chief do Post. Some of the perceptions raised in the RRP interviews are:

- That people will have to move from their land. This comes from the District Administrator in Chicualacuala.
- The Chief do Post in Combomune (Mabalane District) reportedly has orders from the District Administrator in Mabalane to start removing people in 2 weeks time (i.e. from 1 April 2002).
- That villages west of the Limpopo will have to move to the eastern side of the river to give the animals access to the Limpopo River. The Chief of Ndope (Mabalane District) reportedly told this to his village in January 2002.
- That the park will give people jobs and money from tourism as well as game meat from animals.

Plans for Land Use and Options Open to Local Populations

From information gathered prior to the RRP study, and from interviews with diverse stakeholders responsible for planning and implementing the park, RRP state that there is “no coherent plan on how to deal with people currently living in areas soon to become part of the park”. The Peace Parks Foundation is the Mozambican Government’s main partner for the ‘development process’. While the Foundation’s land use plans are very straightforward and accessible (Table 5) their development plans are still unknown. The official development plans of the Mozambican Government are according to RRP (2002) “incongruous, and different actors within the Government have provided different information.”

- Tourism Zone – This is where the bulk of the tourism infrastructure will be developed and covers an area between the Elephants and Shingwizdy Rivers (c 356,000 hectares). Seven to ten different lodges/hotels will be located in this area and it will be where the majority of the game drives occur. This proposed area envelops all of the villages currently situated along the Shingwizdy River and to the west up to the international border with South Africa. Roughly 16 of these villages are in Massinger and several others in Chicualacuala.
- Natural Zone/Wilderness Zone – This zone will remain undisturbed with little tourism and infrastructure development. This covers a total area of 577,694 hectares and there will be no fence separating this zone and the tourist zone.
- Resource/Buffer Zone – It is proposed that the settlements along the Limpopo River be included in the resource zone. A fence would be placed to the west of the settlements to afford protection to the population’s crops from wildlife in the wilderness zone. The communities would have entry into the resource utilisation zone and would provide access to visitors to camps along the Limpopo River. “These facilities would be developed for the benefit of the communities and would be run by these people. The authorities should give assistance at the initial stage of development”.³ The total area of this zone is 189,449 hectares.

TABLE 5: Land Use Plan proposed by the Peace Parks Foundation

According to the perceptions of officials interviewed in Mozambique, this proposed Land Use Plan assumes the removal of the entire population within the Tourism and Wilderness Zones, especially near Mavodze where the tourist lodges are proposed to be located (RRP, 2002).

The RRP also found that there are serious concerns regarding all the possible scenarios that have been considered for the people who currently reside in the designated park area. Relocation and removal do not take into account the communities’ determination, stated by 83% of the RRP’s respondents, not to leave their land. Returnees most commonly stated, “being able to depend on their own land for food” as the main reason that their life has improved since their return to Mozambique.

³ Sourced from Tourist Zone Map designed by Peace Parks International cited in RRP, 2002.

Respondents reported that they would prefer the danger of living with the animals to being moved off their ancestral property. Furthermore, there has not been any clear or transparent planning on how these options will ensure an improvement in the socio-economic standing of the communities, if they are moved. The option of fencing poses problems of sustainability in terms of access to water, freedom of movement and the environmental and social effects of constraining growing communities on finite land (RRP, 2002).

The report furthers by detailing the lack of awareness and sufficient planning for the resident communities to be very worrying against the backdrop of quickly advancing plans to free wild animals into the designated areas. The RRP argues that the implementation of the park should be delayed pending agreement on an appropriate 'development plan' that direct community representation should be included in the planning process, and that safeguards - such as independent civil society monitoring - are necessary to ensure that the rights and needs of the communities are respected. Furthermore, alternative models of park management, which allow communities to retain utilisation and ownership rights over the land, should be considered (RRP, 2002).

Previous Planning Rhetoric for TBNRM

So called, 'experts' and 'stakeholders' involved in the embryonic stages of the TBNRM process identified democracy, sustainability and efficiency as the three core principles to success.

- **Democracy.** TBNRM initiatives are for the people, such as users, managers and beneficiaries of the resource. To this end, stakeholder involvement should occur at all stages of the process, particularly during decision-making.
- **Sustainability.** In addition to sustainable natural resource management use, sustainable financing, human resources, and institutions are necessary. This applies to finding ways to have enduring resources to carry out TBNRM initiatives and the ability to formulate, communicate, and implement best use practices.
- **Efficiency.** The benefits of TBNRM must outweigh the total costs of this lengthy and complex process. Efficiency is increased by building upon existing resource management systems and institutions (Griffin *et al*, 1999).

Further points highlighted suggesting the process should evolve on the basis of 'real need' incorporating guidelines including:

- Adaptive management (management that is flexible and that adjusts, accommodates, or conforms to new demands and conditions).
- Transboundary management that needs to learn from, and be driven by, its experiences (and those of others) adjusting constantly to the changing realities.
- Promotion of meaningful and valuable partnerships with trust, transparency, accountability, sovereignty, reciprocity and equity.
- Promotion of synergies and value-added benefits creating the feeling that the 'whole is greater than the sum of its parts'.

- Demand driven responding to initiative shown, using existing resources and institutions, devolving to the most suitable partnerships, yet incorporating all stakeholder participation (Griffin *et al*, 1999).

Who and What Drives the Process?

Government and institutional rhetoric involved in TBNRM within Southern Africa have developed processes that have arisen from globally inspired 'sustainable' Brundtland and dominant Earth Summit environment and conservation policy. SADC and national strategies and action plans, inclusive of development plans and tourism zones are funded by donor agencies following the rhetoric that "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs."

Ten years on since the Earth Summit, the slogan has sacrificed real substance, as it compels us to adopt a narrow economic language, standard of judgement, and world-view in approaching and utilising the earth (Mayoral-Phillips, 2001). The sustainability ideal rests on an uncritical, unexamined acceptance of the traditional world-view of progressive, secular materialism. It regards this world-view as completely benign so long as it can be made 'sustainable'.

Institutions such as the UNDP, WWF, USAID, IUCN and The Peace Parks Foundation have sought to maintain their role as co-ordinators of conservation-based socio-economic development in transboundary areas, whilst endorsing 'new' patterns of 'alternative' Brundtland styled sustainable and market driven 'growth' and development. The fact is that development of TFCA's or TBNRMA's mirrors previous 'authentic, untouched, unvisited, off the beaten track' dominant 'eco-wildlife', 'nature-based' and supposed 'responsible' cultural tourism that according to Phillips (1996b) was evident in the Pre-Post-Apartheid era in South Africa. These actions parallel to 'preserving' and 'contesting' the countryside as seen during the late 1940's in the United Kingdom, an ideological framework according to Hardy (1988) of domination and subversiveness, incorporating key variables such as class, gender and locality, whereby middle-class bourgeois-democracy were in fact protecting the 'deeper' countryside from as Thornley (1991:3) states "the working classes...and other undesirables". In this case the countryside takes the form of TFCA's and the deeper county side, the communal lands of Southern Africa's TBNRMA's. Interpretation of this would transpire into the 'working classes and undesirables' being the communities living within legislated and planned TBNRMA's. Governments, institutions, experts and stakeholders are rigidly following the rhetoric of 'wildlife pays, wildlife stays', a form of wildlife privatisation of the commons, or as the RRP suggest, "working against the development of a truly participatory and beneficial plan 'for the people' in the Greater Limpopo TFCA."

RRP (2002) state, "The main problem is that all the actors responsible for formulating such a plan have interests that potentially conflict with their ability to work without bias in the interest of the local communities. The Peace Park Foundation's main focus is on wildlife conservation and tourist attraction, which both conflict in some situations with the stated interests of the residents." The report further, "the study by Suni/CREATE was commissioned by the Peace Parks Foundation and it is not clear from the IUCN report who their funders are and where their mandate comes from. While it is highly desirable for the implementing organisation to carry out social

impact and consultation studies itself, so that they are an integral part of the Park planning, the fact nevertheless remains that they are not independent voices that are accountable to the people themselves. The Government is the sole body representing the people, but it also has a great deal to gain if the Transfrontier Park is implemented. Of the NGOs represented in parts of the planning process, most are conservation focused (such as the African Wildlife Foundation) and have a stake in the Park.”

Little evidence is apparent in seeking ‘alternative’ models and land utilisation techniques to the TBNRMA process. The RRP highlights the prevalence of conservation specialists on the planning and research teams, who may lack a ‘community development’ background. In addition the RRP note that South Africa, from where the main impetus for the park extension is coming, already has a reputation for community insensitive park management, sometimes called “Krugerisation”. In other words, forced evictions from ancestral and tribal lands, ‘single species’ rhetoric and ‘humans and animals do not mix’ ideology.

Alarming, there is strong pressure coming from South Africa’s Kruger National Park to open up the TFCA to the Mozambican side as soon as possible. In Kruger Park, elephants have not been culled for some time because of expectations for the TFCA, and the over-population will cause irreparable damage to the ecosystem if they are not released into new pastures soon. Funding has already been secured for the transfer, and a date has been set for June 2002. This early date makes it simply impossible to plan for, prepare and carry out any suitable arrangement for the people still living in Coutada 16. A temporary fence is meant to be erected to protect people in the meantime, but it will be impossible to construct it by June. The needs of the resident communities should have priority in determining the time frame for the implementation of the park (RRP, 2002).

What Next for the People: Conservation or Development?

In light of the global and regional rhetoric contrasted to the realities and findings, it is quite evident that government's and institutions in the region have moved beyond the rhetoric that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.” The rhetoric and reality is far removed from redistribution as a socialist phenomena of redressing rural poverty, redeveloping agrarian land systems, resolving rural population densities and redistributing socio-economic benefits that includes land ownership. Instead, redevelopment in TBNRMA’s, favours authoritarian redevelopment through liberalisation and globalisation free market economics, which favours the bourgeois society, the conservation-cum-tourism organisation, stakeholder or expert. This paradigm shift is hardly surprising considering state funds are non-existent. Political policy rhetoric is a misnomer through the region, in the sense that market theory and social redistribution do not mix. Who benefits? Certainly not the community. In fact all that can be concluded from TFCA’s and TBNRMA’s is a conservation-wildlife-based hinterland where all existing ‘sustainable’ human life will be displaced in the name of migratory rights - a ‘habitual exclusion zone’.

Way Forward

The sustainable management of TBNRMA’s is still too ‘conservation’ based and not developmental, even though an emerging relationship between the two has been identified. One can appreciate the need for preserving and linking eco-systems

through TFCA's, but only as state parks where local community consultation, accountability and agreement are clearly legitimised. TBNRM management plans and strategies must not be confused or linked to TFCA management plans. So far, TFCA action plans have been integrated as a sustainable wise-use model for TBNRM. They should be viewed as two separate entities that inter-relate, with different goals and objectives. TBNRM needs a stronger developmental perspective, inclusive of community participation and exclusive of dominant conservation-based organisations.

In order to empower communities involved in TFCA's and TBNRM, the state, donors, NGO's and developers must accept that communities utilising the natural resources within these areas does not mean 'bulldozing' policy and action plans without a clear understanding of community needs. The state must comprehend that custodianship or managing the resource, is not, owning the resource. Without land tenure or security, proposed job creation in the TFCA's is just a passive form of development. Community ownership will serve to give long-term security, entrepreneurial opportunities and jobs. Development that includes the privatisation of the commons through wildlife and conservation must be a proactive bottom-up approach that harmonises with regional policy.

The author has proposed as part of his PhD a new conceptual model that clarifies and defines TBNRM, TFCA's and SDI's as interconnecting through 'Transboundary Development Areas' (TBDA). TBDA's are defined as:

“Managing the use of all natural resources to meet the needs of all development.”
(Mayoral-Phillips, 2000)

The approach is community focused to empower and secure livelihoods, yet comprehends the interconnecting matrix between the social, economic and environment initiatives. During the research concerns have emerged towards the terminology of TBDA, as an already exhaustive method and conceptual model. I would argue that previous development areas have had a conservation-nature tourism bias that conforms to global environment and conservation policy and action plans of the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, Global Environmental Facility and USAID. Through this conceptual model, these policies and strategies are being re-examined to favour the African product, not the global product.

Empowerment is the means to strengthen social and human capital (Ashley, 2000). Social and human capital is classified as tangible and intangible benefits. Tangible benefits incorporate financial gain, job creation and ownership of the means of production. Intangible benefits include:

- Development and adoption of local institutions:
- Self-confidence gained through pride and optimism for the future:
- New skills learned through formal and informal training:
- Control over future involvement:
- Control and management over activities:
- Cultural identity and social cohesion strengthened:
- Indigenous knowledge systems recognised:
- Equitable and participatory community decision-making encouraged:
- Food security boosted:

- Ability to deal with outsiders gained:
- Representative and accountable leadership developed.

(Ashley & La Franchi, 1997; Ashley, 1995; 1996; 2000; van der Jagt *et al*, 2000).

Griffin *et al* identified three core principles of democracy, sustainability and efficiency as stated above. The TBDA framework reshapes these principles whilst ‘meeting the needs of the present without compromising the needs of future generations’.

- **Democracy.** TBDA initiatives are for the people, such as users, managers and beneficiaries of the resource. To this end, a transparent, accountable and ‘all inclusive’ procedure must occur at all stages of the process, particularly during consultation and decision-making.
- **Sustainability.** This principle must engage and secure ownership of the resource for the community to be truly sustainable. It must adopt an open-minded economic approach, incorporate equality structures and intensify the distribution of the resources. To this end, ‘appropriate’ natural resource management use, sustainable financing, human resources, and institutions are necessary.
- **Efficiency.** The benefits of TBDA must not outweigh the total costs of this lengthy and complex process. Efficiency is only increased when ‘appropriate’ new and existing resource management systems and institutions are able to demonstrate a collaborative approach to best-practise resource utilisation.

In addition, the points that Griffin *et al* highlighted above have been amended to evolve on the basis of ‘securing livelihoods’ incorporating responsible guidelines that have:

- Collaborative management (management that is flexible, accountable and conforms to new community-based demands and conditions).
- Transboundary management that needs to learn from past mistakes; be driven by a multidimensional approach and adjusting constantly to the changing realities of community development.
- Promotion of ‘appropriate’ and valuable partnerships with trust, transparency, accountability, sovereignty, reciprocity and equity.
- Promotion of synergies and value-added benefits creating the feeling that the ‘sum of the parts are greater than the whole’.
- Demand driven that responds to community initiative shown, using ‘appropriate’ resources and institutions, devolving to the most suitable community partnerships, yet incorporating all stakeholder participation.

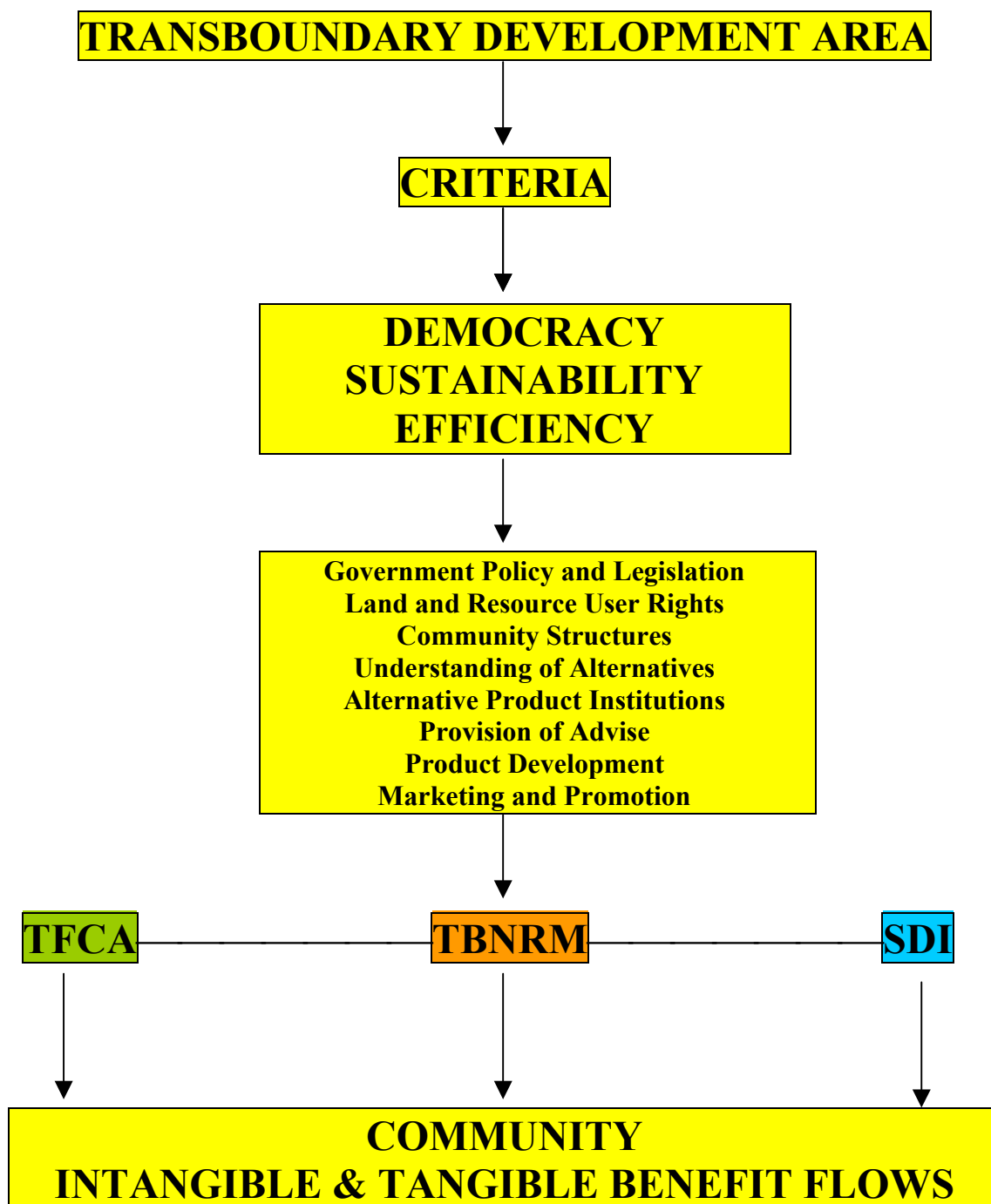


TABLE 6: Framework for Transboundary Development Areas

The final outcome will enable TFCA's to be driven through a Transboundary Unilateral, Conservation-Based Management Plan, only after community-based democracy, sustainability and efficiency have been resolved. TBNRMA's will seek alternative land utilisation and economic processes to secure livelihoods, and SDI's will unlock economic development routes through supply and demand for the community.

The end result being, a systemised process that is accountable and transparent, decentralised and developmental, all-inclusive from any dominant agenda, combining to strengthen, secure and promote long-term 'sustainable' community livelihoods.

References

Ashley, C. 1995: *Tourism, communities, and the potential impacts on local incomes and conservation*, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Namibia, Research Discussion Paper, No 10, November, Windhoek, Namibia.

Ashley, C. 1996: *Incentives affecting biodiversity conservation and sustainable use: The case of land use options in Namibia*, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Namibia, Research Discussion Paper, No 13, November, Windhoek, Namibia.

Ashley, C. 2000: *The impacts of Tourism on Rural Livelihoods: Namibia's Experience*, Overseas Development Institute Working Paper 128, Chameleon Press, London.

Ashley, C. & La Franchi, C. 1997: *Livelihood strategies of rural households in Caprivi: Implications for conservancies and natural resource management*, Directorate of Environmental Affairs, Ministry of Environment and Tourism, Namibia, Research Discussion Paper, No 20, August, Windhoek, Namibia.

Cumming, D.H.M. 1999: *Environmental Context: Natural Resources, Land Use, and Conservation*, Study on the development of transboundary natural resource areas in southern Africa, Biodiversity Support Programme, Washington, D.C.

De Fonatubert, A.C. & Agardy, T. 1998: *Critical Analysis of the SPAW Protocol: The Dilemma of Regional Co-operation*, IUCN-US, Washington. D.C.

Griffiths, I.L. 1995: African Boundaries and National Parks, in Blake, G et al (ed), *The Peaceful Management of Transboundary Resources*, pp357-370, Graham & Trotman/Martin Nijhoff, London.

Griffin, J., Cumming, D., Metcalfe, S., t'Sas-Rolfes, M., Singh, J., Chonguiça, E., Rowen, M. & Oglethorpe, J. 1999: *Study on the Development of Transboundary Natural Resource Management Areas in Southern Africa*, Biodiversity Support Programme, Washington, D.C.

Grundy-Warr, C. & Rajah, A. 1997: Security, Resources and People in a Borderlands Environment: Myanmar and Thailand, in Blake, G. et al (eds), *International*

Boundaries and Environmental Security: Frameworks for Regional Cooperation, Kluwer Law International, London, The Hague and Boston.

Hardy, D. 1988: *Historical Geography and Heritage Studies. Area. Volume 20 (4)* pp333-338.

Kaplan, R.D.1994: *The Coming Anarchy, The Atlantic Monthly*, 273, pp44-76.

Mathews, J. 1989: *Redefining Security, Foreign Affairs*, 68, pp162-177.

Mayoral-Phillips, A.J. 2000: *Transboundary Development in Southern Africa: Rhetoric and Reality*, Ford Foundation, New York.

Mayoral-Phillips, 2001: **"Community tourism development in Southern Africa: Rhetoric or Reality"** Proceedings from Conference on "Tourism as a catalyst for community based development", Centre for Afrikatourism, 1-3 October 2001, University of Pretoria.

McNeil, R.J. 1990: *International Parks for Peace*, in *Parks on the Borderline: Experience in Transfrontier Conservation*, (ed) Thorsell, J., pp39-49, IUCN, Gland, Switzerland.

Nkiwane, S.M. 1997: *Zimbabwe's International Borders: A Study in National Regional Development in Southern Africa*, University of Zimbabwe, Harare.

Phillips, A.J. 1996b: *Mirror Images in Responsible Tourism: The South African Sell Out*, Institute of Tourism and Development Studies, De Montfort University, Bedford.

SADC, 1992a: *Declaration Treaty and Protocol of the Southern African Development Community*, SADC, Gaborone, Botswana.

SADC, 1992b: *Regional Policy and Strategy for Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources*, FANR, Gaborone, Botswana.

SADC, 1997b: *Wildlife Sector Policy and Development Strategy for the Southern African Development Community*, SADC, WSTCU, Lilongwe, Malawi.

SADC, 1998b: *Tourism Protocol*, SADC, Gaborone, Botswana.

SADC, 1999: *Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement in the Southern African Development Community*, SADC, WSTCU, Lilongwe, Malawi.

Singh, J. 1999: *Study on the Development of Transboundary Natural Resource Management Areas in Southern Africa-Global Review: Lessons Learned*, Biodiversity Support Programme, Washington, D.C.

Thornley, A. 1991: *Urban Planning Under Thatcherism: The Challenge of the Market*. London. Routledge.

Thorsell, J. 1990: Through Hot and Cold Wars, Parks Endure. *Natural History*. 6/90. pp59-60.

University of Witwatersrand Refugee Research Programme, 2002: *A Park for the People?* Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park Community Consultation in Coutada 16, Mozambique. University of Witwatersrand. South Africa.

Van der Jagt, T., Gujadhur, T. & van Bassel, F. 2000: *Community Benefits through Community Based Natural Resource Management in Botswana*, CBNRM Support Programme Occasional Paper No 2, IUCN, Gaborone, Botswana.

Westing, A.H. 1998: Establishment and management of transfrontier reserves for conflict and prevention and confidence building, *Environmental Conservation*, 25 (2), pp91-94.