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Transboundary Protected Area Impacts on Communities: Case Study of Three Southern African Transboundary Conservation Initiatives

AWF Working Papers



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July 2005

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This paper is reprinted from an earlier version that was presented at the 5th World Parks Congress 2003, Durban, South Africa 'whose theme was Benefits Beyond Boundaries'.

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Summary

The single biggest threats of transboundary conservation initiatives to communities are:

1. The concept of a protected area or 'park' as being state controlled and concerned more with protection and general public benefit than it is with sustainable multiple use and equitable benefit for people living in the area.
2. Transboundary negotiations are a state prerogative and unless the state explicitly consults people living in the border areas their interests are presented by the state authorities, rather than through direct involvement.
3. Transboundary parks establish mega-tourism destinations. Unless communities have land rights and institutions to manage them, they risk business deals being done between political, technical and business elites behind their backs.

Whereas protected areas primarily serve an ecological objective rather than a development objective, at the landscape (regional or transboundary level) the protected area must integrate conservation with economic development planning. Traditionally, the fundamental questions that form the basis of economic development planning are: what are the resources available for improving life quality; how are they to be manipulated and for whom? (Samuelson, 1976) The resources in question include forests, vegetation, water, soil, wildlife, fisheries, pastoral, minerals and atmosphere etc. For transboundary and landscape planning the constituencies include the whole range of resource users in the region. What has become ever more critical in landscape planning, and transboundary landscapes are no different, is the fourth economic question that has to be answered: who is to decide what the resource is, what we do with it and for whom? (Saunier & Meganck, 1995).

For protected areas and their managers to play a leading role in landscape planning, including in transboundary settings, they should consider the following:

- To be accepted within a development context conservation must accept a mixed protected and multiple use land and resource use zonation. The protected zones should be seen as both ecological and economic anchors in a sustainably managed landscape.

- All landholders in a given landscape are neighbors and should be included in the planning and implementation process.
- Protected area authorities involved in promoting transboundary parks and conservation areas should address community property rights (tenure) arrangements within countries to ensure the positive incentives needed for efficient, equitable and sustainable development. The property rights of rural communities pre-determine the co-management relationship with the state run protected areas. The state-community relationship needs to be optimized before the relationship between community and the private sector can be truly beneficial (socially, economically and ecologically).
- Protected area authorities should ensure that transboundary landscape planning is an integrated, participatory, cooperative, coordinated and iterative process. Conservation is an integral part of development.²

A participatory landscape conservation planning process would ensure collaboration between stakeholders and a broad consensus on the conservation goals and development threats and opportunities. Stakeholders should work together to abate the threats and capture the opportunities from planning at the ecologically and economically significant scale of landscape. Landscape management demands close collaboration between technical (ecologists, scientists, protected areas managers) and civil society parties (communities, private sector, NGOs). Transboundary landscapes especially require the participation of political actors to mandate and guide international cooperation. Within each country it also requires that several government sectors be involved (e.g. environment, security, foreign service, veterinary, tourism etc.). The involvement of the political sector automatically ties them in closely with government technical staff but not necessarily with their rural communities. In order to reduce negative and enhance positive impacts of transboundary initiatives on local communities the following are recommended practices:

- Ensure full participation and collaboration within each country to ensure transboundary plans, agreements and programs incorporate their interests.

- Recognize the need for communities to have secure rights to land and natural resources so they take responsibility for the costs and benefits involved.
- Enable communities to participate in the transboundary policy arenas established in each country and facilitate them to learn from one another in order that national policies reflect best practice.
- Recognize that common pool resources management require significant investment in capacity building, institutional development, and technical and enterprise skills.
- Re-evaluate the necessity for protected areas to be state owned and investigate joint ownership approaches to bridge the gap between 'parks' and local communities.
- Establish a sound public sector-community partnership as a foundation for an efficient, equitable and sustainable community-private sector partnership.
- Establish conservation enterprise and infrastructure trust funds to leverage community equity in community-private sector partnerships.

1. Introduction

It is in the interest of nations to manage nature (biodiversity, water catchments and migratory wildlife) across national boundaries for their mutual benefit. Co-existence between nations and co-evolution with nature is a sensible and precautionary approach to sustainable development. However, the ecological connectedness of biodiversity is fragmented once perceived, used and managed as a set of economically valuable natural resources and environmental goods and services. These natural assets, in huge part, are used and managed as 'common property', shared by a number of social groups. Global commons like the oceans and the atmosphere have received much attention from sovereign governments through global conventions. However, more local and regional commons like rivers, fisheries, pastures, forests and migratory wildlife present a different challenge as they involve both national and local participants.

The economic market has established a system of property rights and relationships within and between nations representing a challenge to the management of shared natural resources across boundaries. It is one thing to understand the environmental situation technically but quite another when it comes to managing

people (households, communities, classes, public and private sector) in relation to its economic properties. The allocation of costs and benefits and rights and responsibilities to nature's assets, within and between national boundaries, involves economic theory and political action, a veritable 'jungle' of interests and values, where socially appropriate and institutionally adaptive systems are negotiated.

2. Background to Transboundary Parks

The proclamation of protected areas or 'national parks' as statewide public goods is a fairly recent phenomenon. The need for 'parks' arose from an awareness of the potential for ecological destruction in the name of development and a growing insight of the threat to wild species and also a romantic nostalgia for a rapidly diminishing wilderness. In the 'new' (colonized American and Australasian countries) and the 'post-colonial' ('third world') countries the establishment of state protected 'parks' occurred at the cost of alienating indigenous people from access to customary lands and resources (West & Brechin, 1991). Protected areas, as state assets, were taken from local communities and the term 'National Park' signifies not just an area protected for conservation but an area owned, managed and controlled by the state primarily for the national good and not necessarily as a local public good. The relationship between park and neighboring communities was characterized by law enforcement by 'insiders' of 'outsiders' (Adams & McShane, 1992). Later, insights from conservation biology emphasized the need for ecological connectivity and the reality dawned that many protected areas were not big enough to conserve what they had been intended for. Protected area authorities realized that they needed to collaborate with the very neighbors they had alienated.

The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a new narrative in the conservation discourse brought about through a strong advocacy for the devolution of natural resource management rights to communities living near protected areas. The 1992 IVth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas in Caracas, Venezuela, was a focal point of this emphasis, followed soon afterward by the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro and the adoption of the three pillars of sustainable development: efficient, equitable and sustainable use of the world's natural resources. The decade since the Caracas Congress has witnessed a massive effort to promote, implement and sustain community based conservation strategies. The

promotion of community conservation in a regional (landscape) context is intended to provide a positive basis for collaboration between protected areas and neighboring communities to manage the environment beyond boundaries.

The evolution of community based conservation in southern Africa in the 1990s set the stage for co-management of wild land between households, communities, the state and the private sector. Hitherto rural communities had been treated virtually as a sub-sector of the state. Given some 'empowerment' in the form of access to wildlife benefits some communities were positioned to enter partnerships with protected area authorities and the private sector and to collaborate in landscape level conservation. A landscape management approach within a country provided the foundation for collaboration between countries.

Linked to the promotion of community empowerment outside of protected areas has been a recent debate on state ownership (rather than a co-management or community management), of the 'parks' themselves (Brown & Kothari, 2002). In some 'new world' states, for example Australia's Kakadu National Park, the Government has accepted the justice of local claims and supported co-management arrangements between state and community (Hill & Press, 1994). Generally, post-colonial states, certainly in Africa, have been inclined to maintain state management and if inclined to co-management at all to see it as a state partnership with the private sector rather than with communities. This despite the fact that public sector/community co-management might create a better basis for sustainable development by a collaborative partnership between state, community and private sector.

Although southern Africa has been a leader in community-based natural resources management (CBNRM), communities have generally struggled to secure and manage resource rights (e.g. Tanzania, Mozambique, Zambia, Zimbabwe). Devolution has been very varied and only in a few cases amounted to more than a sharing of some benefits rather than real responsibility (e.g. Botswana, Namibia). Support services to communities to develop their management capacity has generally been insufficient in most countries leading to self-fulfilling prophecies that CBNRM does not work well and that the state should re-assert more control. CBNRM regimes have faced many problems, not least the high management transaction costs characteristic of collective action, often exaggerated by confusion within

communities between governance and management responsibility. Governance problems also exist through competition within community leadership and interference by external elites. Communities have also faced general management problems related to weakness of knowledge, administration, accountability, transparency, reporting and monitoring of both ecological and socio-economic impact.

The fact that communities face huge problems managing common pool resources should be no source of comfort to governments. An enabling policy environment is only the start and must be followed up with training of individuals and institutional capacity building aimed at developing capable community regimes. Indigenous knowledge systems are valuable but lack the experience of managing resources within the national and global markets. Governments have generally not established supportive partnerships but have retained more of a supervisory and judgmental role.

The fact that communities have a strong claim to ownership, use and benefit from the use of natural resources in the areas they reside does not mean they can automatically manage the resources efficiently, equitably or sustainably (ecologically, economically or institutionally). Communities need assistance, facilitation, training, supervision and oversight. This does not need to make them dependent on the government in perpetuity but rather they are public sector clients to whom the government should ensure service support to enable them to emerge as genuine and mutual landscape level partners.

Collaborative partnerships between landholders and private investors are central to managing landscape mosaics economically. If power relationships between landholders (community, public, private sectors) are skewed then the collaboration becomes characterized by patronage and cooption by protected area authorities and a reactive type of participation by communities. The flawed devolution and inadequate institutional development and capacity building typical of community 'empowerment' means that collaboration is dominated by the 'big brother' public sector in league with a wealthy private sector. The resource management principle of devolution and the conservation principle of integration and collaboration at landscape scale reinforce the patron-client power relations, magnified in transboundary situations.

Formal transboundary activities require high level and high cost meetings between state officials that leave civic society on the sidelines unless the state makes



explicit efforts to inform and consult affected intra-state parties. Whereas public authorities, conservation scientists and tourism investors may be excited about the concept of transfrontier parks, communities may be anxious. One source of anxiety is the term 'park' itself with all its associations of land alienation and public sector control. The word 'park' is very loaded and therefore the term transboundary 'park' is more threatening than transboundary conservation 'area' or 'natural resource management area'. The use of language is important and to an extent the transboundary policy arena is witnessing a contest over the meaning of the phenomenon in question. In southern Africa three different terms have been in regular circulation:

- 'Transboundary parks'³ seem to emphasize state control, centralization and alienation of local communities. This concept appeals to park managers and the urban middle classes who use parks for recreation and relate to concepts such as 'parks' or 'peace parks' as being 'true' conservation, without necessarily understanding the implications for socio-economic development.
- 'Transboundary conservation areas'⁴ seem to emphasize the linkage between government managed protected areas and community managed multiple use areas in a landscape approach aimed at blending conservation and development objectives. This concept appeals to a constituency that believes that conservation and development objectives must blend. It is a somewhat obtuse term for the powerful middle class, urbanized community.
- 'Transboundary natural resources management areas'⁵, do not over-emphasize government protected areas and sound like CBNRM in a transboundary context. It is true that transboundary conservation could take place along all national boundaries and does not always have to coincide with a protected area being on one side of the frontier. These possibilities lack glamour and tend to lose the important leadership input of the 'park' authorities. In tourist terms, they do not carry the 'park' brand names with them (e.g. Kruger, Chobe, Amboseli, Mana).

It is the vision of transboundary 'parks' that raises local fears of land alienation, fences and anti-poaching patrols. The debate in southern Africa on this issue is heated and focused on the property rights of state, community and the private sector in relation to land: will those advocating transboundary conservation use state controlled protected areas (parks) to leverage real

development for the communities living around them or will they extend state ownership and control while promising only a 'trickle down' of benefits once the state and private sector have carved up the spoils? Having gained some authority through resource devolution under CBNRM policies and programs there is a sense that urban, private and public sector elites will collude at the expense of the 'little' people living on the national periphery.

3. The Transboundary Context in Southern Africa

A rationale for developing transboundary conservation initiatives has existed for some time but in southern Africa it appears recently to have been 'fast tracked'. Some of the push factors have been:

- The conservation advocacy of landscape connectivity based on the insight that islands of biodiversity (protected areas) are not viable. This argument is much boosted in southern Africa with its large and growing elephant populations that require more space or alternatively face population collapse or the unpalatable option of control (culling). Further a high number of protected areas exist on national boundaries with the obvious potential for leveraging ecological values.
- The global tourism industry seeks destinations with a critical mass of infrastructure, visitor experiences and 'seamless' transfers through national borders and administrative systems (visas, customs, currencies, business licences, etc.). Governments seek economic development and certainly in southern Africa perceive tourism as having great growth potential. However, the tourism industry demands regional strategic and spatial planning and financing that rely on large -scale projects.
- Globalization encourages regional blocks and markets and Africa is trying to respond through the recently formed African Union and its New Economic Program for African Development (NEPAD), which promotes regional economic development into which the transboundary environmental and tourism initiatives neatly fit. The Southern African Development Community (SADC) has policies encouraging regional collaboration including, among others, the management of shared resources (wildlife, water, fisheries, tourism etc.) and specifically transfrontier conservation areas.



- The development of community-based programs in the past decade revealed many communities situated in border areas that share culture, ecosystems and natural resource bases. These programs also laid the foundation for natural resource management that now needs to be coordinated across borders.
- The potential for promoting peace and security especially where there are potential resource use conflicts over important shared resources. The concept of such 'peace parks' has been promoted as a transboundary rationale. Reducing conflict over shared water resources through regional structures is also becoming more prominent and attractive to donor agencies.
- A shift in the agendas of international funding agencies, such as USAID, the World Bank and the Global Environment Facility, has also given an impetus to the transboundary process. In addition promotion of transboundary conservation by international NGOs, such as Peace Parks Foundation, IUCN, WWF and the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) has also had an impact.

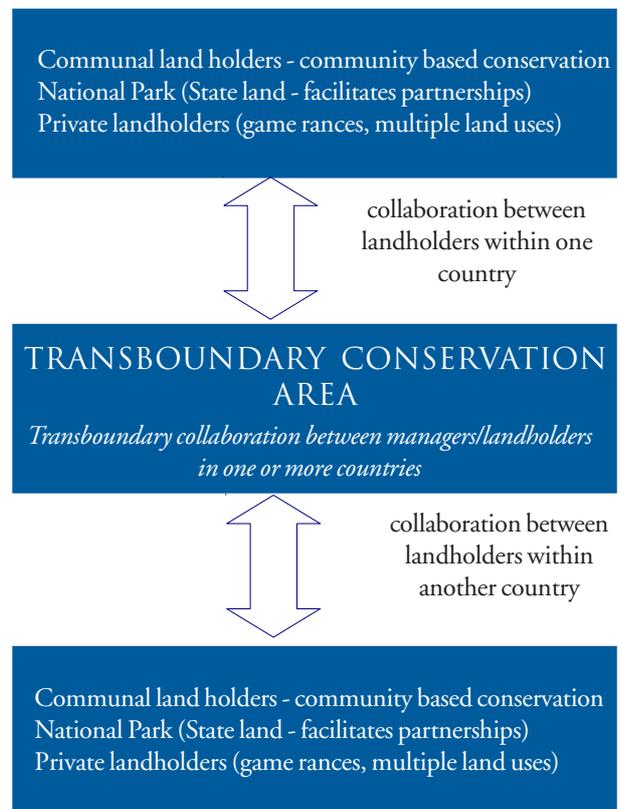
While the above factors may have promoted transboundary collaboration the potential to recognize and support community cross-border cultural identity and socio-economic interaction has not been significant and may be a negative pull factor. Despite the dream of an 'African Renaissance' national boundaries remain 'hard edges'. Whilst communities may support an opening up of the borderlands, national governments appear more prepared to legitimate higher levels of coordination than the lower ones. This could be because the legitimacy of global and regional institutions is based on national sovereignty whilst devolution of authority to communities living in border areas could lead to loss of control and at worst 'micro-nationalism' and the fragmentation of the nation state. Given that many post colonial states are still in a process of nation building it is no surprise they want the benefits of transboundary collaboration but nothing that may diminish their control of national assets.

The fact that in international law only nation states have sovereign rights naturally empowers national political and technical groups which enjoy relatively easy access to collaborative transboundary forums, civil society stakeholders, especially communities, have had little formal access to national forums to discuss these developments. While transboundary arrangements depend on agreements between nations, within each nation constituents need access to policy arenas where

they can assess the potential impact on their lives and legitimize transboundary governance from below.

The potential for co-managed transboundary conservation areas exist but it will not be realized until state/community partnership is genuinely in place. In southern Africa NGOs have fostered an active discourse on the development of transboundary-protected areas but these forums have not had access to the state driven policy arena. Conservation NGOs have rapidly adapted their portfolios to attract funding for transboundary initiatives. Some NGOs that had spent the last decade supporting community conservation initiatives are also perturbed and have pushed a counter vision on behalf of 'voiceless' communities (IUCN, 2002). The diagram below indicates the collaborative framework within and between countries developing transboundary conservation arrangements (Griffin *et al.* 1999). Transboundary landscape collaboration must be established within a country before it can be established between countries. There are no short cuts in conservation or development.

Figure 1: Collaboration between landholders in a TFCA



4. Three Transboundary Initiatives in Southern Africa

There are several transboundary park-type initiatives in southern Africa. They mainly involve collaboration between park authorities and rural communities and to lesser extent private landholders. The importance of the private sector is rather in the fact that it seeks exclusive access to the land and resources of both the public and community sectors though hunting and tourism leases. The critical need of communities to have secure land and resource rights partly depends on the fact that otherwise they cannot secure lucrative rentals and depends on deals made by others and the 'trickle down' benefits of employment and sale of goods and services.

4.1 Limpopo Transfrontier Park and Conservation Area

4.1.1 Limpopo Transboundary Setting

The transfrontier region of southern Africa along the Limpopo River has the potential to create one of the most impressive conservation and development regions in the world, with an area totaling at least 95,700 sq. km. This area has over time been referred to by several labels: ⁶

- The 'GKG' transboundary area. (Gazaland-Mozambique; Kruger-South Africa; Gonarezhou-Zimbabwe).
- The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (The GLTFCA)
- The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP)

The region is a major area of vertebrate diversity, including mammals, fish and birdlife. Flora in this region is equally diverse, with tropical and subtropical communities and with some temperate species occurring at higher altitudes. The Kruger National Park represents a very large area overstocked with some species of wildlife numbers (notably elephant) and subject to a high level of visitation and commercial exploitation. Since South Africa rejoined the international community, large numbers of visitors from around the world have started to enjoy this premier park, in addition to the already high levels of visitation by South African citizens.

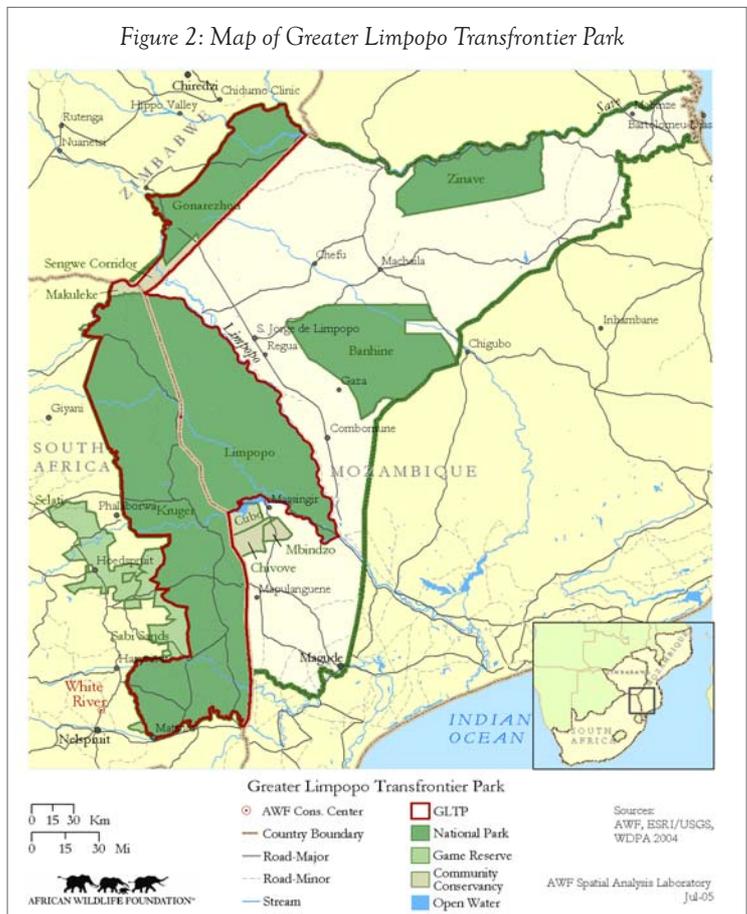
Across the border in southeast Zimbabwe and in Mozambique virtually the opposite conditions prevail. Wildlife and potential visitors are both in short supply. What exist in these two countries however, are large areas of land (with relatively low population densities)

and the willingness to create a larger conservation area. By 'dropping the fences' and other barriers, an opportunity exists to reduce some of the pressures on Kruger and at the same time create new value for the other countries. This scenario offers the prospect of re-establishing wildlife migration routes (especially for elephant and buffalo) and establishing a substantial ecotourism destination that would uplift the regional economy and provide for improved livelihoods of the resident human communities.

Although huge strides have already been made in providing a framework for the transfrontier management of this landscape, it is not widely appreciated that this progress has been almost entirely intergovernmental with very little scope for broader community and civil society participation. The Limpopo transboundary initiative is said to offer the following outstanding opportunities:

- The potential to help leverage huge additional hectares of land for biodiversity conservation.
- The scope to bring an important biodiversity focus to a large and visible process that is likely to be driven mainly by economic and political considerations.

Figure 2: Map of Greater Limpopo Transfrontier Park



- An unparalleled opportunity to test and demonstrate how 'biodiversity banks' such as a large park can be used to restore and replenish a large surrounding area.

4.1.2 Transboundary Community Context

The community context in each country involved in the GLTP varies considerably.

In **Mozambique**, affected communities presently lack the understanding and the rights and institutions to engage the GLTP and the TFCA concepts and process them effectively. The communities are very poor and have little background in CBNRM or experience of rural development initiatives (e.g. popular participation, local government and institutional development related to improving their livelihoods). The fundamental partnership between state and community is being developed at the same time as a state/private sector partnership develops. There is mistrust, insecurity and dependency on the part of local communities. Issues of re-settlement, land and resource rights are not clear around the riverine areas of the Limpopo and other rivers (i.e. Elephants and Singuedeze inside the new LNP are key resource conflict zones).

In **South Africa**, affected communities live outside and adjacent to the long established Kruger National Park. The state sector is both powerful and sympathetic to local communities and its transformation policies now have a proven track record of empowerment through land claims and community-public-private sector partnerships. Communities have pursued and continue to pursue land claims in and around Kruger. Some have secured land and established wildlife-based businesses, such as tourism, to secure and diversify their livelihoods. One key challenge has been to re-form historic communities, often now fragmented, to form stable common property management regimes.

In **Zimbabwe**, affected communities have a strong background in local government, rural development and natural resource management (e.g. through CAMPFIRE). They are still fairly homogenous, low-density, land-based communities that are aware of the GLTP and TFCA and desire to be involved. The Sengwa community resides on a strategic corridor area and is negotiating with the ZWA the parameters of a community contract park that will join Kruger NP with Gonarezhou NP. The state-community-private sector partnership has been disturbed by the recent land reform

upheaval and by insufficient devolution through CAMPFIRE.

4.1.3 Limpopo Transboundary Activities

The Limpopo transboundary area has been the setting for competing approaches. Mozambique, supported by The World Bank, initially promoted a transfrontier conservation area approach (TFCA) whilst South Africa, supported by the Peace Parks Foundation, ultimately promoted a core transfrontier park. The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) has apparently replaced the initial strategic vision of Limpopo TFCA, but it is imperative that these two transboundary approaches are harmonized. Under this scenario, the GLTP could be seen as an anchor project in a bigger TFCA vision where it would be possible to recruit local community involvement and promote a vigorous sustainable development in the region.

Whether the Transfrontier Park presents an end in itself or a means to a wider TFCA is a critical issue. The GLTP, by itself, provides a stage where regional wildlife authorities and environment ministers dominate. The TFCA provides a stage for an integrated landscape management approach where public, community and private sector parties can collaborate and develop a long-term partnership. The GLTP approach has meant that governments have held many technical and political meetings before producing a treaty and joint management plan. While this was some achievement, it left communities and civil society on the sidelines, especially in Mozambique, and some very important issues hanging.

4.1.4 Limpopo Transboundary Community Impacts

Impacts of the Limpopo transboundary initiative on communities identified by (Munthali & Metcalfe, 2002) were:

(i) Conceptual shift from a TFCA to a Transfrontier Park

Establishment of protected areas has, in many past instances, been associated with rural communities being forced off their land and being deprived of access to natural resources. Some advocates of the GLTP prefer seeing communities relocated to areas outside it - a pursuit that is raising temperatures among the communities, donors and NGOs. South Africa's contribution to GLTP initiative is Kruger NNP, a fenced area that has been managed as a Category II protected

area (without human settlements), for over one hundred years. Mozambique and Zimbabwe have yet to find solutions to dealing with resident communities, while South Africa has already enacted land restitution legislation.

Negotiated removal of the Sengwe residents in order to create a contiguous park boundary contradicts the principles of the Zimbabwe's Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), based on sustainable rural development through local management and direct benefits from indigenous wildlife. The South African example of the Makuleke contract park, just across the Limpopo River, shows it is not necessary to turn community lands into public assets in order to create a 'park'. The Makuleke's land claim against the Kruger National Park gave them a contract park whereby they own land inside the new GLTP, setting a precedent other governments are not keen to follow. The Sengwe community, minimally, want the same outcome but it is yet to be seen how far the Zimbabwe authorities will support this position or if they will remain stoically traditional.

For Mozambique, forced removal of local communities from PNL as is presently suggested would be in conflict with the Government's own policy and legislation. For instance, according to Mozambican land law, local communities⁷. The Mozambican National Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife (DNFFB), through the GEF/World Bank TFCA Project, has developed guidelines for partnership among the Government, private sector and local communities in the development and management of wildlife protected areas. The intention is to encourage communities whose user rights are conferred by law, to use land as collateral in entering into such partnerships as one way of contributing to poverty alleviation in the rural areas. Furthermore, it is hard for the Mozambican Government to contemplate evicting communities, previously displaced by civil wars, for the sake of expanding wildlife habitat.

Cernea (1999) outlines a number of risk scenarios that are common when local communities are displaced from their land including landlessness, homelessness, marginalization, increased morbidity and mortality, food insecurity, loss of access to common property and social disintegration.⁸

(ii) Discouragement of a Limpopo Community Transfrontier Forum

During the development of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park the communities were initially encouraged to form a transboundary-working group.

However, when the lack of consultative processes in one country became an issue it was agreed that community issues were national competency issues, not subject to a joint transboundary mandate. At the few meetings between communities that did take place it was apparent that there was a big difference in how far governments took communities into their confidence. While accepting that politicians and technical parties should meet in transboundary forums, it is vital that they also meet with their own community's in-country.

(iii) Translocations of Wildlife from Kruger National Park (KNP) to Parque Nacional do Limpopo (PNL)

As a symbol of trilateral co-operation in the development of the GLTP, South Africa is donating a variety of wildlife species, including elephant, to the PNL where wildlife populations were decimated during the civil wars. While most of these animals are being released in a fenced enclosure, at least 25 elephants were released in the unfenced part of the park during 2001. About 1,000 elephants may be translocated to this park over the next five years. While this exercise draws a lot of international publicity, residents of the PNL feel uncomfortable because of lack of consultation, concern about safety and property and the feeling that community development needs are ignored, in favour of high profile wildlife issues such as translocation of wildlife.

(iv) Fencing of Parque Nacional do Limpopo (PNL) and Sengwe Corridor

Associated with the wildlife relocation is the issue of dropping the KNP fence, which would be essential for re-establishing key ecological functions previously disrupted by artificial barriers. However, the prerequisite to dropping the Kruger fence is the need to fence the entire perimeter of PNL. The justifications for fencing stem from the need to restrict illegal immigrants from Mozambique to South Africa and curtailing wildlife diseases transmittable to livestock (JMP⁹ 2001). However, Mozambique's policy is to vaccinate cattle against diseases such as foot and mouth and only uses fencing in critical disease out-break situations. Besides this, fencing of wildlife areas is an alien concept in Mozambique and where attempted, as at the Maputo Special Reserve, communities were hostile believing it was erected to deny them access to the resources they had depended on (e.g. water supply, thatch grass and traditional medicines) (TFCA Project Annual Report 1998). Similar resentments may erupt if PNL was fenced without community consent on its alignment and

provision of access to critical resources. Although the management plan for PNL demarcates a 5 km wide buffer zone dedicated to community resource use activities, this has not yet been clarified. Consequently vandalizing of the fence and illicit use of the protected resources may happen.

Fencing the Sengwe Corridor to provide connectivity to Kruger seems unnecessary as the narrow strip involved appears more symbolic than real - a tourist rather than a wildlife corridor. (Cesvi, 2002; DNPWLM & AWF, 2002)

(v) Wildlife Diseases

For the purpose of disease control, particularly bovine tuberculosis that is prevalent in KNP, Zimbabwe does not want free movement of animals between Kruger and Gonarezhou. This directly conflicts with the principles of a Transfrontier Park, where people and animals should move freely within the park. Veterinarians in Zimbabwe advocate for a fence that would bar animal movement, but once the link between Kruger and Gonarezhou has been curtailed, the relationship of Gonarezhou with the rest of the GLTP will be less obvious.

In Mozambique some communities living in PNL have livestock. If they remain, wildlife diseases transmittable to livestock may become a major problem once vector species such as wildebeest, warthog, and bushpig become abundant. Local communities might attribute the demise of their livestock to the establishment of the GLTP and then work against the initiative. In South Africa, diseases of major concern are rabies and foot and mouth. The former has not been detected in wildlife in Kruger National Park but is prevalent in domesticated dogs in PNL. The latter disease differs from the form found in buffaloes of Kruger NP, and it is feared that these diseases may become a problem in Kruger once the fence has been removed and (in the case of rabies) if communities opt to remain in PNL. The Joint Management Plan (JMP) for the GLTP does not provide definitive recommendations on how to deal with contagious diseases, casting doubt if the KNP's fence will actually be dropped soon to allow for free movement of animals between different component parts of the GLTP.

(vi) Nebulous Socio-economic Benefits

From a conservation point of view, potential benefits from the GLTP, such as habitat expansion and connectivity are clear and straight forward, but the socio-economic benefits rest on the rather nebulous basis that

ecotourism will become a driving force for local employment, economic growth and community capacity building. The assumption is that since the GLTP includes the well-established and world-famous Kruger NP, which annually attracts about a million local and international visitors, it will serve as a springboard for expanded tourism into other areas of the GLTP. Furthermore, as tourism is the fastest growing global industry (Ashley, 1995; Elliot 2002), it provides a foundation for southern African states to tap into it by developing Transfrontier Parks, fostering regional co-operation in tourism development and marketing. Potential benefits from establishing and developing transfrontier parks are said to include an increase in employment opportunities; stimulation of rural economic development through outsourcing of services to local communities; collection of firewood, medicinal plants and cutting of thatch grass; and that use of agricultural land for conservation will be more beneficial from a financial and employment perspective.

A cursory overview of the current situation and the manner in which the GLTP Park is being developed casts doubts on whether it would indeed provide adequate economic benefits that would substantially contribute to alleviating poverty in rural areas. Besides, the rhetoric of increasing employment opportunities for local communities, existing development and management plans do not take an explicit position on how to incorporate or empower local communities, build their assets and their capacity to tangibly tap into the predicted tourism development opportunities in and around the Transfrontier Park. High illiteracy levels preclude most local communities from high profile and well-paid jobs. The majority can only be employed as labourers; that will hardly compensate for the opportunity cost of losing their land and resource access. The benefits that may accrue from allowable use of natural resources and out-sourcing tourism services to local communities are not compelling and few institutions exist to support communities to engage in these businesses. Failure to engage in sustainable economic activities may lead to mistrust and non-compliance with the park's management principles by the local communities, who stand to bear the highest costs of establishing the GLTP through loss of their land and limited access to natural resources.

For Parque Nacional do Limpopo (PNL), where restocking of wildlife, development of infrastructure, training of staff and attraction of international tourism will take time, the over-stressing the merits of the GLTP on socio-economic benefits from tourism may lead to

an inflation of expectations which, if not met, could necessitate a return to the 'gatekeeper' approach of preservationist conservation. While there is no doubt of the potential of the GLTP to be an international-class tourist attraction, that is no guarantee of equity or sustainability.

vi) Failure to Heed Vital Lessons from Rural Development Experiences

The supposed socio-economic benefits for communities arising from the GLTP are vulnerable because many of the lessons learned from rural development over the past decades have been neglected. These include:

- Popular participation of all parties to a development process should occur so that all interests are articulated to ensure that interest groups can identify with the proposed outcome and share in its realization (benefits and costs) (GTZ 1991)
- Lack of attention to building and maintaining the institutional capacities of the local communities who reside in the GLTP. The willingness and ability of rural people to cooperate with their neighbours to improve their lives is an opportunity for the GLTP not a threat (Krishna, Uphoff and Esman 1997)
- Ignoring the importance of property rights to land and natural resources that help people form the expectations, which they can reasonably hold in their dealings with others. Property rights are a central part of human interaction being a core element of all social institutions (FAO 1992)
- Threatening communities immediate livelihood needs (secure access to land and pasture) while promising an insecure benefit based on an alien land use (tourism).

The present GLTP situation in relation to communities seems regrettable and avoidable but should still be repairable. The communities in question do not expect the impossible; they merely want the trajectory of their livelihoods to be more positive and less negative. The initial TFCA vision linking state and community assets within a shared strategy to attract private sector investment and promote equitable economic growth appeared valid. It now appears threatened by the expansion and consolidation of public sector assets willing to trade with the private sector to the benefit of national and private sector elites. Unless and until the issue of local identity, participation, asset building and direct benefit are put firmly back into the vision and strategy of the GLTP, economic development will be skewed because poverty will not be reduced, local

livelihoods will not be secured and sustainability will be undermined.

Central to this would be the clarification of property rights with respect to ownership and user rights within the GLTP, and ownership and user rights in the multiple use zones of the larger TFCA. Property rights specify the different types of claims people have to resources by specifying what one can and cannot do and what benefits one is entitled to. They also determine long-term incentives to invest in, sustain, and improve resources and shape patterns of equality or inequality with respect to resource access (Berge, 2002;). Acquisition of rights to land and natural resources within the GLTP and larger TFCA by local communities would be one way of building communities' assets and capital, which they could use in negotiating joint partnerships with the private sector in nature-based businesses.

The South African Government agreement¹⁰ with the Makuleke Community to own land within KNP sets the example. They are using the land as capital in joint venture tourism business with private investors from which they can make substantial revenues, which are then used for community development projects. The Mozambican and Zimbabwe Governments could also adopt a similar model for the Sengwe Corridor in Zimbabwe and parts of the LNP in Mozambique. Mozambique's land law (Lei de Terra) provides a framework for this type of model.

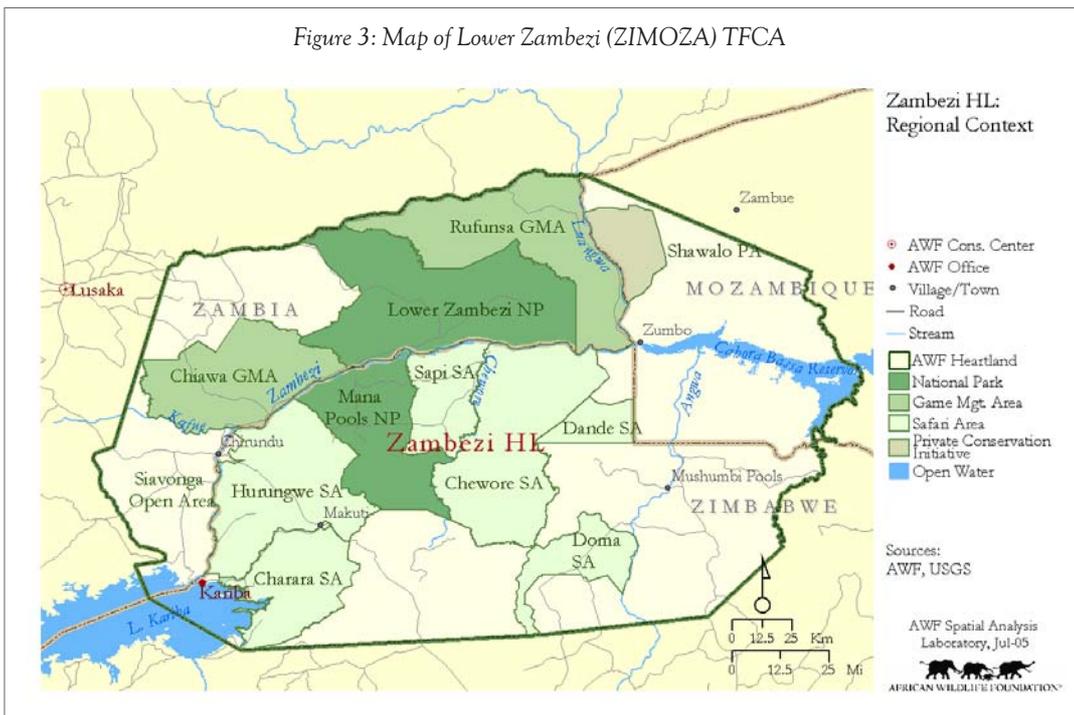
4.2 The Lower Zambezi and ZIMOZA Transboundary Initiative

4.2.1 Lower Zambezi Transboundary Setting

The Zambezi Heartland is a three country, transboundary landscape that includes a rich biological landscape along the Zambezi River stretching from Kariba to Cahora Basa Dams. Geographically, it covers an area of approximately 39,120 km², consisting of 6,495 km² National Parks, 4,885 km² Game Management Areas (GMAs), 11,244 km² Safari Areas, and 16,496 km² of communal land.

In Zimbabwe much of the area is protected including Mana Pools National Park, a World Heritage Site, which is buffered by large public safari areas, leased to the private sector as hunting and tourism concessions (the Charara, Hurungwe, Chewore, Dande and Doma Safari Areas). Communal lands are situated on the periphery of these protected wildlife areas (Hurungwe, Mkwichi and Guruve Communal Lands). The National

Figure 3: Map of Lower Zambezi (ZIMOZA) TFCA



very recently, the black rhino. The potential exists for the endangered black rhino to be relocated back into its natural environment in this Heartland. The area also has an abundant avifauna with over 300 bird species recorded. In addition, the Zambezi River is an important reservoir for freshwater fish resources that include the tiger fish, lungfish, a wide variety of cichlid (tilapias) and cyprinid species, some of which are local endemics and rare species.

Park and Safari Areas are state lands under the jurisdiction of the National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (NPWLMA). The communal areas of Zimbabwe are managed through local authorities and have achieved some success in CBNRM through the Campfire initiative. However, the communal and protected areas have never undertaken collaborative planning at a landscape level.

In Zambia the Lower Zambezi National Park (situated on the north bank of the Zambezi opposite the Mana Pools NP) is a protected wildlife area administered by the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA). It extends across the Lusaka and Luangwa administrative Districts and is flanked by the Chiawa GMA in the west, the Rufunsa GMA in the north and the Luangwa GMA in the east (on the Mozambican border). The GMAs have some measure of wildlife protection and are supposed to act as buffer zones between the parks and open communal areas. They fall under the jurisdiction of local chiefs but ZAWA has a mandate over the wildlife resources.

In terms of biodiversity richness, the protected wildlife areas in the Heartland incorporate some of the most outstanding terrestrial and riverine wildlife viewing and scenic landscape in southern Africa. The Heartland is typified by extended riverine habitat that hosts large elephants herds, hippopotamus, crocodile, lion, leopard, buffalo, a diversity of antelope including kudu, many smaller mammals, reptiles and insects, and until

4.2.2 Lower Zambezi Transboundary Community Context

The site is an important area of transboundary natural resources management, as well as a prime center for community-based natural resource management projects. A core group of community areas in the landscape form the border-zone between Zambia, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. Other human settlements are located on the Zambian side in the north-western section of the landscape. The total human population in the site is approximately 120,000, the majority of which derive their livelihoods from subsistence agriculture and livestock husbandry. Because of the nature of livelihood economic activities, the ecological landscape is threatened by land degradation as a result of forest removal for agriculture, construction timber and fuel, high livestock densities, especially goats, and bush fires set by poachers. The situation is characterized by generally growing population density and weak common property institutions especially in Zambia and Mozambique.

Where the Zambezi River enters Mozambique stand three small border villages with a long-standing relationship between the neighbouring communities. The area was the westward trading post in previous centuries for ivory and gold for both Arab and Portuguese traders. Zambia and Zimbabwe have gazetted protected conservation areas either side of the river in relatively recent times. The Zambezi was impounded at

Kariba in the 1960s and in Mozambique at Cabora Basa in the 1970s. The creation of vast lakes, in addition to the protected lands, had a profound impact on community land use, which included forced resettlement. After decades of official alienation from wildlife resources, the communities in all three countries have now been introduced to CBNRM policies and projects.

Local communities have been involved in community conservation projects in each country. Although, there is no state protected area in the Mozambique border area, Lake Cabora Basa provides a spectacular feature and, despite low wildlife populations, the biodiversity health of the rich flora is excellent. The devolution of land and resource use rights to communities, combined with spectacular wildlife, aesthetic and recreational resources have opened up options for new economic opportunities. These options can be captured through eco-enterprises and community-public-private partnerships.

Intensive encroachment of the riverfront on the Zambian side in Chiawa Community GMA with mushrooming private tourist lodges has occurred in recent times. About 15 private lodges were counted within a stretch of 40 km along the river. These operate on septic tank systems for waste disposal and are, therefore, a likely source of ground water pollution that will contribute to the deterioration of water quality in the river. Information has also been gathered that point to the potential pollution of the river at Chirundu from nutrient-rich effluent discharged from a large, commercial marigold farm on the Zambian side where a lot of fertilizer and pesticides are used.

The exploitation of native fishes using illegal fishing gear has been discussed between technical staff and communities and there are plans to undertake a detailed inventory of fish species in the shared watercourse, assess abundance and recommend a sustainable approach to fishing for commercially important species. A field fisheries resources survey is scheduled to take place during the next activity year. A project officer participated in the setting up of a similar inventory in the Four Corners transboundary aquatic system and will adapt similar methodologies, working with partners to carry out the survey in the Zambezi Heartland.

4.2.3 Lower Zambezi Transboundary Activities

The Lower Zambezi landscape is united by a shared river, fishery, tourism and wildlife resource. The elephant population provides a particular focus as a

transboundary 'umbrella' species. Cooperation between these parks was hindered in the 1970s by Zimbabwe's liberation war and in the early 1990s by intense poaching of the Mana NP black rhino population. In many ways the river has, over the years, provided a barrier to joint management of the shared resources but, in the past few years, positive signs have emerged.

The Lower Zambezi transfrontier landscape has not had the high profile political focus and attention witnessed at the Limpopo site. Communities and technical parties have collaborated in a spirit of cooperation and are slowly building up trust and a shared approach. The ZIMOZA¹¹ Transboundary Initiative aims to improve the management of transboundary natural resources on community lands in Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The communities living in the transboundary area have been helped by NGOs, especially IUCN ROSA, and their local authorities to develop a framework agreement. The agreement is framed as a treaty, like that of the Limpopo area, but ratification depends on the national governments, which, as yet, has not been forthcoming and is a process that could marginalize communities rather than empower them as was intended. This has been a disappointment to the communities who, after a three-year wait, hoped that their community-based transboundary conservation area would be legitimised.

The African Wildlife Foundation, through its African Heartlands Program, has targeted a larger transboundary landscape that incorporates the ZIMOZA initiative and stretches from Kariba Dam to Cabora Basa Lake linking protected and community areas. Land tenure is generally under the control of the public sector or rural communities. Technical and community sectors have worked together, shared perspectives and jointly identified the main conservation targets and the threats they face. They have also identified common strategies aimed at abating environmental threats while addressing community livelihood needs.

The relationship between technical personnel from the transboundary countries is strengthening, manifested through a jointly conceived and endorsed landscape conservation strategy. The relationship between conservation staff and communities is improving as the latter are increasingly involved as an important part of the solution rather than being blamed as the problem. The next stage is to build up the relationship between the private sector and the communities so that conservation and development objectives become more compatible and positive. Until now high-level civil servants and political leaders have

not been very involved but they are aware of the process and sanction it at the level it is presently occurring. As yet there is no formal movement towards a treaty, which was the immediate objective of the Limpopo transfrontier initiative.

Collaborative needs indicated for the future includes simultaneous surveying of wildlife populations and joint assessment of issues like law enforcement, research, training and management. A pressing need is for joint planning, zoning and management of future tourism investments. If the value of the Lower Zambezi is taken as the Zambezi River set in a wildlife wilderness, then it is imperative that the river frontage is not spoiled by development, or that one side develops in such a way as to spoil the other. The river frontage is becoming increasingly valuable and transboundary collaboration between countries and stakeholders is a growing need.

Much of the progress to date has been technical, related to wildlife surveys, disease surveillance, and monitoring of conservation targets. The critical threats to conservation targets in the Zambezi Heartland have been identified as poaching, insufficient regional coordination, incompatible human settlements and agriculture, dam operations and water pollution. Differences in policy, law, management approaches and practices affect the transboundary management of resources in the area. Though there exists some coordination of law enforcement on the ground, the need for regional coordination and collaboration in resource management and planning is considerable. Illegal off-take of wildlife is a major threat in the area and it is further complicated by incidences of cross-border poaching.

A good cooperative base is being developed, one that politicians could soon support and enhance through a general enabling framework.

4.2.4 Lower Zambezi Transboundary Impacts on Communities

The potential to improve rural livelihoods exists if all parties collaborate to develop the potential for a substantial shared tourism destination. This would complement the regional strategy of developing a network of destinations with sufficient mass to make southern Africa a tourism growth zone for decades to come. Communities do not have the natural, human or financial resources to realize this by themselves but, combined with the extensive protected areas, they could be well placed to attract investment. Given land and

resource rights, and help to use and manage them, they could become full partners in the economic and socio-political landscape. But first the communities, states and the private sector have to establish a successful co-management partnership. Without an enabling framework they would remain on the periphery of the tourism destination and benefit only through their labour and any goods and services they might provide.

Tourist activities are growing, especially in Zambia, and need shaping through active transboundary collaboration. The public, private and community sectors need to increasingly work together for mutual ends. Communities at site level need space to explore the social and economic possibilities. National authorities can meet and plan more easily than communities and need to be assisted to participate in consultative forums if they are to be active rather than reactive participants. Relationships within each country need to be well established before those between countries, and big disparities between national policies need to be avoided. The rights and responsibilities local communities also have to be clear and secure before positive partnerships with the private sector can be established.

Increased support for a landscape scale approach is a major challenge particularly in relation to the different regulations and conservation practices in the different sovereign countries. One focus in the area is to facilitate mechanisms for collaboration among the different stakeholders in order to enhance the connectivity between key areas of this vast landscape. Exchange visits are viewed as being extremely helpful in facilitating linkages between stakeholders and in promoting commitment to landscape scale conservation. The AWF facilitation team has established draft operational MOUs between itself and the respective government conservation agencies to facilitate collaboration between the three wildlife authorities carrying out conservation activities on the local level.

The contrast with Limpopo is that the central state sector is not dominating and leaving others behind. The technical sector is allowed to collaborate and identify issues. In the process the community sector has benefited from national CBNRM policies and has been allowed to collaborate across borders and with their public sector technical partners. There is some way to go but the sense of participation and phased build-up is encouraging. Communities experience national level problems related to CBNRM but these have not been made worse by the transboundary context. As yet the

transboundary initiative is not making a positive impact but the signs are positive.

4.3 The Upper Zambezi 'Four Corners' Transboundary Initiative

4.3.1 Upper Zambezi Transboundary Setting

The Four Corners transboundary landscape covers an area of approximately 290,000 km² including eastern Caprivi Strip in Namibia, Ngamiland in Botswana, Hwange District in Zimbabwe and parts of Southern and Western Provinces in Zambia. National parks and wildlife reserves in the area include Chobe and Moremi in Botswana; Mamili, Mudumo and Bwabwata in Namibia; Mosi-Oa-Tunya and Sioma Ngwezi in Zambia; Hwange and Zambezi in Zimbabwe. National parks and other protected areas (Safari Areas, Game Management Areas, Forest Reserves, Conservancies and Moremi Wildlife Reserve) constitute about 40% of the total area. The Four Corners TBNRMA is a prime wildlife and tourism area and forms one of the most important terrestrial and fresh water ecosystems in Africa. Furthermore, the area holds the highest number of

African elephants and is home to one of the greatest wonders of the natural world - the Victoria Falls.

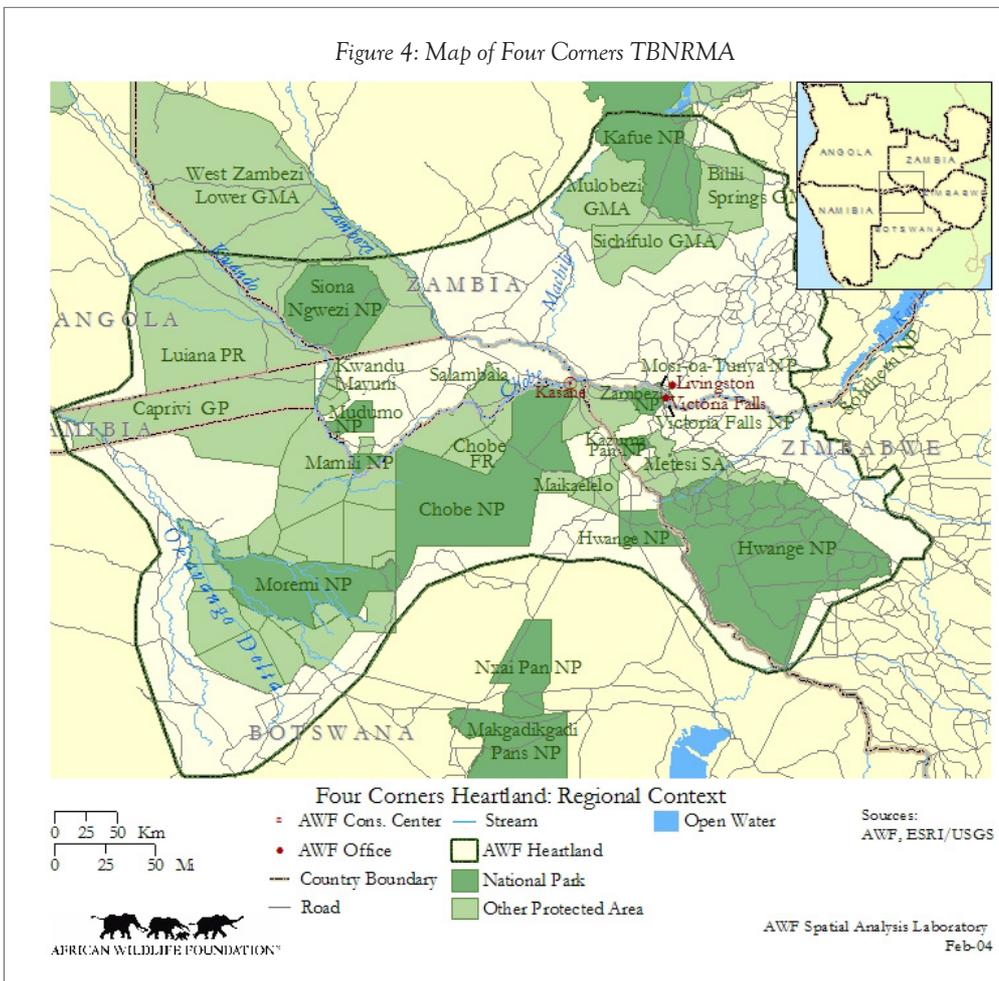
The Zambezi River, with a total catchment area of 142 million hectares, is the major drainage system and forms one of the major features of the Four Corners Project area ecosystem. Mopane (*Colophospermum mopane*) and teak (*Baikiaea plurijuga*) constitutes the major vegetation groups followed by Miombo (dominated by trees in the genera *Brachystegia*, *Julbernardia* and *Isoberlinia*). Other vegetation types in this vast transboundary landscape are riparian woodland, *Combretum* and *Terminalia* thickets and, not the least, grassland. The vegetation types of Chobe and east Caprivi wetlands comprise floodplains and permanent seasonal swamps.

The 'Four Corners' area has over the past three years been supported by a project funded by USAID's Regional Center for Southern Africa (RCSA) and implemented by the AWF. Whereas this is not the only transboundary initiative in the area it has been a high profile project aimed at increasing cooperation in the management of shared natural resources, primarily aquatic and wildlife. AWF supports the desire to

conserve globally significant biodiversity within the Four Corners TBNRMA for cultural, economic and ecological benefit.

A landscape, (Heartland in AWF terms), is a loosely defined area where AWF and partners address landscape level conservation - promoting and supporting integrated land management for biodiversity conservation and livelihood development over large areas (including protected areas, private land, community and 'trust' land) defined by habitat, seasonal and movement needs of key wildlife species. AWF with its partners, government, community, private sector and technical specialists, has established a number of key conservation targets in the TBNRMA¹².

Figure 4: Map of Four Corners TBNRMA



The Zambezi River

One of Africa's great rivers, a substantial portion of the upper catchment is in the Four Corners TBNRMA. The river, its tributaries, wetlands and riparian habitats constitute the major natural resource component that drives the Four Corners TBNRMA ecosystem.

The Woodland – Grassland Mosaic

The Four Corners TBNRMA is characterized by Miombo woodlands interspersed with grasslands and supporting distinct vegetation types (i.e. Riparian, Teak, Mopane, Miombo and Acacia)

Transboundary partners, have established desirable goals for these targets and analyzed the threats they face. It is critical that investments in conservation strategies at sites be focused on the abatement of the most critical threats rather than those of lesser destructive nature that are easier to address or for which funding was provided. For taking corrective action, the *source* should be the focus of threat abatement strategies, under the assumption that abatement of the source will alleviate the stress and result in higher viability and health of the conservation target(s). The critical threats to the Four Corners TBNRMA environmental targets have been assessed as: incompatible human settlements; commercial agriculture in key wildlife areas; subsistence agriculture; poor fire management; poaching; overpopulation and uneven distribution of elephants in some parts; and, in some parts, wood collection for firewood and construction.

4.3.2 Upper Zambezi Transboundary Community Context

The transboundary landscape in proprietorial terms is a mosaic of state (e.g. national park, forest, etc.) and community controlled areas cross cut with private sector use rights (e.g. hunting, logging, tourist concessions, etc.). Governments tend to have over-riding powers regarding the allocation of resources, costs and benefits, monitoring and rule making. The relationship between state and community is a form of co-management and that with the private sector a concessional right (state land) or form of joint venture (community land).

Tourism is one of the most promising options for the economic and social development of the region. All sectors, private, public and community, have a huge stake in the sustainable development of natural resource based industries, including tourism. Whereas the public and communal sectors have access to land they need to

partner the private sector, which has access to capital and management expertise. The trade off between those who have the land rights and the private sector has to be achieved within a framework that provides efficient, equitable and sustainable returns.

The opportunity exists for economic growth but unless that occurs in a 'fair' and 'green' way is will not be sustainable in socio-political or ecological terms. The public sector needs resources to meet its responsibilities, the communal sector needs resources to make a living and the private sector needs return on investment to make it worth their while. Tourism driven economic development can be a positive driving force for TBNRMA cooperation but be negative if community and public sectors do not receive the benefits they require to improve livelihoods and ensure good governance and ecological sustainability.

In order to balance the needs and wants of the three sectors, within and between countries, it requires that stakeholders meet regularly and share information and knowledge of the TBNRMA context in a transparent manner. The project works to develop multi-sectoral partnerships so that the personal stakes of the stakeholders become inter-twined in such a way that cooperation becomes institutionalized, locally, regionally and internationally. Once the process of cooperation is embedded it will be in the interests of all to maintain a peaceful, law abiding and openly collaborative approach. This cannot come easily given CPP and inter-state relations in the TBNRMA.

Most communities at present live well outside the cutting edges of the global economy. Many governments are unsure how to engage positively with a private sector that is rapidly becoming regional and transnational. Some governments find it hard to distinguish communities from the public sector itself because of insecure tenurial rights and the partial nature of devolution of governance. Communities are not united rural land companies and disputes exist over governance and resource access, and issues of democracy, individual and gender rights.

Tourism as an industry is a dramatically different livelihood option following on from centuries of pastoralism, subsistence agriculture and, more recently, migratory labor. It emanates from the elite capitalist countries and although it pays it can be perceived as a form of imperialism and source of national and local alienation. Communities in the TBNRMA need orientation through education, training and

information to engage with a global industry in a transboundary context.

4.5.3 Upper Zambezi Transboundary Activities

Through a USAID funded project, AWF has been able to pay attention to community conservation and enterprise issues. Since 1990 a number of positive developments for communities have occurred. AWF has focused on community natural resource enterprises as a core feature of involving communities living in the transboundary area and helping improve livelihoods in strategic wildlife movement areas. The process takes an asset building approach involving the following aspects (Ford Foundation, 2002):

- Financial assets improved by enterprise development financing
- Community land and natural resources harnessed to provide the basis for viable community business ventures
- Sustainable NRM to ensure stable quality of stocks of natural resources
- Capacity building of NR governance institutions to ensure efficient and equitable use
- Human resources improved to ensure effective use of common property resources, product design, production and marketing
- Efficient conservation business ventures provide income and capital accumulation.
- Enhanced collaboration between community areas related to management as well as production and marketing of natural resources
- Policy, regulatory and economic incentives strengthened to facilitate wider adoption of sustainable land use practices across sectors
- Enhanced collaboration between local government and national land, environment and natural resource sectors
- Enhanced collaboration between community, public and private sectors
- Enhanced interaction between protected and community areas to create conservation and development synergies between communities, protected area authorities and the private sector.

Development of community conservation business enterprises involves a step-by-step process starting with business scoping, identification of priority business, through development of business plans to gaining approvals from relevant authorities for development of those businesses. This has resulted in the development

of a number of activities in the four countries. The project has supported several community-based organizations to develop resource management and business plans as well as helped raise investment finance for such schemes as sport fishing camps and tourist lodges in Zimbabwe and Botswana. In Zambia, the 'Four Corners' activity led by AWF has supported communities, through their traditional chiefdoms, to establish land trusts that would be capable of entering partnerships with the private sector in a planned co-management approach. In Botswana, the project has been able to support a community umbrella association, BOCOBONET, to represent Botswana CBOs involved in NRM and give it resources to provide capacity building services to its membership.

The project has also been able to assist the development of a regional community forum. Traditional and civic leaders from 14 communities living in the transboundary area signed an MOU to address conservation policy and practice issues; share natural resource management challenges; and advocate jointly for the empowerment of communities in regard to land and resource rights and their inclusion in transboundary developments

A transboundary legal working group has been formed to: audit policies and regulations on NRM and conservation business ventures (CBVs); conduct a comparative analysis of policies and laws, including SADC protocols, and recommend on harmonization needs; investigate and determine ownership of disputed community areas; prepare agreements and by-laws on NRM and CBVs; audit various institutions; raise awareness of policies and legislation in the region; prepare founding documents for community institutions e.g. trusts; and facilitate provision of legal advisory services to communities including conflict resolution.

Three editions of a Four Corners newsletter have been distributed to a network of some 500 parties and a Four Corners Heartland and a website has been developed (www.awf.org/fourcorners). Communities typically tend to lag behind in access to information on transboundary activities and the community forum and the newsletter help to redress this.

4.5.4 Upper Zambezi Transboundary Impacts on Communities

The Four Corners initiative has helped political, technical and civil society (communities and NGOs)

sectors participate fairly equally in transboundary activities. This has enabled an appreciation of the various interests and perspectives involved.

Within the political sector, early attempts to secure an MoU providing a framework of agreement in principle to cooperate more actively on transboundary issues did not happen. The aim was to secure the involvement of the four Permanent Secretaries responsible for environment, wildlife and tourism. It proved difficult to get all together at the same time. The fact that the Four Corners initiative was donor driven and NGO led rather than arising out of the political sector was also a difficulty. Some of the countries involved felt they had not been adequately consulted by the donor and therefore did not accept the priority. At the start Zimbabwe's Wildlife Directorate and Environment Ministry provided leadership. The Zambian counterparts responded but the inclusion of Namibia and Botswana did not happen. At the time Zimbabwe's tourism industry was suffering and there might have been a sense in some of the countries that it was not politically an opportune time for Zimbabwe to be leading a high profile regional initiative. Also, there was another tourism and private sector initiative 'OUZIT' (Okavango, Upper Zambezi International Tourism) being promoted by the Development Bank of Southern Africa that has become a SADC Tourism Sector project. SADC has several sectors relevant to the transboundary initiative - wildlife, tourism, water, and fisheries- and there was uncertainty, which was the lead. In the case of Limpopo the transboundary activity was led by the wildlife sector under the SADC wildlife protocol. The 'Four Corners' Transboundary Initiative funded by USAID and implemented by AWF has operated without an over-riding political agreement but has nevertheless made progress in increasing cooperation in the management of shared resources in ecological, enterprise, policy and information aspects.

Within the Technical Sector, considerable transboundary collaboration has occurred within the wildlife, fisheries and tourism sectors. In particular, the fisheries sector has collaborated to the point of virtually making operational the SADC fisheries protocol at the Upper Zambezi site level. As such it stands as an example of how a regional grouping can use the regional SADC structure in practical terms. The Wildlife Sector has also collaborated in specific instances rather than generally. Of note has been the cooperation in mapping out wildlife movement areas and land use conflicts thus providing the basis for a transboundary

framework for the securing these areas. The Wildlife Sector has a long history of collaborating on elephant and CITES issues and many of the wildlife technical authorities are used to meeting and working together. Likewise the Tourism Authorities have increasingly been collaborating and the OUZIT project has probably been more a driving force than the Four Corners project.

Within the civil society sector, the Four Corners project has been able to brief the tourism private sector, NGOs and communities on transboundary activities by facilitating national level briefing meetings for parties in the transboundary area. The project has been able to support communities on three levels: the formation of a transboundary community forum; specific community-based conservation businesses; and information dissemination. The negative impacts most communities experience from related to natural resources and tourism can be said to more a consequence of national level policies and programs than transboundary activities. This is probably because there has been no attempt by any party to promote a concept of a transboundary park that might threaten community land ownership. Rather the attempt has been to work on collaboration between park and community land and between statutory (wildlife, fisheries, tourism) and local authorities and communities. The vision has never yet been to develop a super park but rather a landscape including parks and multiple use areas that can develop sustainably using natural resources as the platform.



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Endnotes

² The African Wildlife Foundation has adopted a landscape (or Heartland in AWF terminology) approach in its mission to conserve the wild lands and wildlife of Africa. Five of the seven landscapes it presently supports are in transboundary settings where it works with all the landscape stakeholders (protected areas, communities, private sector, NGOs, universities) through an iterative and adaptive landscape planning process.

³ Transboundary Parks are wildlife conservation areas with common international boundaries managed as a single unit by an individual authority comprising representatives of the participating countries

⁴ Transfrontier Conservation Areas are cross-border regions where the different component areas have different forms of conservation status, such as national parks, private game reserves, communal natural resource management areas and even hunting concession areas.

⁵ Transboundary Natural Resources Management (TBNRM) as any process of collaboration across boundaries that increases the effectiveness of attaining a Natural Resource Management or Biodiversity Conservation goal(s).

⁶ The GLTP is now a reality and is said to be an ecological and economic anchor that will enable the development overtime of the GL-TFCA.

⁷ Local communities in the Land Law of Mozambique are defined as a group of families and individuals at a locality, or lower level, including the residential and agricultural fields, whether they are being tilled or under fallow, forests, places of cultural importance, pastures, water fountains and areas of expansion.

⁸ **Landlessness:** expropriation of land removes the main foundation on which people build productive systems, commercial activities and livelihoods. This is the main form of de-capitalization and pauperization of the people who are displaced because both natural and man-made capital is lost.

Homelessness: loss of housing and shelter may be only temporary for many people, but for some it remains a chronic condition. In a broader cultural sense, homelessness is also loss of a group's cultural space and identity and or cultural impoverishment.

Marginalisation: occurs when relocated families lose economic power and slide towards lesser socio-economic positions: middle income farm-households become small land-holders; small shopkeepers and craftspeople lose business and fall below poverty thresholds, and so on.

Increased morbidity and mortality: vulnerability to illness is increased by forced relocation, which tends to be associated with increased stress, psychological traumas, and outbreak of parasitic and vector-borne diseases. Serious decreases in health levels may result from unsafe water supply and sewage systems.

Food insecurity: forced uprooting diminishes self-sufficiency, dismantles local arrangements for food supply, and thus increases the risk that people may fall into chronic food insecurity, i.e. calorie-protein intake levels below the minimum necessary for normal growth and work.

Loss of access to common property: poor farmers, particularly those without assets, suffer a loss of access to the common property goods belonging to communities that are relocated (e.g. loss of access to forests, water bodies, grazing lands, etc.). This represents a form of income loss and livelihood deterioration that is typically and usually uncompensated when communities are being displaced.

Social disintegration: the dismantling of community structures and social organization, the dispersion of informal and formal networks, local associations, etc. is a massive loss of social capital. Such disintegration undermines livelihoods in ways uncounted and unrecognized by planners, and is among the most pervasive causes of enduring disempowerment and impoverishment.

⁹ Joint Management Plan

¹⁰ MOU between Makuleke Community and South African Government, 1998

¹¹ ZIMOZA – Zimbabwe (Kanyemba), Mozambique (Uzamba), Zambia (Luangwa) – describes the collaboration between 3 districts in the 3 countries.

¹² **The Zambezi River.** One of Africa's great rivers, a substantial portion of the upper catchment is in the Four Corners TBNRMA. The river, its tributaries, wetlands and riparian habitats constitute the major natural resource component that drives the Four Corners TBNRMA ecosystem.

- **The woodland – grassland mosaic.** The Four Corners TBNRMA is characterized by Miombo woodlands interspersed with grasslands and supporting distinct vegetation types (i.e. Riparian, Teak, Mopane, Miombo and Acacia)
- **Wetlands.** Wetlands in the TBNRMA are critical to the maintenance and natural functioning of the river systems and constitute important habitats for aquatic and terrestrial biodiversity.
- **Native fishes.** Rich species diversity occurs in the Chobe, Okavango and Upper Zambezi aquatic habitats.
- **Animal and bird species.** The area is endowed with over 80 species of mammals. A number of these benefit from having a large area to move across, especially the elephant, buffalo, waterbuck, zebra, giraffe, wildebeest, impala, kudu, eland, roan, sable, hartebeest and not least, large carnivores such as lion, hyena, wild dog and leopard. The Four Corners TBNRMA, with 120,000 elephants, hosts the largest contiguous population of this species in the world.

The project work in Kazungula Heartland was supported by



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Buitenlandse Zaken

This Publication is funded by the Netherlands
Ministry of Foreign Affairs/Directorate General
for International Cooperation (DGIS).



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