

SITUATED ENGAGEMENT:
A CRITIQUE OF WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT
AND POST - COLONIAL DISCOURSE

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Situated engagement: a critique of wildlife management and post-colonial discourse

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Abstract

A review of the literature informed by fieldwork in Australia, Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is used as the basis of a critique of wildlife management and post-colonial discourse. It is argued that many of the concepts and practices that dominate wildlife management are firmly embedded in Eurocentric epistemologies that are falsely assumed to be universally applicable. This assumption justifies imposition of concepts and practices such as wildlife, management, conservation, development, co-management, community-based natural resource management and traditional ecological knowledge. Although this informs what is seen as a well-intentioned post-colonial discourse, it in fact masks the reimposition of colonising relationships.

Critical discussion of what is meant by 'wildlife' and 'management' identifies the beliefs that underlie the concepts and practices of wildlife management and the way they are internally related to colonising processes. Wildlife management, therefore, is constantly at risk of reinforcing colonising relationships, and limiting imaginaries and realities by straight-jacketing thought and action within a 'hall of mirrors' – within the boundaries set by the Eurocentric belief that things are binarised as either society or nature, human or animal, wild or tame/domestic, and must be either conserved or developed through management. Throughout the thesis, glimpses into multiple knowledges, and experiences of resisting and being, are drawn from fieldwork and literature sources. These glimpses unsettle and challenge the assumed universality of dominant wildlife management approaches, and show that Eurocentric beliefs and practices are neither universal nor all-powerful.

Situated engagement is introduced as an approach that addresses both the concepts and practices of wildlife management and the multiple worlds that wildlife management silences, ignores, devalues and undermines. Situated engagement is not a new management framework, but offers an approach to guide interactions in specific material, conceptual and discursive places. Ultimately, the thesis argues that engaging in these situated places meets the challenges of contemporary circumstances by recognising, imagining and realising possibilities that are unimaginable within the hall of mirrors.

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Highlighter: A South East Lowveld CAMPFIRE Newsletter. Vol 1. February 1998.

List of abbreviations

AIATSI	Australia Institute for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies
ART	Africa Resources Trust
BKCMB	Beverly-Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board
BSAC	British South Africa Company
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Plan For Indigenous Resources
CASS	Centre for Applied Social Sciences
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CCA	Comprehensive Claims Agreement
CCG	Campfire Collaborative Group
CITES	Convention in International Trade in Endangered Species
CKGR	Central Kalahari Game Reserve
CWM	Community-based Wildlife Management
DNPWLM	Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
IFA	Inuvialuit Final Agreement
IGC	Inuvialuit Game Council
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IRDNC	Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
IWGIA	International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs
JBNQA	James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement
JMB	Joint Management Body
KGNP	Kalahari Gemsbok National Park
KNP	Kruger National Park

LIFE	Living In a Finite Environment
MET	Ministry for Environment and Tourism
NAC	Napranum Aboriginal Corporation
NACC	Napranum Aboriginal Community Council
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NSW	New South Wales
RAAF	Royal Australian Air Force
RDC	Rural District Council
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SADF	South African Defence Force
SANP	South African National Parks
SASI	South African San Institute
TEK	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
TLC	Transitional Local Council
USA	United States of America
WMAC	Wildlife Management Advisory Council
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
Zimtrust	Zimbabwe Trust

Preface: reading this text



Initially, this thesis was informed by Honours research in the Napranum Aboriginal community in northern Australia and a belief that co-management was a possible solution and direction for more just and effective outcomes (part of a post-colonial discourse). As such my PhD research focussed on wildlife management and looked for lessons from overseas for Aboriginal communities in Australia, in particular Napranum.



However, PhD research in Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Napranum and reading for and writing this thesis has moved the thesis to a critique of wildlife management and post-colonial discourse. Co-management, community-based natural resource management, traditional ecological knowledge – many of the concepts and practices of wildlife management – are now seen to be reimposing and reinforcing colonising relationships.



I hope that this thesis not only takes you through this journey, but by convincing you of the dangers of the epistemological dominance of wildlife management, it encourages what to me is seen as a need for people to engage with each other in situated places – what I term situated engagement. In doing this specific, contextualised knowledges can be recognised and wildlife management and other Eurocentric concepts and practices which are assumed to be universal, can be unsettled, challenged and opened up to unimaginable possibilities.

Acknowledgments: accounting for knowledges

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Michele Ivanitz introduced me (from across the oceans) to the incredible worlds of Whitefish Lake First Nation. Through the acceptance of Chief Eddie Tallman, Cameron Henry from the Government of Alberta and Cliff Hickey at the Canadian Circumpolar Institute (my field supervisor for my time in Edmonton and Whitefish Lake – the Institute also provided me with much appreciated space and computer facilities), I was able to spend 2 weeks in Atikameg (another name by which Whitefish Lake is known).

During my time in Atikameg the community placed incredible trust in me by welcoming and accepting me so warmly and by sharing their knowledges and lives with someone who could only spend too short a time with them. Chief Eddie Tallman welcomed me to Atikameg and gave up precious time to not only teach me about the community and what has been achieved but to treat me as a friend. Pat and Linda Gray and their family took me under their wings and not only taught me about bear pooh jam and how to smoke fish, but showed me the peace of a log cabin candle lit dinner, the backside of a black bear trundling down the road, how to make a moose horn, pick the most delicious berries, taste the most incredible moose meat and sisip micimapoy, warn me about the relative dangers of bears, dogs and councillors, and together with Marcelle Gareau, share with me one of the most amazing experiences of my life – watching, feeling and hearing the 'spirits dancing in the sky'. Joseph Tallman spoke to me with his amazing words of wisdom and insight and taught me so much through telling me of his life of experiencing and learning. Bennett let me enter a special world of treasured and unimagined experiences, and Russell Grey – 'the bullshitter' – took me on the most tranquil of boat trips. Marcelle shared her experiences, insights and advice and together with Heather welcomed me as the third member of snug bugs in rugs in the basement. Dave Natcher drove me to and from Atikameg and helped me with ideas and support.

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Without the support of people and organisations from Napranum I could never have achieved what I did during my overseas fieldwork. The needs and aspirations of Napranum formed the foundation of this research. The support of Napranum Aboriginal Corporation (NAC), Napranum Aboriginal Community Council (NACC), and people from Napranum who allowed me to show my photographs overseas, legitimised my project and allowed me to give people something back from Australia (thanks to Bruce Rigby for the idea of taking photos and presentation materials with me).

The strings that were attached to my heart after Honours fieldwork (Jan-Feb 1994) and then a year of work back in Napranum (1996) were further tightened after 3 months of PhD research in Napranum and Weipa. As usual I not only had a special time with people but through community events, going out bush, talking and laughing, working in the community and interacting, reporting back and speaking with people I learnt so much. Again, NAC and NACC sponsored and supported my work. To the Chairs at the time – Ron and Bella, councillors, committee members and Chief Executive

Officers – Grant and Sandy, I thank you for your trust and support. Bella and Florrie gave me so much of their own time, and made me feel welcome and worthwhile. Atakani, Beatrice Gordon, Buwith, Golpandan, Ina Hudson, Jean George, Kwingy, Mathawanh, Unumbree, Thancoupie and all their families cared for and nurtured me in intellectual, emotional and spiritual ways. Fiona and Cheryl became special friends. Staff of Comalco and other organisations and companies, especially Michael, Sue and Sean embraced and supported my work. People in Napranum have given me so much by letting me enter and re-enter their worlds. Through the processes and outcomes of this PhD I hope something of this has and can be given back.

Without scholarships and grants from the Australian Postgraduate Award, the Macquarie University Research Fund, the School of Earth Sciences, the Department of Human Geography and the Australian Institution for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies (AIATSIS) I could not have undertaken my PhD with such security and freedom. Having the financial security of being able to go overseas and conduct work knowing my account was never quite empty was vital to the success of the fieldwork. My research in Canada and Southern Africa was supported from three main sources. My day-to-day living allowance was drawn from my Federal Government Australian Postgraduate Research Award Scholarship. A Macquarie University Postgraduate Research Fund grant and the School of Earth Sciences covered my airfare and the Department of Human Geography covered my travel insurance. My times in Napranum were supported by a grant from AIATSIS (fieldwork and post-PhD report visit). AIATSIS and especially Francesca have really eased the passage of my Australian fieldwork and post-contact interactions with Napranum by being so flexible, user-friendly and caring.

The interactions I have had with people whilst based in Sydney have been invaluable in motivating and inspiring my work. The Department of Human Geography and Department Head Bob Fagan have always ensured that space and logistical support were never an issue. Margaret's practical support together with her creative stimulation in terms of formatting and layout (so needed when certain creative juices are drained by writing and thinking) have really helped me through the final writing up frenzy. Judy's assistance with maps and figures have helped me realise what I imagined the thesis may be.

To people who have returned to my project or entered it anew I must thank you for your emails, proof readings, commenting and suggesting. Geoff Perrott, Conrad Steenkamp, Sam Nethengwe and the always patient and giving Karine, your up-dates and suggestions have certainly enriched my work. Richard, Yola, Zoë, Sophie and Tim's wonderfully ruthless comments have made me clarify and strengthen my 'waffle'.

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Always with me on my various journeys and steering them onto richer and deeper levels is the ever-present support of those who unconditionally accept what you must do.

Venessa, my spiritual sister, what would I do without you? To have someone who truly and deeply cares about all aspects of my journeys, who can relate to what I'm doing and why, who is there whenever I need her in whatever form (be it horrendous phone bills or moral support across the oceans), I am truly blessed to have met you.

Throughout my life my parents have provided the moral foundation for how I view the world. They are the most thoughtful and caring people and I would not be whom I am, where I am and certainly could not have undertaken this research were it not for Mum and Dad's unconditional love, support and encouragement. Throughout my fieldwork my parents provided a base in Sydney from which practical and emotional support ceaselessly flowed. Throughout the writing up, their understanding

(honed during the Honours 'experience'), proof reading and slide scanning expertise, together with their enthusiasm for what I'm doing was invaluable. It is mainly through my parents that I've been able to know my grandparents, whose love, morals and humour has guided, cared for and inspired my work even in their physical absence.

Chris, you were an unimaginable possibility at the beginning of this PhD. Meeting you and then returning to you during my fieldwork altered my journeys in many ways. The overwhelming array of new emotions has made me look at the world in entirely new ways, they have helped me realise how precious life is and how all that many people want is the freedom and right to 'enjoy' their own lives, and not have those lives judged by people who do not understand them. In your physical absence, you never let me waver from fulfilling my responsibilities and obligations; your physical presence has enabled a smoother, more focused writing up period as well as a 'chilled out' proof reading and printing finale. Having been through the trials and tribulations of writing this thesis, I look forward to sharing the untold possibilities that await us.

My relationship with Richie stretches back 7 years. Throughout this time Richie has not only nurtured my intellectual journeys, but has helped interweave those with emotional, spiritual and physical aspects of my life. The enriched tapestry that this has formed has pushed the PhD, this thesis and the possibilities they open up to places I never imagined were possible. Richie moves the role of a supervisor beyond someone solely interested in the defined PhD degree to someone who listens, respects, cares, gives, loves. Despite his own hectic schedule, throughout this PhD Richie has had to endure weeks whilst I was overseas without hearing from me and wondering whether I was still actually doing research or if I'd run away to some distant corner never to be heard from again. He has supported me with motivational and inspiring emails, for intellectual as well as emotional direction, and has done some vital shopping for me in reply to certain SOS emails. Most importantly he has given me the opportunity to do this PhD with someone whose vision, insight, devotion and care is unique and so special to me. He has constantly unsettled and challenged me and helped move my thinking and the thesis to entirely new places. I look forward to journeys beyond the thesis in which our 'conversations' continue to flourish.

Declaration

This thesis is submitted in accordance with the requirements for a Doctorate of Philosophy at Macquarie University.

I hereby certify that this work is my own and has not in part or in its entirety been previously submitted for a higher degree to any other institution,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Suchet', with a long, sweeping horizontal stroke underneath.

Sandra Suchet

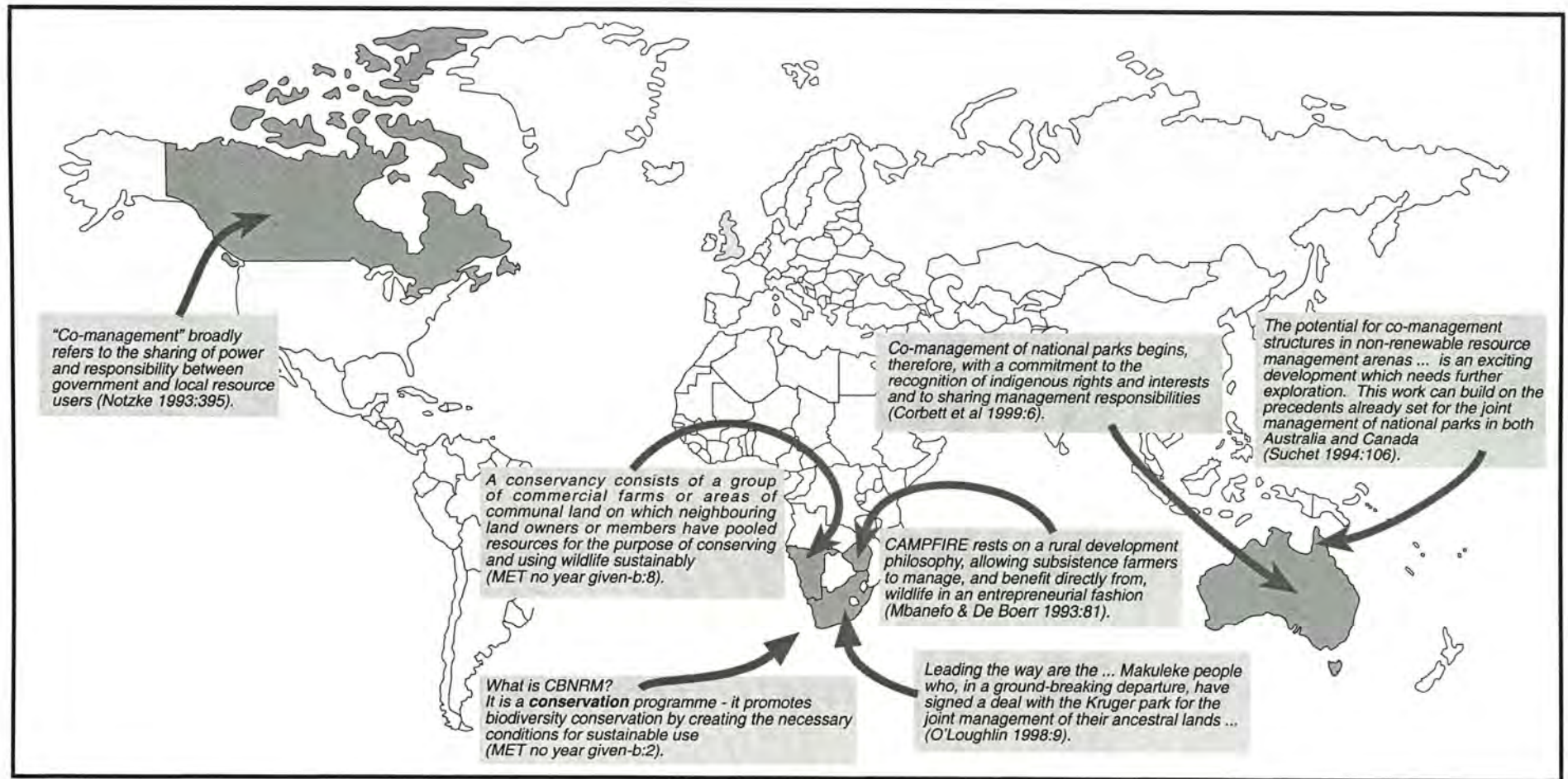


Figure 1 ↔ 4
Disembodied and dis-engaged understanding of places



1. Engaging with the situations

Focussing ...

Argument and outcomes: wildlife management, post-colonial discourse and situated engagement

Wildlife management is widely seen as an issue of importance in environmental, scientific and development discourses. For many local and indigenous groups around the world, wildlife management offers opportunities for participation in decisions that affect themselves, their place in the world, as well as country¹. Drawing several discourses, wildlife management has been refined into approaches such as co-management, joint management and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM). In particular, scientific discourses of ecology and conservation biology, environmentalist discourses of conservation, preservation and sustainability, and seductive development discourses of planning and management, have shaped wildlife management initiatives that hold out promise of recognition of local group's Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK), participatory development and rights (see figure 1↔4).

From earlier research (Suchet 1996, 1994), I concluded that for Aboriginal people at Napranum on Cape York Peninsula (see map 1), co-management models and approaches to resource management could result in recognition of their vast knowledge by scientists, industry workers, bureaucrats, conservationists and the wider community, could greatly improve local circumstances, and could contribute towards meeting people's aspirations. During a period of employment in 1996 as Acting Director of Cultural Programs for a local Aboriginal organisation, Napranum Aboriginal Corporation (NAC), I therefore set out to identify ways of pursuing community aspirations through wildlife management, and consulted with people in Napranum about a topic for my PhD project. This topic crystallised into a review of international experience of indigenous peoples' rights and wildlife management, specifically in Canada and Southern Africa, in order to identify lessons and precedents for

¹ Country is an Aboriginal English word not only indicating a special relationship to a place, but extending to include interrelationships between humans, land, sea, rivers, animals, estuaries etc. It is used here to avoid the separation implicit in words such as nature or environment and is explored in more detail further in the thesis.

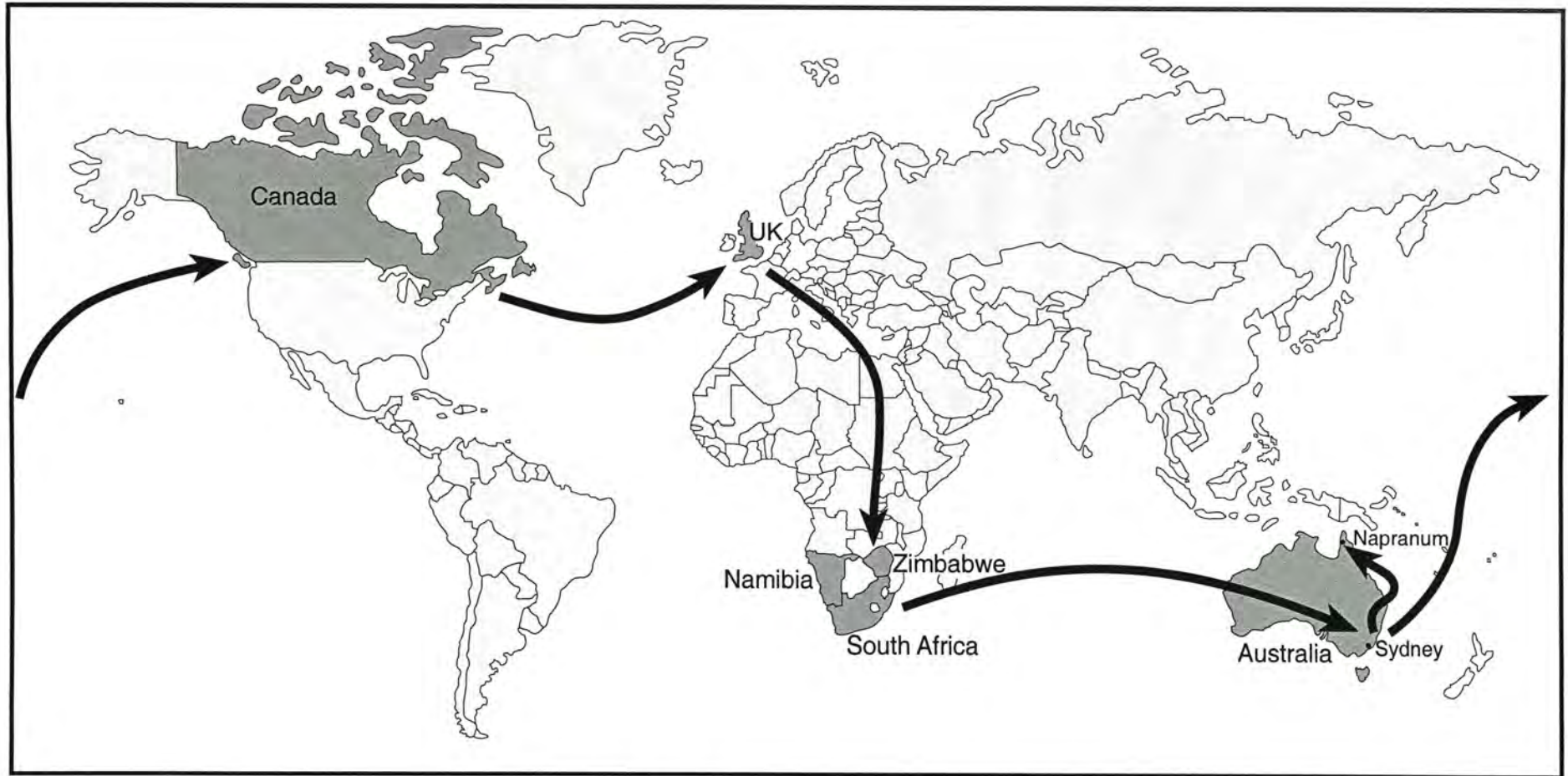
Napranum. Broad terms of reference for the project were discussed with NAC and the Napranum Aboriginal Community Council (NACC), and plans and preparations were set in motion.

The research that is reported in this thesis is quite different from the project originally envisaged. In seeking to identify lessons and precedents for Napranum during research in Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and Napranum (see map 1), I have been drawn to question many fundamentals of purpose, approach, method and theory. Co-management and CBNRM approaches to wildlife management are strongly advocated by conservationists, scientists, politicians, international agencies, researchers, academics and bureaucrats as a way of achieving goals of recognition and empowerment expressed by local groups in places such as Napranum. However, the key 'lesson' identified in this thesis is that the beliefs and assumptions these approaches are embedded within, constrain, limit and control the power and autonomy of local groups. In the thesis, therefore, the focus has become deconstruction of the ideas behind both wildlife and management. This shows how the colonial roots of these terms limit their utility in challenging the colonisation, disempowerment and marginalisation of peoples, places, cultures and country.

The thesis therefore argues that current wildlife management initiatives, although well-intentioned, do not contribute to a post-colonial or counter-colonial discourse as one might expect, but are so firmly embedded in Eurocentric epistemologies that they reinforce rather than challenge or change Eurocentric colonial domination.

In putting forward this argument, what I term 'situated engagement' is encouraged. To avoid the colonising power relations that accompany the decontextualised assertion and imposition of Eurocentric knowledges, thoughts and actions need to be contextualised in specific places. Engaging in these situated places not only embraces the multiple worlds that wildlife management silences, ignores, devalues and undermines, but also embraces contextualised Eurocentric knowledges. Situated engagement is not a new management framework, but offers an approach to guide interactions that will recognise and appeal to possibilities that are unimaginable within the epistemological limits underpinning wildlife management.

In order to understand where this thesis is located, how and why, it is necessary to engage with the relevant situations. This chapter therefore introduces the thesis by considering focus



Map 1

➔ My physical journey

in terms of argument, outcomes, aims and structure; position in terms of methodology; context in terms of impacts and perspective; and, finally returning to focus, this time in terms of writing the thesis.

Aims: unsettle, challenge and open

The aims of this thesis are different to those of the initial PhD research, yet the thesis is based on that research. To recognise this tension it is important to explicitly state the aim of the initial research:

To identify lessons from ways indigenous communities in Canada and Southern Africa are asserting their rights in wildlife management **for indigenous communities** in Australia, especially at Napranum.

What is reported in this thesis has moved beyond those lessons² and instead aims to:

Unsettle and challenge concepts and practices of wildlife management for an **academic audience** as a means to **open up** thought and practice which will 'speak' not only with an academic audience and Aboriginal communities, but also with a wider group of relevant people in Australia, Canada, Southern Africa and elsewhere.

In doing this, the aims of the thesis more specifically are:

1. To critique the notion that wildlife management is a universal knowledge through deconstruction of 'wildlife' and 'management'. This is done to expose Eurocentric beliefs within which wildlife management is embedded.
2. To critique the idea that wildlife management initiatives contribute to a post-colonial discourse through an examination of power relations. This is done to identify colonising relations that are reimposed through wildlife management.
3. To unsettle Eurocentric assumptions and challenge colonising power relations by drawing upon multiple knowledges. This seeks to displace the colonial Euro-centre not only from wildlife management thought and practice, but also from the narrative centre of the thesis.
4. To encourage situated engagement, not only in wildlife management arenas, but in all interactions between people. This is advocated as an approach through which thought and praxis are reliant on specific places for their relevance and meaning.

² These lessons were reported in two field reports (Suchet 1998b, d).

Structure: spirals to de-centre a linear narrative

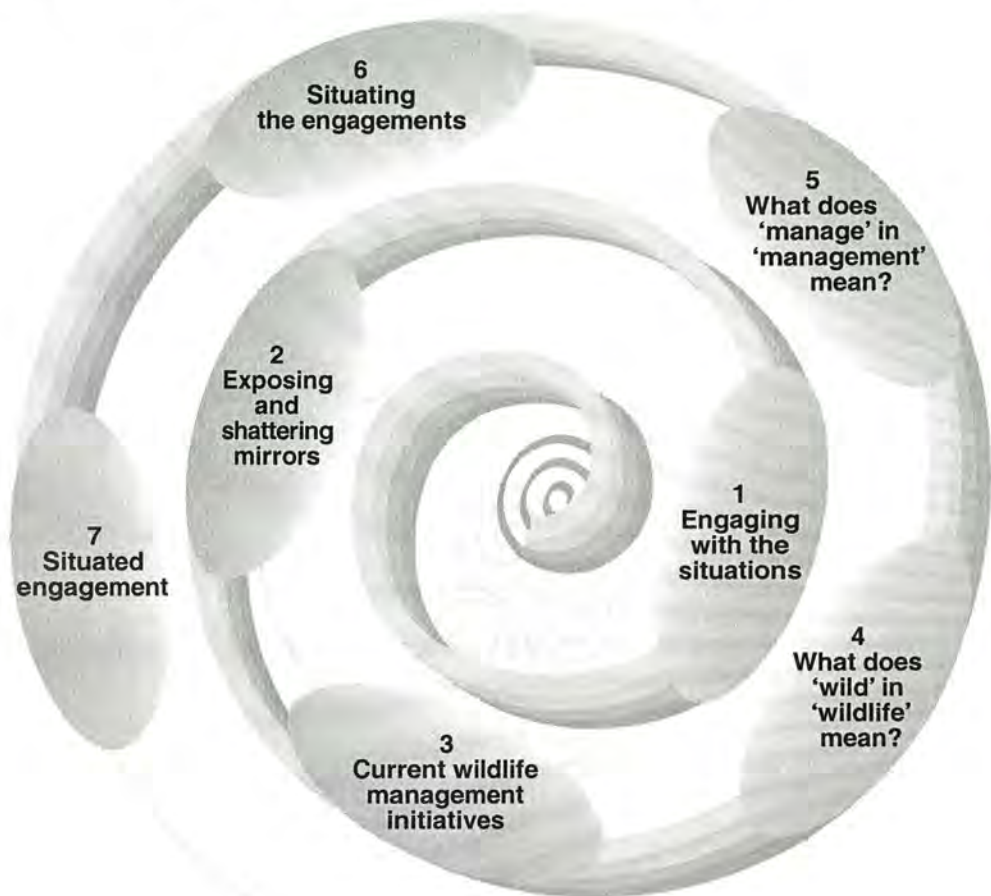


Figure 2
Thesis spiral

The aim of displacing the colonial Euro-centre from the narrative centre of the thesis is partly addressed by the thesis structure illustrated in figure 2. The structure spirals to unsettle expectations of a linear, inherently progressive argument and text, and to allow for and encourage returns, re-visiting and non-linear flows³. Notions of time and space as linear and bound are also challenged by a thesis structure that focuses on concepts, rather than a naturalised and universalised history and geography.

As seen in figure 2, the thesis spirals out from specific interactions. Four threads are then woven together to support the thesis argument. Although the thesis ultimately spirals back to a need to interact in specific places, where it ‘ends’ – the identification of potential further spirals – is a very different point from where it ‘started’⁴. These potential spirals open up

³ Heartfelt thanks to Ian Bryson who helped me out of my linear-vision dead end with the idea of a spiral form.

⁴ This avoids a structural reflection of the circular argument that is identified and critiqued throughout the thesis.

possibilities for thinking and practicing situated engagement – thinking and practicing in specific places so one's work and contributions are rethought in contextualised circumstances.

Reading the thesis

In this chapter, the research and thesis are initially positioned by *engaging with the* relevant researching, thinking and writing *situations*. This is achieved by describing the specific thesis focus, positioning the PhD research, contextualising the processes that flow out beyond the perceived boundaries of a PhD degree and focusing on writing the thesis. After outlining the thesis argument, outcomes, aims and structure, the research methodology of a field-informed literature review is described and justified in terms of a detailed review of the literature informed by partially situated understandings of multiple places, peoples and experiences. This research methodology is then situated in terms of acknowledging and embracing power relations. The broader context of actions and impacts within which PhD research lies is then considered. Finally, the focus of writing the thesis is examined, in particular notions of authority and representation and how these relate to reading the thesis.

In chapter 2, the conceptual stage for the thesis is set by exploring knowledges, and their interrelations with power, in terms of Eurocentric assumptions and colonising relations. A circular argument is *exposed* as legitimating and justifying the assertion and imposition of Eurocentric knowledges and the formation of colonising power relations. This circular argument is illustrated through the nurturing of Deborah Rose's (1997) metaphor of a hall of mirrors. The approaches used to investigate and challenge this hall of mirrors are described in terms of *shattering the mirrors*. These approaches are then applied with a consideration of Eurocentric notions of time, space and colonisation. These taken-for-granted notions are unsettled and the ways the concepts are applied in this thesis in terms of 'colonising processes' and 'material, discursive and conceptual places' are discussed. This is used to foreshadow the appeal for situated engagement, and set the stage for a deeper consideration of wildlife management.

The empirical stage of the thesis, and its practical challenges in terms of Australia and elsewhere, is set in chapter 3 by a review of *wildlife management initiatives* from Canada, Southern Africa and Australia. The chapter lays the material foundation for the thesis by describing wildlife management initiatives in Canada, South Africa, Australia, Zimbabwe and Namibia. The application of co-management and CBNRM programs and agreements in terms of underlying philosophies and actual implementation are discussed. It is argued that a more

sophisticated examination of 'wild'-ness and 'management' is necessary to understand how concepts and practices of wildlife management, whilst attempting to recognise some rights, simultaneously reimpose colonising relationships.

The task of unsettling Eurocentric assumptions and critically discussing colonising power relations is taken up in chapter 4 through deconstruction of *the 'wild' in 'wildlife'*. This deconstruction examines how ideas of 'the wild' inform, and are informed by Eurocentric colonising processes. Eurocentric beliefs in separation, hierarchy and progress are identified as underlying the binaries of nature↔society, animal↔human and wild↔domestic. The assumption that these beliefs are universal is challenged by glimpses into multiple knowledges. The hall of mirrors is identified as it is argued that assumptions of universal application of the beliefs underlying wild and wildlife have justified the silencing, ignoring, devaluing and undermining of local systems, and that these colonising processes have legitimated the belief that Eurocentric notions of 'the wild' are universal.

Assumptions and power relations are further unsettled and discussed in chapter 5 through deconstruction of *the 'manage' in 'management'*. What is meant by 'manage' and how this informs, and is informed by Eurocentric colonising processes is considered. Again, it is argued that assumptions that Eurocentric beliefs in separation, hierarchy and progress are universal have justified concepts and practices of intervention, control, development and conservation informing management. Again, the hall of mirrors, in which practices and concepts of management dialectically legitimate their assertion and imposition over other knowledges, is identified and shattered by glimpses into situated knowledges. It is argued that practices of wildlife management such as co-management, CBNRM and TEK, in fact reinforce the hall of mirrors by seeking verification through their own terms of reference and thus talking to themselves. This opens up space for 'situated engagement' as an approach that can move beyond monologue and the hall of mirrors.

To avoid reimposing colonising relationships, situated engagement is explored and nurtured in chapter 6 by *situating the engagements* and arguing for the need to contextualise work and thought in specific material, discursive and conceptual places. After introducing the notion of situated engagement, the metaphorical and literal terms of engagement are unsettled by examining particular stereotypes and generalisations, how they are actualised by the formation of oppositional binaries and how they are challenged by situated engagement. The need for

situated engagement is then argued by exploring a range of issues that are usually unproblematically applied in development and conservation discourses and practices. The way situated engagement allows for the recognition of multiple knowledges, depending on particular foci, contexts and positions, is illustrated. It is argued that this recognition will displace the Euro-centre and open up arenas to recognise, imagine and realise possibilities that are unimaginable within the hall of mirrors.

Finally, in chapter 7, the thesis is concluded by returning to reconsider the opening propositions, issues and ideas in the light of conclusions reached. A review of the aims enables a metaphorical spiralling back to the beginning of the thesis, and thus the significance and utility of the argument and information put forward (the discursive journey embodied in the thesis). 'Reflecting on reflections' then allows a nurturing of the thesis' metaphors to open uncertain spirals beyond the thesis – thinking and practicing *situated engagement*.

Through this thesis structure, the aims of the thesis are addressed in various, overlapping places:

1. The critique of wildlife management as a universal knowledge is undertaken through the deconstruction of 'wildlife' and 'management' in chapters 4 and 5. This critique draws on the empirical situations described in chapter 3.
2. The critique of post-colonial discourse is interwoven with this deconstruction. It also draws on the review of wildlife management initiatives in chapter 3. The critique is based on the metaphor for understanding colonising power relations ('hall of mirrors') described in chapter 2, and the unsettling of time, space and colonisation also discussed in chapter 2.
3. Eurocentric assumptions and power relations are unsettled, challenged and de-centred throughout the thesis. Notions of wildlife management are directly unsettled and challenged by drawing upon multiple, situated knowledges in chapters 4 and 5. Eurocentric assumptions, generalisations and stereotypes informing many interactions between people are unsettled in chapter 6. Eurocentric assumptions embedded in the writing of a thesis are unsettled and challenged by the thesis structure, by a discussion of writing a thesis in this chapter, and by an exploration of notions of space, time and colonisation in chapter 2.
4. Situated engagement is foreshadowed as an approach in chapters 1, 2, 4, and 5 and is explored and nurtured in chapter 6.

Position: research methodology

In certain circumstances, doing a PhD involves the linear process of formulating a topic, conducting research (collecting data), analysing the data and finally writing the results up in the form of a thesis. However, while doing this PhD, thinking, learning, collecting, reading and writing have constantly and dialectically informed and transformed each other so that formulating, researching, analysing and writing cannot be clearly distinguished as separate processes. The written thesis is not simply a reflection of thought and research but in itself forms part of my thinking and researching processes. Similarly, research does not consist of a discrete spatially and temporally bound process but moves beyond the concept of ‘fieldwork’ to incorporate all phases of doing my PhD. For example, I was not only doing research while physically in Canada, Southern Africa or Napranum, but also while sitting here in Sydney, I have been actively researching by reading and re-reading the literature, by talking and interacting with people and by writing and thinking. Figure 3 illustrates the dialectical processes that inform my thesis as they weave in interlinked and embodied ways between collecting, reading, thinking, interacting, learning and writing. It is important now to outline the way these aspects of doing a PhD have been brought together, the methodology. Describing this methodology is fundamental for realising, understanding and justifying the thesis arguments and outcomes.

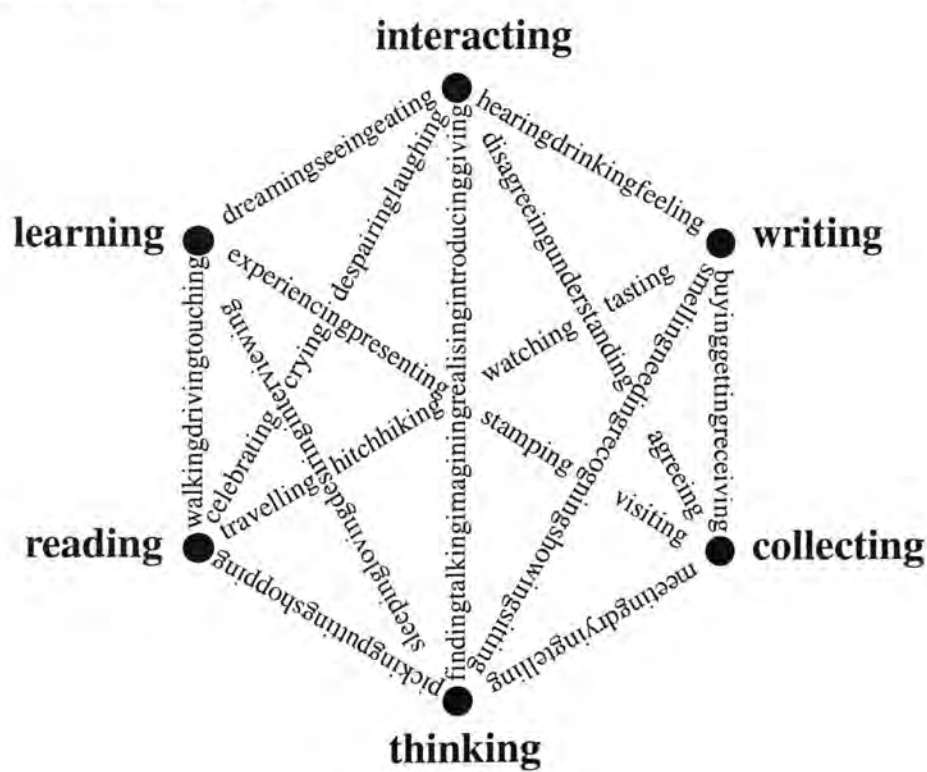


Figure 3
Doing PhD research

Methods: field-informed literature review

Why Napranum, Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa?

I first went to Napranum at the beginning of 1994 to conduct fieldwork for my Honours degree (Suchet 1994). I came away from that experience not only with the thought that co-management was a potentially preferred direction for the community, but with 'strings tied to my heart', knowing I would be back. In 1996 I had the opportunity to defer my PhD for a year to work for NAC. With permission from NAC, this year allowed me to further develop relationships with people in Napranum and speak with them about potential directions for the PhD. My times in Napranum constantly unsettle and challenge many of my own taken-for-granted concepts and notions. Napranum is placed in a unique temporal and spatial position and interactions with people in, and associated with it open up valuable learning experiences. By researching lessons about wildlife management and indigenous peoples' rights from overseas for Napranum, I not only learn from people in Napranum, but also have something to give back in the form of knowledges and ideas.

The main reason Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa were chosen as places to research these lessons is because they have similar histories to Australia in terms of peoples' dispossession and alienation from country due to colonising processes and wildlife management experiences. It was therefore valuable to learn about the ways groups, communities and countries are responding to this, and consider the strengths and weaknesses of attempts to assert local and indigenous rights in 'wildlife management'.

Canada is often perceived as being ahead of Australia in terms of certain indigenous rights issues (Ivanitz 1997). The relevance of Canadian experiences for Australia, especially in areas such as co-management and Comprehensive Claims Agreements (CCAs), is keenly debated by many authors (Crough 1997; Howitt 1997b, c; Ivanitz 1997; Jull 1997; O'Faircheallaigh 1997; Harris 1995; Richardson and Boer 1991). It was therefore important to explore the strengths and weaknesses of the various processes happening in Canada and their relevance for Australia. Similarly, Australia is viewed as being ahead in certain areas, for example, in relation to specific recognition of land rights, and it was necessary to examine this perspective. Going to Canada was also important for being able to form links and network with various communities, organisations and individuals.

Zimbabwe and Namibia are attempting to bring conservation and community development processes together through CBNRM programs dealing with resources and wildlife management on communal lands. In South Africa, initiatives aimed at redressing past injustices are opening up avenues for communities to reclaim resource rights. The Communal Areas Management Plan For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) program in Zimbabwe, Conservancy formation in Namibia and a number of land claims in South Africa are some of the many initiatives that are constantly learning from each other on a regional basis. Africa is regarded as a leader in wildlife management, and therefore it was important to learn more about what is happening and to form links and networks. Visiting Canada and Southern Africa also laid foundations for further exchanges through later research and/or work opportunities.

Embodied comparative research: multiple places, multiple perspectives

The principal research for this thesis involved nearly twelve months of fieldwork interacting with people and collecting materials about *indigenous peoples' rights and wildlife management* – eight months in Canada, the UK and Southern Africa, from August 1997 to March 1998, and three and a half months in Napranum, from June to September 1998 (see appendices 1 and 2). Actual fieldwork in Canada and Southern Africa was fundamental to the research both to access the literature and to allow a thorough review and analysis of the implementation of wildlife management strategies in Canada and Southern Africa, something that was not possible through a dis-engaged reading of the literature. Viewed from a distance, the literature often paints an optimistic picture and is mainly (often strategically) concerned with proposals and plans and not the actual implementation processes and how things are (and are not) working in practice. Returning to Napranum was also vital to the research. It meant that the research could be oriented to its goal of drawing lessons from overseas experience for application in Australian indigenous communities. It also meant that earlier research and working relationships could be strengthened and the “field-informed literature review” could be grounded and embedded in the experiential realities of people in Napranum. Time spent at ‘home’ in Sydney and the university office was necessary to digest the lessons people taught me, and to read, re-read, think and write through the literature from my new perspectives.

To frame the research as an “embodied spatial practice” (Clifford 1997:186), it was important to interact with people in an embodied and emplaced manner. This was necessary so that the ways that I understand and relate to the many local circumstances implicated in the literature on “wildlife management” are informed by experiences of actually being there. This opens

one up to multiple perspectives and experiences rather than using the literature in a disengaged manner or looking to fieldwork to confirm a pre-ordained view. Drawing on De Certeau, Clifford (1997:186) argues that there can be nothing “given about a ‘field’”. It must be worked and turned into a discrete social space by embodied practices of interactive travel”. This can be illustrated by an analogy of an agricultural field which informs a need to carefully and sensitively nourish and cultivate interactions so that they can grow and flourish, and are not poisoned by misplaced trust and arrogant reimpositions.

My research consciously involved travel and partial⁵ interactions with multiple places and people. Jacobs (1996:6) states that the aims of her urban ‘visits’ were “to uncover the unsettled geography of space and place and the shifting boundaries of identity within the contemporary moment”. Similarly, my ‘visits’ to places on three continents where there are intersecting and overlapping interests in wildlife management were necessary to identify the fluid temporal and spatial boundaries and relationships formed through the interactions of knowledges and power. The notion of travel has been critiqued in terms of the intrinsic power relationships and colonising imaginaries and realities that can be associated with travellers’ tales as research (Clifford 1997; Blunt and Rose 1994). However, my travels as a researcher were an effective and empowering methodology as my movements, interactions and embodiments opened up multiple worlds, peoples, places, interactions, networks and vantage points (Clifford 1997; Jacobs 1996). These are drawn upon in such a manner as to try and avoid the colonising gaze which silences, ignores, devalues or undermines whatever does not fit within its own terms of reference. The aims of my travels were to interact with these very experiences, to inform and enrich my readings of the literature with a partial understanding of the knowledges and perspectives that may not necessarily be included within it.

This field experience opened partial, incomplete glimpses into worlds, understandings and actions. To physically be in a place brought the name on a map or in an article alive – the imagery drawn from the literature became imbued with people, knowledges, histories, experiences, aspirations, sights, smells, sounds, emotions, tastes, textures, fears, desires etc. (see figure 4↔1). Interaction with people in specific places meant that interpretation of the literature was fundamentally different to the interpretation that proceeds from abstract and disembodied readings.

⁵ Partial is used to imply both senses of the word – incomplete and biased.

TrapLINE as a trapping AREA



Snow on the flat, no hills or mountains;
yet cars and roofs solidly iced

Snow lacing an open
cut iron-ore mine



The indescribable, mouth-watering
smell of freshly caught fish baking
under the dripping casuarinas



Grandmother laughing
uncontrollably at our
'ugly efforts' to stamp
mahangu for dinner



Corn milled in a
matter of minutes



A feast of bush food as
100 years are remembered



Smuggling explosions of berries
into my mouth off the moss carpet
of a teddy bear's forest

"Her uncle was trampled to death as
he tended his field just the other week"



Fearful recollections of almost
being charged by an elephant



A multitude of textures in
a single slice of desertscape

Picking handfuls of mint to be
hung from walls to dry for tea



Figure 4↔1

Engaging and interacting: bringing places alive

Travelling also brought a variety of intersecting and overlapping emotions and experiences into the task of research. For example, it was necessary to deal with the challenging and unsettling experiences of physically travelling as well as emotions of isolation, guilt, desire, loss and displacement. These practical, emotional and intellectual experiences inevitably shaped the research and my understandings. For example, travelling in Southern Africa required hitchhiking from place to place. Serendipity played its role more than once in ensuring my arrival at certain places I may not otherwise have reached (for example, without a lift from a tourist group in Namibia it would have been very difficult for me to visit the Kunene region).

This project was framed as a comparative study. Rarely was a situation looked at in isolation, it was always related back to Australia, to Napranum or to previous experiences. Visiting different countries and places provided myriad opportunities to see Australia and Napranum with 'new eyes' (Jull 1995b). These new perspectives are vital in providing fertile material, discursive and conceptual places to challenge current circumstances and open up new ideas and practices. In reference to what he identifies as indigenous isolationism in the United States of America (USA), Barsh (1993:286) states that "[w]ithout a comparative perspective, today's anaesthetic illusions can persist indefinitely". Interacting in a comparative manner can ease fears, give courage, inspire and motivate as one recognises other peoples' experiences and successes (Jull 1995b, 1992). Comparative studies are important in providing information, options and choices. This information can be very powerful in assisting people in taking issues into broader arenas in which interest groups can be influenced by international 'best-practice' (Jull 1995b, 1992). The comparative approach should not be undertaken to identify static, set models to be indiscriminately applied. Rather, as Dodson (1995) states, "as we already know that the tensions between European majorities and Indigenous minorities are everywhere similar, we would be foolish to ignore the success and setbacks of others in working through those relations"⁶. In this research, a comparative study was used to identify processes and experiences, gain new perspectives, information and inspiration, and form networks and alliances. Being in an area, travelling through it, meeting people and experiencing places provided context for the experiences and processes that were then compared in more abstract intellectual terms, encouraging a 'reading between the lines' of relevant literature.

⁶ See Jull (1995b) for a further discussion of these issues.

Comparative studies, and the logistics of this particular comparative research, have specific limitations. As a field-informed literature review, rather than in-depth field-based research, my research did not attempt to get an in-depth understanding of specific situations and knowledges. Rather, new perspectives and understandings were gained through partial interactions. These understandings and perspectives have made it necessary to recognise common experiences. These experiences not only include historical colonisation processes, but also ongoing colonising relationships formed through the assertion of wildlife management. This has led to a critique of the assertion and imposition of ostensibly universal knowledges (such as applied through notions of co-management and CBNRM) and their implications in terms of power relations. It has also led to an understanding of the fundamental importance of diversity. This has involved thinking about thinking – not as a universal mode of thinking, but as a first step to encompassing the diversity that the fieldwork demanded be embraced.

Researching in Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa: learning, interacting, collecting, reading

A variety of methods were used to interact, gather information, experience and learn while overseas. Literature and materials not available in Australia were collected, academics, researchers and people working for specific organisations were interviewed, and time was spent with communities who are asserting their rights in wildlife management.

Collecting literature and materials

A review of the literature was essential for the thesis, as the scope of a PhD does not allow sufficient time to collect data on a range of international experiences from first principles. It was necessary to go overseas to access and collect much of the literature, as in Australia most materials available are mainstream journal articles and books which often do not move beyond optimistic overviews of the issues. Thus, a large component of the research involved the search and collection of data from sources such as university libraries, private collections, specialised collections, bookshops, research centres and community resource centres. Individuals and organisations were also extremely supportive in giving me literature and materials. With so much material it is important not only to sort through and make use of it, but also to make it as accessible as possible to others. All this material is entered onto a computer-based annotated bibliography. Copies of this bibliography, possibly in CD-Rom and Internet formats, will be made available to interested communities, organisations and individuals.

Interacting with practitioners and writers: interviews with researchers, academics, consultants, Non Government Organisation (NGO) staff and bureaucrats

Overseas interviews were sought with people who were writing and producing the literature and materials (see appendix 1). This allowed a deeper understanding of the literature – where it was coming from, who was writing and producing it, who was the target audience and why. Thus in Canada, academics, researchers, consultants and some government workers were interviewed. In Southern Africa, interviews were conducted with the staff of NGOs, consultants, academics, researchers and government workers (see appendix 1). In these situations, informal and relaxed semi-structured interviews were conducted so that interviewees could largely direct the interview along their lines of expertise. Some of these interviews were taped. Extraction of information has relied on detailed note taking, including the notation of specific quotes, as well as accurate transcriptions of quoted passages.

Interacting with people in communities

One of the continuing sources of frustration were those forever-echoing words of my supervisor – this is a “field-informed review of the literature” and “not in-depth field-based research”. I found it incredibly frustrating meeting people, being invited to communities and due to the scope of the PhD research either not being able to stay for long, or even sadder, not being able to go at all. One of the most wonderful aspects of my fieldwork was spending at least some time ‘touching base’ with communities (see appendix 1). This involved visiting communities (for example, Whitefish Lake in Canada, communities in the south-east and north-west of Zimbabwe, and communities in the Caprivi and Kunene regions of Namibia), talking to people about their lives, ways of seeing the world and their thoughts on ‘wildlife management’, going out to visit the country around the communities and seeing how people interact with and relate to ‘their wildlife resources’. Telling people about Australia, Napranum and myself allowed for some reciprocity. Unfortunately, the limited time spent in any one place meant that I could not get to know people, or they me, as well as I would have liked. As such these partial experiences laid the foundation and context for my research rather than providing any in-depth understanding of specific situations.

This overseas fieldwork was followed through with a progress report (Suchet 1998b) produced specifically to fulfil my research agreements, my commitments to report back to Napranum and other more informal undertakings. At least 50 copies of my progress report

were sent to various individuals, communities and organisations in Canada, Britain, Southern Africa and Australia. Feedback from the report has helped strengthen and up-date this thesis.

Re-researching in Napranum: reporting back and learning

Fieldwork undertaken in Napranum aimed to address two tasks; to report back on the overseas fieldwork and to talk with people about the relevance of this for Napranum (see appendix 2). I reported back through a presentation to the NACC's Councillors bi-weekly meeting, a number of workshops open to the community, informal conversations with individuals and groups, and circulation of my progress report to various individuals. People were interested in learning about other places and were especially keen to hear about similar experiences of dispossession and marginalisation in other countries, and specific programs that other communities were involved in and were initiating.

These interactions often lead to discussions about current situations in Napranum and how these compared with other communities. These discussions were followed with trips to country, and formal and informal meetings to talk about the issues. Some of these interactions and meetings were taped, careful notes were taken during all of them and it is from these notes that references and quotes are taken.

My research was also informed by a variety of community events⁷. In more conventional research, such events might be seen as constraining or disrupting the planned research program. In this method, they in fact enriched my research. By assisting with and participating in many of the events, I was able to contribute something towards the community. In many cases I fell back into my role from 1996 by assisting the current Director of Cultural Programs (for example, with the community display for the Ruchook Festival and with speeches for the RAAF Base opening), and by assisting Council workers (for example, with some preliminary work on a review of the Community Development Employment Program). These events also helped me put my own work and agendas into perspective in regards to community priorities and needs. My research in Napranum was followed through with a report to community organisations and individuals about what was learnt while in Napranum. As this report included a lot of sensitive material that people had specifically

⁷ These included the Weipa Centenary Celebrations, the Ruchook Cultural Festival, the opening of the Royal Australian Air Force (RAAF) Base Scherger, Bouchat Holiday Programs, the inaugural Croc Eisteddfod, thirtieth birthday celebrations for Jessica Point State School and sadly many funerals.

asked me to include, it was given to organisations and individuals within the community as a confidential report (Suchet 1998d).

Throughout my time in Napranum, what was emphasised to me were issues of immediate concern to people such as representation, empowerment and support. This grounded my understandings in the experiences of people with whom, and places with which, I am more familiar. This moved my interpretations of the overseas fieldwork to a realisation that notions of co-management and CBNRM do not provide a decolonised solution. It is not a new management framework, a singular, bound solution or outcome that is needed. Rather, to avoid furthering colonising relationships, notions of management, wildlife and a decolonised moment themselves need to be investigated and challenged. This will allow groups to work from their present position, imagining and realising possibilities that lie outside of the straight-jacket of wildlife management.

Research: interactions and power

Research means different things to different people. The research in this PhD has involved interacting with people, places and materials together with thinking, collecting, writing and reading. The learning processes involved have been dialectical, requiring me to both gain and impart knowledges, with the goal of contributing towards locally relevant and contextualised processes and outcomes.

Seeing research as a performance, the term *interact* is consciously used when talking about the methodology for this research. This focuses methodological attention on notions of acting and action. Act can refer to acting within a performance. The research was not aiming to collect objective facts or to uncover a pre-existing external truth, model, essential or conclusive finding. Rather, the methods adopted were required to play an ambiguous role, often as catalyst, often as translator, in the re-enactment, re-searching and re-formulating of peoples' lives. The notion of interact also conveys a sense of action. Thus the research can be characterised as fluid and dynamic, with the researcher actively inter-acting with people and lives, having impacts and resulting in actions that hopefully were, and will be, transformative and positive.

As with any research or performance, these interactions are not played out on a neutral stage (Moore 1998). For example, for some of the groups involved in this work there is a history

and even a current experience in which research plays an influential role in disempowering and marginalising people:

I am a Cree/Métis woman who grew up in rural Saskatchewan, Canada. Throughout my "growing up years", I experienced many of the painful effects of racial and class discrimination, which was fuelled, in part, by "knowledge" and policies generated from social science research (St. Denis 1992:51).

It is no coincidence that many of the words associated with research are drawn from and embedded in colonising discourses: exploring, collecting, journeying, re-searching, examining, investigating, travelling, discovering. Clifford (1997:194, 196) identifies colonising legacies in his examination of how anthropology problematises and challenges the concept of fieldwork:

Fieldwork has become a problem because of its positivist and colonialist associations (the field as "laboratory", the field as place of "discovery" for privileged sojourners) ... they [anthropologists and ethnographers] have navigated in the dominant society, often enjoying white skin privilege and a physical safety in the field guaranteed by a history of prior punitive expeditions and policing.

Geographical research is not immune from these colonising legacies, contexts and practices. As geographers turn their attention to colonising discourses and a 'decolonial' or 'counter-colonial' project, authors are probing, questioning and challenging the role the discipline has played in disempowering people and making multiple realities and imaginaries invisible and silent through exploring, charting, locating, mapping and writing (for example, see Howitt and Jackson 1998; Blunt and Rose 1994; Godlewska and Smith 1994; Driver 1992)⁸:

Geographical research was instrumental in constructing profoundly influential visions of the environment as empty, unknown, and waiting for (white) settlement (Howitt and Jackson 1998:159).

The material, discursive and conceptual places implicated in research are embedded in, and have embedded in them, power relationships that must not be ignored. As Keith (1992:553) argues, "the relation between the researcher and informant is saturated with an infinite playing out of power relations". This 'playing out of power relations' occurs in multiple directions and multidimensional ways. These interrelationships have even been argued by certain scientists who find that "quantum physics presents a picture of reality in which observer and observed are inextricably interwoven in an intimate way" (Gribbin 1981:208-209). There is much debate in geography and anthropology about appropriate ways to recognise, think about and represent 'research power relationships' (for example, see Rose, G 1997; Crang 1992;

⁸ Katz (1992:499-500) identifies the roles different ethnographies have played in exoticising and eroticising cultures and in decontextualising and mythologizing them.

Katz 1992; Keith 1992; Kurelek 1992; McDowell 1992a, b; St. Denis 1992; Pile 1991; Howitt et al. 1990; Nader 1974). McDowell (1992a:409) argues that:

... we must recognise and take account of our own position as well as that of our research participants, and write this into our research practice rather than continue to hanker after some idealized equality between us.

Gillian Rose (1997:310-311) examines the ethical, methodological and representational dilemmas researchers face by acknowledging power relationships and attempting to situate and position the research and themselves. She argues that if the research relationship is viewed as occurring on an external landscape of power (what she terms 'transparent reflexivity'), then one can end up reinforcing what is being argued against by believing that an external, true reality of power can be uncovered and exposed (this refers to attempts to fully know the 'self' and the 'context'). G Rose (1997:316-317) argues for the need to see power as saturated and productive, the research process as 'power ridden'. This means that there is no clear landscape, no conscious agent, and no 'true' situation to identify. Rather research is seen as dangerous, messy, complex, uncertain and incomplete, necessitating vigilance and reflexivity that acknowledges the impossibility of 'knowing all'.

Throughout this thesis, research processes are not described to uncover *the* real, static, graspable, contained truth, or to argue that one way of interacting is necessarily 'better', more equitable, more ethical, than any other. Rather, the ambiguity of research is embraced by justifying the research in terms of specific aims and bringing out aspects of research complexity that are relevant and necessary to the arguments.

The role geographical and other research has played, and in some cases continues to play, in supporting, justifying and reinforcing colonising processes must be acknowledged and learnt from. This is necessary to avoid research that further disempowers, colonises, writes and thinks over the multiple knowledges that characterise peoples' ways of understanding themselves, the worlds around them and their places in them. My research is firmly embedded within academic institutional frameworks of doing research and producing knowledges (as it is also embedded in these other histories and geographies). The institutional frameworks affect my position in interacting with people (McDowell 1992a, b). In many ways they have empowered me as a researcher. However, this does not imply or require casting the people involved in this research as dis-empowered, passive and unthinking. Throughout the research I experienced both conscious and unconscious actions in which I was

taught, used and manipulated in many ways. It is important to remember that other people position one's research in different contexts⁹. For example, the Peppan traditional owners at Napranum position my research in the context of themselves, other people and organisations and their broader aims and objectives:

We concrete the ground we gonna stand on for the rest of our life. We dig the land out. That's the process. We get sand – Comalco, and cement – Council etc. from different bodies. Water – government, gravel – ATSIC, freelances – people like you we trust and like, part of the family, we've spent time with you ... Small cement mixer – that's us, the Peppan people, to mix together for concrete. We as Peppan are the cement mixer. We have to become that cement mixer for the foundation to be strong. And we choose how the slope lies, we spill it how we want. And if Comalco wants out – just a chip in the corner. We go the whole hog. Eventually, 20 years ... we'll have a foundation (Peppan Traditional Owner, 15.9.98)¹⁰.

This thesis sets out to avoid re-searching and re-defining colonising discourses. It thus situates the power relations 'saturating' the research within broader arguments regarding the transformation of knowledges and power. It argues that colonising discourses are not bound, defined and unidirectional. They are open to shifts, challenges, transgressions and transformations. Research within the contexts of academia and geography can therefore be empowering and transformative if it actively engages with multiple knowledges so that dialogue and interaction is dialectical, transformative and productive. These challenges transform boundaries and externalised relationships so that they can be seen to be intimately related and open to movement and transgression. As one cannot escape power relations, one needs to "reconfigure them" (Rose, G 1997:316).

Power relationships: research agreements and ethics protocols

Knowledge produced by social science research is a powerful and effective means to influence decisions about people's everyday lives ... Whether this influence is detrimental or supportive to a group of people often depends on who controls the research process (St. Denis 1992:51).

Working from a position of academic and authorial power in a politically charged context means that ethical considerations are especially important. Research needs to be controlled not only by the researcher but also by those being 'researched'. The negotiation of research agreements and the use of interview and photographic consent forms gave those I interacted with a formal means with which to control my research.

⁹ Kurelek (1992:93) discusses the way her work formed one of the Innu's tools as she was positioned as part of a larger community empowerment agenda and seen as "an ambassador to the outside world".

¹⁰ Quotes and references with a name and date only refer to field interviews and observations, lists of which appear in appendices 1 and 2.

A research agreement was formulated between the NACC, an elected body that represents the entire Napranum 'community', NAC, an organisation that represents the traditional landowners and myself. This agreement covers various aspects of the PhD research including support from the community, a controlled research process while in Napranum, in-depth reports (written and verbal) on ideas and lessons from overseas, and encouragement of links and alliances with other groups and communities. The agreement also outlines what the community expects from the research including materials and reports (see appendix 3). A similar agreement was negotiated with the Whitefish Lake First Nation in Alberta, Canada (see appendix 4). These agreements outline my research responsibilities and methodologies while working in the communities. For example, the agreements include interview and photographic consent forms that must be used for research conducted with community members. As no prolonged period of time was spent with any one community in Southern Africa, no specific research agreements were formulated with any communities.

The interview and photographic consent forms were used for all people interviewed. However, in certain circumstances, particularly in Africa, it was inappropriate or intimidating to ask people to sign a written form. In these situations, with advice from people who work in the area, I decided that it was most appropriate to ask consent questions verbally and note down the answers. Similarly, there are verbal agreements with communities, groups, organisations and individuals on materials they expect back from me.

Formulating and implementing ethics protocols was a new experience for me as well as most of the people and communities with whom I interacted. Most people gave positive responses to the opportunity to actively insert themselves into 'my' research by controlling how I should do the research and use their inputs. Some were surprised by the concept of asking permission and formalising research relationships as these choices had never been put to them before. Others were ambivalent about the forms and questions and although answering them brushed the process aside. There was only one case of someone refusing to respond to the interview form; in this case it seems the person was sceptical and untrusting of my research as a whole, despite my efforts to contextualise and justify it. Many suggestions, comments and ideas were incorporated into and improved the forms throughout the research.

It is not suggested that a few pieces of paper validate a correct research relationship or guarantee ethical and appropriate power relations with research participants. Processes

involved are too complex for this to be possible or necessary. For example, the ethics protocols also empowered me as a researcher. This is because I not only knew that people and 'communities' were more aware of what I was doing, but I also knew where I could use what they had told me (or photographs I had taken) and in which way they wanted to be referred. I could avoid those uncomfortable experiences of sitting thousands of kilometres away trying to decide how to refer to someone or if 'they'd mind' me using the material.

Epistemological frameworks are vitally important when conceiving of and using research agreements. The concepts of negotiating, agreements, contracts, forms etc. are firmly embedded in Eurocentric legalistic relationships as well as understandings of literacy in terms of writing and reading English. Despite this, using these protocols in the PhD research greatly enhanced my relationships with people through improving their access to and understandings of the research processes, contexts and products, and making my research more accountable to those with whom I interacted.

Context: impacting in positive, transformative ways

Don't forget the ripples that are set in motion (Dr. Richard Howitt, pers comm., numerous occasions).

PhD research is not a bound, contained experience and thus many processes occur 'outside' of what is directly reflected in the thesis. The dialectical relationships between doing a PhD and broader life require a brief exploration in contextualising the writing, thinking and reading of this thesis. In talking about PhD research my supervisor used an image of a pebble dropped into a pond, likening the research to the pebble and the research context to the pond. Most people, he suggested, try to make a big splash or control where the ripples end up – but in the end we need to concentrate on the quality of the ripples that are set in motion and try and ensure that they are positive and transformative (Dr. Richard Howitt, pers comm., numerous occasions).

While it is clear that research such as this will have wider impacts, it is impossible to identify all of these impacts. Given the aim of displacing Eurocentric knowledges as the core reference point in understanding wildlife management, the emphasis has been to nurture the ripples and impacts so that they open up opportunities for exploring multiple local knowledges, linking localities to each other, and developing a coherent framework for future responses. It was therefore vital to be aware of interactions throughout the PhD. Diverse

interactions bring with them diverse obligations and responsibilities, in terms of both the thesis, and actions and choices beyond it (Marcus 1995). Actively interacting with people in person, through email, letters, reports, the thesis, and through other people engenders a range of obligations and responsibilities. Part of the methodological framework, therefore, aimed not to promise what could not be delivered; not to presume that what was being done was accepted by the people with whom I spoke; and to keep what was done in perspective beyond the specific PhD timeframe¹¹.

A persistent challenge in the research process has been the extent to which colonial relationships underpin relations and processes in international cross-cultural research. However it is managed, the researcher is going to places and *taking* from people – taking their experiences, ideas, and knowledges:

... the original data and documentation are taken back to the home country; sometimes a single copy of the thesis or report will be sent back to Mozambique and sometimes not even that. Just as in the colonial era, even knowledge is removed ... (Hanlon quoted in Sidaway 1992:405).

Apart from controlling access to and use of knowledges through ethics protocols and research agreements, the research was framed as part of dialectical processes in which the research outputs were directed towards the participating communities and organisations as well as conventional academic outputs such as the thesis. In other words, as well as *taking* from people, communities and organisations, I aimed to *give back* as much as possible:

- as part of both formal and informal agreements, copies of my reports, thesis, articles¹², annotated bibliographic database, photographs and slides were sent, and continue to be sent, to individuals, groups, communities and organisations;
- articles were also written and presentations given while overseas and in Napranum so that people could have immediate access to some of my thoughts and feelings¹³;

¹¹ McDowell (1992a:407) warns of how easy it is to inadvertently “generate expectations of positive intervention ... sometimes leading ... to feelings of disappointment or even betrayal”. Sidaway (1992:406) advises the ‘First World’ geographer conducting research in the ‘Third World’ to “[m]ake no false promises ... beware of the unintended consequences of action ... share the results of the research” and put the merits of the research into perspective.

¹² A progress report on my overseas fieldwork was distributed widely to most communities, organisations and individuals involved in the research and another report on my time in Napranum was given to organisations and community members in Napranum (Suchet 1998b, d). Draft articles are circulated to relevant people for comment (for example, a book chapter is currently being circulated (Suchet forthcoming)) and copies of this thesis will be given to various communities, organisations and people as will later papers and articles etc.

¹³ For example, articles were written for a community newspaper in Whitefish Lake in Canada and for a CAMPFIRE regional newsletter in Zimbabwe (Suchet 1998a) (see appendix 5). A paper was also written for the second conference of a PhD Network of social science students working in the Arctic (Suchet 1998c). Formal presentations were given to the PhD conference, to a university class in Lethbridge and to workshops groups in Napranum, and informal presentations given to numerous people throughout the fieldwork.

- I became the catalyst for the formation of links, exchanges and relationships between people, organisations, groups and communities¹⁴;
- I provided information about Australian experiences through presentation of my own perspectives and experiences. I was as candid as possible in talking (and showing photographs, maps and other material) to people about Sydney, Australia, Napranum (with full permission of the community and people involved) and myself;
- on a more personal level, many new relationships and friendships with people, organisations and communities were formed;
- it is hoped that my commitment and appreciation will be demonstrated through post-PhD work and research where some of the lessons and experiences from Australia, as well as the research outcomes, can be re-connected with experiences in Canada and Southern Africa.

My supervisor uses the analogy of 'manilla folders for your life' when trying to put PhD processes in perspective (Macquarie Geography Group Forthcoming). Thus, as you get tempted to do certain things, follow certain leads, act on certain needs, you realise that the PhD is not a contained, perfect, world-changing act, but rather one aspect of ongoing praxis. Therefore, certain aspects of the PhD get filed into folders that reach beyond the actual degree or thesis to be followed through after the thesis is completed. This includes following through on certain obligations and responsibilities, practical actions, research questions and personal relationships. I always tried to keep my interactions in perspective so that the ripples I set in motion did not end at the supposed boundaries of 'the PhD' but would keep rippling in positive and transformative ways, beyond the boundaries of a 3 year degree, PhD research, this written thesis and myself.

Focus: writing the thesis

Very little attention is paid to writing in human geography. This is ironic, given that the very root meaning of the word 'geography' is literally 'earth writing' (from the Greek geo, meaning 'earth', and the graphien, meaning 'to write') (Barnes and Duncan 1992:1).

Access to the 'privilege'¹⁵ of doing a PhD brings with it the need to thoroughly think through what has been learnt and to make these lessons accessible to a variety of people. Writing this

¹⁴ For example, I spoke to the principals of Ngwenyeni Primary School in Zimbabwe and Jessica Point State School in Napranum and assisted a teacher in Napranum in initiating contact so that a sister-school relationship can form.

¹⁵ This notion of privilege is contextual and needs to be problematised. Is education necessarily a privilege? As explored in chapter 6 is education not seen by many as a tool of control and disempowerment? Funding and

thesis is one point in the process of doing this. It is a vital point in terms of having the space and time to think through the issues and the vehicle to fulfil responsibilities and obligations by presenting my findings to several critical audiences – academics, local communities, organisations, institutes, governments and individuals.

This thesis considers internal relationships between knowledges and power. These relationships are not just present in wildlife management experiences but saturate the writing process. As such it is necessary to examine the relations and tensions between power and knowledges in the authorisation and representation of this text. As McDowell (1994:241) states “there is a politics as well as a poetics in the production of texts”.

Author(ity) and multiple knowledges

The name that appears on the cover of the text is acknowledged as its author. However, it is not the only author-ity in regards to the text as the act of writing is imbued with a variety of power relations. Some of these are now considered in regard to the context within which this thesis lies, my control over its production and the relationships it has with its audiences.

Authority and the academy

This thesis is an academic text produced for recognition and validation by the academy. Therefore it needs to be situated within the “academic protocol which determines the *acceptable* style of academic texts” (Keith 1992:561). However, it simultaneously attempts to unsettle and challenge these protocols through its subject matter and textual strategies.

As an academic text, the thesis is automatically imbued with certain powers that the academic ‘creation of knowledge’ has sought to construct for itself. As Katz (1992:498) argues “academic texts ... posit and define a particular authority to command readers’ attention and elicit their consent to particular representations”. Keith (1992:564) further states that “what lends the text the ideological power to shape tomorrow’s common sense is the relation between the text and its endorsement by the academy”.

The power of the academy and academic texts reflects the way academic knowledge has been transformed and the categorical way this knowledge is written and asserted. Academic protocol has sought to imbue academic knowledge as ‘truth’ with a neutral, objective

travel opportunities can also be seen as a privilege. Yet this can also be contested due to multiple notions and understandings of value and wealth.

character that cannot be challenged. This automatically excludes some narratives, alienates some audiences and discredits certain texts. One strategy for doing this has been to write the author out of the text so that he/she becomes a God-like, invisible and all-knowing being with no subjective emotions or objectives. Keith (1992:563) argues that this distancing of the author from the text powerfully authorises the text and “exemplifies the need of the powerful to rationalise, comprehend and control the seductively anarchic world of the irrational ‘other’”.

This thesis is situated within the boundaries of academic discourse as it seeks to meet university PhD thesis criteria of word limits, arguments and contributions to knowledge. However, as it challenges the setting of static, given boundaries in relation to the concepts of wildlife management, it also challenges the elitist universalism of academic knowledge. Using the power gained through the academy to legitimise the thesis, it challenges the academic presumption of being able to create of a singular, true, naturalised and universalised knowledge.

Authority and editorial control

Geographers, anthropologists, literary theorists and others have been considering the power relations that imbue a text with authority by exploring the relations between the authoring (writing) of a text and the editorial control with which the author makes decisions (Crang 1992:542). Much academic writing ignores and makes invisible these relations and by implication asserts “authority over and ownership of the work” (McDowell 1992b:62). This assertion of power through an expert knowledge is challenged by current attempts to explicitly allow multiple voices to speak through the text. This has been identified as an opportunity to simultaneously unsettle the authority of the author and overtly show the reader the powerful role of the author in editing in certain voices in certain contexts and editing out others (Crang 1992:543).

I am the author of this text. I (with advice from my supervisor and other people to whom I give the text to proof read, and with guidance from the interview and photograph consent forms) have formed and reformed the text through my editorial decisions as to what to include and how, and what to exclude. I try to make explicit my role in this, using it as a positive experience through which I can use my editorial powers to re-tell my research stories and lessons in an accessible and influential manner.

Authority and the audience

Although I control the formation of this thesis within ‘academic protocols’, I do not have full and total control over it. The power of the text extends beyond its writing as it can have multiple impacts depending on how it is read, re-read, interpreted and used. As G Rose (1997:316-317) argues:

... the author can no longer be seen as the only source of a text’s meaning ... The academic text – of whatever kind ... becomes part of a number of discourses which engage it, revise, transform and reuse it.

Although this is often out of my hands, and it is probable that misinterpretations will occur, as it is possible that the text (or parts of it) will be used out of the context intended for them, this “does not absolve researchers from the obligation to work in an ethical manner” (Rose, G 1997:317). I thus attempt to influence the reader as much as possible by structuring the thesis in certain ways and by taking the reader through a journey with as many markers and explanatory notices as possible:

In constructing any social text we are engaging in the production of representations to convince a particular audience and seduce the reader or observer to participate (Katz 1992:498).

However, you will always be physically and conceptually moving back and forth through this thesis, reading and re-reading it, with your own agendas and perspectives.

It is also important to remember that an author can also be a reader. Especially in this thesis, a field-informed literature review, a variety of materials from other authors are drawn upon to illustrate the arguments. While authoring I am therefore simultaneously an audience – reading, interpreting and using other people’s materials. McDowell (1994:246), from the perspective of a teacher, argues that the reader will have to make moral judgements to distinguish between what is represented in the text. I similarly have had to make moral judgements in selecting from other author’s work what to include and exclude (which in turn is based on these judgements made by other authors and so on). McDowell (1994:247) argues that these decisions must be contextualised by the reader’s (and writer’s) position “in networks of power in relation to others, both those whom are present but also ‘others’ who may be absent”. Other authors also highlight the importance of context. Keith (1992:562) emphasises the need for the author to take into account who the audience is and let that context determine how the text is authored. Crang (1992:545) argues that polyphonic texts, texts which open up spaces for the (re)presentation of multiple ‘others’, encourage multiple readings. He argues that the “politics of that is ambivalent”, and that audience and context are

crucial due to the power relations that are involved in challenging academic authority by opening up spaces in which knowledge and truth is contested. This thesis, primarily aimed at academic examiners, has been shaped to fit into the necessary 'academic protocols', yet multiple knowledges are explicitly drawn upon to challenge the universality and power of Eurocentric knowledges.

Re-presenting multiple knowledges

Representation is a serious play of power in an overlapping set of historically and geographically determined social fields (Katz 1992:496).

A text is not a neutral, passive presentation of an external truth (Christie 1992:2). It is a partial, active re-presentation of complex worlds using particular strategies to persuade and influence the reader for specific purposes.

Representing multiplicity and complexity in a bound, linear English text

In this thesis a complex set of issues, relationships and processes are considered. In doing so, I confront a common problem – how to represent an unimaginable complex infinity. Borges (1972:121-122) vividly describes the difficulty of trying to represent the infinite complexity of worlds in words:

And here begins my despair as a writer. All language is an alphabet of symbols whose use presupposes a past shared by all the other interlocutors. How, then, transmit to others the infinite Aleph [complex worlds], which my fearful mind scarcely encompasses? ... the central problem is unsolvable: the enumeration, even if only partial, of an infinite complex.

In fiction, authors such as Borges (1972) and Adams (1980a) deal with spatial and temporal dimensions of multiplicity and simultaneity in different ways¹⁶. While Adams' (1980b:51-52) approach was so unsettling that it could "annihilate a man's [sic] soul", it is hoped that my textual efforts will not be a "psychic torture". Rather my intention is to offer a window onto what has been for me both a humbling and empowering experience. In undertaking a field-informed literature review about wildlife management, I was linked to embodied knowledges, emplaced communities, and dynamic linkages within and between scales. Although my own trajectory through this focused primarily on the common grounds formed by colonising

¹⁶ Borges (1972:120-121) confronts the immense task of dealing with "an infinite complex" through the concept of the Aleph – "the place where, without any possible confusion, all the places in the world are found, seen from every angle". In the sequel to his science fiction novel *The Hitch Hiker's Guide to the Galaxy* (Adams 1980a), Adams engages with this unimaginable infinity through his Total Perspective Vortex. In the Total Perspective Vortex you experience:

... one momentary glimpse of the entire unimaginable infinity of creation, and somewhere in it a tiny marker, a microscopic dot, which says 'You are here' (Adams 1980b:59).

This experience is described as "the most savage psychic torture a sentient being can undergo" because of the sense of perspective that the Vortex confronts the person entering it with, a perspective that is so unsettling that it can "annihilate a man's [sic] soul" (Adams 1980b:51-52).

experiences, my reflection on these experiences has increasingly come to focus on the less common (but nevertheless shared) grounds of diversity. The aim of this thesis is to embrace specific, situated places and experiences to open up multiple, dynamic knowledges constituting peoples' perceptions of 'themselves', their 'worlds', and their relationships with 'each other'.

However, Bhabha (1990:208) warns that:

Western connoisseurship is the capacity to understand and locate cultures in a universal time-frame that acknowledges their various historical and social contexts only to eventually transcend them and render them transparent.

To avoid locating my representation and understanding of multiple knowledges in a pseudo 'universal time-frame' which eventually 'renders them transparent', it is necessary to consider the spatial and temporal settings examined in, and formed by, the thesis. From partially engaging with multiple places in Australia, Canada and Southern Africa it is found to be very difficult, as well as misleading and dangerous, to form a thesis which is uncritically based on Eurocentric notions of a predetermined space and time. Glimpses into multiple places have shown that pasts, presents and futures are not necessarily sequential or progressive. Similarly, spaces are not natural or discrete but interweave, overlap and transform in multiple ways. However, as an attempt at gaining a PhD degree, this thesis needs to fit into certain spatial and temporal constraints. It is a written English text constrained by words, word limits and deadlines. Soja (1989:1-2) describes the "linguistic despair" felt when:

What one sees when one looks at geographies is stubbornly simultaneous, but language dictates a sequential succession, a linear flow of sentential statements bounded by the most spatial of earthly constraints, the impossibility of two objects (or words) occupying the same place (as on a page).

He finds that:

The discipline imprinted in a sequentially unfolding narrative predisposes the reader to think historically, making it difficult to see the text as a map, a geography of simultaneous relations and meanings ... (Soja 1989:1).

As described in the next chapter, an understanding of the ways knowledges form assist in attempts to deal with the infinite complexity of worlds. However, this does not transcend the fundamental problem of representing multiple complexes (or aspects of them) within the boundaries of a linear, English language thesis. This is particularly difficult given that positionalities – intellectual and practical orientations – are fundamental to how and what one thinks and writes. Part of my multiple, fluid identities are embedded in colonising

experiences and processes. The society within which I have grown up, the educational system within which I have been, and am going through, my ways of knowing, seeing and doing, reflect Eurocentric beliefs and can, in certain contexts, be colonising. I come from a Judeo-Christian heritage and write, think and communicate in English. It can thus be difficult to understand let alone portray other ways of knowing. As Christie (1992:2) states:

Most of us who have been counting ever since we can remember can have little hope of imagining what a world could look like in which reality is unquantifiable.

Therefore, in weaving together specifically emplaced and embodied experiences, the writing of this thesis has to be carefully balanced. In attempting to rethink Eurocentric colonising processes and discourses there is the risk of re-privileging these processes and discourses by focusing solely on the times and spaces they have transformed. If the text is completely multi-placed, however, it could become so personalised and idiosyncratic as to be unintelligible and inaccessible¹⁷. Therefore the thesis must be intelligible and accessible yet unsettling and challenging so that it decentres Eurocentric knowledges and opens up situated material, discursive and conceptual places for the reader to engage with the dynamic and shifting boundaries and relationships within and between multiple knowledges.

The text therefore overtly examines concepts of time and space so that it does not reinforce and universalise the constrained, linear, progressive, developmental mindsets that dominate Eurocentric knowledges. This is a difficult task as the written word (or symbol) must be read successively:

... all of them together occupied the same point, without superposition and without transparency. What my eyes saw was simultaneous: what I shall transcribe is successive, because language is successive (Borges 1972:121-122).

I attempt to unsettle and challenge Eurocentric notions of time and space by writing in ways that acknowledge, allow for and encourage the reader to embrace complexity, multiplicity, concurrency, motion and interrelationships. Words, terms, concepts and metaphors are used very carefully. In particular, the multidirectional and interrelated performances of writing, thinking and reading are used to uncover many of the taken-for-granted notions that unconsciously enter writing processes. Even descriptive passages, therefore, are contextualised not as discrete, bound and neutral, but as embedded in contested

¹⁷ Ollman (1993:25) talks about how close Marx came to constructing a "private language", whereby communication with the rest of the world would be impossible. However, as his abstractions do not completely diverge from other thinkers' abstractions his writing is still intelligible and accessible.

epistemological and political contexts. After all, as Geertz (1973) points out, there is no such thing as 'mere description' (see also Massey 1993).

The task, then, has not been to find a single theme around which to tell the stories of indigenous participation in wildlife management (for example, 'colonisation'), but to grasp the simultaneous diversity and possibilities being formed in different places that have been linked by colonial relations. The thesis does not focus on a Eurocentric linear history but focuses on the particular concepts of 'wildlife' and 'management'. This de-centres the Eurocentric colonial reading and allows for spirals and repeated choruses to disrupt and redirect the text towards openings and situated engagement. This is similar to what Blunt and Rose (1994:16-17) identify in the work of feminist Minnie Bruce Pratt:

Gradually and continually, Pratt begins to see not a geography defined by the exclusions of a racist, capitalist, patriarchal center, but by complexity. Her sense of space also shifts ... "I learn a way of looking at the world that is more accurate, complex, multilayered, multi-dimensional, more truthful: to see the world of overlapping circles, like movement on a millpond after a fish has jumped" ... a space that is multidimensional and fluid. This spatial complexity is echoed in the narrative confusion of her text. Although her essay is autobiographical, Pratt refuses to construct her changing interpretations of herself as a narrative of her progress toward enlightenment. Instead, she moves backward [sic] and forward in time and to and fro across space in her essay, in order to emphasize that her childhood ... continues to shape her.

It is hoped that this text confronts and embraces complexity and multiplicity without simplifying or homogenising worlds, without reinforcing universalised notions of time and space and without making the text itself inaccessible and unintelligible.

Representing 'others'

The experiences of other people are consciously drawn upon in this thesis to support arguments and aims. The power involved in re-presenting people is integral to the arguments of the thesis that considers colonising processes and the ways people have been silenced, ignored, denigrated and undermined by representations. One of the ways this has occurred is through written texts that have excluded or devalued people and their knowledges and practices¹⁸. Attempting to include people and their perspectives does not mean power relations have been addressed and a 'solution' found to 'the problem' of representing 'others'. Processes of inclusion are just as saturated with power relations as those of exclusion. This is

¹⁸ For example, Smith (1993:393-394) considers questions of representation and personal narratives and argues that autobiographies and biographies universalise the human subject by representing man as a "white, male, bourgeois, heterosexual human being". Thus man is recognised, legitimated and made real on those terms alone. Any ideologies, histories and subjectivities non-identical to this are neutralised or suppressed and the "life stories of many people whose history differs from that of the universal human subject because of race, class, and gender identification go unwritten, or if written, misread or unread".

due to the power involved in being able to write, the appropriation of other people's experiences, the role the author plays in choosing whom to include and how to include them, the choices other people have made in representing themselves to the author and other authors, the ways the readers interpret the words and the ulterior motive for the usage of the 'voices' (Crang 1992; Katz 1992):

How might we include the voices of multiple others and yet recognize that all products of thought, all texts, bear the mark of their collective and individual creators who are themselves distinctively marked by gender, class, race and culture? (McDowell 1992b:65).

Attempts to include other 'voices' in a project which aims to speak (or write) on *behalf* of 'others' who have been excluded in Eurocentric representations, have been challenged by human geographers who recognise the colonising arrogance and politics of appropriation encompassed in the notion (McDowell 1994:242). What has been emphasised is "opening up spaces within geography for alternative voices to be heard [and read]" (McDowell 1994:243). The value of these spaces is eloquently argued by feminist theorist bell hooks (cited in McDowell 1994:243):

Moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonised, the exploited, and those who stand and struggle side by side a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible. It is that act of "talking back" that is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject – the liberated voice.

In this thesis, these spaces are filled with 'voices' represented in order to unsettle and challenge the universalisation of Eurocentric knowledges and colonising processes. These voices include my own, those of other authors, those represented by other authors and those heard during my fieldwork. These voices 'talk' about knowledges and beliefs that unsettle Eurocentric assumptions of universalisation. They also 'talk' about processes by which people powerfully resist, refuse, manipulate and transform to continue being and becoming. It is hoped that this polyphony does not form a category of homogenised opposition to a homogenised Euro-centre, as Crang (1992:529) warns regarding the academy:

In the case of academia, therefore, research studying others may textually produce 'Others', tropes of people 'not like us', and may be as much about defining a 'Homo academicus geographicus' as about understanding social lives outside the academy.

Crang (1992:535) also identifies this as a "crucial paradox" for Said:

... one of wishing to acknowledge and indeed celebrate ontological cultural differences whilst epistemologically dealing with that difference in a way that does not construct 'Others' and all the oppressive representational politics that that implies.

By using multiple, dynamic voices from multiple places (including my own) it is hoped that perceived boundaries and relationships between 'the academy' and 'the other' are transgressed

and blurred. This is done to show that there is no set, static ‘academy’ and no contained, authentic ‘other’ – definitions are dynamic and depend on focus, context and position and thus the specific situation:

... this is not a project of getting ‘others’ to speak as all knowing subjects of otherness ... but rather to undermine this very construction ... Recognizing our multiple identities and interdependence creates a ground that belongs to no one not even its creator ... we can develop a politics that is empowering because it is not just about identity – a descriptive term – but about position (Katz 1992:504).

In this thesis, a range of techniques are employed to blur and transgress conceptual, discursive and material boundaries and relations (Crang 1992). In attempting to re-present ‘voices’ the thesis juxtaposes knowledges by returning to specific choruses, opens spaces to discuss resisting processes, and embraces simultaneity and complexity. Specifically it attempts to partially engage with specific, situated people and experiences so that generalisations and universalisations are unsettled. This is the option identified by Crang (1992:536) as:

... a form of polyphony grounded much more firmly in recounting the lives of particular individuals, each becoming what we might call a bearer of cultural otherness without collectively forming an ‘Other’.

Throughout the thesis notions of authenticity are shown to be flawed and are unsettled as they assume a pre-existing linear time and inherently progressive movement. Therefore, it is impossible and misdirected to search for authentic voices to include in a text. People’s words and experiences constantly transform and shift depending on context, focus and position. As my research involved a field-informed literature review, and not in-depth research in any specific place, multiple voices are drawn into the thesis from multiple sources. The voices, words, ideas, thoughts, sounds, sights, smells, tastes etc. re-presented in this text transform through my listening to them in the field, my thinking about them in multiple places and my reading (and re-reading) them in the literature. My editorial decisions of inclusion and exclusion, partly guided by interview and photograph consent forms, then re-present them to you to read. As Katz (1992:501) states “even ‘when the subaltern speaks’ in our texts she or he is speaking through us. We bear responsibility for these representations”. You, guided by my writing markers, then interpret them according to your position, focus and context.

When including people’s voices, words, ideas and experiences it is important to realise the context and reasons for their use (appropriation) (Crang 1992:541). In this thesis, polyphony is used to challenge and unsettle Eurocentric assumptions of universal application which have silenced, ignored, devalued and undermined other knowledges. The use of polyphony is

therefore crucial to opening up discursive, material and conceptual places for situated engagement.

Representing: responsibilities, obligations and accountability

The responsibilities and obligations that are formed through research interactions make a written text accountable to a range of people. How these people's concerns are balanced in a potentially structurally hostile thesis context needs careful consideration.

It is important to recognise the responsibilities one has as an author. This is especially important as attempts to recognise the role of the audience in reading a text can be seen to foreshadow the 'death of the author', as all responsibility is removed from the author and placed with the reader (Keith 1992:565). However, informants, readers and authors all play different roles and authors must come to terms with the personal and political implications of their work. Throughout the researching of this thesis, countless people have invested time, energy, effort, care and love in processes of teaching, assisting, nurturing and influencing me. In writing to the constraints of a PhD thesis (academic language, word limits etc.) it is impossible to give justice to everyone's experiences, perspectives and expectations. Some of these have been, and will be addressed through other mediums, such as reports, presentations, articles etc. However, in writing this thesis, I have tried to be sensitive to the people with whom and places with which I interacted and have attempted to do justice to them in presenting what I interpreted as their main messages to me.

It is also important to recognise and deal with the political contexts in which the thesis will be read. As Keith (1992:553) argues, "[a]uthors claim a right to speak about others and the power-knowledge relations that characterise such accounts are always contingently placed in specific political contexts". For example, many of the thesis arguments could be misconstrued and used as political weapons against the groups and processes with which there were interactions. Many of the wildlife management experiences considered are political battlefields with extremely polarised 'sides' attempting to forward their cases for a range of perceived advantages. As many of these situations are explored and critiqued, it is important that my work is as clearly contextualised and argued as possible to avoid it being misunderstood or appropriated for other means. One of the aims of the thesis is to open up places for engagement between different groups and not to arrogantly and ignorantly pass judgement over situations that are only partially understood. Pretending to know more than I

do could cause incredible damage to ongoing processes by providing fuel for specific group positions.

Representing using textual strategies

Authoring, representing and transforming thoughts and lessons into a written text is a powerful act. Textual strategies underlie the way a text influences and guides the reader. Textual strategies in this thesis use specific genres, symbols, figures and formatting devices to reinforce and guide the arguments. Lavie and Swedenburg (1996:171) argue that to capture fragmentation and dynamism, genres need to be mixed and juxtaposed. This, together with the gathering and reusing of theories and experiences so that an “organic connection” is formed, transforms knowledges and texts so that distinctions between original and alien are undermined. However, these strategies lose their effectiveness (become naturalised) if over-used:

Roland Bathes said that the healthy sign is one which draws attention to its own arbitrariness – which does not palm itself off as ‘natural’, but which in the very moment of conveying a meaning, communicates something of its own relative, artificial status as well (Christie 1992:17).

Therefore, it is only in specific contexts that certain tools, genres and formats are employed.

Use of the symbol ↔

The thesis argues for the need to acknowledge how multiple knowledges transform due to focus, context and position. It thus challenges taken-for-granted notions and shows how knowledges are dynamic and multiple. However, using English, it is still confined to using many taken-for-granted terms. How to use certain terms so that they are effectively unsettled and challenged has been a difficult writing task. The visually and conceptually complicating tool of ↔ has been adopted to try to stylistically portray the complex interrelatedness and multiple understandings of certain words, concepts and relationships. It is used to visually unsettle the sense of separation and progression that is embedded in the orthodox separation in English of words and concepts such as space and time, wild and domestic, conserve and develop. Initially, I considered using this symbol throughout the text. However, this would not only make the text cumbersome to read, but would make the ↔ seem natural and the impact of using it would be lost. Therefore, it is predominantly used in headings, and occasionally in the text, to remind the reader that the concepts need to be problematised and unsettled.

Visual figures

The use of photographs, collages, word plays and other visual materials further challenge the linear constraints of a written thesis. These figures introduce or reinforce certain concepts and arguments by calling on a visual sensibility to see multiplicity, simultaneity and complexity.

'Hall of mirrors' diagram

Throughout the thesis, the imagery of a hall of mirrors, drawn from D Rose's (1997) work, is used to illustrate the circular argument that surrounds colonising processes and universalising assumptions. This imagery is nurtured by restating and revisiting a simple diagram (see figure 5). This diagram illustrates the way wildlife management and other Eurocentric concepts and practices are positioned within the hall of mirrors – are justified and legitimated by specific Eurocentric knowledges, beliefs, binaries, notions, concepts and practices.

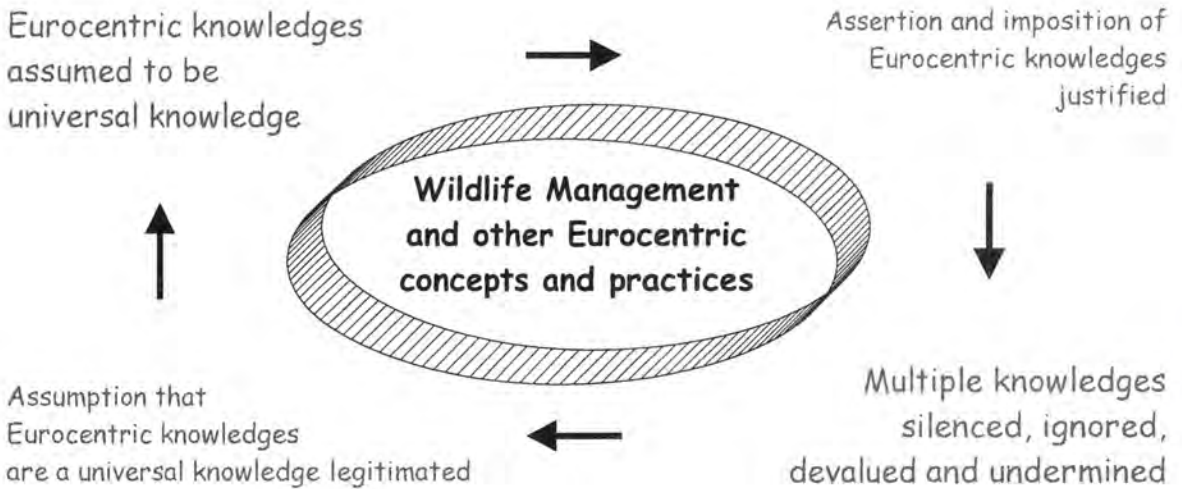


Figure 5:

Wildlife management and other Eurocentric concepts and practices in the hall of mirrors: reflections of Eurocentric knowledges

Chorusing



One strategy I use to get your attention and avoid constantly repeating myself with the danger of losing the impact of the point is to re-turn to certain choruses. Each time I challenge the Eurocentric assumption that certain beliefs and knowledges are universal, I return to this formatting and chorus. In these unsettling glimpses the arrogant assumption that all people subscribe to Eurocentric beliefs is challenged through partial glimpses into knowledges based on different beliefs.



The formatting is used as part of a continual flow within the text of the thesis. There is no top or bottom border as I want to avoid forming a box that could be seen as marginal, or an addendum to the main text. The side pattern used to characterise the chorus is formed from the spiral pattern used in the thesis structure (see figure 2). This illustrates how the glimpses I draw upon are situated in specific places, places with which I have partially interacted through my research, and places with which I will possibly further interact through situated engagements following this thesis.

In these glimpses, quotations are signalled by being in non-italicised bold, while my commentary is signalled by this italicised font.

Concluding comments

In this chapter, the ways I have engaged with the thesis argument and research situations have been considered. The way wildlife management, knowledges and power are focused on has been described. The positionality of the research methodology in terms of a field-based literature review of wildlife management experiences in Australia, Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa has been discussed. The context of PhD research and interrelationships with broader processes has been explored. And finally, the specific focus of how the thesis is written in terms of authority and representation has been identified. It is now possible to continue the performance of convincing the reader of my argument by setting the conceptual stage for the thesis through an examination of the ways knowledges transform and interact.

that
 blackness doesn't
 a seem to exist
 through a great big question mark
 swirl stretching through the universe
 a ending in a spiral
 as luminous whitishgrey
 starts it slowly comes alive
 it the stars calmly blink
 the planets remain steady
 the clouds become frontpieces
 to dodge behind
 the mass starts its dance
 theswirlsplits
 a ribbon slides
 towards the horizon
 it ripples its
 translucent way down
 it metamorphoses into a
 luminous opaque green
 a veil with purple threads
 dancing along it
 each stretch of cloth
 brighter as it moves

 another swirl still high
 in the sky raining down
 upon us a series of rays
 dancing and rippling
 alientogetherapartatone
 slowly it dies down
 settling into bands of
 mistywhite
 sittingwaitingbrooding

Take a breath. Breathe breathe. Feel the spirits of the ancestors dancing in the sky. Don't make a sound. Don't annoy them otherwise they'll come right through the trees and you'll have to make a noise to scare them away. Just think how lucky you are to have seen them at all.

over the heads of the jagged silhouetted pines
 greens and purples rippled back and forth across the starstuddedsky
 at the end a waterfall of green light poured through the clouds
 the waterfall staggered itself in a series of disjointed greenfalls
 moving through the presence of clouds

"That's what's called the Aurora Borealis. Your homework for the day is to look it up in your textbook and first thing tomorrow in science class I want to know what causes it. Yes Sam?"

"Isn't it to do with solar winds bouncing off the atmosphere Mr. Matthew?"

"Maybe Sam, maybe. You look it up and tomorrow we will all know the correct answer."

A pulse behind
 the trees, masses of green
 highlighting the sharp silhouette of conifer,
 in a flash it will begin, this time there'll be an urgent
 movement back and forth, the purple scurrying through the green,
 and it'll spread, it'll zigzag so that it'll occupy the visible sky, it'll be absolutely
 orgasmic, totally indescribable, suddenly the purple will move, in
 vertical jumps, it'll vibrate through the mass and bring it all
 absolutely inescapably alive and when it's over,
 it'll hang and wait, silent yet present,
 inactive yet dominating
 northern places

"Now Jane, how can dancing spirits cause this scientific phenomena? We all know that that's only a story. What I want is the truth. So Sam, what did you discover in your text book?"



2. Exposing and shattering mirrors¹⁹

Transforming knowledges: focus, context and position

As the sun shines on different peoples, it gives them the light of the philosophy with which to confront their psycho-emotional and historical landscape. Thus, a vision of life is created over the years. Such a vision relates to how the people relate to the sky, the rivers, mountains, the underworld, as well as the animals that inhabit the earth (Hove and Trojanow 1996:cover leaf).

In order to make sense of complex worlds, people transform – interpret, make meaning, relate to – themselves, each other and what they perceive to be around them (Escobar 1996; McDowell 1991; Freeman 1990). Ollman (1993:24-25) argues that this transformation involves abstraction. Through abstraction, we consciously and unconsciously establish boundaries around what our minds can cope with out of the possibilities presented by multiple worlds. This delineation of specific units both defines the relations we recognise between the bound entities and is dialectically predicated on the way we know these relations.

Ollman's notion of abstraction is similar to Bhabha's (1990:210) "cultural translation". Translation sees meaning "constructed across the bar of difference and separation between the signifier and signified". Meaning is made both through representation – where a process of alienation acknowledges the processes through which an object is understood, and through reproduction – where 'the original' is never finished or complete, but is constantly transforming through imitation processes.

In this thesis, abstraction and translation processes are referred to as *transformation* processes. The notion of transforming is deliberately used to distinguish it from creating or constructing. The concept of 'creating' is often used when discussing knowledge(s). This notion usually encompasses making something out of nothing. However, nothing can be created from nothing, since everything is influenced and transformed from something else²⁰. Knowledges

¹⁹ This imagery is drawn from D Rose's (1997:4) metaphor of a 'hall of mirrors'.

²⁰ Gilman (1992) highlights this point in her children's book adaptation of a Jewish folktale in which a blanket a little boy is given by his grandfather, over the years, due to wearing, is transformed into a jacket, vest, tie, handkerchief and button until one day the button is lost. Although the grandfather could not make "something from nothing", the little boy uses the 'material' "to make ... a wonderful story" – so a story is 'created', but not out of nothing, out of a blanket. Drawing on the experiences of anthropologist Peter Sutton, D Rose (1996b:23) describes a saying of Queensland Aboriginal people in which 'nothing is nothing' – "The corollary to this profound statement is that everything is something. Nothing is nothing because everything has an origin in the creation of

are not built out of or onto a pre-existing, authentic truth, but are constantly transforming as interactions and interconnections exert influences and demand responses. In recognising that a singular notion of knowledge cannot be created, Derrida (1978) employed the metaphor of constructing, deconstructing and reconstructing to describe the processes by which knowledges transform. However, this metaphor of building has connotations of a mechanistic, progressive, developmental process in which an inevitably improved version is constantly constructed or reconstructed like building blocks or bricks, based on a set foundation that cannot be engaged with or transgressed:

Before the age of the machine our world and ourselves were seen in terms of metaphors drawn from nature. In modern times we very often construe ourselves through a machine metaphor (Christie 1992:9).

The mechanistic metaphor of constructing is therefore antagonistic to approaches that seek to counteract the domination of linear, progressive, developmental mindsets. In attempting to form a more organic, dynamic and embodied way of thinking and writing about knowledges the word *transform* and many related terms are used. In using this word I hope to conjure up a sense of transforming (interpreting, relating, abstracting, translating) what has previously been transformed, rather than seeing knowledges as being created out of nothing, or constructed within the terms of a materialistic, progressive, linear worldview.

Ollman (1993:40) argues that abstraction occurs simultaneously in three ways. What he calls extension, level of generality and vantage point is generally referred to as focus, context and position in this thesis. A focus is necessary to consciously put spatial, temporal and conceptual boundaries on the interrelated complexity of worlds. With various purposes in mind, one finds a place to start. In this thesis, with the aim of opening up places for contextualised outcomes and processes, the starting point is wildlife management experiences in Canada, Southern Africa and Australia.

The second aspect fundamental to abstracting is context. Ollman (1993:35) argues that due to a theory of internal relations context is integrally present in processes of abstracting and focusing: "Each part is viewed as incorporating in what it is all its relations with other parts up to and including everything that comes into the whole".

the world". As everything comes from the creation of the world, everything else is a transformation of meaning of a portion of that world.

As everything is internally related to everything else, my conscious focus on wildlife management moves beyond the bound entities of 'wildlife' and 'management' and embraces relationships within, between and beyond the concepts, as these relationships are fundamentally embedded within the concepts themselves. Therefore, the focus on wildlife management is embedded within and contains processes through which knowledges transform as well as colonising power relations. Similarly, the focal point of this thesis is embedded in and contains the PhD processes and the academic discipline of human geography.

While consciously focusing and contextualising, it is also necessary to explicitly and overtly position oneself. As Ollman (1993:68) states, you must:

... acquire a vantage point or place from which to view the elements of any particular relation [focus] and, given its then extension [context], from which to reconstruct the larger system to which this relation belongs. A vantage point [position] sets up a perspective that colors everything which falls into it ...

In this thesis, positions are formed from which to consider wildlife management issues and the relationships and boundaries defined within and around wildlife management concepts and practices. Through the research, I have been in the position of being able to interact with people in five countries on three continents. This engaged and embodied position has encouraged partial understandings beyond a singular notion of wildlife management as knowledge to multiple knowledges. It has also embraced the power relations embedded in these notions as knowledges are imposed, asserted, silenced, ignored, devalued, undermined, contested, refused, resisted, transformed, unsettled and challenged.

In the rest of this chapter the conceptual stage for the thesis is set by exploring the transformation processes through which Eurocentric knowledges – knowledges based on Eurocentric beliefs in an external truth – transform, and how these knowledges interact with other knowledges. The power relations that form through the circular argument in which Eurocentric colonising processes legitimate Eurocentric knowledges are introduced. The approaches through which the circular argument is challenged by investigating Eurocentric knowledges and drawing on situated knowledges is outlined. These approaches are then applied through a consideration of Eurocentric notions of space, time and colonisation. The setting of the conceptual stage for the thesis is then finalised as noisy and unruly places of situated engagement are encouraged.

Eurocentric knowledges: belief in an external truth

Ollman (1993:26) argues that although everyone abstracts (otherwise our minds would be annihilated by the immensity and complexity of 'it' all) few people are actually aware of doing it:

The Universe ... is an unsettlingly big place, a fact which for the sake of a quiet life most people tend to ignore (Adams 1980b:58).

However, it is important to acknowledge and investigate the ways people transform knowledges to uncover hidden assumptions and power relations.

For example, Eurocentric knowledges are transformed on the belief that an external reality exists²¹. As a result of this the boundaries and relations that are set can be uncritically accepted and embedded as a static, natural truth. As Ollman (1993:26) states, "one takes boundaries as given in the nature of reality as such, as if they have the same ontological stature as the qualities perceived". Esteva (1987:132) relates this setting of boundaries to his own Eurocentric educational experiences:

In the world in which we were educated, our spaces are non-localised but limited. In that world, following the Western tradition, "we" see frontiers, both physical and cultural, that define our relations with the "others" living beyond those frontiers: the aliens, the strangers, the barbarians.

Christie (1992:1) argues that belief in an "absolute truth existing independently of human attempts to make meaning" imposes its own limits on the ways we transform knowledges. He uses Latour's imagery to describe how:

... the production of knowledge business in the modern world has been likened to a railroad industry in which knowledge can only run on tracks already laid down from the laboratory out.

Eurocentric knowledges, based on Enlightenment science, industrial revolution technologies, Eurocentric philosophies, market economies and/or Judeo-Christian beliefs, run on the railway tracks of a naturalised truth. These tracks are founded on a belief in atomism, where the world is divided into distinguishable segments with essential differences:

In atomistic views of the world, identity is marked by irreducible essences, and by discontinuities – by boundaries between what (and where) something is, and what (and where) it is not (Christie 1992:2).

²¹ Eurocentric knowledges are not the only knowledges based on this belief. However, due to the thesis focus on Eurocentric concepts and practices of wildlife management, it is Eurocentric knowledge transformation processes that are investigated.

Belief in an obtainable world, in which a natural reality exists 'out there', for us to discover and experience, means that transforming processes, if recognised at all, can be seen as external, unbiased and naturalised (Christie 1992:2). The belief that the 'answer' is obtainable, and we have obtained 'it', means that 'knowledge' is not problematised, and neither are the knowledge transforming processes or the consequences of accepting this knowledge.

'A hall of mirrors': dialectical relationships between Eurocentric knowledges and colonising power relations

Belief in an atomised, obtainable truth and reality permits the boundaries set by Eurocentric knowledges to be naturalised within a web of external relationships. These knowledges, boundaries and relationships can then be seen as the only possible knowledge and can be assumed to be shared by everybody and therefore universal. McDowell (1992b:60) highlights this in regard to the formation and practice of Eurocentric philosophy:

Philosophy has been shaped and practised by the powerful who have taken their experiences, their values, and their views of the world as the standard for all human beings.

Similarly, Nader (1996:12) discusses Eurocentric science and how assumptions that it is universally applicable gives it unrivalled hegemony.

Problematic power relations are produced when this assumption of a universal acceptance of Eurocentric knowledges is applied in interactions between knowledges. The assumption that the beliefs, binaries, frameworks, practices and discourses underlying Eurocentric knowledges are shared by everyone, means that it is perfectly justifiable to universally apply that knowledge. By applying that knowledge, other knowledges are rendered silent, are ignored, devalued and/or undermined so that Eurocentric knowledges only hear, see, smell, taste, touch and engage with themselves and thus are legitimated in the assumption that their knowledge is universal by their own echoes and reflections:

... knowledge is by definition an exercise in translation ... translation translates into distortion. And, in this light, communication shows itself to be what it really is: a form of collective violence designed to neutralize the deviant by sacrificing it on the altar of social cohesion. The unknown must submit to the known just as the world is divided into reasonable and unreasonable (Olsson 1992:86).

Conceiving of and practicing wildlife management as if it is a universal knowledge, positions wildlife management in a circular argument in which the assumption that Eurocentric knowledges are universal and Eurocentric colonising power relations legitimate each other

(see figure 6). By assuming that Eurocentric knowledge is the only knowledge, wildlife management the only way of knowing, Eurocentric concepts and practices of wildlife management can be justifiably and unproblematically asserted and imposed. By applying these concepts and practices, other knowledges are silenced, ignored, devalued and/or undermined. This denial of any dissent or alternative means that Eurocentric knowledges only have their own terms of reference to judge themselves against and thus the assumption of universality is legitimated.

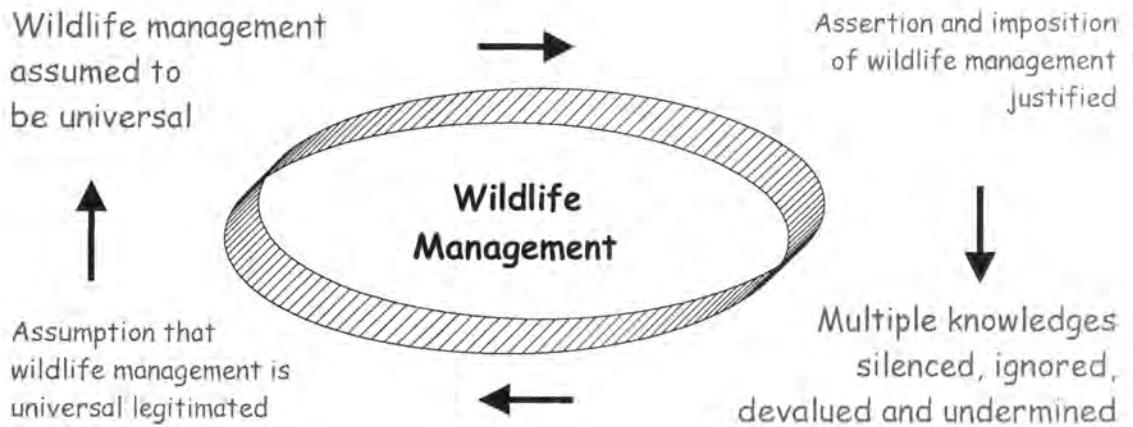


Figure 6:
Wildlife management in the hall of mirrors:
reflections of wildlife management

D Rose (1997:4) eloquently describes this circular argument by drawing on the powerful image of the all-knowing self, centring itself in a hall of mirrors:

The self sets itself within a hall of mirrors; it mistakes its reflection for the world, sees its own reflections endlessly, talks endlessly to itself, and, not surprisingly, finds continual verification of itself and its world view. This is monologue masquerading as conversation, masturbation posing as productive interaction; it is narcissism so profound that it purports to provide a universal knowledge when in fact its practices of erasure are universalising its own singular and powerful isolation. The pole of 'self' is both a deformed and deforming power: deforming because it seeks to bend all else to its will, and understands all else only in terms of itself; deformed because it thinks (or gambles) that its will is the will of the universe.

Olsson (1992:90-91) foreshadows this powerful metaphor in asking:

... what is reflection and what makes reflection possible? What can I know about what, except that epistemology never left the mirror stage and that thirsting for knowledge is an instance of unquenchable narcissistic desire.

Irigaray (cited in Rose, G 1996:66) also draws upon the metaphor of mirrors, in this case to illustrate the way the male imaginary reduplicates and reflects itself to ensure 'coherence' and legitimacy. In her 'dialogue' with Irigaray, G Rose (1996:67) expands further upon this:

And the mirrors are frozen ... Solidified in their repetitive reflection of the same, a solidity of morphological tumescence and of death. And mirrors can be walls. They cluster together, overlap, build a 'palace of mirrors' (Irigaray 1985b: 137), provide 'solid walls of principle' (Irigaray 1985a: 106). They give form, they turn ideas into structures, edifices, they produce 'the absolute power of form' (Irigaray, 1985a: 110), the solidity of concepts, boundaries and order. All this is part of 'a complicity of long standing between rationality and a mechanics of solids alone' (Irigaray 1985a: 107).

In discussing the dominance of the mindset of *terra nullius* (Australia seen as unoccupied land in Australian law), Sharp (1994:139) refers to this circular argument, 'hall of mirrors', 'palace of mirrors', 'solid walls of principle' through a metaphor of imprisonment behind an inmates' wall:

In the long era of terra nullius, those in power were complicit in a silence created by their own incapacity to recognize that a culturally meaningful social life could exist on the other side of the inmates' wall they had built.

It is important to note that it is not Eurocentric knowledges themselves, or the existence of boundaries and relations, that are critiqued in this thesis. I am not arguing for an absence or removal of boundaries and relations, or that Eurocentric knowledges are inferior and non-Eurocentric knowledges superior. Rather, I critique the context and realisation of power relationships – the way one knowledge system is *assumed* to be universal and superior and is uncritically and arrogantly asserted and imposed. I also try to not define and contain knowledges within specific categories. There is no such entity as knowledge; rather the ways people know constantly shift and flow with boundaries constantly messed up and transgressed.

Shattering the mirrors

It is possible to shatter the hall of mirrors referred to by D Rose. By identifying and challenging the underlying arguments legitimating Eurocentric power²², we can open up places of situated engagement whereby possibilities unthought of within the hall of mirrors can be recognised, imagined and realised.

To do this, it is necessary to examine the conceptual, discursive and material places in which transformation processes form concepts and practices of wildlife management and colonising power relations. Blunt and Rose (1994:15-16) identify two strategies used to open up spaces of resistance. The one strategy is to draw upon what they term "imagined geographies" as an

²² As Nader (1996:10) argues in relation to anthropology, by examining "the content and context of knowledge systems, the contrasts erupting from observing different traditions blur scholarly markers and reveal processes of privileging or suppressing knowledge".

“imaginative resource” to challenge colonisation²³. The other is to engage with the inherent limits of Eurocentric knowledge itself. Nader (1996:6) identifies three directions being taken in research challenging the notion of Western rationality as the benchmark criterion for evaluations of other cultural knowledge: one is describing knowledges in traditional societies; the other is ethnographic studies of the sociocultural context of Western science; and the third is the linking of:

... studies of technoscience and other knowledge traditions, focusing on both context and content. Linking the West and the rest erases boundaries or at least makes them less formidable, enabling ethnographers to lay bare Western science practices; linkage encourages mutual interrogation.

In this thesis these last two directions, together with Blunt and Rose’s strategies, are adopted. More specifically, two approaches, and four threads, are woven together to challenge the power processes embedded within the concepts and practices of wildlife management (see figure 7):

1. The self-defining limits of the circular argument within which Eurocentric wildlife management knowledges lie are exposed by:
 - a) exploring the transformational methods of Eurocentric knowledges, especially in relation to concepts of wildlife and management and beliefs and assumptions about binary constructions of material realities;
 - b) drawing on post-colonial and diverse local discourses to critically review the mechanisms through which Eurocentric knowledges become colonising knowledges that are violently asserted, imposed and transformed.

It is important to note that this deconstructive approach is employed to analyse and unsettle power↔knowledge relationships and not to reify, devalue or undermine Eurocentric knowledge systems per se.

2. Situated knowledges and practices, those diverse systems of knowledge and social organisation that arise from cultures’ being-in-place, are concurrently drawn upon to challenge and unsettle the circular argument by:
 - c) returning to textual elements that I label ‘choruses’ in order to juxtapose my discussion of the assumed universalism of Eurocentric knowledges with unsettling glimpses into specific, situated knowledges;

²³ Blunt and Rose (1994:15) do not explain what they mean by the term “imagined geographies”. In this thesis, the knowledges drawn upon to challenge universalising assumptions are based on experiences and interactions that are constantly re-experienced and reformed both by the reader and myself.

- d) using my research to discuss various ways local groups actively re-member non-Eurocentric systems and structures, and to examine how this challenges the assumed universality, dominance and inevitability of colonising processes.

Again this is done not to romanticise multiple knowledges and suggest they are superior to Eurocentric knowledges but to challenge power↔knowledge relationships.

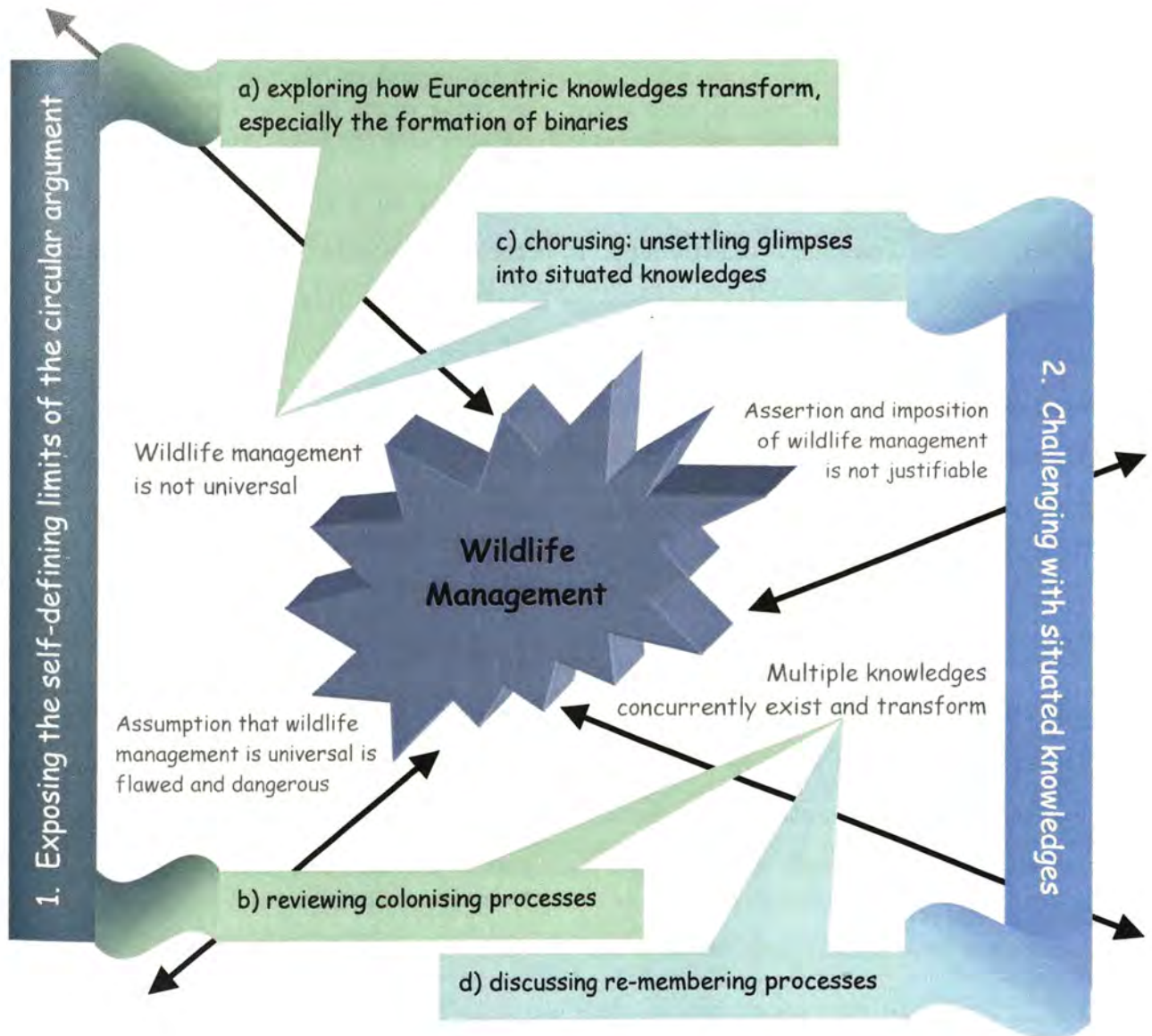


Figure 7

Shattering mirrors: two approaches and four threads

1. Exposing the self-defining limits of the circular argument

What is it about boundaries that make them important to power relations? A style favoured by contrast includes some things, excludes others, and creates hierarchies privileging one form of knowledge over another ... Contrast also tends to fix a positional superiority in the mind of categorizer – the notion that one is superior by virtue of being in a position to create the categories, or to draw the lines (Nader 1996:2).

Investigation of the material, discursive and conceptual places where Eurocentric wildlife management knowledges and practices are imagined and realised allows the self-alienating limit of the 'hall of mirrors' to be identified:

We are very resistant to thinking how the act of signification [transforming knowledges], the act of producing the icons and symbols, the myths and metaphors [boundaries and relations] through which we live culture, must always – by virtue of the fact that they are forms of representation – have within them a kind of self-alienating limit (Bhabha 1990:210).

By realising that Eurocentric knowledges are not based on a pre-existing epistemological given, but are constantly transforming, it becomes impossible to sustain the arrogant assumption that one particular epistemology is universal. In this thesis this realisation is achieved by examining Eurocentric knowledges and beliefs, especially beliefs in a range of oppositional binaries and their assumptions of universality. It will be shown that naturalised Eurocentric concepts and binaries embedded within the notion of wildlife management are in fact dynamic transformations and cannot be universal. Therefore Eurocentric practices, based on these dynamic transformations, are also not universal.

Knowledges do not transform in a vacuum and the circumstances in which this occurs influences what is transformed. To understand how Eurocentric wildlife management knowledges transform and how this interacts with power relationships, the thesis also reviews the colonising processes which inform wildlife management, are informed by wildlife management, and through which wildlife management practices and concepts are embedded, asserted and imposed.

Esteva (1987:140-141) eloquently describes the need for this understanding of knowledges and colonising processes in regard to language – how words form, how they are imposed and how regeneration can be undertaken:

... we need to dis-cover the genesis of our words ... And then find out how they came to be placed amongst us, with what purpose they were pro-posed to us, under what conditions they were im-posed upon us ... Having seen their origin, the conditions of their generation, we may re-cognize and de-cognize them. Most important, we are enabled to run away from those words which masquerade before us as truths, postulates, and laws, of universal and necessary

nature which are for general and permanent application ... We can undertake the regeneration of quecha, of vernacular speech and language. We can respect the other's world. We can give up the idea of educating others (i.e., programming them with the code with which we were educated). We can combat all proposals for a common discourse (of groups, of classes, of nations, of regions, of "South" ... etc).

a) exploring how knowledges transform: binaries as a tool

When examining issues pertaining to wildlife management, exploring both the formation, application, control and appropriation of knowledges and the languages that are used to establish conceptual, discursive and material boundaries and relations are vital. In particular, examining oppositional binaries, so often used to characterise key relationships or categories, and the boundaries and relationships implicit in them, can uncover not only the ways in which words and concepts are transformed, but also the power relationships implicit in and reinforced by their use. Examination of the roots, uses and implications of such binaries offers an easily accessible pathway into a critique of Eurocentric knowledges↔language↔power relations and the implications of these relations for diverse local and indigenous knowledges. Many authors have used binaries as an entry point into understanding the ways Eurocentric knowledges transform and the interrelationships this has with power processes²⁴.

A number of Eurocentric binaries are transformed around and within what is perceived to be the contained and externally related concepts of 'wildlife' and 'management'. This thesis considers the following: Society↔Nature, Human↔Animal, Wild↔Domestic/Tame, Conserve↔Develop, Western↔Indigenous, Coloniser↔Colonised, Developed↔Undeveloped, Civilised↔Primitive, Modern↔Traditional, International/National↔Local, Insider↔Outsider, Active↔Passive and Individual↔Community. These binary representations are all typically transformed and accepted in Eurocentric knowledge systems as unproblematic, bound, static, oppositional entities. Each of the binary elements is naturalised and seen as being related to its 'other' contained, naturalised element in terms of an external opposition. However, critical examination not only rejects them as natural or universal but also reveals their proclaimed universal and structural status as a singular reflection of specific Eurocentric epistemologies and beliefs. By assuming that fundamental epistemological beliefs underpinning these binaries, such as hierarchy, separation and progress, are universal, Eurocentric knowledges

²⁴ For example, McDowell (1992 a,b, 1991) looks at the ways post-structuralists and feminists have used binaries to critique the concept of difference and its power relationships. Other authors such as Clifford (1997); D Rose (1997); Lavie and Swedenburg (1996); Blaut (1993); Wolf (1982); Rutherford (1990) and Young (1990) and use binaries such as inside↔outside, self↔other, passive↔active, male↔female, colonised↔coloniser, home↔field and community↔individual to explore relationships between knowledges and powers.

assume that the binaries themselves are universally accepted and can thus be uncritically asserted and imposed.

b) reviewing colonising processes

Assumption of an external, objective truth, and failure to recognise the processes by which knowledges transform, render Eurocentric knowledges susceptible to unquestioningly defining 'everything' in their own terms. The hall of mirrors is formed in which everything is judged on the basis of the Eurocentric knowledge frameworks and beliefs that are reflected back. Everything beyond the mirrors is ignored, silenced, denigrated or undermined so that the hall, and what it contains, becomes the everything. When infinite realities and imaginaries are defined and reflected within the one knowledge framework, then a universalising perspective is formed. These perspectives are informed by and reflect specific discourses. Irigaray (cited in Rose, G 1996:67) emphasises the universalising power of anything positioned within the hall of mirrors (in this case the masculine subject):

From this encircling projective machinery, no reality escapes unscathed. Alive. Every 'body' is transformed by it ... What is disturbing is that of these fantasies he makes laws, going so far as to confuse them with science – which no reality resists. The whole is already circumscribed and determined in and by his discourse ... Nothing escapes the circularity of this law.

A range of interconnected, shifting universalising discourses intersect across and within the knowledges (concepts, binaries, assumptions) and practices of wildlife management. In particular, Eurocentric colonising discourses are integral to how wildlife management concepts transform and are asserted and imposed. This thesis explores these colonising discourses. Jacobs (1996:2) emphasises the importance of this as an entry point to understanding knowledges, identity and power:

... the very making and remaking of identity occurs through representational and discursive spheres, both official and popular, material and ideological. As Thomas (1994:2) notes, colonialism has always been 'imagined and energised through signs, metaphors and narratives'.

A range of terms such as colonial, colonising, colonisation, colonialism, postcolonialism, post-colonial, decolonisation, decolonising, neocolonialism, deep colonising, recolonising, internal colonisation relate to different aspects of Eurocentric colonising discourses. These words are used by different people in diverse positions in many contexts. There is no specific, unproblematic or decisive definition for any one of them. Like so many terms relevant to this thesis, their meanings are multiple and fluid, depending on focus, context and position.

In this thesis the term colonising is used to refer to multiple manifestations and imaginations to do with colonising discourses, processes, practices, structures and experiences. The present participle form is adopted rather than the more conventional noun form (colonisation) in order to foreground colonising as a continuing action, rather than rendering it as past and completed. This verb form is used to give a sense of active continuity, of “movement over stability, so that stability – whenever it is found – is viewed as temporary and/or only apparent ... as a ‘paralysis’ of movement” (Ollman 1993:31).

One of the critically important elements of movement generated by colonising discourses are processes of dismembering. The notion of dis-membering captures the violent rending apart of the intimate links between people, culture and country that occurs when the will and way of thinking of the coloniser is materially, conceptually and discursively asserted and imposed over the will of the other²⁵. Such dismembering is effected by silencing, ignoring, denigrating and undermining knowledges and practices that lie outside the hall of mirrors – do not fit in to, reflect or support Eurocentric frameworks. This metaphor of dismembering is powerful and disturbing. Its visceral impact emphasises that the separation of people from themselves, each other, their culture and their homelands and places of the heart is the most violating and painful act. It is, as the report *Bringing Them Home* (Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission 1997) reminds us of Australia’s stolen generations of indigenous peoples, a form of genocide and a crime against humanity of those whose lives, knowledges, culture and country is dismembered. To avoid dispersing its power and impact through overuse and familiarity it is sparingly used in this thesis.

The notion of dismembering gives rise to the similarly powerful metaphoric imagery of re-membering. In this imagery, it is not just that the memories of past practices and traditions are recalled into the service of the present and the future across the gulfs formed by the dismemberment of colonising processes, but dismembered elements of people, culture and country are brought together in new ways, reforming and revitalising relations despite colonising practices. This thesis seeks to draw attention to these re-memberings, and to open a discursive space for innovative re-membering to occur.

²⁵ D Rose (1996a:193) identifies this violence as ‘deep colonising’ in the treatment of Aboriginal women and their cultural knowledge in some legal processes intended to recognise indigenous land rights:

The erasure of the power and presence of women in the context of a public hearing about the spiritual, cultural and social bases of land ownership is a form of violence; it obscures and tends to nullify the living presence of Indigenous women in their social, moral and spiritual complexity. It is a violence that is not acknowledged as such – as it is displaced – androcentric views of society assume that women already are marginal to social/spiritual life.

Just as Eurocentric colonising discourses' lack of self-examination forms an illusory universalism, well-intentioned post and counter-colonial critiques risk being 'captured' by colonising discourses through centring their critique within the hall of mirrors. By focusing on colonisation as a narrative centre, and failing to recognise knowledges, processes, experiences, discourses, actions, smells, sounds etc. which are beyond the hall and outside the colonial narrative, colonising power relations are reimposed and reinforced. For example, in regard to anthropology, Lavie and Swedenburg (1996:157) argue that:

Anthropology's criticism of the colonialism that had made it possible facilitated the colonizing process by making it more efficient. The scientific allegory served as the textual vehicle to rationalize and legitimate the US-European colonial hegemony of the West over the Rest.

It is important for readers to remember that colonising discourses are not static, bound entities but are fluid and interact with other discourses – “[c]olonial discourse and power has operated through a complex intersection of social constructs based around race, gender, class and sexuality” (Jacobs 1996:3). If transformation processes are recognised, and critical attention is given to questions of focus, context and position, illusions of powerful universalism formed in the hall of mirrors can be shattered, and colonising discourses and their universalising perspectives can be viewed in terms of their fluid, shifting, internal relationships not only with multiple knowledges but also with other discourses.

As D Rose (1997:4) describes in regard to the 'self', if wildlife management were considered only from within Eurocentric colonising discourses, then multiple knowledges as well as other discourses would not be recognised. The taken-for-granted boundaries defined by the colonising perspective would reflect, re-define and justify everything it attempted to critique. However, solely engaging with multiple knowledges and rejecting colonising perspectives and discourses risks dis-engaging with the practical interactions of Eurocentric colonising discourses with peoples' lives. Therefore, as a basis for framing contextualised responses, multiple knowledges and Eurocentric colonising discourses (and other universalising Eurocentric perspectives such as developmentalist and capitalist discourses) are recognised and embraced as are the ways they interact within and between each other(s).

In doing this, tensions are acknowledged to exist between emphasising diversity of multiple knowledges, and naturalising and decontextualising boundaries and relations within and between these knowledges. Ways that knowledges continually shift and constantly re-define each other depending on positionality, focus and context are explored through examples. It is

not the epistemological setting and defining of boundaries and relationships that are critiqued. Rather, in exploring the ways wildlife management concepts and practices transform, the processes and discourses through which the naturalisation and privileging of certain epistemologies into powerful material practices, administrative procedures and imagined and material geographies are problematised.

2. Challenging with situated knowledges

By recognising situated knowledges – multiple beliefs and active re-membering processes – the consequences of Eurocentric knowledges, their universalising assumptions and violent dismembering and colonising processes can be identified, analysed and challenged. This assists in shattering the hall of mirrors as knowledges, experiences, relationships, sensations and processes that were ignored, silenced, devalued and undermined are recognised and embraced:

As Lefebvre argued, the homogenizing tendency of transparent space [Eurocentric knowledges] is always threatened by the persistent presence of difference. There is always “an elsewhere that does not merely lie outside the centre but radically striates it” (Blunt and Rose 1994:15-16).

c) choruses: unsettling glimpses into situated knowledges

Identifying transforming processes means that the infinite ways in which focus, context and positionality combine exposes infinite knowledges and the realisation that “boundaries are never given and when established never absolute” (Ollman 1993:36-37). By recognising this constantly shifting and overlapping multiplicity of knowledges, any claim to universality that Eurocentric knowledges and practices may make are challenged. Therefore, throughout the thesis, as Eurocentric binaries and beliefs are identified, they are juxtaposed with and unsettled by glimpses into situated knowledges and beliefs that do not subscribe to them. Thus, any Eurocentric assumption that their own beliefs and knowledges are universally accepted, are shown to be flawed and dangerous.



Eurocentric knowledges believe that an external, static truth is obtainable, out there for everybody in the universe to grasp and discover in the same way (and thus if you do not grasp it you are inferior and undeveloped). The flaw of assuming this belief is universal is revealed by this glimpse into the ways the Yolngu of northern Australia transform knowledges in which ‘infinite worlds’ are seen as constantly shifting and ungraspable:

Yolngu knowledge making ... subsists ... in an infinitely structurable



universe of experience to which tropes from the vast network of Yolngu connected meanings can be selected to foreground one's own point of view on the context of meaning making. The world in this sense could be seen to be endlessly structurable and humans use language to re-construct what is always a human meaning ... (Christie 1992:7).

D Rose (1996b:32) describes Aboriginal knowledges in Australia in general, and challenges Eurocentric beliefs in universality by arguing that:

One of the most important aspects of Aboriginal knowledge systems is that they do not universalise ... knowledge is localised and specific.

Esteva (1987:132) challenges the hierarchical, "formal and permanent" boundaries set by Eurocentric knowledges by arguing that "[e]veryone can define it and relocate it, within given limits". He illustrates this with his interpretation of Mexican peasant perceptions of movement in which:

... the outer space is perceived as a horizon, not a frontier. A horizon is not a geographical or topological concept, but an historic and cultural metaphor. It is a collective conscience completely independent of geography, a "collective memory" ... in continual transformation.

Scott (1996:73) discusses Cree knowledge and how life and consciousness are seen as being at the "threshold of unfolding events, of continuous birth". He argues that:

One consequence of this construction of the world is that an attitude of dogmatic certainty about what one knows is not only untruthful but disrespectful. There are many signs of recurrence and regularity in experience, but interpretations cannot be certain or absolute. To expect a definite future outcome on the basis of signs in the past or present, for example, may presume too much about the cooperation of other persons [as explored later, this includes nonhuman persons]. Someone (human, animal, or spirit) could even retaliate by frustrating hunters' intentions.

d) discussing re-membering processes

Eurocentric colonisation involves the assertion and imposition of power by violently dismembering local and indigenous peoples' knowledges and practices through material, discursive and conceptual means. This dismembering includes the silencing, ignoring, denigrating and undermining of people and knowledges. This justifies the assumptions that Eurocentric knowledges are universal and can thus be unproblematically asserted and imposed.

Eurocentric colonising discourses represent the colonised as an outside and inferior 'other', opposed to the inside and superior colonising self²⁶. The external, hierarchical relationships

²⁶ Wolf and Blaut both explore this inside↔outside binary in their books aimed at repudiating the Eurocentrism of colonising histories. Wolf (1982:24-25) argues that populations outside of Europe "have been treated as people without a history of their own" as "history, from a Western point of view has tended to ignore or caricature" them. Blaut (1993:5) uses the image of a "tunnel history" to describe the ways universalising perspectives have

between bound and binarised entities are characterised by a unidirectional assertion and imposition of power, domination and control. From the homogenising and universalising perspective of Eurocentric categories and terms of reference a colonised, oppressed, passive victim is transformed. Ignored and silenced, these victims are represented as being:

... endowed with features such as powerlessness, passivity, poverty, and ignorance, usually dark and lacking in historical agency. As of waiting for the (white) Western hand to help subjects along and not infrequently hungry, illiterate, needy, and oppressed by its stubbornness, lack of initiative, and traditions (Escobar 1995:8).

This representation denies the actions, experiences and perspectives of people who are constantly resisting and refusing to be dismembered and are actively transforming and re-membering knowledges and practices:

Indigenous knowledge has not been, in all cases, superseded by western conservationist knowledge, nor is it a subset of the latter ... Indigenous knowledge exists wherever there are living Aboriginal customary systems, and wherever this is the case, Aboriginal and western systems of knowledge are parallel, co-existing, but different, ways of knowing (Langton 1998:8).

As there is no essentialised colonial process 'out there', there can be no essentialised re-membering process. Complexity and multiplicity result in complex and multiple re-membering processes of transforming and being. This re-membering does not involve a remembering or reconstruction of an idealised, romanticised, static, original and authentic past but a re-membering of an active present in which multiple, complex processes result in multiple, complex systems and structures. Throughout the rest of the thesis, the material, discursive and conceptual places where re-membering is occurring are embraced. In doing so, the binary relationship of powerful and powerless is challenged and experiences of resisting, refusing, transforming, adapting, manipulating, imagining and realising are celebrated.

Setting the stage: unsettling Eurocentric notions of space, time and colonisation

Before considering concepts and practices of wildlife management, one further set of conceptual and material foundations of the thesis need to be clarified. A brief examination of Eurocentric concepts of time, space and colonisation is necessary so that assumptions about them can be recognised and assertions that they are universal challenged:

Within the common sense of our time and place, most social ties are thought about in abstractions that focus on the parts one at a time, separately as well as statically. Marx,

formed a World history which lies within the European walls of the tunnel. Everything outside of these walls, outside of superior Europe, is seen as "rockbound, timeless, changeless tradition".

however, believes that in order to adequately grasp the systemic connections that constitute such an important part of reality one has to incorporate them – along with the ways in which they change – into the very abstractions in and with which one thinks about them. All else is make-do patchwork, a one-sided, lopsided way of thinking that invites the neglect of essential connections together with the distortion of whatever influence they exert on the overall system (Ollman 1993:33).

Eurocentric knowledges are based on a belief in an essentialised, naturalised truth and therefore boundaries are set that are seen as impenetrable and relationships are presumed to be external to the bound entities. These knowledges name and classify time and space as separate, isolated categories externally related to each other. Assuming time and space to be universal beliefs places wildlife management, notions of colonisation as well as this thesis within the hall of mirrors (see figure 8).

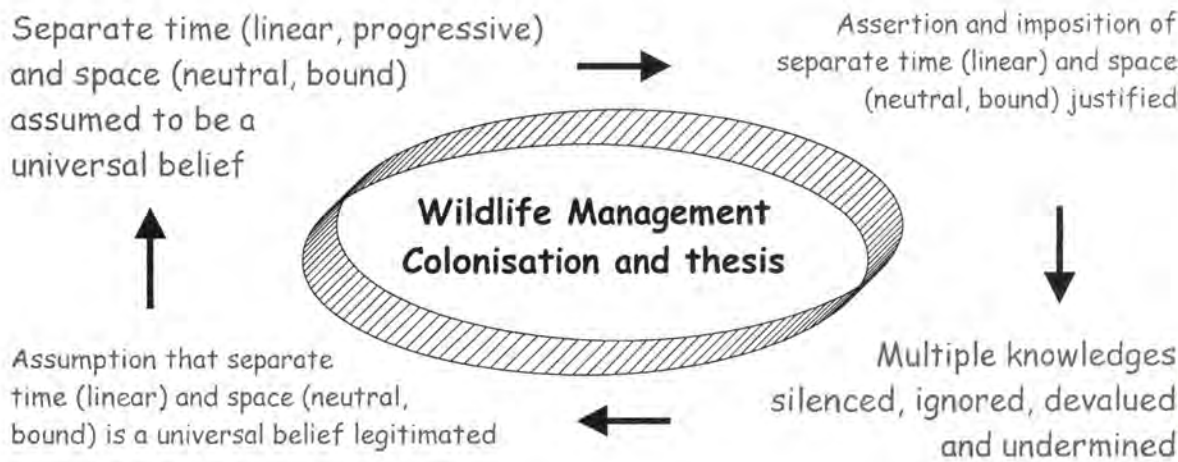


Figure 8:
Wildlife management, colonisation and thesis in the hall of mirrors:
reflections of separate time and space

However, Eurocentric notions of time and space are not universal and self-evident truths, but are specific transformations based upon specific beliefs in separation, hierarchy and progress. Investigating the ways these Eurocentric knowledges transform, blurs and unsettles the boundaries and relations around, within and between the certainties of an essentialised, bound, separated space, time and colonial process. It allows re-cognition of fluid, multiple, interconnected knowledges dependent on focus, context and position for definition and meaning. This sets the stage for an examination of the ways knowledges and practices form, eddy, mix, dissolve and flow around, through, under and over concepts and practices wildlife management.

What does space mean?

Historians trace the origin of the common-sense view [of space] back at least as far as Ancient Greece, where it was intimately bound up with the development of geometry (Davies and Gribbin 1991:282).

As abstract geometrical spaces became associated with the 'physical' world, the notion of space in Eurocentric thought took on a concrete, limited, quantifiable aspect. When space is known as a passive stage on which life happens, 'space' can be located in terms of binaries such as an inside and outside or centre and margin. Each entity is known as contained and separate, related to the 'other' entity by external relationships of opposition. In describing what he terms the 'colonizer's model of the world', Blaut (1993:42) argues that diffusionist beliefs structure a world in which:

... essential processes that take place in an "inner", essentially European, core sector of the world, describes those that take place in an "outer", essentially non-European sector, and describes the modes of interaction between the two sectors, the most important of which is the inner-to-outer diffusion of innovative ideas, people, and commodities.

Thus, within Eurocentric epistemologies, spatial categories of inside and outside, core and periphery, centre and margin form an illusion of pre-determined, naturalised spatial relations which take place in neutral, isolated, passive spaces. Using Lefebvre's description of an "illusion of transparency", Blunt and Rose (1994:5, my bold) talk, perhaps confusingly, about these predetermined, naturalised spaces as transparent space. They argue that "[t]ransparent space **assumes** that the world can be seen as it really is and that there can be unmediated access to the truth of objects it sees". In other words, like Blaut, they suggest that Eurocentric ideology transforms a naturalised illusion of space as neutral and of spatial relations as a simple reflection of 'real' relations.



However, this notion of space has been challenged by human geography, which has generated significant debate on these issues. Human geography has, and continues to, produce an influential critique of predetermined, essentialised concepts of space and argues for the importance of considering the ways people transform space and how different spaces interact with each other.

In *Postmodern Geographies*, Soja (1989:1) aims "to spatialize the historical narrative, to attach to *durée* an enduring critical human geography". Blunt and Rose (1994:12) argue space is not a neutral given but that "space itself could ... be interpreted in multiple ways but only after its construction in the minds of those perceiving it". Massey (1984:3, 6) considers the dialectical nature of space and society and argues that not only is "space a social construct", but "the social is spatially constructed too". Young (1992:256) illustrates the point that



"landscapes 'exist' in contingent, not static, relations to the images and actions of the beholder" through a comparative examination of the ways hunter-gatherers and industrialised societies interpret the landscape.

In challenging conventional Eurocentric notions of a predetermined, non-active space, human geographers do not dismiss space or make space an absence, but actively embrace the ways that people transform spaces, places, boundaries and relationships. It is not that spatial boundaries and relationships are illusionary or do not exist. Rather, it is necessary to investigate them, and consider ways that "the material and ideological are co-constitutive" (Jacobs 1996:5). Imaginary and real boundaries and relationships around, within and between spaces and places are crucial in understanding power relationships and consequently are also vital in imagining and realising relevant and contextualised processes in specific circumstances. As Blunt and Rose (1994:5) state "spaces are constituted through struggles over power/knowledge". Drawing on the work of human geographers, Moore (1998:347) argues for a vision which "insists on joining the cultural politics of place to those of identity" rather than "viewing geographically specific sites as the stage – already fully-formed constructions that serve as settings for action – for the performance of identities ...".

Human geographers have further explored the ways spaces transform by using the notion of a sense of place and locality studies to uncover the multiple ways people know spaces (for example, see Jacobs 1996; Massey 1993, 1984; Agnew and Duncan 1989). The ways places and spaces interact and interrelate is also a focus for locality studies and geographical thought.

Howitt (1993b) discusses the multidimensional and simultaneous interactions and internal relationships that define and are defined within and between spaces by unsettling taken-for-granted notions of geographical scale. Drawing upon a philosophy of internal relations, Howitt (1993b:34) argues that "[t]he rigidity of many categorical definitions is unsustainable ... Boundaries which previously separated clearly independent, even mutually exclusive, conceptual categories have been transgressed". He emphasises that "scale, like all spatial relationships, is embedded in the dynamics of social life rather than imposed externally" (Howitt 1993b:39).

What does time mean?

Geographers' interests in refining and debating ideas about space have rarely been matched by similar interests with concepts of time. Widely seen as a discrete, separate category, the concept of time has often been left for historians. However, an understanding of the multiple ways people transform time is important for geographers as time intimately and internally interacts with notions of space, and assumptions about these concepts underlie many of the relations between power and knowledges.

Like space, in Eurocentric epistemologies, a concept 'time' has been transformed on the basis that 'the world can be seen as it really is'. Bounded categories of past, present and future with linear, unidirectional relationships are seen to be basic, unproblematic representations of how time truly works. Judeo-Christian and scientific discourses represent time through a time-line on which arrows point to the future, privileging a linear, bound, defined notion of time. 'The beginning' is embedded in creation myths set in the past, be it through the Bible:

When God began to create the heaven and the earth ... there was evening and there was morning, a first day (Plaut et al. 1981:18);

or through scientific discourses:

The Big Bang saw the beginning of everything ... The flow of time as we know it also began with the Big Bang ... (Gribbin 1981:6).

This unidirectional characteristic of time sets up a sense of movement that many Eurocentric discourses imbue with an inevitable flow towards the future that is assumed to be inherently better than the past. Notions of progress and development, cause and effect contribute towards this taken-for-granted sensation:

Linear time underlies our most cherished notions of "progress" – our collective faith in the inexorable, incremental refinement of human society, technology, and thought (Knudtson and Suzuki 1992:143).

This sense of progression is not only influenced by creation myths but also by discourses of evolution and social Darwinism. Davies and Gribbin (1991:17) categorically state that Darwin was correct in surmising that "it is natural selection that preserves the advantageous mutations and thereby brings about the progressive nature of evolutionary change" and that:

*Since Darwin, biological thinking has been dominated by the concept of gradual evolution. From the fossil record one may infer that the present condition of the earth's biosphere is the product of an **immense number of successive steps towards ever greater complexity, adaption and sophistication** (Davies and Gribbin 1991:282, my bold).*

Indeed, Darwin (1889:451, my bold) himself reflects the dominant mindsets of his 'time' and emphasises the linear trajectory of change over time in the development of both societies (hunter-gatherer to agriculturalists, primitive to civilised) and in regard to nations (undeveloped to developed):

*... the group of nearly naked figures [Aboriginal people from the King George's Sound region of south-west Australia], viewed by the light of the blazing fires, all moving in hideous harmony, formed a perfect display of a festival amongst the **lowest barbarian**;*

*... Farewell, Australia! you are **a rising child**, and doubtless some day will reign a great princess in the South: but you are too great and ambitious for affection, yet not great enough for respect.*

Gold (1984:26-27) describes the naturalising influence social Darwinian discourses (perhaps incorrectly yet conveniently drawing on theories of evolution and the concept of “the survival of the fittest”), have on everyday figures of speech such as “the rat race, the pecking order, the law of the jungle” and on analogies and justifications for competition used in discourses such as capitalism, politics, war and race.


Linear, unidirectional, progressive movements of time have been slightly unsettled over the last century by quantum physics. Quantum physics challenges over three centuries of Newtonian physics in which all systems and events were seen as part of a vast, quantifiable, mechanistic process. This paradigm characterised matter as passive and inert, consisting of “‘solid, massy, impenetrable, movable particles’ ... which were shaped and formed by external forces” (Davies and Gribbin 1991:5). Davies and Gribbin (1991:8) argue that these beliefs “still hold sway in our everyday ‘common-sense’ view of the world”. However, in scientific thought, they were initially demolished through Einstein’s theory of relativity which brought an elastic and changeable time and space together, and more recently notions of a united time, space and matter have been transformed by quantum theory. Quantum theory has introduced into science concepts such as instability, unpredictability, chaos, nonlinear time, time as relative to position, illusions of time, uncertainty, networks and interactions (Davies and Gribbin 1991). Quantum theory also challenges notions of inevitable progress by arguing that the unidirectional flow of time in fact goes from order to chaos (Hawking 1987). However, despite this ‘profound transformation’ and recognition of a ‘limited truth’, the underlying belief in an external truth has not been challenged by quantum physicists who still believe that “[t]he difficulties concerning the relationship between abstract models and reality do not ... undermine the claim that science deals with truth” (Davies and Gribbin 1991:19).

A belief in a statically bound past allows objective historians to transform knowledge so that it becomes “possible to recover an absolute truth of what happened in history. History is not a story told by the present, it is a *fait accompli*, which we need carefully to uncover” (Christie 1992:2). Ollman (1993:29) elaborates on Marx’s view of this and argues that:

In the view that currently dominates the social sciences, things exist and undergo change. The two are logically distinct. History is something that happens to things; it is not part of their nature. Hence, the difficulty of examining change in subjects from which it has been removed at the start.

Carter (1987:xiv) critiques histories based on and contributing to a notion of linear bound time. He argues that this type of history replaces spatial events with a historical stage whereby

“[i]t is not the historian who stages events, weaving them together to form a plot, but History itself”. This means that space and its interactions with time are ignored and “[t]he fact that where we stand and how we go is history” is not recognised. Thus epistemologies which set up boundaries and external relationships based on a knowable, true, logical and reasonable past transform the concept of time and history in such a way that it empowers, legitimates and justifies itself: “[i]n a theatre of its own design, history’s drama unfolds; the historian is an impartial onlooker, simply *repeating* what happened ... Such history is a fabric woven of self-reinforcing illusions” (Carter 1987:xv).



However, historians, novelists, geographers, anthropologists, linguists and scientists are examining this linear sense of time and, together with the ways other people know ‘time’, are challenging its boundaries and relationships.

For example, Christie (1992:14) describes Yolngu understandings of creation and argues that “[t]he histories Yolngu tell constitute the present reality of where they are”. He juxtaposes this understanding of time not as a past but as a continually renegotiated present by drawing on Ashcroft’s critique of objective history as a concept which “allows us to relax into a miserable determinism which distracts us from the noise of all the other competing claims to a definition of the situation which are alive ... today” (Ashcroft cited in Christie 1992:2-3).

People in Napranum always cautioned any attempt to impose a Eurocentric notion of time by teaching me about their ways of knowing time:

When White people say they’re gonna do something it has to be done straight away or not at all (Peppan traditional owner, 15.9.98).

The process will work itself out but with time and experience (Traditional descendent, 13.9.98).

Concepts of time are embedded in language and the ways it shapes one’s worldview. The English language, for example, requires use of terms specific to a particular view of time as categorically distinct, as either past, present or future. In other words, the linearity implicit in much Eurocentric epistemology is embedded in English language, making it difficult to convey non-linear concepts of time and temporal relations, and their spatial implications. Consider, for example, the use of the verb ‘come’ in the following passage of Aboriginal English quoted by D Rose (1996b:35):

Kakawuli (bush yam) come up from Dreaming. No matter what come up, they come up from Dreaming. All tucker come out from Dreaming. Fish, turtle, all from Dreaming. Crocodile, anything, all come from Dreaming.

In this passage Big Mick Kankinang uses the verb ‘come’ without conventional tense markers. For many English speakers this shift from standard English reflects an inability to express ‘properly’ the idea of a Dreamtime as an ancient past. Yet consider this passage as precisely capturing an ever-present Dreaming (what the anthropologist Stanner (1969:24) referred to as the ‘everywhen’),



where things have come, do come and will come about as a result of continually renewing relationships between people, place and other species and entities that are called 'Dreaming'. When this is done, the statement can be read as a potent challenge to conventional temporal thinking in English. It unsettles English tense boundaries and a Eurocentric notion of time by presenting time as interchangeably past, present and future.

Concepts of change are intimately interconnected with concepts of time. If time is seen as linear and unidirectional the concept of change can be seen to follow this line of progression and development from the past, through the present and into the future. Knowing time as consisting of separate, discrete and externally related categories means that the 'real' past and 'likely' future can be seen as "externally related phenomena" (Ollman 1993:30).



However, viewing relationships between past, present and future as internally related means that boundaries can be blurred and overlaps, returns, cycles, circles and spirals can place futures before pasts, presents after futures and presents, pasts and futures all experienced concurrently at the 'one time'.

Ollman (1993:29) argues that Marx, drawing on the philosophy of internal relations, blurred the boundaries between time categories by referring:

... not only to time past but to time future. So that whatever something is becoming – whether we know what that will be or not – is in some important respects part of what it is along with what it once was.

Space↔time and colonisation

Appeals to the past are among the commonest of strategies in interpretations of the present (Said 1993:1).

As Said observes, the most common approach to an examination of something is to focus on its past. This past is often seen as an unproblematic, discrete period. Similarly, the space the 'something' occupies is often seen as natural, neutral, contained and bound. The sense of time and space underlying Eurocentric epistemologies informs colonising discourses by binding them in terms of a linear progression through a unidirectional time (the lines between boxes in a flow chart), embodied in a contained, natural, unproblematised space (the borders around the Garden of Eden). Relations (the arrows), if recognised, are seen as external to the contained entities. In these linear narratives, a past, Eurocentric, historical colonial is traced by its legacies to a present, real post-colonial with aspirations for a decolonised, imagined

future foreshadowed. Rarely are the peculiarities and interactions of space, time and colonising processes explored.



In rejecting objective notions of time and what he calls “imperial history” – “which reduces space to a stage, that pays attention to events unfolding in time alone ...” – Carter (1987:xvi) brings the concepts of time and space together in what he terms “spatial history”. This spatial history:

Against the historian ... recognises that our life as it discloses itself spatially is dynamic, material but invisible ... It cannot be delimited by reference to immediate actions, let alone treated as an autonomous fact independent of intention. It recognizes that the spatiality of historical experience evaporates before the imperial gaze ... The result may be legitimacy, but at the expense of a world of experience (Carter 1987:xxii).

As one begins to understand that boundaries *do* blur and relationships are *not* external, it becomes clear that the naturalised binaries of space and time, inside and outside, centre and margin, core and periphery, past and future do not exist as natural, predetermined, unchangeable givens. Each bound entity is dependent on the other for its meaning and definition – without space there can be no time, without time there can be no space, without an outside there can be no inside, without a centre there can be no margin, without a periphery there can be no core. What are seen as opposing entities are shown to be justifications and reflections of the one epistemology which presumes to be able to know the truth. This truth assumes that separation, hierarchy and progress are universally accepted and applied beliefs. Focus, context and positionality are crucial in recognising and respecting multiple knowledges and their interactions. Understanding space, time and colonising discourses through an examination of knowledges means that centres, outsides, pasts and futures are not necessarily discredited and rejected, but are treated as fluid, dynamic and multiple depending on position, focus and context.



***L**e Guin (1989:82, 97-98) eloquently emphasises the importance of an embodied, situated and contextualised position in regard to locating a centre and interactions between peoples, places and times:*

... a place where one is: a center of the world. There were centers of the world all over California. One of them is a bluff on the Klamath River ... The bluff is still there, but it has no name, and the center of the world is not there [because the people of the bluff have been violently dismembered]. The six directions can meet only in lived time, in the place people call home, the seventh direction, the center ... The center of the world is a bluff on the Klamath River, a rock in Mecca, a hole in the ground in Greece, nowhere, its circumference everywhere.

Drawing upon novelist Kundera, Le Guin (1989:82-83) considers how Eurocentric transformations of space and time have been asserted and imposed. She describes how colonising assertions and impositions of unidirectional, linear transformations of time have dismembered multiple knowledges by imposing a wholesale forgetting:

... when a big power wants to deprive a smaller one of its national identity, of its self-consciousness, it uses ... the "method of organized forgetting". And when a future-oriented culture impinges upon a present-centered one, the method becomes a compulsion. Things are forgotten wholesale.

Eurocentric colonising processes involve the assertion and imposition of universal knowledges so that multiple knowledges are 'forgotten' – silenced, ignored, denigrated, devalued. However, constantly challenging this is the active re-membling of knowledges. This does not involve remembering a past, romanticised ideal, but embracing what has been 'forgotten' for active, multiple imaginaries and realities.

In examining concepts of wildlife management in Australia, Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, and considering how they are fundamentally informed by, and inform colonising processes and power relations, the limitations and implications of broad, unidirectional, historical, bound, isolated narratives become especially clear. Reconceptualisations of scale in geography makes it apparent that spaces and places are not isolated, bound, neutral entities (Howitt 1993b; Massey 1993). Similarly, time is not bound, discrete, natural or unidirectional. Rather time and space actively interact in embodied webs of multiple interrelationships. As the 'world exists in a grain of sand' (Howitt 1993b), so all time exists in a moment, and the grain of sand exists in those multiple moments, and those moments exist in multiple grains of sand.

It is not argued that pasts, presents and futures, or bound material or conceptual spaces do not exist, but rather that "a politics constituted by a broader history and geography of colonial inheritances, imperialist presents and postcolonial possibilities" (Jacobs 1996:2) occurs concurrently, in multiple, in interconnected places. It is argued that people with whom I interacted, as well as myself, are constantly informing and informed by colonising discourses and that these discourses are not centred, monolithic, pre-existing temporally or spatially discrete entities.

The complexity that underlies this intersection of colonising processes, time and space can be illustrated by an examination of the terminology used in colonising discourses. For example,

what does post-colonial mean? Does it refer to a state that comes, or is, after the colonial? This interpretation begs the question what is colonial? What is a state of colonialism? What is a state of post-colonialism? This concept of a post-colonial conjures up a sense of time as peculiarly linear, of discrete eras or periods inevitably following each other through the progressive march of time.

In some ways we are seen as being past a colonial moment as Australia, Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa are no longer colonies of a European power. However, colonising processes and relationships are still occurring. D Rose (1997:16-17) uses the term “deep colonising” to capture the sense that “practices of colonisation are very much with us. In Australia, as in other settler societies, many of these practices are embedded in the institutions that are meant to reverse processes of colonisation” (Rose, D 1997:16-17). Today ‘new’ forces are imposing the same structural and ideological colonialism on local and indigenous communities as were seen throughout the initial European colonising period. Some of these forces come from within nations and some from without. These internal and external colonising forces are just as destructive, sometimes, due to their veiled nature, even more so, to local rights and aspirations as the initial colonial processes (Howitt 1997d, e; Rose, D 1997; Willems-Braun 1997; Jacobs 1996). This thesis enters the realm of post-colonial critiques in that it attempts to form “a new conceptual framework which, while not denying the efficacy of imperialist structures of domination, uncovers their often anxious contingency and internal variability” (Jacobs 1996:14). However, the notion of post-colonial is critiqued in terms of the implied sense of inevitable progress, development and containment it conveys by suggesting that we are past a colonial moment. Rather than centring upon an essentialised historical, singular colonising narrative the continuation of colonising relationships is illustrated through an examination of wildlife management.

The concept decolonisation is also seen as limited by its implied reference to a specific period of time²⁷. And what is a state of decolonisation? Can there be a state of not being colonised? Events, actions and processes through the last half a millennium have brought, and continue to bring, people and cultures into contact on an unprecedented scale. European nations invaded the territories that were eventually to become the nation-states of Australia, Canada,

²⁷ For example, the concept of ‘decolonisation’ has been applied to Zimbabwe’s victory in the war of liberation against the racial oligarchy in 1980, Namibia’s independence from South Africa in 1990, the formation of the ‘new’ South Africa through the negotiation of a new constitution and the ending of the apartheid regime in 1994, Canada’s independence from Britain in the second half of the 1800s and Australia’s federation in 1901.

Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and people, cultures and localities became further enmeshed and encapsulated within a complex network of interrelationships (Feit 1988)²⁸. Many commentators argue that colonising processes were essentially a search for wealth and resources (Beinart and Coates 1995; Blaut 1993; Berger 1991; Wolf 1982). Blaut (1993) convincingly argues that it was the European success of this search for and exploitation of lands, seas, waterways and physical and human resources that led to and consolidated European power. I argue that these searches and colonising processes continue today.

The imaginaries and realities of these processes and experiences cannot be ignored. Talking about a state of not being colonised and failing to identify and challenge power relations has no relevance, and can in fact be dangerous, in the context of a practical application of this thesis' aims and arguments. McDowell (1992b:61) argues that ignoring or rejecting power relations and the implications of universalising knowledges is a luxury those who have felt the brunt of colonising processes cannot afford:

Other groups cannot afford to reject the subject [of universalising discourse] wholesale, largely because they have never been allowed access to it. Fragmentation has less appeal to those of us who have neither been whole nor at the centre.

Decolonisation cannot aim to return to 1491 or 1787. Rather than rejecting or ignoring colonising processes and discourses, they must be actively examined. By doing this, it becomes apparent that Eurocentric colonising discourses are informed by and inform universalising knowledges. By unsettling these knowledges and discourses, multiple knowledges and discourses become visible, not as the past, or an artefact from the past, but as pasts, presents and futures all concurrently 'being' and actively interacting not only with colonising discourses but also with other shifting discourses and each other. Thus, the notion of decolonisation or decolonising refers not to an idealised moment, a contained solution to a bound problem, but to open-ended – what D Rose (1997:4) describes as 'noisy and unruly' – relationships, to situated engagements that celebrate tensions (Gibbs 1999) so that possibilities can be recognised, imagined and realised.

²⁸ Blaut (1993) and Wolf (1982) not only explore the nature of these new relationships, but convincingly argue that prior to European colonising processes, localities had contact and interacted with each other through trade, migrations, political impositions, wars, etc. Colonising relationships have occurred in multiple places and between multiple peoples. However, Eurocentric colonising discourses from the last half a century are the focus of this thesis due to their dialectical relationships with wildlife management experiences in Australia, Canada and Southern Africa.

Situated engagement: the thesis as an opening to noisy and unruly processes

From the margins, one knows that the world, life, and people express themselves with rich and interactive presences that are invisible from the viewpoint of deformed power, except, perhaps, as disorder or blockage. The dismantling of this oppressive and damaging pole is a necessary step in moving toward dialogue. Dismantling will fail if it is confined to monologue; we seek noisy and unruly processes capable of finding dialogue with the peoples of the world and with the world itself (Rose, D 1997:4).

By identifying the ways knowledges transform, the arrogance of Eurocentric universalisations of accepted, static, contained entities and external relationships is exposed. As Christie (1992:6) argues:

The definition of something in terms of its boundedness, its discontinuity with all other realities, the borders between itself and all possible others, is only one way of talking about our experience.

In finding another way to ‘talk about our experiences’, it is argued that boundaries around concepts are not concrete, impenetrable, ‘no-person’s-lands’ and that relationships are not opposing, static and external to given units. Rather, through processes of constantly transforming ‘worlds’, boundaries and relationships can be seen as blurry, fluid, complex, interacting and multiple. As with Howitt’s (forthcoming) metaphor of the ‘edge’ as the constantly shifting and changing tidal zone, in this thesis boundaries and relationships are conceived of as transformative places which “entwine and interpenetrate in a complex and fecund embrace of coexistence”.

The places the thesis attempts to open up are similar to what Bhabha (1990) terms the third space. In this third space, Bhabha (1990:209) tries to place himself in “that position of liminality, in the productive space of the construction of culture as difference, in the spirit of alterity or otherness”. This avoids what he identifies as processes and discourses that embed and contain cultural diversity within unchallenged universal time frames and boundaries, and racist transformations of norms, values and interests. This third space incorporates:

... the notion of a politics which is based on unequal, uneven, multiple and potentially antagonistic, political identities ... a historical moment in which these multiple identities do actually articulate in challenging ways, either positively or negatively, either in progressive or regressive ways, often conflictually, sometimes even incommensurably (Bhabha 1990:208).

Bhabha (1990:211) sees the third space in terms of hybridity. This:

... enables other positions to emerge. This third space displaces the histories that constitute it, and sets up new structures of authority, new political initiatives, which are inadequately understood through received wisdom ... The process of hybridity gives rise to something

different, something new and unrecognisable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation.

Although these 'new' sites bear the traces of what informs them, no authority of being original or prior is given to these traces, otherwise, "if they keep referring those new sites to old principles, then you are not actually able to participate in them fully and productively and creatively" (Bhabha 1990:211, 216). Bhabha (1990:216) encourages his readers to challenge and unsettle transforming processes; "hybridity is precisely about the fact that when a new situation, a new alliance formulates itself, it may demand that you should translate your principles. Rethink them, extend them".

Other authors have also embraced this conceptual and practical zone. Lavie and Swedenburg (1996:154, 174) move beyond an examination of texts to situate their exploration of the boundaries of culture in the everyday, a "terrain of practice and theory", a "zone of shifting and mobile resistances that refuse fixidity yet practice their own arbitrary provisional closures" – the third timespace. In this timespace, notions of resistance go beyond that which is recognised only as it falls within Eurocentric frameworks of understanding, to include opposition that is:

... not only responsive, but creative. It is a guerilla warfare of the interstices, where minorities rupture categories of race, gender, sexuality, class, nation, and empire in the center as well as on the margins (Lavie and Swedenburg 1996:165-166).

In her exploration of the postcolonial in the modern city, Jacobs (1996:xi) uses the space of the contemporary city to embrace the "unstable negotiation of identity and power". This space of negotiation she terms as the 'edge';

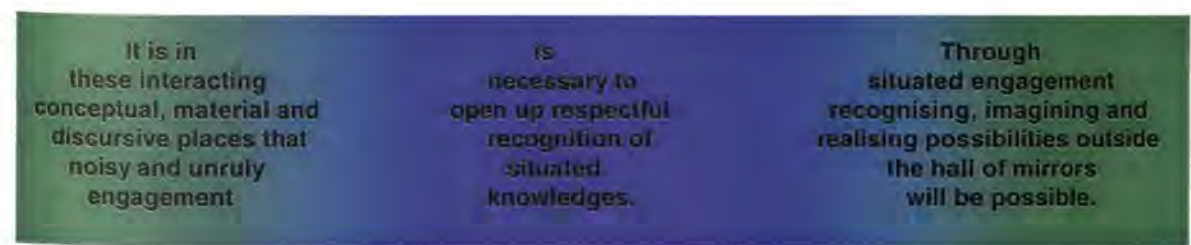
... not a literal edge, the periphery, but what bell hooks (1991:149) describes as a 'profound edge', the 'unsafe' margin which marks not only a space of openness but also the very negotiation of space itself.

Gloria Anzaldúa (1987:preface) explores the places where "two or more cultures edge each other, where people of different races occupy the same territory, where under, lower, middle and upper classes touch, where the space between two individuals shrinks with intimacy". Following the title of her book these physical, psychological, sexual and spiritual *Borderlands/La Frontera* are shown to be places of contradictions – of hatred, anger and exploitation as well as joy and exhilaration.

Using human geography's notion of place as encompassing interactions between multiple transformations of time and space, this thesis grounds these tidal zones, third spaces,

timespaces, profound edges and Borderlands/La Frontera in terms of conceptual, discursive and material places. These places are by no means separate entities and they constantly blur and shift depending on focus, context and position. For example, material places only become places through conceptual transformations. Similarly, conceptual places can only be relevantly and contextually accessed and transformed through specific material places.

It is in these interrelated conceptual, discursive and material places that interactions between knowledges occur. In the rest of this thesis, these interactions are investigated through a focus on wildlife management. This exposes the underlying argument, the hall of mirrors, justifying the assertion and imposition of Eurocentric knowledges. As the hall of mirrors is ‘dismantled’ (shattered) by challenging it with its own contradictions and unsettling it with glimpses into multiple knowledges, the notion of situated engagement is explored and nurtured. Drawing on D Rose’s (1997:1) notion of ‘situated availability’ and Jacobs and Mulvihill’s (1995:9) concept of ‘viable interdependence’, situated engagement is introduced as an approach which encourages noisy and unruly engagement in situated, interacting material, discursive and conceptual places. Contextualised by where people are positioned, situated engagement opens up these places in an ethical sense such that everyone’s ground is destabilised and everyone expects surprises, challenges and to be changed (Rose, D 1997:1). In a practical sense, self-reliance and equitable sharing are celebrated (Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995:9). Engaging (conversing, interacting, thinking, doing) therefore moves into the realm of not only considering how knowledges form, but also how they interact and how this matters.



Equipped with the necessary conceptual understandings of the terms of reference of the thesis we now embark on the journey necessary to open up these places for situated engagement. Before deconstructing Eurocentric concepts and practices of ‘wildlife’ and ‘management’, and examining the ways these knowledges become colonising knowledges, the next chapter describes the empirical focus of the thesis. This focus is on wildlife management initiatives in Australia, Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.



3. Current wildlife management initiatives in Canada, South Africa, Australia, Zimbabwe and Namibia

In setting the empirical stage for the thesis the argument is now contextualised within the practical challenges facing indigenous and local groups, as well as the various interest groups involved in wildlife management. This is achieved by outlining and discussing some current 'wildlife management' initiatives in Canada, South Africa, Australia, Zimbabwe and Namibia that attempt to integrate conservation with the perceived rights and development needs of local people, groups and communities. Many of these initiatives challenge the hegemony of state-dominated wildlife management systems by facilitating arrangements that, to varying degrees, include and involve local communities in wildlife management. The regimes are known under different names including co-management, Community-based Wildlife Management (CWM) and CBNRM. Variations of these regimes are being negotiated and implemented in places throughout Australia, Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. In these regimes new management frameworks and relationships are formed. However, it is argued that they are still firmly based on decontextualised Eurocentric notions of wildlife and management.

In Australia, Canada and South Africa, co-management agreements have produced situations where governments and communities share power and management responsibilities in varying degrees. In Australia and Canada many of these are based on state recognition of certain indigenous 'rights'. In South Africa they are informed by government attempts to redress injustices perpetrated under apartheid and colonial regimes. In Australia, a range of CWM projects, not based on the co-management model, reflect indigenous attempts to assert their rights in wildlife and resource management where strong formal government recognition is lacking. In Zimbabwe and Namibia, CBNRM programs involve governments and NGOs acknowledging local people and working with them on wildlife management and ownership issues. Many of these initiatives involve redefining ways of knowing wildlife, in particular valuing wildlife in a commercial manner for conservation and development purposes.

All these initiatives are informed by two main trends. One is state recognition of indigenous and local communities' rights, the other is acknowledgment of the fallibility of science and limitations of science-based resource management systems. In Australia and Canada, judicial reviews are slowly acknowledging indigenous assertions of rights (McHugh 1996) and governments are dealing with the administrative and political implications of judgements by enacting legislation and negotiating agreements (for example, see O'Faircheallaigh 1997; Jackson 1996; Sharp 1994). In South Africa, the new constitution, attempts at reconciliation, new and amended legislation and land claim processes are attempting to redress past discrimination towards local communities. Conservationists, scientists and politicians in Australia, Canada, South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and in international agencies and NGOs, have started questioning the philosophical foundations of wildlife management (Freeman 1992b; Suzuki 1992) and are recognising the failure of conservation efforts to protect the environment and meet human needs (Glavovic 1995; Notzke 1995; Liebenberg 1993; Cumming 1990b; Feit 1988). This shift has opened up spaces to explore 'new' and innovative approaches to wildlife management (Jacobs and Mulvihill 1995). People's needs and aspirations are being recognised and considered for the first time in conservation efforts.

The scientific and political principles underlying many of these wildlife management initiatives are based on the premise that wildlife management can best be achieved by bringing together wildlife management conservation and community development aspirations. The hegemonic dominance of these principles are reflected in statements such as Makombe's suggestion that in Africa, "when not distracted by polemic and ideologies we share a common goal – the evolution of an effective and mutually reinforcing conservation and development strategy" (Makombe 1993:1). In such statements, the universal value of both conservation and development is assumed to be self-evident and unproblematic. The epistemological foundations of concepts such as conservation, development, wildlife and management and their practical implications are rendered invisible and left unchallenged. Yet it is precisely the lack of relevance to how many indigenous and local groups understand and deal with 'wildlife' and 'development goals' that makes the implementation of innovative wildlife management initiatives so problematic and contested. In mistaking epistemologically specific constructs for natural, universal principles, such management regimes typically fail to adequately recognise and respect diverse local knowledge systems and social, cultural, biophysical, economic and political circumstances. The following discussion, therefore, reviews the extent to which co-management, CBNRM and other innovations simultaneously

involve constructive change that recognises some rights, and Eurocentric presumptions that reimpose colonising relationships and undermine the openings formed by such recognition.

Co-management agreements in Canada, South Africa and Australia

Co-management, sometimes called joint management, joint stewardship and cooperative management, is a far-reaching term that encompasses a range of different organisational forms and administrative systems (Berkes 1997:6). As a result of conceptual, discursive and material places opened up by the legal recognition of indigenous peoples' rights, co-management regimes have been negotiated in Canada, South Africa and Australia as partnerships between government agencies and indigenous or local groups. An institution is formed with a range of specific rights, powers and obligations, under which government and community entities cooperate to manage resources in a particular area (Usher 1996b, 1995). In Canada, a diverse range of resources are co-managed, with the management targeting specific areas or particular species, including wildlife, national parks and fish. However, in South Africa and Australia, formal co-management has been limited to agreements over national parks. Many of the co-management agreements set precedents in recognising indigenous and local rights. However, problematic aspects of co-management have been revealed through negotiation and implementation of the agreements. For example, although co-management regimes challenge the formation of a singular, government-based, resource management authority, as the term "co" implies, co-management is a form of power sharing. The degree to which these stakeholders can influence the management of the resource ranges from "the tokenism of local participation in government research to local communities retaining substantial self-management power" (Notzke 1995:187).

Co-management in Canada

The nation-state of Canada covers a vast geographical area (see map 2). It is by no means homogenous. Colonisation occurred, and continues to occur, differently, at different stages and with different outcomes on diverse cultures and peoples through Canada. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine all of these experiences. Rather, an outline of the motivations and implementations of co-management regimes will be given. It is hoped that this will lay the foundations for later arguments that, while recognising the strengths of co-management regimes, challenge basic assumptions embedded within the concept.



Map 2

Canada: places mentioned in the text

Over the last few decades, indigenous challenges to colonisation have seen an uneven redefining and restructuring of relationships and responsibilities between indigenous groups and the state (Notzke 1995). This has mainly occurred through the re-recognition of rights by the state, and the negotiation and settlement of comprehensive land claims in certain regions in Canada. 'New' management regimes have also been negotiated as a result of the

recognition of the failure of many state management systems and the search for new, innovative relationships and approaches.

Re-asserting aboriginal rights

Aboriginal rights have been reasserted in Canada through a range of mechanisms including Constitutional amendments, legal decisions, land claims and negotiated settlements. The *Constitutional Act 1982* limited the Crown's assertion of sovereignty by re-recognising indigenous rights. The *Sparrow* case of 1990 illustrates how aboriginal rights can be protected and checked by this constitutional amendment. In the *Sparrow* case, the Musqueam Band of British Columbia claimed that federal legislation impacted on their aboriginal fishing right. The court found that this was true and limited the Crown's law-making powers by making the government justify any legislation it enacts that could impact on aboriginal rights (McHugh 1996:306).

In the southern areas of Canada, where treaties were first negotiated in the late 1800s, First Nations are seeking to redress treaty violations and pursue autonomy and sovereignty over territories gained through historical treaties (Usher 1996a:2). They are working within a limited legislative and policy framework determined by the federal government and negotiating with provincial governments to further address these issues. In the northern regions, First Nations are asserting rights over entire territories. Indigenous groups want to retain a range of rights but are prepared to enter into relationships of participation and cooperation through the negotiation of what are seen as modern treaties – CCAs. CCAs are the results of negotiations between First Nations and the Canadian federal government over issues such as ownership, access, management and self-government. These negotiations stem from a federal government comprehensive claims policy that was developed in 1973 in response to the legal recognition of native title in the *Calder Case* (Usher 1996b, 1995; Notzke 1995). The CCAs are premised on government interpretations that interests in land can be extinguished in exchange for limited surface and subsurface land title, rights to access and manage resources, and cash settlements (Usher 1996a, 1995).

Failure of state resource management systems and the concept of TEK

Recognition that some state resource management systems have failed to deliver on their goals (Notzke 1995; Freeman 1992b; Suzuki 1992; Feit 1988) has initiated a search for viable alternative ways of managing resources. Partly as a result of this, concepts such as self-

management regimes and TEK have been incorporated into environmental management discourses (Freeman 1997, 1992a, b; Kuhn and Duerden 1996; Notzke 1995; Quaw 1995; Berkes 1994; Mailhot 1994; Sallenave 1994; Usher 1993a; Hobson 1992; Wolfe et al. 1992; Osherenko 1988; Feit 1987, 1986). The perceived benefits and value of local knowledge systems (represented as self-management and TEK) for conservation and science have led to attempts to form partnerships and co-management regimes to bring together these concepts and jointly manage resources between governments and indigenous communities (Notzke 1996; Feit 1986)²⁹.

As co-management regimes in Canada have variously been formed in response to both indigenous assertions of rights and conservation concerns, the following review of co-management in Canada, based on Notzke's (1995) work, classifies co-management according to motivation. However, there are no clear boundaries and motivations overlap, interact and change in multiple places.

Ad hoc co-management regimes: environmental crisis management

The first co-management regimes in Canada grew out of what were perceived as environmental and resource crises. Government, indigenous peoples and other stakeholders came together in ad hoc fashion to solve perceived problems in resource use and management. Although these arrangements reflect some recognition of each others' systems and potential contributions (Notzke 1995), and bring people together to increase communication and understanding, local communities are usually brought in by the government for utilitarian reasons rather than because of ethical principles (Usher 1993b). These arrangements have no legal or moral foundation, no guarantees or structural legitimation, and usually do not reflect an equal sharing of power between actors. The government retains final decision-making powers and thus control.

For example, the Beverly-Kaminuriak Caribou Management Board (BKCMB) was established in 1982 in response to a perceived crisis in caribou herds which range through the federal Northwest Territories and the provinces of Manitoba and Saskatchewan (see map 2). The BKCMB was formed after state authorities recognised the need for indigenous inclusion in any attempts to halt the perceived decline in caribou populations. The BKCMB consists of eight user and five government members. The formation of the BKCMB saw government and

²⁹ Notions of TEK and self-management are further explored in chapter 5.

indigenous people communicating about wildlife issues for the first time. It meant that the participants could learn about different perspectives. However, the role of the BKCMB is purely advisory and a fundamental distinction between users and managers still exists. This is due to the decision-making structure that empowers government board members and formalises ultimate control with government authorities. The BKCMB is thoroughly based on Eurocentric ways of knowing wildlife and management as well as the use of English (Notzke 1995; Usher 1993b)³⁰.

CCAs and co-management regimes: constitutional re-recognition of indigenous rights

CCAs are based on the constitutional re-recognition of aboriginal rights. Thus any co-management arrangements flowing from CCA negotiations have a firm rights-based foundation. The new structures that are negotiated are seen as recognising and forming partnerships between state and indigenous management systems (Freeman 1997; Usher 1995). The initial focus of co-management arrangements that have been negotiated as part of CCAs has been on wildlife (Notzke 1995:188).

The structures and institutions that are formed usually have equal representation from government and indigenous groups. The boards guide decision-making and policy direction and have a range of actual decision-making powers depending on the specific situation (Usher 1996a:3). However, these agreements and institutions are embedded in the power structures and ideological constructions of the Canadian nation-state. The co-management arrangements are the result of negotiation based on dominant, Eurocentric terms and legacies. Power restructuring rarely sees power 'sharing' and the negotiated structures and concepts are embedded in Eurocentric beliefs that are assumed to be universal.

For example, in co-management agreements negotiated in Canada, existing government agencies are not replaced and ministerial authority remains as final decision-making power:

Recognising that Government retains ultimate responsibility for wildlife management, the NWMB [Nunavut Wildlife Management Board] shall be the main instrument of wildlife management in the Nunavut Settlement Area and the main regulator of access to wildlife and have the primary responsibility in relation thereto (Section 5.2.33 of the Nunavut Land Claims Agreement cited in Usher 1996a:3).

³⁰ Assertions such as these are made throughout this chapter. These assertions are justified and expanded upon in chapters 4 and 5 as power relations are examined through the deconstruction of notions of wildlife and management.

The negotiated co-management institutions generally have responsibility for allocation and licensing but management for conservation, a Eurocentric concept and practice that still takes priority, remains a government responsibility:

The boards, as chief instruments of management, are technically institutions of public government, on which aboriginals are guaranteed equal representation with governments. The comanagement boards thus do not replace existing resource management agencies, at most they provide guidance to them. This is by no means consistent with what many, and perhaps most, harvesters want (Usher 1996b:5).

The first 'modern day treaty', and predecessor to CCAs, is the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement (JBNQA) (see map 2) (Usher 1996b; Peters 1992; McCutcheon 1991; Salisbury 1986; Taylor 1976). The JBNQA was signed in 1975 as a result of outstanding obligations by the province of Quebec to the aboriginal peoples and the province's wish to 'develop' the hydroelectrical capacity of northern Quebec. The agreement involves the Quebec and federal governments, the Hydro-Quebec corporation and the Cree and Inuit First Nations. Under the JBNQA, title to land and harvesting rights were negotiated. Aboriginal harvesting was given priority throughout the area, but was always subject to a conservation provision and international conventions. A role for aboriginal groups in resource management was also negotiated. The 'new' management regimes saw the formation of a Hunting, Fishing and Trapping Coordinating Committee as a consultative body representing the Cree, Inuit, Canada and Quebec. The Coordinating Committee offers advice, but Canada and Quebec retain sole authority for the protection of wildlife and any enforcement activities (Usher 1996b:27-28).

Signed in 1984, the Inuvialuit Final Agreement (IFA) was the first CCA to be successfully negotiated and implemented (see map 2). The IFA can be seen as a "cross-cultural compromise" between the Inuvialuit and Canada (Notzke 1995). Under the IFA, the Inuvialuit Game Council (IGC) was formed. The IGC is concerned with renewable resource management and is composed of a chairperson and two representatives from the Inuvialuit Hunters and Trappers Committees from six communities. The co-management body formed under the IFA for the management of wildlife, the Wildlife Management Advisory Council (WMAC), is divided into two Councils – one for the Northwest Territories and one for the Yukon. Representation on the WMACs consists of three nominated representatives from the IGC and three from the government, with a chairperson appointed by the government with Inuvialuit consent. The WMAC has advisory powers over habitat management, quota setting and policy and legislative review. Preferential or exclusive harvesting rights, access to

resources and participation is recognised. However, under the IFA co-management regime, native rights are still seen as subject to a conservation principle, regulation authority is still centralised with government authorities, and ultimate decision-making powers still rests with government ministers. Tensions also arise due to the formulation under the IFA of the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation, which is an economic development-oriented body whose responsibility is the settlement of lands and cash compensation. The mandates of the two bodies have the potential to be contradictory (Notzke 1995:192-193). Through the relative empowerment of Inuvialuit in the wildlife management of the area, a range of cooperative agreements have been directly signed between Inuvialuit and the Alaskan Inupiat in regard to beluga whale and polar bear management (Usher 1996b:62).

Co-management of national parks

Co-management regimes are also being established in relation to national parks. This is mostly occurring in northern Canada where CCAs and assertions of rights by First Nations directly impact on the states' power over national parks. Parks Canada's³¹ policy recognises the changing context of CCAs. Therefore, new parks, formed in conjunction with land claims, will have joint management regimes and park boundaries will not be established until all claims are settled ('interim parks' are known as national park reserves) (Morgan 1996; Notzke 1995) (see plate 1).

Under the IFA, co-management structures and processes were negotiated and apply to all national parks within the Inuvialuit Settlement Region (Johnston 1996:i). Johnston (1996:2, 59) argues that under the IFA, Parks Canada has to adapt from its historical position of having sole responsibility for the management of land and resources within its park boundaries, to a cooperative effort with the indigenous peoples of the area (the WMAC plays an advisory role). It especially has to acknowledge and account for indigenous aspirations to continue harvesting activities within national parks (Morgan 1996:26). Johnston (1996:79) finds that "interpretation of the concept [of co-management] can vary considerably" and much rests on the ability and desire of state management agencies and individuals to adapt to new relationships.

³¹ Parks Canada is the federal government agency responsible for national parks in Canada.



Plate 1: Mingan Archipelago National Park Reserve – park in-waiting

The Mingan Archipelago National Park Reserve on the north coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence in Quebec was designated in 1984 (see map 2). It has not been proclaimed a national park as a comprehensive land claim (including the area of the park) is still being negotiated between the Montagnais First Nation and the government. No interim management agreements were negotiated until political and direct action by the Montagnais pressured Parks Canada to honour its commitment to co-management through a Memorandum of Understanding in 1989 (Dearden and Berg 1993).

The Sparrow decision and joint stewardship

As a result of the recognition of indigenous harvesting rights in the *Sparrow* case, the Canadian province of British Columbia has been negotiating a set of agreements with indigenous peoples in the province (Notzke 1995; Usher 1991). Part of the negotiation process has involved discussion of the management of resources. The formation of a range of co-management boards and joint stewardship arrangements has been the outcome of some of these negotiations.

The ruling in the *Sparrow* case put the onus on the government to prove that any regulation or legislation prioritises aboriginal rights (conservation being the only justification for overriding aboriginal rights). As a result of this ruling, the government of the province of British Columbia acknowledged the need to address outstanding aboriginal claims and restructure relationships around resource management (including the management of fisheries and forestry). The government is directing its policies towards a type of co-management

arrangement known as joint stewardship. This is still in its formative stages with communities moving the process in different directions (Notzke 1995:200-201).

In 1992, a Joint Stewardship Agreement was signed between the Haida Gwaii Nation and the British Columbian government. The Agreement includes a plan for management of the recreational fishery on Haida Gwaii (Notzke 1995:202). In the same year the Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en people signed a Memorandum of Agreement with the provincial government establishing a dispute resolution process in which land and resource matters could be negotiated (Notzke 1994:59). The Gitksan and Wet'suwet'en people view joint stewardship or co-management arrangements with caution and limit them to a small role in a longer-term strategy. Notzke (1995:203) outlines these concerns:

... joint management schemes contain what he [speaker of the Gitksan Hereditary Chiefs] refers to as a 'God Clause' ("The Minister has final say") and a 'Greed Clause' ("Everything has to make economic sense") ... For this reason joint management strategies are not viewed as part of a final solution.

Co-operative agreements: provincial re-recognition

Notzke (1995:207) identifies the *Sparrow* ruling as initiating a change in thinking and relationships that has moved beyond British Columbia. Throughout the southern provinces of Canada, where many of the initial treaties were signed, new partnerships between provincial governments, industry and indigenous communities are forming. These partnerships are the result of a consultative process, rather than co-management based on the formal recognition of rights, and fail to give real power to indigenous communities. However, they do represent a move towards re-recognition not only of rights, but also of past injustices and can form part of a longer-term strategy in which communities re-assert their rights in resource and wildlife management.

Atikameg: situated glimpses

A restructuring of relationships and transformation process is occurring in the province of Alberta as the provincial government and the Whitefish Lake First Nation (see map 2) enter into an agreement on forestry and resource management issues (Ivanitz 1996:4). Whitefish Lake First Nation signed Treaty Eight in 1901 and under the Treaty two reserves were formed around Utikuma Lake in 1908. This land did not include all the land to which the Nation was entitled (as some people were not counted when the community was initially accounted for) and a treaty land entitlement claim was submitted to the government of Canada seeking

redress for treaty abrogations. After negotiations, an agreement was reached in 1990 including a land component for the community and cash payments from the federal and provincial governments (Ivanitz 1996:5-6).

A Memorandum of Intent was signed with the province of Alberta in 1988 during the land entitlement negotiations. Whitefish Lake First Nation put the Memorandum on the government's agenda and in 1994 a Memorandum of Agreement and a Memorandum of Understanding was signed with the government of Alberta regarding the co-operative management of forests. This co-operative management agreement is seen as establishing a process of consultation and co-operation in which other stakeholders may also be parties (Ivanitz 1996:6). The agreement was the first of its kind in Alberta. Whitefish secured a position in the forestry industry, and thus can encourage economic growth through employment and business development and have some degree of control over the impacts of the industry. They also set in place longer-term strategies to further assert their rights in the management of forests, wildlife, fish and the oil and gas industries (Ivanitz 1996:7) (see plate 2).



Plate 2: Whitefish Lake – asserting rights in forestry management

Through their agreement with the province of Alberta, Whitefish Lake can not only have a stake in the logging industry, but can start to have a say in its future directions.

Although legislative and ultimate power still rests with the province of Alberta, Whitefish Lake First Nation is working pragmatically within the current state structures to assert their

rights, achieve short-term aspirations and set in motion strategies to achieve longer-term goals (Chalifoux, 2.9.97; E. Tallman, 16.9.97; Ivanitz 1996). Ivanitz (1996:147-149) argues that this is part of a process that is seeing a 'structural re-connect' as state systems and indigenous systems start to communicate and cooperate.

Joint management in South Africa

In South Africa, a changing approach to wildlife management is intimately related to changing mindsets as the country enters a post-apartheid era. The need to recognise, respect and understand local ways of relating to the environment is interconnected with the changing political climate (Bothma 1995:154). This new climate, enshrined in the new Constitution, has "committed itself to redressing a range of imbalances within the South African population in order to improve the quality of life for millions of people who were previously disadvantaged" (Kepe 1997:4). The role of conservation and environmental issues is therefore changing as South Africa deals with the inequities of the past (Kepe 1997:5). For example, Bothma (1995:154) identifies a changing context for education in wildlife management in South Africa. Failure of certain western techniques and the new political climate indicate a need for inclusion of "training in the relevant cultural attitudes, perceptions and customs of rural people". Bothma (1995:155) argues that:

... the challenge of development in Africa is not merely found in the large-scale transfer of Western-oriented technologies and value judgements to Africa, but in marrying meaningful sustainable utilization of renewable natural resources within Africa's own perceptions and needs of survival with sound professional wildlife management.

Land restitution and claims

The *Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996* provides the legal context for the right to land restitution (land restitution is one of three prongs in the land reform program, the other two being land redistribution and land tenure reform). The Constitution "guarantees the right to restitution or equitable redress for the dispossession of rights in land, lost as a result of past racially discriminatory laws practices" (Gilfillan 1997:17).

South Africa's first democratically elected majority party in government (the African National Congress) is implementing a Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) as a guiding framework for redressing the colonial and apartheid legacies of the past (Cousins 1995:481). The land reform aspect of the RDP aims "to address the legacy of apartheid in relation to land distribution and to create security of tenure and certainty in relation to rights in

land for all South Africans" (Department of Land Affairs 1997:5). The enabling environment for this has been formed through the introduction of the *Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994*, which provides for "restitution of land rights to people who lost land due to racially based policies" (Department of Land Affairs 1997:11).

For groups who were dispossessed of their land "for the purpose of furthering the objects of any racially discriminatory law" (Land and Agriculture Policy Centre 1997:28), and who can prove that they occupied the land for at least ten years prior to their dispossession, the land restitution process is one strategy for asserting their rights in resource and wildlife management. However, it must be noted that this process only deals with restitution for land dispossessed because of racially discriminatory laws passed since 1913. De Villiers (1999:98) argues that the concept *terra nullius* is in place for people who were dispossessed prior to 1913. For example, "[c]ommunities that occupied the Kruger Park area before 1913, have an 'historical claim' which excludes the right to restoration of land rights".

The land claim process has also been criticised due to a sunset clause that required claims to be lodged by the end of 1998 (De Villiers 1999:11). The land claims process is also seen intricate and time-consuming. Together with a lack of funding and budget cuts, implementation of the new legislation and the land restitution process has been slow. By July 1997 only 1 out of 14 000 claims had been ratified (Land Info 1997)³². Although the process is still in its infancy, some exciting negotiation processes and outcomes are occurring. This is facilitated by a National Land Reform Mediation Panel which aims to prevent and where necessary resolve land conflicts (Department of Land Affairs 1997:33-34).

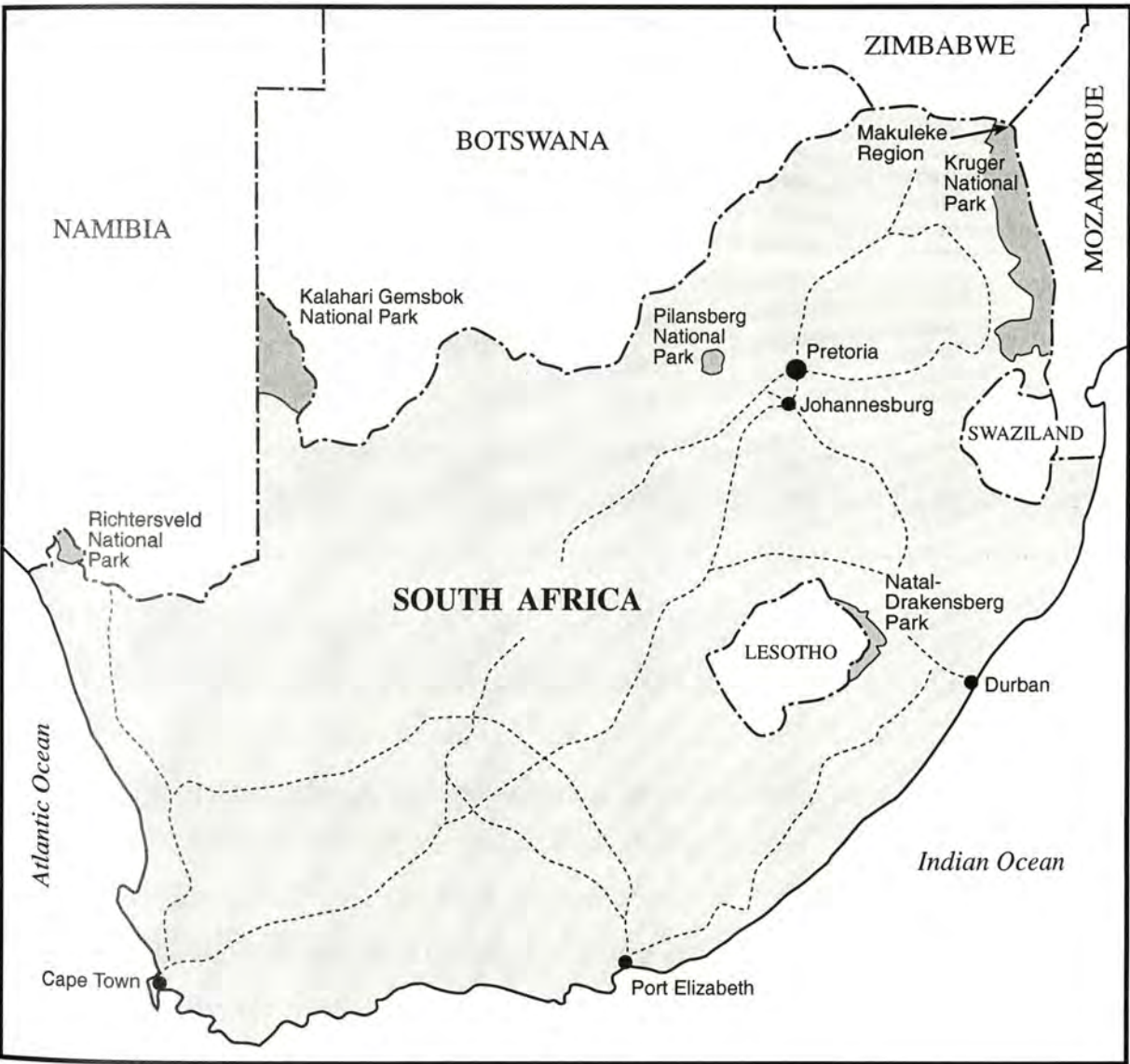
Recognition, negotiation and joint management

Prior to the end of apartheid, communities were asserting rights in resource management. In the context of the Pilanesberg and Richtersveld National Parks, communities set the precedent for post-apartheid negotiation and recognition of rights (see map 3). The Bakgatla ba Kgafela community was moved off their lands to make room for the formation of the Pilanesberg National Park as recently as 1977. Reflecting a Eurocentric Judeo-Christian heritage and conservation process, *Operation Genesis* saw thousands of mammals released into the newly formed reserve. Meanwhile, the Bakgatla saw no compensation or recognition from either the National Parks authority or the president of the then Bophuthatswanan South African

³² By the end of 1998, 54 000 land claims had been registered under the Act (Steenkamp 1999).

homeland. Plans are slowly being implemented to benefit local communities from the park. Through employment, education, gate takings and limited access to resources, the communities are slowly reasserting their rights to the land and resources that became Pilanesberg (Munnik 1991/2). Reminiscing about their lifestyle before resettlement, Motaung, a Bakgatla elder, states:

Our cattle had enough grazing and enough water to drink at the old Welgevallen and you could get milk from the udders of your cow from January to January (Matlala 1991/2:10).



Map 3
South Africa: places mentioned in the text

In contrast to Pilanesberg, Richtersveld National Park was proclaimed in 1991 after intensive negotiation with local communities and the signing of a contract that “included local representatives in the management structure of the Park, and allowed for the continued use of

the area for domestic livestock grazing” (Archer et al. 1996:165-166) (see map 3). The history of the Richtersveld area reflects the colonial and apartheid processes of South Africa. The area was made into a ‘coloured reserve’ in the late 1800s. It became a pool for migrant labour, experienced pressure from white owned farms and mining, was denied decision-making power and experienced conflict and intra-community tensions over unequal development, migrations and resettlements (Archer et al. 1996). A protracted negotiation process, which progressed through a court challenge, from one of totally ignoring communities’ concerns (and attempting to remove them) to open consultation, resulted in a contractual agreement covering lease payments and periods, institutional arrangements and management plans (Liebenberg 1993:3). Implementation of the agreement has been a complex and difficult process. Changing mindsets within the National Parks Board has opened up opportunities. However, this has not been reflected in experience with National Park employees on the ground. The community has not been consulted thoroughly on management issues, including applications for mineral rights. This has seen increasing cynicism about the process in the community. Divisions within the community (and with other communities in the region) have also not been dealt with sufficiently (Archer et al. 1996). However, as one of the first contractual agreements signed in South Africa and with the potential to further have the rights of communities recognised, Richtersveld sets an important precedence for community assertion of rights in resource management in the ‘new’ South Africa.

The ≠Khomani and the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (KGNP)³³

South Africa is currently directly addressing issues of dispossession and abuse of rights in the context of national parks. The ≠Khomani and the Makuleke communities are using the post-apartheid land restitution process as a means for asserting their rights in land and resource management in the context of imposed protected areas and joint management regimes. A claim against past injustices, including their eviction from what is now the KGNP (see map 3 and plate 3), saw the ≠Khomani³⁴ or Southern Kalahari San, lodge a claim for restitution of traditional lands and rights to hunt and gather in 1995. Negotiations between the San, the South African National Parks (SANP), the Mier Transitional Local Council (TLC) and the

³³ The KGNP is now called the Kgalagadi Trans-frontier Park, the result of the formation of the first trans-frontier park between the KGNP and Botswana’s Gemsbok National Park.

³⁴ Current linguistic research describes the Southern Kalahari San’s language as N/u or Saasi rather than ≠Khomani which was an externally given name (Chennells 1999:1).

State (represented by the Department of Land Affairs) were resolved on 21 March 1999. The negotiation process included:

- “the dramatic re-emergence of a completely dispersed San community, now re-defined by their common San identity”;
- a deadlock as groups came to terms with the reassertion of rights by the San, and as the Mier community lodged its own claim;
- a reduction in the amount of land claimed by the San as they focused on land where they exercised more intensive “ownership” rights (a total of 125 000 hectares from an estimated 500 000 hectares); and
- a search for creative solutions as the South African government “clearly recognised the potential to gain enormous credibility in the international arena” (Chennells 1999:1-8).

As an outcome of the negotiations the San have accepted (Chennells 1999:3-4):

- ownership of six farms located 50km south of the KGNP, 36 000 hectares of “excellent Kalahari farmland” (including two game farms), to be used for game farming and residential purposes etc.;
- ownership of 37 000 hectares to be used for conservation purposes. This includes ownership of 25 000 hectares of the KGNP “as a base from which to operate further land-use rights in the Park” (this was reduced from a potential 50 000 hectares due to an intervening land claim by the Mier and an informal agreement between the San and the Mier); 7 000 hectares of land south of the Park from the Mier TLC which the San intend to use to extend the park; and 5 000 hectares of land to be purchased in the contract park area; and
- further negotiation by the SANP to fully address the commercial and symbolic use rights of the San in the KGNP as commercial, symbolic and other equivalents of freehold ownership of 100 000 hectares³⁵.

³⁵ Based on previous negotiations, it is suggested that symbolic rights may include a park name change, an access gate for the San, an annual gemsbok hunt, visits to graves and important sites, veld (bush) excursions and educational tours. Commercial rights may include tourists activities, a San cultural village, a permanent rest camp and a community gate levy. These rights are sought to be granted in perpetuity, but the SANP will probably retain sovereignty over the Park and the Park Warden will have a final veto over all activities (Chennells 1999:11-12).



Plate 3: Kalahari Gemsbok National Park

In neither of these 'typical tourist photographs' taken in the KGNP in 1993 are the #Khomani – their histories, ways of knowing, current marginalisation, impoverishment, displacement, interests in country, fight to be recognised, reassertions of rights – to be seen. It is too early to tell if negotiated outcomes will result in their stories being read, heard, felt etc. in the tourist vision and imagination.



The #Khomani are also working with an NGO, the South African San Institute (SASI), on cultural maintenance and transmission processes. They are gathering and recording information on language, land use mapping and family trees and are working on ways to integrate this information into the school curriculum to strengthen transmission processes. The #Khomani are attempting to control exploitation of their people and culture by the tourism industry through the San Cultural Centre in Cape Town (SASI 1998). The #Khomani are also working with lawyers through SASI in asserting their rights to equality and respect by negotiating contractual agreements with companies or landowners who have previously exploited the San or their image through tourism, films or art (SASI 1998).

The Makuleke and joint management

The Makuleke people were forcefully removed from Kruger National Park (KNP) in 1969 when the Pafuri Triangle was incorporated into the park (see map 3). This followed an announcement by the Secretary for Native Affairs, that “henceforth all residents of Pafuri would be regarded as ‘illegal’ occupants and would be required to return to their ‘Homelands’” (De Villiers 1999:46). The irony of this is that the Makuleke were not ‘returning’ to their ‘homelands’ but were being removed from their land, long occupied by their ancestors, and were being relocated to an area specifically formed by the apartheid government as homelands for the Venda, Tsonga speaking and Sotho speaking people. No compensation was paid and it is debatable as to whether an equivalent area of land was given to the Makuleke (as the land was also given to other relocated Tsonga speaking communities). Steenkamp (1998) argues that “the removal from the Levhuvhu and Limpopo flood plains to the dry grassland of Ntlaveni cost people the loss not only of a way of life, but also a way of thinking about and experiencing themselves”. The Makuleke lodged a land claim reasserting their control over the Makuleke region, and an adjacent conservation area, in December 1995 under the *Restitution of Land Rights Act*.

A negotiated settlement was reached between the Makuleke community, numerous government departments and the SANP in May 1998. The agreement is seen by the chief executive of SANP as a “breakthrough for conservation” that ensures that “the ecological integrity of the KNP is protected while the right to land restitution is accommodated at the same time” (cited in De Villiers 1999:59-60). Steenkamp (1998) argues that the claim challenges the comfortable myths, thoughts, moods and perceptions that western conservation has constructed around the concept of a national park and nature. He also argues that the outcomes of the negotiation process goes beyond many co-management precedents by giving the community “real power” within a “finely balanced framework of checks and balances”. This framework is realised in the joint management agreement. The agreement includes the following (De Villiers 1999:60-72):

- ownership of land returned to the community as long as it is solely used for conservation and related commercial activities and is **not** used for mining, residential purposes (excluding eco-tourism activities), or agriculture. It is agreed that SANP can continue to perform its obligations;

- the land is deproclaimed as a national park and a contractual park is declared for 50 years and can be cancelled after 25 (note that even if the contract with SANP is cancelled the land still has to be used for conservation purposes);
- a Joint Management Body (JMB) is responsible for the day-to-day management of the Makuleke region and all policy decisions. It will draft and oversee a master plan and environmental impact regulations. Each party has 6 representatives, decisions are to be made by consensus and the JMB has to meet six times a year. In essence, through the JMB, the community is responsible for commercial decisions whilst the SANP is responsible for conservation;
- commercial, training and employment opportunities are to be continually explored in regards to conservation management and tourism. The aspiration for the park to move towards self-management is still being debated by the Makuleke;
- issues of resource utilisation have not yet been agreed to and will be determined in the master plan; and
- all income-generated (excluding gate fees) will accrue to the community. After 5 years financial positions will be reviewed.

Both the ≠Khomani and Makuleke land claims and negotiated agreements signify an exciting shift in South African community-government relations as past injustices are addressed within the realities of current circumstances and aspirations. Implementation of the agreements will be important for realising the new relationships and the effectiveness of the institutions and other arrangements. The impact of overriding conservation priorities on local groups and whether this reflects local knowledges or forms another colonising process, will become clearer as the agreements are finalised and implemented, and as other agreements are negotiated throughout South Africa.

Co-management and CWM in Australia

Australia is seen to have led the way in the formation of co-management regimes over national parks. However, formal co-management arrangements in Australia have been limited to a relatively small number of national parks. In situations 'outside' from national parks, opportunities for co-management agreements have not been pursued to any great extent. However, a range of CWM initiatives have recently been identified and surveyed in an Australian report (Davies et al. 1999). The report contributes towards a project managed by the NGO International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), which is reviewing

community-based wildlife management projects throughout the world and is known as *Evaluating Eden*³⁶.

In Australia, the entry points for co-management of national parks have been the assertion of rights by indigenous peoples and the recognition of land rights through certain state and Commonwealth legislation. The recognition of native title rights by Australia's High Court in 1992 signalled a paradigm shift as the notion of *terra nullius* – unoccupied land – was shown to be flawed and a pre-existing property right for indigenous people recognised. Although the recognition of native title in Australia offers the potential for recognition of ownership of wildlife, further lands and other resources, this has not yet been realised beyond an ideological affirmation of rights. A range of mechanisms, including the extinguishment of rights as outlined by the High Court and introduced through federal native title legislation, as well as lengthy and expensive claim processes, have so far succeeded in curtailing the potential of the court decision.

Despite the failure of the state system to open material, discursive and conceptual places for indigenous and local systems and structures to be recognised and legitimised outside of the national park scenario, local groups are actively asserting their rights. They are achieving this through a range of CWM projects that take advantage of government programs and powers, and that are initiated at regional and local scales.

Co-management of national parks

Corbett et al (1998:6) argue that co-management, or joint management as it is more commonly referred to in Australia, is a concept rather than a model. They identify 3 elements emphasised in the concept: the integration of natural and cultural resource conservation; integrating local social and cultural perspectives with the broader management agenda; and the development of strategies to ensure the collaboration of park managers and local indigenous groups. They argue that a commitment to the recognition of indigenous rights and interests, and sharing management responsibilities, is the starting point for co-management of national parks.

³⁶ *Evaluating Eden* is an aid-budget funded project catalysed by the aim of countering criticism that CWM does not protect wildlife (Jocelyn Davies, pers comm., 6.8.99; IIED 1994). The Australian component has been funded locally.

Commonwealth government recognition of Aboriginal land rights in the Northern Territory, under the Commonwealth *Aboriginal Land Rights Act (Northern Territory) 1976*, was the starting point for Australia's first co-management agreements at Kakadu (1979) and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks (1985) (see map 4). The agreements at Kakadu and Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Parks have set the following precedents for co-management in Australia:

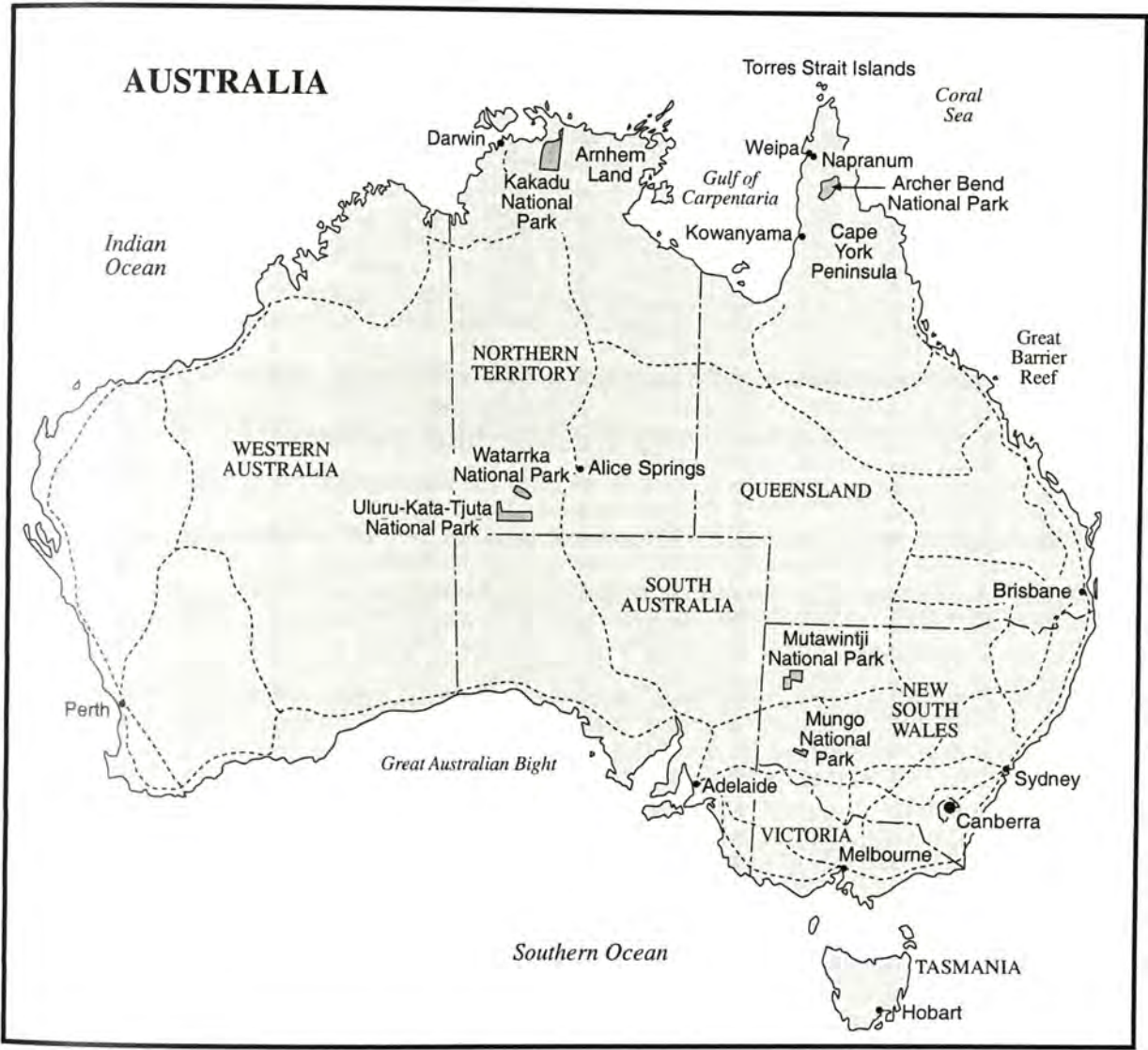
- the lease back of land to the relevant conservation authorities;
- rent and/or a percentage of gate takings;
- Aboriginal majorities on the Board of Management which is responsible for park policy and planning;
- day to day management undertaken by conservation staff on the ground (which may include indigenous people); and
- training and employment arrangements (Davies et al. 1999:57).

These agreements have been both exemplified and criticised by various commentators depending on focus, context and position, as have other co-management situations in the Northern Territory (Woenne-Green et al. 1994; Cordell 1993; Blyth et al. 1992; Braithwaite 1992; Tjamiwa 1992; Willis 1992; Young et al. 1991).

The number and effectiveness of co-management agreements vary greatly between states and territories. For example, following amended state legislation, *National Parks and Wildlife Amendment (Aboriginal ownership) Act 1996*, New South Wales (NSW) has negotiated, and is currently negotiating, a range of co-management agreements for national parks such as at Mutawintji³⁷ and Mungo (see map 4). However, despite land rights legislation since 1991, Queensland has still not negotiated any equitable or workable agreements. Western Australia has no legislative base to work from and interactions between community and conservation authorities remain consultative (Corbett et al. 1998). In Tasmania, a "partnerships and values model" has been developed between indigenous interests and conservation authorities with no legislative base (Corbett et al. 1998:30). Despite (or because of) the recognition of native title in 1992, no co-management agreements based on a recognition of native title have been negotiated. Davies et al (1999:97-98) identify the potential for co-management outside of

³⁷ After more than 16 years of struggle by the indigenous owners, Mutawintji was officially handed back to Aboriginal ownership and joint management by the NSW Premier on 5 September 1998 (see <http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/special/rsjproject/remote/mutawintji/> for information on the ceremony and lease).

national parks in circumstances involving the management of particular wildlife species such as dugong and turtle and the management of habitats at different scales.



Map 4
Australia: places mentioned in the text

CWM

Although there have been no specific co-management agreements pursued outside of national parks (as in Canada in regard to specific species or regions) a range of CWM projects have been identified and initiated throughout Australia in the last decade or so. Many of these have as their starting point what is identified as subsistence wildlife harvesting (Davies et al. 1999; Rural and Regional Affairs and Transport References Committee 1998). This is seen as socially, culturally and economically significant in many Aboriginal communities. From this

point, CWM has diversified to include the commercial harvesting of wildlife, the adoption of regional approaches and the initiation by local communities of wildlife management activities.

Commercial harvesting

Commercial harvesting is seen as attractive to many communities, especially as it has been supported through the work of Commonwealth programs, such as the Aboriginal Employment Development Policy program launched within the Bureau of Rural Resources in 1987, (Bomford and Caughley 1996; Meek and O'Brien 1992; Wilson et al. 1992) and companies, such as Wildlife Management International Pty Limited (Langton 1998; Vardon et al. 1996). A range of wild animals, including kangaroos, buffalo, emus, muttonbirds, crocodiles and goats, have been identified as having potential for commercial utilisation and thus the stimulation of employment and training opportunities. Some communities have already taken advantage of certain opportunities to utilise wildlife for commercial purposes. For example, Aboriginal people have formed a commercial venture out of subsistence harvesting of muttonbirds in Tasmania; in the Northern Territory, Aboriginal communities are involved in the collection of crocodile eggs for commercial ranches, some of which communities own or in which they have an interest; and emu farms throughout Australia are owned by Aboriginal groups. However, the debate in Australia surrounding the commercial use of wildlife, the dissolution of certain programs, legislative barriers, the marginalisation of indigenous players from the wildlife harvesting industry, and conflicts between the commercial utilisation of wildlife and other community priorities, has limited the opportunities available to local groups to not only commercially utilise wildlife but also to assert their rights and interests in this domain (Rural and Regional Affairs and Transport References Committee 1998; Vardon et al. 1996).

Regional approaches

Regional organisations representing local communities, especially land councils, are playing an ever increasing role in the management of wildlife on 'indigenous lands'. In the Northern Territory, Cape York Peninsula and Torres Strait Islands, regional bodies assist in identifying needs, conducting research and implementing management strategies with and for local communities (Davies et al. 1999:53-54).

Local initiatives

Community initiatives represent the strong desire for local groups to take back control of wildlife and country. Kowanyana Land and Natural Resource office on the west coast of Cape York Peninsula has adapted a form of co-management to local circumstances by combining

local expertise and government regulatory authority (see map 4). By building on local authority structures, working through a catchment management strategy and using government regulations to protect their interests, Davies et al (1999:55) argue that “Kowanyama’s approach demonstrates how cooperative management, ‘top down’ regulatory authority and innovative strategies can be used effectively by indigenous people without disadvantage to others”. Other examples of community initiatives are research and management plans for wildlife and resources in Arnhem Land, Northern Territory, such as those organised by the Dhimurru Land Management Aboriginal Corporation, Bawininga Aboriginal Corporation and the emerging Arafura wetlands management groups (Davies et al. 1999; Langton 1998) (see map 4).

CBNRM in Zimbabwe and Namibia

In 1980 the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) emphasised the importance of linking conservation management with the economic activities of local communities and together with the United Nations Environment Program and other conservation organisations, the *World Conservation Strategy* was launched. The Strategy has been seen as an attempt to reunify utilitarian and aesthetic groups within the conservation movement and bring community social and economic development needs into resource management (Sadler 1989:189). Based on this “shift in conservation strategy to incorporate broadened social objectives and rural development into future conservation programmes: in brief, conservation *with development*” are what have become known as Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) (Eidsvik 1980:185).

Falling into the category of ICDPs is what has become known as CBNRM. CBNRM is an ambiguous category that varies in application from situation to situation. It basically refers to a group of people having certain rights to make decisions over the use and management of certain resources. The specifics and philosophy behind this concept have formed in different ways in different countries. Steiner and Rihoy (1995:1-2) identify the following as key factors leading to the establishment of CBNRM programs in Southern Africa:

- the threat of species extinction (a new wave of threats to species was posed by illegal hunting which decimated wildlife populations in Africa in the 1970s and 1980s);
- the growing inability of the State to protect its wildlife estate (due to financial crises, new priorities and misappropriation of funds);

- recognition of the colonial legacy of wildlife management (historical conflicts and inequities); and
- the need to link conservation and development to improve conservation efforts and community well being.

These factors all pushed conventional conservation and wildlife management in Africa “from being a wildlife focused strategy for preserving natural ecosystems, to redefining the parameters for resource management and control” (Steiner and Rihoy 1995:15). In Zimbabwe, this redefining of parameters has occurred through the formulation and implementation of a national program known as CAMPFIRE. In Namibia, the Conservancy model has been formulated and adopted to allow local communities a degree of control and involvement in wildlife management.

CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe

Philosophy, principles and enabling environment

Following Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management (DNPWLM) took advantage of the new government's attempts to redress discriminatory legislation and built on the failure of past programs³⁸ to introduce a new program called CAMPFIRE. CAMPFIRE is aimed at involving communities in wildlife management and is based on the premise that if communities get economic benefits from wildlife then they will change their attitudes and want to conserve and manage it. Child (1993:284) states that CAMPFIRE “tackles resource management by getting the economic system right ... Zimbabwe's entry point had been economic”. Apart from the economic benefits of wildlife utilisation, CAMPFIRE currently is concerned with the broad, interrelated aims of political empowerment, conservation and rural development (ART 1996b:2).

To form an enabling environment to ensure a direct flow of benefits to local communities, in 1982 the government amended 1975 legislation allowing commercial farmers ‘ownership’ of

³⁸ In an attempt to change local attitudes and decrease community-wildlife conflict the DNPWLM initiated Operation Windfall (Wildlife Industries New Development For All) in 1978. This was the first government attempt to formally link local ‘communities’ to wildlife management (Child 1993:286). To achieve this the DNPWLM wanted communities to start receiving benefits from wildlife so that their ‘negative’ attitudes would change (Madzudzo 1996a:157). The Department attempted to distribute meat from elephant culls, and proceeds from safari hunting concessions and fees, to local district councils and communities (Barbier 1992:108-109). However few funds actually found their way back to district councils and local communities, and only a small proportion of the meat made it to the community level. There was no local participation in decision-making and no sense of control or ownership. As such the program did not achieve its goals and is seen as a failure (Madzudzo 1996a; Murphree 1993).

wildlife so that Rural District Councils (RDCs) could apply for this ‘ownership’ through the provision of ‘Appropriate Authority’ (Thomas 1997a:6). This allowed RDCs to get the rights and responsibilities that private farmers had been receiving since 1975. These rights and responsibilities include the right to benefit directly from wildlife (including entering into contracts with private organisations for using wildlife), proprietorship of wildlife and participation and accountability in its management (Child 1993:295).

A lack of funding delayed the implementation of the CAMPFIRE principles until the late 1980s. With the support of the NGOs World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) – Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe Trust (Zimtrust) and the University of Zimbabwe’s Centre for Applied Social Sciences (CASS), Nyaminyami and Guruve District Councils applied for and received appropriate authority status in 1989 (see map 5) (Mbanefo and De Boerr 1993:84-85; Barbier 1992:109). There are currently thirty-two districts involved in the CAMPFIRE program (see map 5).



Map 5
Zimbabwe: CAMPFIRE districts

Commercial use of wildlife

For CAMPFIRE to achieve its main objective of economic benefits, wildlife has to be utilised in such a way as to produce a financial return. The DNPWLM will only allow 'sustainable' utilisation of wildlife. Quotas are used to define what is sustainable by stating how many animals can be utilised per area per year. These quotas are set during workshops in which RDCs, communities, technical experts and other stakeholders all come together to share and analyse data from various sources (Chinhoyi, 7.1.98; Zimtrust et al. no year given).

Communities use their quotas to generate income in a variety of ways. Following the strategies of private wildlife farmers, consumptive uses such as safari, or trophy hunting, culling and wildlife ranching have been the main methods promoted by the implementors of CAMPFIRE as they produce the highest, most easily accessible and most immediate financial returns for wildlife (Cole 1990; Taylor 1990). There are numerous studies arguing that wildlife utilisation, in multispecies, mixed land use situations are the most economically productive uses for much of Zimbabwe's communal lands (Bond 1993; Cumming 1991, 1990a, c). Non-consumptive uses of wildlife are used to generate incomes to a smaller degree but are slowly growing in prominence and popularity. Communities are becoming more involved in tourism through the leasing of sites, joint ventures with tour operators, and developing community-based tourism ventures such as campsites, crafts and tours.

The economic benefits to communities (direct payments for wildlife use, selling wildlife or their products, employment or monies generated from community projects set up with CAMPFIRE funds) are what have been emphasised by CAMPFIRE proponents (Mbanefo and De Boerr 1993:85-86). The value of these earnings cannot be underestimated in an environment where people have few opportunities to access money or the cash economy (Murphree 1993:12) (for studies quantifying revenues see Bond 1993; Mbanefo and De Boerr 1993; Barbier 1992). With the entry of a range of different NGOs and donors to CAMPFIRE many of the non-economic benefits of CAMPFIRE are also being highlighted. Issues such as governance, empowerment, democracy, accountability and transparency have emerged with 'development' being put on an equal footing with conservation (Chinhoyi, 7.1.98).

One of the major problems that CAMPFIRE is constantly trying to resolve is how to distribute the benefits in the most equitable, just and effective way. Numerous authors have highlighted the need for 'producer communities' to receive and decide what to do with the benefits of the

use of their wildlife so as not to jeopardise the CAMPFIRE program (Thomas 1997b, 1994; Bond 1995; Madzudzo and Dzingirai 1995; Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba 1995; Murphree 1993, 1990; Murombedzi 1992). However, defining the producer community has not been easy, especially with appropriate authority status being conveyed to RDCs under which numerous different producer communities are subsumed.

Decision-making: who decides?

An important issue in the implementation of CAMPFIRE has been who should be making the decisions over what. It is useful to look at the different players and their roles and powers so that some of the complexities of the issue can be highlighted.

Role of DNPWLM

Despite the devolution of power to appropriate authorities the DNPWLM retains ultimate ownership of and responsibility for wildlife. It approves all quota setting and has the power to revoke authority status and veto community decisions if it does not think the management of wildlife is 'sustainable' (DNPWLM 1992, 1991).

Role of RDCs

RDCs are the institutions to which appropriate authority is given. The RDC has the decision-making power over the management of wildlife in their district. Under DNPWLM guidelines RDCs are urged to follow several principles. These principles include returning at least 50% of wildlife revenues to the 'producer communities', defining producer communities as small and homogenous as possible, giving producer communities full choice on how they spend their money, keeping producer communities informed and involved, and selecting contractors in an open and competitive manner (DNPWLM 1991). Murombedzi (1992:13-14) argues that RDCs have their roots in the British colonial local government system which concentrated authority away from local control. Thus, giving authority to RDCs is another form of centralisation that fails to recognise, respect and use existing institutions and systems, and denies local communities any real decision-making powers.

Role of wards and villages

Although it is not prescriptive, the units that have been targeted as producer communities in the CAMPFIRE process are wards and villages, with ward and village CAMPFIRE committees formed in most of the participating CAMPFIRE districts. These are legislated political units, and like district councils, they are legacies from the British colonial era (Thomas 1997a, b).

Competing authorities and rights

Trying to utilise existing RDC, ward and village power structures has resulted in a range of problems for the CAMPFIRE program. One of the criticisms has been the failure of many RDCs to devolve power to the ward and village level (Hasler 1997:2-3). Aspirations and political and vested interests are not always the same between RDCs and communities, as illustrated by an electric fencing situation Dzingirai (1995b) describes where the wishes of the village not to be fenced in were clearly overridden by the RDC. Experience has shown that devolution of power under CAMPFIRE does not necessary change the balance of power and can actually devalue local participation and reinforce certain dominant positions, paradoxically further disempowering local people (Murombedzi 1992:15).

Even when decision-making powers are given to wards and villages there have been problems with a failure to differentiate 'communities' within the artificial boundaries. Thus the needs and aspirations of minority groups such as the Tyua Bushmen in Bulilimamangwe district and the Tembomvura in north west Zimbabwe have been disregarded throughout the CAMPFIRE process (Madzudzo 1996b:7-8) (see also Derman 1995, Madzudzo and Dzingirai 1995; Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba 1995) (see map 5). This has had the unfortunate effect of adding another layer of alienation, dispossession and human rights abuses in the name of conservation to minority groups who have already felt the brunt of injustice and inequality.



We now hear that there are organizations that say we must participate in wildlife management [a reference to the CAMPFIRE program]. They tell us that we can earn more money from looking after elephants and we can buy food, build schools, clinics and roads from this money. They even say that when the elephants destroy our crops they will compensate us. The Tonga ask, who do these animals belong to? If these animals belong to us, why is someone telling us what to do with them? We have been here for more than 30 years now [after being relocated due to construction of Lake Kariba]; why should someone want to give us the money just for looking after animals? After all, we have done this before and no one ever paid us. What money came from wildlife has always gone to the government because the government owns these animals. Now someone wants us to become herdboys under the pretence that the animals now belong to us. When we ask whether this means that the Tonga can now hunt, they tell us no, we cannot hunt, but those who will come and hunt will pay us (Tonga Chief Mola cited in Sibanda 1995:70).

CAMPFIRE is a programme for the Chikunda and the Safari people. They are the ones who gain from it. What CAMPFIRE does is stop us from hunting so that white people can come from far away to kill animals for fun. We have heard that these people pay money but we have never seen any of it. The Chikunda are making money from CAMPFIRE and when animals are killed they get the meat. All the village wild life committee is made up of the Chikunda.



Look at us we are poor, we are starving and we are not allowed to kill any animals to continue with the lifestyle which our ancestors taught us. How are we expected to survive? They are all in it, the police, the Chikunda and the Safaris. We are even afraid of going to the mountains to gather food, once they see you there they will come after you even when you are only looking for plant food – not for their animals (Tembomvura views cited in Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba 1995:6-7).

Commentators argue that CAMPFIRE implementors need to consider questions of power, wealth, gender and influence within so-called communities (Nabane 1997; Madzudzo 1996b; Madzudzo and Dzingirai 1995; Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba 1995; Murombedzi 1992). Recognition of intra-community differentiation is vital so that minority interests, ethnic communities and subordinated groups can have their voices heard and be included justly in CAMPFIRE processes (Hasler 1997:3).

These issues are linked to power struggles that are constantly occurring between what are seen as political authority structures and systems (such as the national government, RDC, Ward Development Committees, Village Development Committees) and 'traditional' power structures and systems (spirit mediums, chiefs, kraalheads). Spiritual authority is often totally ignored and made invisible in CAMPFIRE processes as it is subsumed by the imposed formal authority structures. 'Traditional' authority structures and systems are still active in Zimbabwe in many forms (Chandiwana and Moyo-Mhlanga 1996:155). It is essential that CAMPFIRE programs recognise and contextualise these systems in developing appropriate decision-making institutions. Zimtrust and other implementors are aware of this and try to include 'traditional' authority into their 'new' institutions. However, the situation is very complex with layers of colonising processes forming alliances and conflicts between authorities³⁹. Conflict and tension exists as a result of colonising relationships, resettlements, political manipulation, legislative structures, war legacies and political favouritism (Moore 1998; Bird and Metcalf 1997; Hasler 1997; Thomas 1997b; Derman 1995; Dzingirai 1995a):

From a cultural perspective, the right to hunt is therefore normatively governed by broader indigenous knowledge about the environment. However, although culturally appropriate, such rights are illegal. The State has appointed the District Council as the "appropriate authority" for wildlife in the area. In consultation with the DNPWLM, and the safari operator, it has the legal right to decide what will be hunted and who will hunt (Hasler 1994:89).

³⁹ Cheater (1990) explores the notion of communal lands and traditional authority and argues that the concept of traditional authority is a colonial (pre and post-Independence) construction. She especially highlights the role of anthropology in contributing towards this 'myth' of traditional authority.

Role of NGOs: a collaborative effort

A range of NGOs and agencies participate in the informal CAMPFIRE Collaborative Group (CCG). The CAMPFIRE Association, formed in 1991 as the representative body of CAMPFIRE RDCs, lobbies and coordinates political efforts, disseminates information about CAMPFIRE, organises interdistrict and international visits and helps to market CAMPFIRE activities. The Association chairs the CCG and thus forms an interface between communities, NGOs and government departments (Tavengwa, 15.12.97). Zimtrust, a United Kingdom registered NGO, assists with capacity building targeting the development of institutions to manage economic activities through technical and training support (Chinhoyi, 7.1.98). Africa Resource Trust (ART) facilitates awareness of CAMPFIRE, advocacy and exchange at regional and international levels, lobbying and product marketing and raises awareness through education with their *Action Magazine* (Chinhoyi, 7.1.98). WWF – Zimbabwe undertakes ecological and economic research, monitors, advises and assists in training on technical issues of managing wildlife (Chinhoyi, 7.1.98; WWF 1996). The University of Zimbabwe's CASS provides critical research to evaluate, monitor and highlight socio-economic issues and problems and strengths in implementing CAMPFIRE (Chinhoyi, 7.1.98). CASS also provides tertiary education in resource management (Mbanefo and De Boerr 1993:84). The last two members of the CCG are the DNPWLM and the Ministry of Local Government, Rural and Urban Development who are responsible for the overall administration of RDCs. The majority of funding for the CAMPFIRE project is channelled through the various NGOs from overseas donor countries such as the USA, Canada, Germany, Norway and Sweden. Hasler (1997:4) points to the need to emphasise alliances within and between levels of organisation. With no one level responsible for everything, there is a need for clarity and collaboration for effective implementation.

Decision-making: over what?

An even more fundamental issue is what are appropriate decisions for the authority. Despite ten years of implementation, most communities in Zimbabwe are still deciding about how to use the economic benefits of wildlife utilisation. Communities are only just starting to make decisions over the actual management of resource on their own terms. In critiquing the 'devolution' of decision-making powers in CAMPFIRE, Bond (1993:i) finds that:

Appropriate Authority for the management of wildlife however, is vested in district councils, quotas are controlled by Government and the utilization is largely undertaken by commercial safari operators. The only control which communities have, is in the decisions relating to the use of the revenue devolved from district level to wards and sometimes villages ...

Therefore, although CAMPFIRE implementors are full of good intent and hard work, many of the fundamental elements in the approach reinforce rather than overcome colonising processes:

While the philosophy of CAMPFIRE and the spirit of the programme are a step in the right direction, they have done little to redress the injustices perpetuated against the Tonga people. CAMPFIRE has not so far succeeded in removing the marginalization of the Tonga people (Sibanda 1995:85).

Mahenye: situated glimpses

The white people came to hunt, killing many animals at a time. We do not hunt like that ... Now the government tells us to keep animals, to kill only those that destroy crops or kill human beings. This was the way it was. We kill an elephant, sell it, and build a school. It helps everyone. The animal is ours (Respected elder Baha Mhlanga cited in Hove and Trojanow 1996:22-29).

Implementation of CAMPFIRE in Mahenye Ward follows a series of impositions of state power over the Shangaan people. In 1966 many Shangaan were evicted from their territory as it was incorporated into the Gonarezhou National Park, and resettled across the Save River with other people already living in Mahenye Ward (see map 6). After independence, community hopes that Gonarezhou would be returned to them were dashed when the new government said that it needed the foreign exchange brought into the country by tourists and the park. This resulted in further anger and resentment towards Gonarezhou (and increased 'poaching' activities) and saw the community asserting its right to at least own the animals that crossed from the park onto communal land (McIvor 1994; Peterson 1994). In the early 1980s, preceding CAMPFIRE, the community was able to access meat and limited revenues from safari hunting concessions.

Through the approval of appropriate authority status to Chipinge RDC in 1990 the community has slowly been able to: access more funds; distribute the financial benefits through support of the local school and construction of a grinding mill (see plate 4); enter into 'joint ventures' with tourist operators; and set aside areas of land exclusively to encourage the return of wildlife (Madzudzo 1996a; Mbanefo and De Boerr 1993). Hunting is seen as a very important activity to the Shangaan and by building up wildlife populations on their land the community is hoping to have enough impala so that controlled subsistence hunting can resume. However, the community is frustrated as the plans to do this are being implemented too slowly (Masango, 13.1.98).



Map 6
Zimbabwe: places mentioned in the text



Plate 4: Mahenye Grinding Mill

Before this mill for grinding corn and millet was built in Mahenye from CAMPFIRE funds, women had to get a lift, or walk many kilometres, to get to the closest grinding mill on the main road.

Over the last 8 years Mahenye has entered into two 'joint venture' agreements with a major private tourist operator, Zimbabwe Sun. These involve the construction of two lodge complexes catering to a very high paying tourist market for bird and wildlife watching and photographing. Zimbabwe Sun leases the land from the RDC. Under the agreement to lease the land the community receives 8-12% of income (although it has proven difficult to set the parameters from which to calculate payment). The community often does not receive direct funds but materials purchased with the money such as a borehole and electricity facilities. The community is using some of these funds to build a cultural village that Zimbabwe Sun can access as an added attraction for tourists (with dancing and arts and crafts for sale). The lodges use local labour for non-qualified positions (about 57 people are employed between the two lodges); however, the community is still waiting for training opportunities so that community members can fill more qualified positions such as guides (Mambinge, Mushayi, Masango, 13.1.98) (see plate 5).



Plate 5: Chilo Gorge Lodge – Mahenye tourism 'joint venture'

Chilo Gorge Lodge is aimed at a high paying market with attractions including a view across the Save River into Gonarezhou National Park.



Binga: situated glimpses

Surrounding the district of Binga are the realities of colonising conservation and development processes. Lake Kariba, Chizarira National Park, Chete Safari Area and State Forest lands mean that very high numbers of wildlife are found in the Binga district (see maps 5 and 6). Over the years Binga has received high revenues from CAMPFIRE safari hunting, and communities in the various wards and villages have been able to benefit with a variety of infrastructure projects (see plate 6). Wards in Binga have drafted a range of by-laws to control and manage their natural resources. The RDC is currently compiling them and making sure that they do not conflict with existing legislation. If they are adopted by the RDC they will go to the Ministry for Local Government for approval and gazetting. Enforcement and effective implementation of the laws on the ground have yet to be tested (Dube, 23.1.98).



Plate 6: Buvubi Leather Project

Nabusenga Ward in Binga District is embarking on an exciting project to develop a community tannery using 'wild' and 'domestic' animal skins to produce leather and tourist craft products. Buvubi Leather Project is managed by an elected sub-committee who are overseeing the construction of a building and training for future workers with financial and capacity building support from NGOs and the University of Zimbabwe (Cumanzala, Dube, Nyika and Muchimba, 27.1.98). The photograph is of the tannery building under construction.

Conservancies in Namibia

Following independence in 1990, Namibia's Ministry for Environment and Tourism (MET) set out to address the colonial legacy of discriminatory legislation and management practices that excluded local communities from wildlife management (Brown, 23.2.98; MET no year

given-c:1). One of the first strategies the MET employed was to team up with the local NGO Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) and conduct, using participatory approaches, socio-ecological surveys to collect data on local communities' perceptions, needs and aspirations (Jones 1996; Brown and Jones 1994; MET no year given-b). These surveys provided the foundation for CBNRM in Namibia by:

- *initiating contact and dialogue with communities;*
- *initiating an exchange of knowledge and perceptions between Ministry staff and communities;*
- *initiating identification and understanding of problems from both Ministry and community perspectives;*
- *initiating identification of possible solutions; and*
- *initiating project design and problem solving (MET no year given-b:5-6).*

By bringing diverse groups together from within the MET and NGOs (for example, social and natural scientists) the surveys also managed to break down the sectorial approach that had become entrenched during the colonial periods (Brown, 23.2.98).

Whilst the MET worked on appropriate and relevant legislation to form an enabling environment for CBNRM, it also conducted surveys to gauge community needs, learnt from and supported community and NGO initiatives already developing within Namibia, and actively studied the experiences, principles and philosophies from other countries within the region and further abroad (for example, "cynical and critical evaluations" were made of the relevant programs being implemented in Pakistan, India, Zimbabwe and Zambia) (Brown, 23.2.98; MET no year given-b:5).

Enabling policy and legislation

As a result of the collaborative, participatory research the MET decided on a flexible system of CBNRM within which communities with evolving needs and different cultures, resources and outlooks could work (Brown, 23.2.98). The Conservancy model was approved in a policy document by Cabinet in March 1995 (Jones 1995:appendix 1). This policy supported "the establishment of communal area conservancies with rights to use and benefit from wildlife" (MET no year given-c:4). An amendment to the *Nature Conservation Ordinance 4 of 1975* approved by the National Assembly and gazetted in June 1996 enabled the state to devolve these rights (MET no year given-b).

What are conservancies?

The amended legislation formed the enabling environment for CBNRM by allowing for the formation of conservancies in communal areas. The MET states that:

A conservancy consists of a group of commercial farms or areas of communal land on which neighbouring land owners or members have pooled their resources for the purpose of conserving and using wildlife sustainably ... Conservancies therefore promote sustainable environmental management, rural development and improved income and livelihoods for rural families and communities (MET no year given-c:1).

Legally constituted conservancies then have the right and duty to manage wildlife resources within their area (Corbett and Daniels 1996:7). Thus the Conservancy model essentially gives "communities" (self-defining social units) rights to:

- use and benefit from wildlife on their land;
- propose recommendations for quotas for wildlife utilisation;
- enter into agreements with private companies and establish tourism facilities;
- have ownership over huntable game;
- apply for permits to use protected game; and
- conduct trophy hunting and buy and sell game (Brown, 23.2.98; MET no year given-c:4).

The significance of granting 'ownership' rights to local communities should not be overlooked. Corbett and Daniels (1996:7) find that:

... for the first time inhabitants of communal land are being given the right to make decisions concerning how the wildlife resources on communal land should be utilised. By giving ownership over game to conservancies the MET is effectively promoting a sense of responsibility and connection with wildlife resources which accords with the commonly held view that the community through their traditional leaders own game under customary law.

Namibia's approach to CBNRM takes for its starting point and focus the social and cultural empowerment of communities. This differs from CAMPFIRE's emphasis on economic benefits, as Child (1993:284) states:

CAMPFIRE ... tackles resource management by getting the economic system right – by delineating resources and then allowing 'prices' to guide allocation. The similarly 'successful' community wildlife management programme in Namibia has taken a different approach, with social empowerment the catalyst for improved resource management ... This approach is slower but more sensitive ... a successful programme must be holistic, combining economic, ecological, and social aspects, but the choice of entry point is critical.

Formation and registration

To obtain these rights, communities on communal lands have to follow a process set out by the legislation. To form and register a Conservancy what are needed are a Conservancy committee, a constitution and identified boundaries (MET no year given-b:9). The legislation has deliberately allowed for a flexible approach in formulating the above so that cultural needs can be integrated in with the Conservancy concept.

The legislation does require that each Conservancy have a committee that is 'representative' of the community. Although what is meant by this is not fully prescribed, the committee must include one or more representatives or nominees of the traditional authority and must be able to manage income and distribute it 'equitably' (Corbett and Daniels 1996; MET no year given-b). Similarly, each Conservancy must have a constitution. This is required so that the goals, objectives and management plans of the Conservancy are determined and enunciated (MET no year given-c:5). One of the main problems encountered has been the need to identify physical boundaries for the Conservancy. As with Australian land and native title claims, the need to identify, and set in time and space specific boundaries (regardless of histories and realities of movements), has resulted in conflicts and disputes within and between communities. The main strategies adopted by the MET, NGOs and some communities has been to establish conservancies based on undisputed boundaries and then talk about disputed areas over time. Boundaries can then be changed as necessary (Brown, 23.2.98).

Namibia's approach to CBNRM has clearly placed decision-making power over the management of wildlife with the Conservancy committee from the start of the Conservancy formation. Thus, the committee not only decides what to do with the benefits of the wildlife use, but how to use the wildlife. There are also particular roles for 'outside' experts to play in informing and supporting Conservancy formation and implementation. These experts bring with them skills and knowledge, and sometimes also conflicting accountabilities to governments and donors.

Roles: collaboration

Like in Zimbabwe, Namibia has a strong team working towards an effective and relevant CBNRM program. Communities steer the individual projects and the MET provides the enabling environment through policy, legislation and the coordination of pilot programs.

Local NGOs assist with institution building, skills, enterprise development and wildlife management. Funding, administration and technical assistance comes through donor agencies and international NGOs (predominantly aid from the USA administered through WWF's LIFE (Living In a Finite Environment) program), and applied research is provided by the University of Namibia. Each actor plays a different role in the development and implementation of CBNRM programs, cooperating within clearly defined boundaries (Weaver, 20.2.98; Jones 1996; WWF 1994; MET no year given-b, c).

Wildlife utilisation

There are a variety of options available to Conservancy committees for managing and utilising wildlife. These range from consumptive uses such as subsistence hunting, culling for meat and trophy hunting to non-consumptive uses such as photographic safaris, ecotourism projects and spiritual and cultural protection (MET no year given-b:9). It is up to the community to decide how they want to use and manage the wildlife. However, this is subject to 'sustainable use' and a quota imposed by the MET who can withdraw Conservancy rights if they feel the use is 'unsustainable' (exactly what is meant by sustainable use is not clearly defined in the MET's literature).

Benefits

The benefits for communities from establishing Conservancies on their land are numerous. These include financial benefits, such as money from hunting; environmental benefits, such as protection of food resources; social benefits, such as ensuring the rights of future generations; political benefits, such as community empowerment and land rights; and cultural benefits, such as assistance in cultural transmission and maintenance processes (Makwanga, 4.2.98; Corbett and Daniels 1996; MET no year given-c). What is important for communities, and how they see the benefits of Conservancies, varies from community to community.

Kunene: situated glimpses

The concept, legislation and efforts surrounding Conservancies are exciting in terms of pushing forward the boundaries of CBNRM. Yet how effective is the theory once it is implemented with communities on the ground? Many local communities are currently in various stages of Conservancy formation, from registration to awaiting proclamation to preliminary discussions and awareness. I was fortunate enough in my travels through Namibia to visit some communities, see some of their initiatives and speak to some of the people involved.

poaching by outsiders (military personnel, police, government officials) (Jacobsohn 1991/2:5). Local communities were powerless to stop the outsiders and, having no rights to the resources, some people assisted the hunters for monetary benefits (some of these local people spent time in gaol for their 'poaching activities') (Nott and Davis, 15.2.98).

A Namibian conservator, Garth Owen-Smith, took the approach that you can only have successful conservation with community support. He met with Damara, Herero and Himba community leaders and spoke with them about their attitudes towards wildlife (Jacobsohn 1991/2:5). He found a positive attitude towards wildlife – people felt it was an integral part of the environment and were spiritually linked with it; they wanted wildlife to stay, having been born and lived with it, but they felt powerless not being able to manage the resource and stop the poaching (Nott and Davis, 15.2.98). In an effort to assert some kind of control, they decided to form a game guard system, where local people were appointed by local leadership structures to monitor what was happening with wildlife in the area, especially elephants and black rhino (Jacobsohn 1991/2:5). With support and a small amount of funding from a local conservation NGO, the game guards system was implemented in 1983. The game guards were not law enforcement agents but worked with and formed an information conduit to the government conservation agency who could then track down poachers (Nott and Davis, 15.2.98; MET no year given-b:4). The result of this changing relationship was illustrated by a Kaokoland headman: "Nature Conservation [the state agency given responsibility for wildlife in pre-independence Namibia] officers now come to us to talk, not just to lift the lids off our cooking pots seeking game meat" (Jacobsohn 1991/2:5).

When one considers that this approach was working under the colonial priorities of the apartheid regime, it was an incredibly empowering situation as local people saw the results of their actions as outsider poachers were arrested (Jacobsohn 1991/2:5). The game guard system, together with an end to the war and better climatic conditions, has resulted in the recovery of wildlife populations to the point where it is seen as necessary to again 'control' and 'manage' springbok, oryx, ostrich, etc. Even the endangered rhino and elephant are returning to 'viable' populations levels (see plate 7).



Plate 7: 'Endangered' Black Rhino

One species of wildlife in the area, once on the 'brink of extinction', now increasing in population.

To manage, control and utilise this wildlife, communities in the region are forming conservancies. There are eleven emerging conservancies in the Kunene region. These include the Khoadi Hoas and Torra Conservancies, which have already been gazetted. With the capacity building assistance of IRDNC, Torra Conservancy's application was approved in June 1998, consolidating the formation of a committee, constitution and boundaries (and many wildlife utilisation schemes). The Conservancy is meeting 50% of its own natural resource management costs from its income. Sesfontein Conservancy is awaiting registration and Puros (Omburo) is in the process of completing requirements. The others are at various stages in fulfilling requirements for Conservancy application (Karine Rousset, pers comm., 29.7.99).

Many of these Conservancies have already implemented wildlife utilisation programs. These mainly involve tourism ventures. For example, the Puros community built on game guard initiatives to control tourism in their area (see map 7). Together with IRDNC, they developed guidelines on how tourists should behave and started the Ngatutunge Pamue Camp (Gehrels 1997; Jacobsohn 1991/2) (see plate 8). This community campsite, located in the Hoarusib riverbed, provides employment and generates income for the campsite and for the Puros Development Committee fund, to be used for local community development. The Conservancy program will help legitimise the project so that tour operators in the area have to respect and work with the Puros community (Hitchcock 1993).



Plate 8: Ngatutunge Pamue Camp – Puros

The Torra community in Damaraland wanted to control wildlife in the area so the community could assert its rights, benefit from wildlife, conserve wildlife for future generations and develop futures for its youth. Through the game guard system and government and NGO support, a Conservancy committee has been established and an application made for Conservancy registration. One of the ways that the community wanted to use wildlife was in establishing a tourism venture. After two and a half years of negotiations with a private, well-established and resourced tourism company, Wilderness Safaris, the community entered into a joint venture agreement to develop the Damaraland Camp (see plate 9). The agreement covers employment (community members get job priority as far as skills allow), income generation (a percentage of the gross income and a bed levy), training (if the community does not have the skills for a particular position people are chosen to train in that position) and joint decision-making. The agreement also includes a clause that after 15 years the community gains full ownership of the venture (management trains itself out of a job during the last 5 years of the agreement) with a clause that the community can extend the joint venture if it wishes (Roman, 15.2.98).



Plate 9: Torra Conservancy and the Damaraland Camp

Another option for communities is to exploit cultural tourism by developing arts and crafts industries and cultural villages. The Himba have developed a cultural village near the Ngatutunge Pamue Camp where they sell crafts and talk to tourists through an interpreter about culture; answering questions and allowing photographs in a controlled and sensitive setting (Jacobsohn 1991/2) (see plate 10).



Plate 10: Himba Cultural Village

Communities are building on existing projects and including tours with their ventures. The Puros community offers guided tours on request where local guides take tourists on game drives or walking trails so they can appreciate the wildlife, bird life, wild plants of the area and the local knowledge of the environment. They also offer visits with local families so that tourists can learn about Himba and Herero lifestyles and culture. The Damaraland Camp includes tours as part of the 'Damaraland Experience'. Local guides take tourists on wildlife tours looking for desert elephant and wildlife in the Huab River valley. They also take tourists on nature walks where they provide explanations for the local names and uses of veld (bush) foods or wild plants (see plate 11).



Plate 11: Damaraland nature walk

Processes of Conservancy formation in Kunene have raised many issues and questions for communities, NGOs and the government agencies involved:

- how to devolve decision-making abilities and social, cultural, political and economic benefits to the grassroots level;
- the role of the MET in decision-making process;
- land tenure issues and 'ownership rights';
- the role and impacts of NGOs;
- the role of traditional knowledge, skills and systems;
- constraining forces such as various government departments;
- the potential of commercial ventures;

- the use of democratic and representative systems;
- the need to set definite boundaries;
- the need for management and accountability;
- the concept of a committee; and
- the demands on peoples' time and resources (Nott and Davis, 15.2.98).

Caprivi: situated glimpses

In 1968 the West Caprivi Game Reserve in north-east Namibia was proclaimed without any consultation with the 4000 inhabitants of the region – predominantly Kxoe San⁴⁰ (see map 7):

We did not know about the game reserve; we were not consulted about it (a resident from N//goá-Ca (Omega) after he had been told that West Caprivi had been a proclaimed reserve since 1968 cited in Brown and Jones 1994:49).

However, the Kxoe were not physically removed and the Game Reserve was not developed due to limited access for conservation authorities until 1990. This was due to the area being occupied by the South African Defence Force (SADF) and run as a military zone to train and run operations into Angola during the independence war (Jones 1996:9). This occupation curtailed peoples' movements until after 1989 (Brenzinger 1997:30) (see plate 12). Despite not being developed, the Game Reserve was a physical and mental manifestation of the assertion and imposition of Eurocentric knowledges and practices and a subsequent marginalisation of local systems and structures. For example, local governance structures were undermined and relationships to 'country' interfered with and curtailed.

Following the success of the Kunene game guard system, IRDNC has been funding and supporting game guards in West Caprivi for about 7 years. This system, together with the establishment of a community-based campsite (plate 13), has helped the Kxoe reassert their rights and interests in wildlife and resource management. Despite the layers of dispossession that the proclamation of the game reserve and occupation by the SADF laid down, the Kxoe are still asserting their rights⁴¹. However, for the Kxoe, independence from South Africa has

⁴⁰ Kxoe (pronounced Kwe) means 'the people' in Kxoedam – the Kxoe language, and refers to people whose mother tongue is Kxoedam (Rousset, 7.2.98; Brenzinger 1997:8).

⁴¹ Similar colonising processes have been identified at Napranum where the community has experienced remarkably similar layers of dispossession and marginalisation from country and resources (Suchet 1996, 1994). These layers include the Eurocentric exploitation of resources through the establishment of pastoral, pearling, fishing and *beche-de-mer* industries in the late 19th century; the establishment of a mission in 1898 whose aim was to assimilate the Aborigines into white society and convert them to Christianity and a Protestant worldview; bauxite exploration and the establishment of Comalco's bauxite mine and associated settlement of Weipa from the 1950s; the transfer of the Weipa mission into a state government settlement administered by a superintendent in the 1960s; the transfer of responsibility of local government to the local community in 1984 (Suchet 1996, 1994); and the initiation of negotiations with Comalco in 1995 (these negotiations have still not been completed).

not negated the continuing context of disregard and disrespect. Top echelons of the government will not deproclaim the Game Reserve status of West Caprivi (despite initial support from the MET)⁴², the Kxoe have faced movements of people from other groups into their territory without any permission or respect (Inambao 1999b), and the Ministry of Prisons attempted to reclaim the land of their community-based campsite (O'Loughlin 1997) (a claim that the Ministry withdrew just before it was due to go to court (Karine Rousset, pers comm., 21.2.98)). Many of these attempts to further dispossess and alienate the Kxoe are attributed to that fact that the Kxoe are viewed as "having taken the 'wrong' side in the Namibian liberation struggle" (O'Loughlin 1997).



Plate 12: The impact and presence of the SADF is still felt today

When the SADF pulled out of Namibia they left behind a legacy of decaying infrastructure, dependent families, destroyed relationships and unnamed graves. The graves in this photograph from Dínká Gómà⁴³ in West Caprivi (see map 7) have been identified as the graves of Angolan 'flechas', or soldiers who were working with the SADF (Battalion 32). Without further research with the SADF there is no way to confirm exactly whose graves they are (Karine Rousset, pers comm., 27.7.99).

⁴² A recent announcement by the Namibian Minister of Environment and Tourism outlined a 'new vision' for the Caprivi in which the West Caprivi Game Reserve will merge with an adjoining Game Reserve to become the Bwabwata National Park. Certain areas within the West Caprivi Game Reserve, such as the Bagani Corner (Muts'iku) and the Omega agricultural areas (N/goá-Ca) will be deproclaimed (Inambao 1999a).

⁴³ Dínká Gómà is the Kxoe name for the ex-SADF Buffalo Base.



Plate 13: N//gaobaca Camp⁴⁴

The N//gaobaca Camp is owned and run by the Kxoe, Vasekele and Mbukushu residents of West Caprivi (see map 7). The campsite provides employment and funds for the community and uses the resources and wildlife of the area to attract tourists. Four exclusive sites with private toilet and shower facilities are located by the Popa Falls, called N//gaobaca in Kxoedam and meaning Cooking or Boiling Water. The camp sites overlook the Kavango River, one of the most peaceful and beautiful sites my tent has seen.

Despite these constraints the Kxoe are continuing to assert their rights. They are still fighting to get the Game Reserve deproclaimed, they are working towards forming a Conservancy and a Conservancy committee has been established, the game guard system continues, preliminary land use plans are discussed and women have been appointed as Khoenatcapi – “Keys to the Community” – to help maintain, transmit and revitalise information about resource management and use in the area (Rousset, 7.2.98) (see plates 14 and 15). The Kxoe also have plans to diversify into cultural tours. Local guides are available to take tourists on walking trails from N//gaobaca Camp and the community is exploring options to develop veld food tours and tours into their conservation area at Dínká Gómà (Rousset, 7.2.98).

⁴⁴ // is a linguistic tool to indicate one of the four ‘clicks’ common to all Bushmen languages. This one is the click produced by pushing the back of your tongue against your back teeth (Rousset, 7.2.98).



Plate 14: Asserting rights in the ‘environment’

The Dínká Gómà area next to the Kavango River has been identified by the community as a potential core conservation zone and tourist attraction.



Plate 15: Khoenatcapi – ‘keys to the community’

The Khoenatcapi – or ‘keys to the community’ are community members employed part time by IRDNC to support the spread of information and cultural maintenance and transmission processes. In this photograph, working with IRDNC field worker Karine Rousset in identifying plants and their multiple uses are Cove, Tin Cho, Makena Makanga and Kwe Nyongo Rea, the Khoenatcapi from Muts’iku (see map 7).

Concluding comments

Napranum has been conspicuous by its absence in this chapter. Despite my previous foreshadowing of co-management potential (Suchet 1994), no specific, formal wildlife management initiatives have been negotiated or implemented in Napranum. The scope of the review of Australian experiences is also not as broad as that applied to Canada and Southern Africa. This is due both to the initial aims of the research – to identify lessons from international experience for indigenous communities in Australia, and to the character of Australian experience in which wildlife management has not been the major focus of conservation, scientific and development work. Both of these situations can be seen as curtailing opportunities for community participation and empowerment in Australia. However, this is not necessarily the case. The wildlife management projects, arrangements, regimes, agreements and programs described in this chapter reflect common experiences of colonising processes, assertions of rights, failures of science and shifts towards new wildlife management approaches. These common approaches also reflect a common reliance on certain concepts and practices. This reliance on Eurocentric notions of wildlife, management, conservation and development firmly embed co-management and CBNRM approaches in Eurocentric epistemologies and thus reinforce colonising relationships. This is illustrated in the next two chapters as notions of wildlife and management are deconstructed. These chapters identify and challenge Eurocentric presumptions capturing wildlife management and straight-jacketing thought and action within Eurocentric boundaries and relations. This encourages situated engagement, where recognising and engaging with multiple knowledges in situated places, including indigenous communities in Australia such as Napranum, can open up and re-member possibilities that are unimaginable within the wildlife management hall of mirrors.



4. What does 'wild' in 'wildlife' mean?⁴⁵

In wildlife management initiatives in Australia, Canada, Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa the concept of wildlife is often used without serious consideration of what the word itself means. However, as an examination of society↔nature, human↔animal and wild↔domestic binaries in this chapter illustrates, the concepts wild and wildlife are firmly situated within Eurocentric epistemologies. Any assumption of their universal application embeds wildlife management within the familiar hall of mirrors (see figure 10): by assuming that Eurocentric beliefs in society↔nature, human↔animal and wild↔domestic binaries are universal, the assertion and imposition of wildlife management is seen as unproblematic. This assertion and imposition silences, ignores, devalues and undermines alternative knowledges. With alternative knowledges dismembered the assumption that society↔nature, human↔animal and wild↔domestic binaries are universal beliefs is legitimated. To shatter the mirrors, the Eurocentric beliefs underlying these binaries and notions of wildlife are juxtaposed and unsettled through glimpses into multiple, situated knowledges (see figure 9).

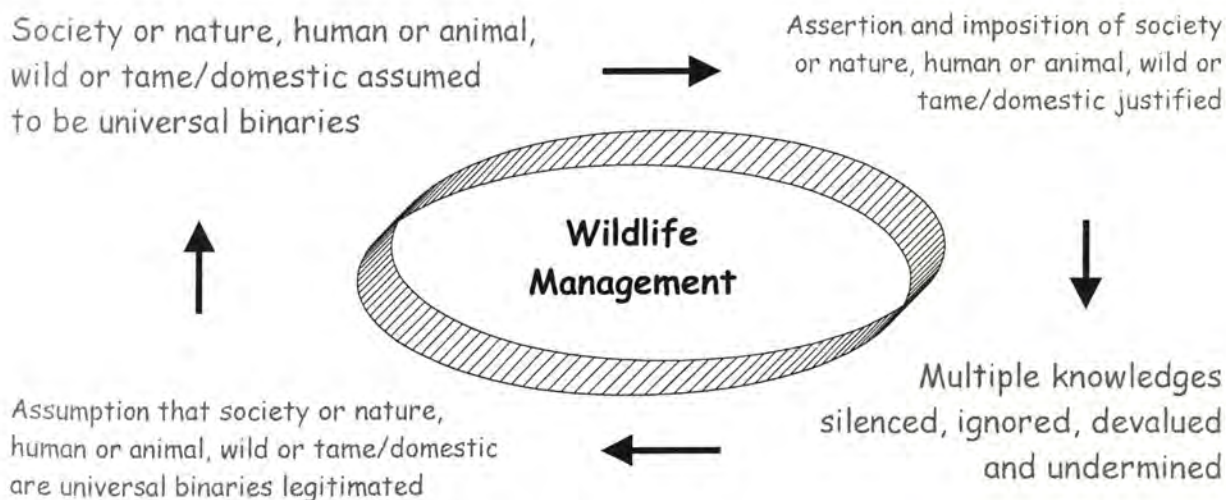


Figure 10

Wildlife management in the hall of mirrors:
reflections of society or nature, human or animal, wild or
tame/domestic

⁴⁵ This title also raises the question: What does the 'life' in 'wildlife' mean? Consideration of this concept is beyond the scope of this thesis although aspects of it, such as notions of consciousness, rationality and animation do enter discussions of human↔nature binaries.

The chapter goes on to explore issues of power by exposing the ways that management practices have universalised the epistemological beliefs underlying the idea of 'wildlife'. The way Eurocentric practices, reflecting beliefs of separation, hierarchy and progress underlying notions of wild and wildlife, are asserted and imposed, and how this silences, ignores, devalues and undermines local groups and knowledges is considered. The way this simultaneously justifies the assumption that Eurocentric knowledges are universal is also examined. This opens the way for the following chapter in which beliefs of control, domination and intervention are explored in more detail by focusing on concepts of 'management'.

Belief in separation and hierarchy: exploring nature↔society and animal↔human binaries

Knowledges based on Enlightenment science, industrial revolution technologies, Judeo-Christian beliefs, Eurocentric philosophy and/or dominant academic knowledge divide what is perceived as an objective, external, material world into distinguishable segments, each with essential differences that are uncritically accepted as naturalised, universal truth (Christie 1992). A boundary and external relationship between what is perceived as society and what is perceived as nature is one of the most enduring abstractions in these knowledges. This belief in separation has set the perceived human (society) in direct opposition with the perceived animal (nature)⁴⁶. In naming and representing this separation, external, hierarchical relationships are formed in which Eurocentric humans, by being in the position to name and represent, see themselves as superior to an inferior nature or wild. Despite their various forms in diverse places, these boundaries and relationships are rarely questioned or challenged within Eurocentric discourses, although they are constantly questioned and challenged by those who have them imposed on them and who do not subscribe to the same beliefs.

Within the Judeo-Christian creation process itself, the Bible transforms static, naturalised boundaries between what is seen as the externally related 'society' and 'nature', 'human' and 'animal'. The human, or to be more specific, the hierarchically privileged man, is seen as separate from and more powerful than 'living creatures' (and women) due to his ability to name them:

⁴⁶ Other 'entities' that are perceived of as separate to humans, and are placed in the category of nature, include plants, rocks, landscapes, seascapes, icescapes, lightening, thunder, hail, earthquakes etc.

And the LORD God formed out of the earth all the wild beasts and all the birds of the sky, and brought them to the man to see what he would call them; and whatever the man called each living creature, that would be its name. And the man gave names to the cattle and to the birds of the sky and to all the wild beasts ... Genesis 2:19, 20 (Plaut et al. 1981:30).

Scientific knowledges also believe in an objective 'external world' which humans need to understand and control through ordering, naming, classifying and categorising; "Science's basic strategy for making sense of the natural world is to break it up into conceptual fragments" (Knudtson and Suzuki 1992:63). As nature is separated from society, so scientific practice separated animals into their own category. Forming what in Eurocentric thought is seen as a fundamental boundary, it was only in the mid-1700s that Carl Linneaus introduced the system of classification still used by science – binomial nomenclature – whereby animals are separated from plants. Following this separation, science further classifies each category into class, order, family, subfamily, genus etc. (The Linnean Society of London 1999; Whatmore and Thorne 1998; Anderson 1995):

The process of scientific naming classifies animals by means of a species identification, principally through morphological comparison, distinguishing and fixing their relationship to all other animals ... In the process of drawing up such inventories, animals were removed from their environmental and social context, and preserved as unique specimens by diagrammatic or corporeal means (Whatmore and Thorne 1998:443).

Science is a specific epistemology, and examining its histories is necessary to understand its context and power. For example, it is a relatively new knowledge, with science and scientific methods becoming associated with theoretical knowledge and experiment only from the 1700s onwards (Nader 1996:3). Nader (1996:3) argues that the power of science lies not only in its naming and categorising of the world, but also in the way "categorizing science itself in relation to other knowledge systems" excludes these 'other' systems. By dismissing other knowledges as not existing, or as primitive and inferior knowledge, science judges itself on its own value system, proclaims itself as superior and thus legitimates its behaviour from within the hall of mirrors.

Nader (1996:4) describes the role of nineteenth century anthropology in defining and legitimating this scientific discourse:

... because nineteenth-century anthropologists (in the spirit of the Enlightenment) delineated science for the modern age by contrast, hierarchy became endemic in analyses; science was conceptualized as separate from pseudoscience and from religion, and other cultures were used to justify the position that science could best answer fundamental questions in life⁴⁷.

⁴⁷ Nader (1996:4) emphasises the influence that these anthropologists and their ideas still hold today.

For example, writing in the early 1900s, anthropologist Frazer used social evolution to arrange “magic, religion, and science as a linear development” leading the reader “from the age of magic to the age of religion and, finally, to the age of science”. This allowed him to argue that “[m]agic corresponded to the ‘lower cultures’ while religion and science corresponded to the ‘higher cultures’” (Nader 1996:5). Nader (1996:11) draws on philosopher Alfred North Whitehead to argue that “contemporary scientists have become the chief promulgators of a delusion that our knowledge is infallible and final”.

Boundaries and external relations between society and nature, and humans and animals transform through religious, scientific, academic and philosophical discourses, and become embedded through dialectical processes in mindsets and societies. Anderson (1995:283) illustrates the ways beliefs in separation and hierarchy are reinforced and communicated by considering relationships between ‘humans’ and ‘non-human animals’ in the context of the zoo. She argues:

The exhibition [of animals in zoos] showed nature not only confined and subdued but also interpreted and classified. To that end, the zoo space occupied that critical nexus in the traffic of ideas between science and popular.

The zoo is an excellent example of the boundaries and relationships set by Eurocentric discourses between nature and society:

... zoos ultimately tell us stories about boundary-making activities on the part of humans ... zoos are spaces where humans engage in cultural self-definition against a variably constructed and opposed nature. With animals as the medium, they inscribe a cultural sense of distance from that loosely defined realm that has come to be called ‘nature’ (Anderson 1995:276).

Similarly, Whatmore and Thorne (forthcoming) describe zoos not only conservation sites but also as showcases “for public entertainment and education which is designed to keep animals and people in their proper place”. Davies (1999) examines how exhibiting of animals through the electronic medium of the British Broadcasting Corporation’s Natural History Unit further separates not only human from animal, but also the images from the bodies of what is perceived of as wildlife.

Although it sets a very different set of spatial boundaries than zoos, the CAMPFIRE program also reinforces Eurocentric boundaries and relationships by perceiving animals as a separate and inferior resource to be contained and used by humans:

Poaching is down as the people take a more protective view of their newly valuable resource and recognise the park [bounded national park] as a reservoir of wealth – sort of a bank for animals (Adams and Siamachira no year given:9).

In Namibia, wildlife and humans are seen in government policy and NGO practice as separate entities embraced in an external relationship with humans. This can be illustrated by the objectives of Conservancy legislation which are “to allow communal area farmers to receive benefits from wildlife and other natural resources” through sustainable use and improved and careful resource management (MET no year given-a:2-3).

In Australia, animals are defined in section 5 of the NSW *National Parks and Wildlife Act 1974*, the Act that sets the framework for joint management in the state, in scientific categorical terms:

... animal means any animal, whether vertebrate or invertebrate, and at whatever stage of development, but does not include fish within the meaning of the Fisheries Management Act 1994 other than amphibians or aquatic or amphibious mammals or aquatic or amphibious reptiles.

In a report evaluating indigenous wildlife management in Australia, “wildlife resources” are characterised according to Eurocentric scientific understandings of evolution, notions of value and scientific classifications:


As a result of a long period of isolation from other land masses, many of the wildlife species are unique to Australia. This contributes to Australia's status as one of twelve key regions for maintenance of global biodiversity. All three major groups of mammals are well represented, including two of the world's three monotreme species (platypus and echidna). There are 282 species of native mammals, not including whales, and 85 per cent of these species are endemic ... (Davies et al. 1999:12).

In CCAs and co-management negotiations in Canada, historical power relationships have meant that indigenous groups have had to negotiate on Eurocentric terms of reference (reimposing many of the colonising power relationships in new contexts). For example, in regard to the Dene/Metis Harvesting Agreement, Asch (1989:211-212) argues that:

They [the Dene and Metis] have obtained some concessions, but in the process have had to accept working within a paradigm that is external to their ideology ... the aboriginal parties have had to give ground on fundamental points. In particular they have had to accept that what they hunt is 'wildlife'. They have therefore conceded that the animals they harvest belong to a Euro-Canadian category rather than to one of their own making.

In the First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun Final Agreement between the Government of Canada, the First Nation of Nacho Nyak Dun and the Government of the Yukon (Canada 1993:194), in the section categorised as fish and wildlife, “furbearers” are defined by their scientific classifications:

“Furbearers” means any of the following species native to the Yukon: Castor including beaver; Alopex including white fox or arctic fox; Lutra including otter; Lynx including lynx; Martes including martens and fishers ... (Section 16.2.0).



However, it is important to remember that:

Nature, for all its apparent remoteness and distance from humans is, in some sense at least, socially constructed (Anderson 1995:275).

Boundaries and external relationships do not naturally occur between humans and nature. People perceive their relationships with various aspects of 'the complex infinity' in multiple, shifting ways depending on context, focus and position. Acknowledging that naming, classifying, categorising and organising complex worlds into society and nature, human and animal, is not universal, true or 'natural' but is transformed differently in diverse places can be a challenging and unsettling (but exciting and transformative) experience for those whose knowledges are universalising. Christie (1992:5), a linguist working in northern Australia, illustrates some of the unsettling aspects of recognising multiple knowledges:

I failed as I struggled mentally to arrange all Yolngu matha names into a hierarchy. I assumed, for example, that the distinction between 'plant' and 'animal' is a 'natural' one, an ontological distinction, a reality quite independent of human attempts to make sense of the world. But there is no Yolngu Matha word for either 'plant' or 'animal'.

Foucault (1973:xv), in the preface to his book The Order of Things, describes the way "all the familiar landmarks of my thought – our thought, the thought that bears the stamp of our age and our geography" were broken up and shattered by a passage from Borges in which boundaries between entities do not correspond to Eurocentric knowledges:

[In] a 'certain Chinese encyclopedia' ... it is written that 'animals are divided into: (a) belonging to the Emperor, (b) embalmed, (c) tame, (d) sucking pigs, (e) sirens, (f) fabulous, (g) stray dogs, (h) included in the present classification, (i) frenzied, (j) innumerable, (k) drawn with a very fine camelhair brush, (l) et cetera, (m) having just broken the water pitcher, (n) that from the long way off look like flies'.


Foucault (1973:xv) argues that this system of thought demonstrates the limits of our own epistemologies which "tame the wild profusion of existing things". This shattering experience disturbs and threatens "with collapse our age-old distinction between the Same and the Other".

Turning worlds upside down, Fienup-Riordan (cited in Bielawski 1996:222) explores scientific and Yup'ik Eskimo transformations of human↔animal relationships:

Western science assumes an inherent differentiation between humans and animals and focuses on the explanation of the relationship between originally independent parts; the Yup'ik Eskimos stand this basic assumption on its head and assume, for instance, that men and animals are analogically related as human and non-human persons ... The focus of explanation shifts to the creation of difference out of an original unity.

Similarly, Scott (1996:72-73) contrasts the embedded and naturalised "Cartesian myths of the dualities of mind-body, culture-nature", with Cree epistemologies:

In Cree, there is no word corresponding to our term "nature". There is a word *pimaatisiwin* (life), which includes human as well as animal "persons".



The word for “person,” *iyyiyuu*, can itself be glossed as “he lives”. Humans, animals, spirits, and several geophysical agents are perceived to have qualities of personhood. All persons engage in a reciprocally communicative reality. Human persons are not set over and against a material context of inert nature, but rather are one species of person in a network of reciprocating persons. These reciprocative interactions constitute the events of experience.

Hove and Trojanow (1996:18) describe the intimate relationship between humans, nature, animals, insects and plants in Zimbabwe:

Zimbabweans, like other Africans, developed their individual and social philosophy from the relationship of the human body to other bodies, to nature. To be alive is to be alive with others, including animals, insects and plants.

In relation to the removal of the Makuleke from their land so it could be incorporated into South Africa’s KNP, a Makuleke man challenges a separation between human and fish:

“I am a fish”, the old man said to me one day in Ntlaveni, the apartheid resettlement area in the homeland Gazankulu. “There are no rivers here” (Steenkamp 1998).

The Aboriginal English word ‘country’ directly challenges Eurocentric classifications of the world into separate entities such as humans and nature containing animals, plants, land, sea, ice, rivers, estuaries, lakes etc.:

Country is multi-dimensional – it consists of people, animals, plants, Dreamings, underground, earth, soils, minerals and waters, surface water, and air. There is sea country and land country; in some areas people talk about sky country. Country has origins and a future; it exists both in and through time ... (Rose, D 1996b:8).

Specific relationships are also implied, with country being:

... a place that gives and receives life. Not just imagined or represented, it is lived in and lived with ... (Rose, D 1996b:6).

Langton (1998:27-28) argues that when cultural values are applied to new situations by Aboriginal people in Arnhem Land in northern Australia, what is of primary importance is the:

... influence of totemic affiliation. Aboriginal beliefs about the place of humans in the natural world construct a different concept of personal identity from that which is conventionally understood in Western thought. The Aboriginal person – as a socialised cultural being – is conceived of, not merely as a body enclosing a singular conscious being, but rather, as spatialised by virtue of totemic affiliations. Persons with inherited spiritual essence shared with non-human beings share the world of those beings, including their natural habitats, as a most personal responsibility.

Belief in consciousness, rationality, intent, purpose and reason

In different places Eurocentric discourses intersect, influence, shift, and contradict, yet they always perceive a dichotomy between society and nature, and human and animal. It is necessary to identify the beliefs that inform this perception so that their illusions of universality can be further challenged. The characteristics of being able to consciously reason,

be rational, and have intent and purpose have been the most pervasive attributes used to externalise the relationship of society from nature, and human from animal. Plumwood (1995:155), feminist environmental philosopher, argues that:

One key aspect of the Western view of nature ... is the view of nature as sharply discontinuous or ontologically divided from the human sphere of reason.

Passmore (1995) argues that knowledges based on Judeo-Christian and Eurocentric philosophical beliefs represent relationships between society and nature, and humans and animals, in a variety of (often contradictory) ways. However, most of these representations are based on acceptance of an external relationship between the opposing entities of society and nature, human and animal based on notions of reason, rationality, intent and purpose.

For example, Stoic-Christian tradition represents a nature “created by God for men to use”, based on a Bible belief that man is unique in his capacity for rational thought. This is drawn from the conviction that man alone has been “addressed by God”. Bacon similarly pointed out that God made man, and not nature, in his image (Passmore 1995:132). As a result, animals are seen as incapable of rational thought, are classed as tools and “dumb beasts”, and are transformed as completely separate from the human state (Passmore 1995:130-131). Similarly separating nature from human, Passmore (1995:131) argues that for centuries the Bible was interpreted as saying that man should not presume to “go forth and transform the world”, as this would reshape God’s work. This view influenced condemnations of industrial revolution “mechanical arts” as “diabolical” due to their attempts “to construct a world that was as if Adam had never sinned”.

Gold (1984:13-14) argues that prior to the age of science and Newtonian mechanistic views of the world, European philosophical and religious views of nature were dominated by perspectives which saw the Earth as a “living organism”. Although humans were included in this holistic picture, they were still generally seen as superior to other creatures by “virtue of their reason”. This included a hierarchical differentiation of humans with the Church and Elite on top and the peasants and artisans at the bottom. This transformation followed classical categorisations, where Aristotle perceived of relationships between humans and nature in terms of a continuum, with humans as the pinnacle and inanimate things as the base.

Aristotle and Plato similarly differentiated humans according to a continuum, this time based on race and gender, with slaves filling the lowest ranks (Anderson 1995:277)⁴⁸.

As “the culmination of Graeco-Christian thought” differentiating man from animals, Descartes, in the seventeenth century, denies the possibility of animals feeling or exercising intelligence (Passmore 1995:133). After separating mind from body, and placing intellect and reason in the mind, and passion and sensation in the body, Descartes laid the groundwork (erected the mirrors?) for placing animals, which he represented as lacking intelligence and reason, in the contained category of nature (Anderson 1995:277). By stating that you cannot reason with or sympathise with animals, Cartesian dualism was used to justify the view that humans had no moral curbs in their relationship with nature⁴⁹ (Passmore 1995:133). Thus humans and animals were separated, and humans seen as superior, on the perceived basis of reason, intelligence, consciousness and awareness. Anderson (1995:277) argues that from this point:

The conceptual boundaries between ‘animal’ and ‘human’ were drawn increasingly chauvinistically within the larger Cartesian framework of western dualistic thought ... animals were not only opposed to human, they were consigned to the already inferiorized and homogenized sphere of ‘dead’ (unconscious) nature – that residual realm inhabited by such diverse things as plants, soils, stones, the elements and the land.

Plumwood (1995:157) parallels the opposing of human to nature with the binary separation of masculine and feminine. She argues that not only do both binaries rely on oppositions of reason and emotion, spirit and body, but the human in the human↔nature binary relies on the exclusion of what are seen as feminine characteristics. Therefore, characteristics such as rationality, freedom and transcendence are attributed to the human. However, as these are seen as male attributes, so the human is basically conceived of as masculine. As the human is seen as masculine, so nature is seen as feminine. Gold (1984:13) considers feminine attributes that have been associated with nature, such as concepts of Mother Nature and Dame Nature⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ Animals are similarly differentiated into a hierarchy. Take, for example, the notion of the ‘lion as the king of beasts’ or ‘the king of the jungle’, and this quote from Hall-Martin (1986:9-10): “Rather than present a balanced ecosystem approach to describing Africa, we have chosen to indulge in the African elephant – to us the greatest animal of all”.

⁴⁹ Passmore (1995:132-133) points out that Jewish interpretations of Biblical texts inspired a view in opposition to this and prescribed a more considerate attitude to nature.

⁵⁰ Robinson (1996) considers equations of nature and femininity and the way relationships to nature have shifted to legitimate the exploitation of nature and the masculinity of mining.

Passmore (1995:133-134) argues that it was Descartes who broke from the historical view of nature being made for human use and proclaimed that to effectively utilise nature, humans had to transform, master, possess and exploit it. Descartes' suggestion of a particular method of exploitation called 'practical philosophy', an understanding of laws and transformation through technology, together with Plato's understanding of "mathematically expressible functional relationships between abstractly-conceived processes and objects" form the underlying basis to mainstream science (Passmore 1995:134). Thus, by the 1700s, after a period of conflicting and contested perspectives, scientific projects, capitalist ventures and religious and philosophical arguments had transformed the dominant image of nature into that of a machine, as for Galileo: "The book of nature is written in the language of mathematics" (cited in Gold 1984:16).

In opposition to Descartes, philosophers such as Hegel attempted to make nature more "human-like". Hegel (and Marx after him) saw nature as only existing through human perception and action. Nature exists in order to be overcome and humanised (Passmore 1995:134). Passmore (1995:136) thus identifies two leading traditions in "modern Western thought":

- one is Cartesian in inspiration whereby matter (including nature and animals) is inert and passive, has no inherent powers of resistance or agency, and humans relate to it in order to reshape and reform it;
- the other is Hegelian and believes that it is the human being's task to actualise nature and animals through art, science, philosophy and technology so that nature can be converted into something with which humans can feel 'at home' and not as something from which they are alienated.

By setting boundaries and external relations between nature and society, and human and animal, nature and animals are perceived as resources, separate and inferior, existing for dominant, rational, superior humans to understand, master, control, utilise and subdue (Plumwood 1995:155). As Mutwa (1996:12) puts it:

Western man is taught that he is the master of all living things. The Bible itself enshrines this extreme attitude ... One hears the strange belief that man is superior to all other living things on Earth, and that he was especially created to be overlord and custodian of all things.

Being superior and in the position of overlord allows humans to impose practices of domination and subordination. Anderson (1995:276) finds that:

The cultural sense of separation has implied no neutral relation between humans and the non human world but rather entailed detailed and persistent disciplinary practices.

Rationalist economic, capitalist and developmentalist discourses, informed by these conceptions of a separate and inferior nature, see nature as a resource for exploitation and development:

The earth's resources are represented in economic discourse as a natural endowment, a 'free gift of nature' which can be exploited in order to create wealth (Robinson 1996:137).

The separation of humans from animals, and the assumed position of power for humans has justified the domination and subordination of animals in many places. Activities such as the domestication of animals from Neolithic times; use of animals in violent gladiatorial contests and triumphal processions by the Romans⁵¹; royal sports such as bear-baiting and bullfighting and private menageries for the elite in the middle ages; the scientific use of animal collections for research and classification; and the breeding of animals to replenish depleted populations, are all examples of legitimised human control and domination of animals based on an assumed belief in the superiority of humans (Hawley 1999; Anderson 1997, 1995; Gold 1984). Legitimated by this belief in European human superiority, Hawley (1999:47) describes the collection from Australia of a:

... multitude of cases of minerals, dried plants, shells, fishes, reptiles and zoophytes preserved in alcohol, of quadrupeds and birds stuffed or dissected, seventy great cases full of plants in their natural state ... and finally about a hundred living animals, rare or absolutely new.

This plethora of samples from the 'natural world' was the result of just one scientific expedition by the French to Australia in 1800. The "live cargo" from this expedition ended up as a private menagerie for Empress Josephine (Hawley 1999:47).

Contemporary Eurocentric discourses also reflect a belief in the ability of a separate human to control and use an inferior animal. For example, in her consideration of the metropolitan zoo, Anderson (1995:288) finds that, despite (or because of), contemporary emphasis on conservation discourses, categorical separation between human and animal, and human desires to use and control animals, still dominate. Whatmore and Thorne (1998) deftly link the domination of 'wild animals' by the Romans to their domination by scientists, conservationists and politicians as animals are classified, monitored and managed as 'endangered species'. From a different angle, Anderson (1997:464) explores current human

⁵¹ See Whatmore and Thorne (1998) for a discussion of the Roman use and control of wild animals, especially *leopardus* ('spotted cats'), through their capture, transport and training for games and spectacles.

control over nature through the “harnessing of science and biotechnology to the domestication of plants and animals”. In Africa, Canada and Australia wildlife management programs (including those focusing on the conservation of endangered species) are also based on assumptions of control and superiority. As is explored in the next chapter, the notion of management itself contains all these assumptions. Thus initiatives aimed at utilising wildlife as a resource for recreation, tourism, leisure, sports and trophy hunting, and direct conservation purposes such as the containment of animals in protected areas, must all be viewed in the light of the assumptions of separation, superiority and progress embedded in them:

*... CAMPFIRE gives people an alternative to destructive uses of the land by **making wildlife a valuable resource** (ART 1996b:2, my bold).*

In the Makuleke Land Claim agreement, the notion of conservation is firmly based on the belief of a separation between humans and nature, and humans and animals, and the benefits and uses of nature and animals for humans:

“conservation” the conservation and study of wild animals, flora and fauna ... in such as manner as the land shall be retained in its natural state, as far as may be practical and for the benefit of enjoyment of the community and visitors (included in De Villiers 1999:149).

The role of academic knowledge and educational institutions in transforming and transmitting universalising knowledges must not be underestimated. For example, anthropologist Ingold (1995) outlines his own personal knowledge transformations. Ingold (1995:66) describes how his work used to fit in with what has:

... been conventional, in anthropological and other writings of western academic provenance, to refer to ... worlds, of human values and purposes on the one hand, and of physical objects in the other, by means of the shorthand terms, culture and nature, respectively.

His epistemology was based on a separation between perceiver and world, and rationalist concepts of truth and reality:

Reality, that which is imposed upon, is envisioned here as an external world of nature, a source of raw materials and sensations for diverse projects of cultural construction.

Ingold (1995:71, 74-75) attempts to unsettle his own binary of human as intentional being and animal as unintentional by considering relationships to the environment through notions of building and dwelling. He debunks notions of evolutionary supremacy, through which “our ancestors were sufficiently endowed with the qualities of intelligence and manual dexterity to become the authors of their own projects of building”, and argues for “the dissolution of the dichotomy, which in modern scholarship separates the biological sciences from the

humanities, between evolution and history, or between the temporal processes of nature and culture”. Other people have also attempted to challenge Eurocentric assumptions from within academic disciplines. For example, philosopher and biologist Birch (1990) challenges Newtonian physics and notions of rationality and purpose by drawing on internal relations and arguing for purpose in non-human life and even non-living entities and systems.

Contemporary philosophers are also attempting to challenge hierarchical separations between humans and nature. However, many of these challenges fail to get beyond their own epistemological mirrors. Plumwood (1995:155) critiques “mainstream” environmental philosophy. Plumwood (1995:157-159) argues that even though it tries to see humans as “a part of nature”, humans are usually seen as subject to natural laws, and the “essentially or authentically human part of self” is still seen as outside nature. In particular, deep ecology is problematised for its failure to recognise and reject universal, rational assumptions of ‘self’ and for continuing to fundamentally and externally separate humans from nature. It does this in three ways; by rejecting the boundaries between self and nature deep ecology fails to address and analyse the ways the universalised boundary is formed in the first place; in arguing for empathy, deep ecology fails to question notions of ‘rational egoism’ and “[o]thers are recognized morally only to the extent that they are incorporated into the self, and their difference denied” (Plumwood 1995:162); finally, deep ecology argues for the need to overcome the self and identify with everything. Plumwood (1995:163) argues that this is a deep ecology version of universalisation, reflecting “the rationalistic preoccupation with the universal and its accounts of ethical life as oppositional to the particular”.


After exploring universalising attitudes towards ‘nature’, Passmore (1995:137-138, my bold) presents his own philosophy on nature:

*... the philosopher has to learn to live with the ‘strangeness’ of nature, with the fact that **natural processes are entirely indifferent to our existence and welfare** – not positively indifferent, of course, but **incapable of caring about us** ... So expressed, these conclusions sound so **trite and obvious** that one is almost ashamed to set them out.*

Thus Passmore (1995:138) reinforces a universalised separation between human and nature, based on a belief that humans are unique in being able to assert and deny and have concern for and about the future. He argues that it is “not arbitrary, but essential, to contrast the human with what is not human – with the ‘natural’ in the limited special sense of the word”. In dealing *with* nature, Passmore (1995:140, my bold) bluntly states that:

No doubt, men, plants, animals, the biosphere form parts of a single community in the ecological sense of the word: each is dependent upon the others for its continued existence. But this is not the sense of community which generates rights, duties, obligations; men and animals are not involved in a network of responsibilities or a network of mutual concessions.

Despite their multiple, fluid, even contradictory strands, Judeo-Christian, Eurocentric philosophical, mainstream academic, capitalist, developmentalist, conservation and enlightenment scientific discourses all transform a relationship of opposition, what Plumwood (1995:156-157) describes as a "sharp dichotomy and polarization", between nature and society, human and animal. They base this on "the rejection and denial of what links humans to the animal", what Anderson (1995:291) characterises as "a faith in the capacity of humans for reason".



However, glimpses into situated multiple knowledges can start to challenge and unsettle these binaries by showing how other groups perceive boundaries and relationships in fundamentally different ways.

In beginning to outline what a "non-human-centred cosmos" might look like, D Rose (1988:379) discusses the land ethic expressed by Ngarinman and Ngaliwurru people from the Northern Territory in Australia. In direct contrast to Passmore's assertions, she argues that for Ngarinman people:

... human life exists within the broader context of a living and conscious cosmos.

Williams (cited in Langton 1998:27) also argues that:


Aboriginal people regard the environment as sentient and as communicating with them.

These statements fly directly in the face of all those knowledges which are based on a belief in the universal application of classifications based on the fact that only humans are conscious beings. Here we have epistemologies in which:

Other animal species are believed to be acting equally responsibly [as humans]. People, other animals and other categories of beings are moral agents. The whole cosmos is maintained through the conscious and responsible actions of different life forms (Rose, D 1988:379).

These 'conscious and responsible actions' take many forms. For example, in regard to how seasons work, D Rose (1988:379) describes the following:

In a normal course of events rain comes because the flying foxes have told the rainbow snake that the earth is getting very hot, the trees are all getting dry, the flowers that are food for the flying foxes are gone. They 'say' this by going to roost along the river. So one portion of the seasonal cycle is linked to a range of faunal species. Many of these species are associated with human beings through matrilineally derived categories of identity. In this way, humans, animals and seasons are brought together as part of a system.



Other knowledge is also gleaned by understanding the messages 'told' by different agents within the cosmos. For example, "March flies are telling you the [crocodile] eggs are ready". In north-eastern Arnhem Land:

The flowering of the stringybark trees signals that it is time to collect the honey of the native bees (Williams cited in Langton 1998:27).

Similarly, during my times in Napranum, I have been told of numerous instances of agents within the cosmos sending out messages:

We know when it's harvest times when we see grass seed burst and the seeds fall off (Mathawanh and Buwith, 31.1.94; Kaynayth, 21.2.94);

When dragon flies are around it's good fishing, especially salmon (Mathawanh and Buwith, 31.1.94);

When the flower [crab flower, Bu'uk] blooms the mud crabs are ready to eat (Thelma Coconut and Buwith, 21.2.94) (cited in Suchet 1994:44).

Conscious actors send out messages, yet these messages are not specifically directed towards humans. D Rose (1988:383) argues that:

... the messages themselves are not organised into a centralised, hierarchical structure. Information is dispersed throughout the cosmos. Specifics emerge from a background of broader categories; simultaneous emergence indicates a shared ontological status. From this perspective, the cosmos cannot be seen as human-centred. The march flies' messages are not telling people to go and dig up crocodile eggs. They are simply saying that the crocodiles are laying their eggs.


Many Aboriginal people have relationships with specific species of animals at personal and tribal scales. These relationships are based on an underlying understanding that through creation animals and humans were and are interrelated. Dreaming stories inform relationships between humans and animals whereby responsibility to country is based on a common heritage and kinship (Rose, D 1996b; Suchet 1994; Bennett 1983):

Animals, they're related to us ... Animals were human before (Napranum elders cited in Suchet 1996:211).

The inter(nal)relationships between people and animals are illustrated by the way people can get sick if their tribal bird or animal is killed. For example, upon hearing how dingo pups that were in the pipes under the road at RAAF Base Scherger were killed and incinerated, Buwith exclaimed "No wonder we been getting sick" (Buwith and Mathawanh, 31.8.98).

Many indigenous people in Canada also internally relate to "animals" in mutually conscious and reciprocal relationships. Feit (1988:77) describes how the Waswanipi Cree classify animals into a:

... hierarchy which links animals to men and both to spirits and to God. Animals are social beings, not cut off from humans as part of a natural order separated from human society ... Waswanipi therefore interpret animal actions as the results of wilful choice on the part of the animals. Animals in turn are interpreted as social beings capable of interpreting and understanding the actions of men. The Waswanipi hunters say that they only catch an animal when the animal gives itself to them, or is given them by God and the spirits.



Scott (1996:73) examines Cree notions of knowing, signing and making meaning and finds that animals are an integral part of knowledge systems:

Animal actions, particular qualities and features in the bodies of animals, weather, dream images and events, visions, and religious symbols all fall within the Cree notion of "sign", with signs constituting knowledge or guidance for actors. Not only humans, but animals and other nonhuman persons send, interpret and respond to signs pertinent to various domains of human action: hunting success or failure, birth and death, and, implicit to these, the circumstances of reciprocity between persons in the world.

Kawagley (1990:10, 13) describes how, through creation, the Yup'ik have an embodied interrelationship with animals in which none can be superior:

The Yup'ik have many stories ... where a human being changes readily from human to animal form ... This is because "when the earth's crust was thin" the humans and animals were accepting of one another and saw no problem with changing into another form of which they were a member already. After all, they believe in an "Ellam Yua", the Spirit of the Universe. However, they were created by the Raven, so how could they be better than or superior to all other animals, plants and the earth.

Many African peoples construct the concept of 'animals' in various ways through belief systems and creation stories (Mutwa 1996; Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba 1995; Atkinson 1989). For example Mutwa (1996:14), in his eloquent book describing the ways various people and animals internally relate to each other throughout Africa, states that:

... if you are taught that God often has the head of a lion and the body of a human being, you will treat all lions with respect.

The Tembomvura of northern Zimbabwe transform 'wildlife' as part of their culture, "existence is a chain in which each animal and human needs the other for survival". As in Australia animals play multiple roles in Tembomvura culture, identity and life. These include being teachers, messengers from ancestors, representatives of the spirits of those who have died, sources of food, helpers in times of trouble and also indicators of changes in the weather – giving information about drought or flooding (Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba 1995:11):

Sit down and listen to the sounds of the night

Each animal's cry is a story

They are the messengers of our ancestors

(Tembomvura poem quoted in Marindo-Ranganai and Zaba 1995:11).

Tonga society also from northern Zimbabwe is organised into clan groups which have specific animal names attached to them. The clan's animal informs relationships between people. This quote from a resource book written for Tonga children in the Gwembe Valley illustrates the complex interrelationships people and animals have:

We have *bujwanyina* (a joking relationship) with the Bansaka because they are bees who make honey, and we are ants who steal their honey. That is what we always tease each other with. And we have *bujwanyina* with the Baleya because they are goats, and we hyenas come and steal them from the house ... (Colson cited in Reynolds and Cousins 1989:45).

Throughout the first war fought in Zimbabwe against the British in the late 1800s, and the second war of liberation fought in the 1960s and



1970s, animals were drawn upon by the ancestor spirits and spirit mediums as conduits for messages to their people and fighters (Gumbo 1995; Vera 1993).

For the Ju/'hoansi of Nyae Nyae in north-eastern Namibia "elephants must participate in the planning for the harvesting of Marula [a tree fruit]" (Powell 1998:47):

We share the resource with elephants and we have decided together, that is the elephants and us, which tree is to be used by the Ju/'hoansi and which by the elephant (/Ailae/Oma cited in Powell 1998:47).

If certain trees are not left for the elephants, then the elephants will destroy all the trees in the area. When seeing a stand of Marula that had been destroyed, /Ailae said that "in this case he had left enough trees and fruit for the elephants and that it must have been new elephant's who took this revenge (new elephants coming into the area due to the opening of water point by the MET):

These new elephants, he [/Ailae] said, had not had any dialogue with the people and therefore had not been included in the planning of the Marula harvesting. They subsequently became angry when they arrived as there was nothing to eat ... (Powell 1998:47).

These glimpses into situated knowledges challenge Eurocentric assumptions of universality by showing how a divide between nature and society, animal and human on the basis that only humans are conscious, reasonable, intentional agents is certainly not universal:

Animals, trees, rains, sun, moon – all are conscious. They watch us humans, and think about us. No one person, animal, tree or hill knows everything, and the purposes of much that exists may remain obscure to others. It is important, therefore, to bear in mind that obscurity, from a human point of view, is not the same as purposelessness ... Aboriginal people in many parts of Australia see and understand that other living things – birds, kangaroos, flying foxes, Rainbow Snakes and all the rest of them – also know that wisdom lies in being aware of life systems and in behaving responsibly (Rose, D 1996b:28).

Belief in linear progress and development: exploring wild↔domestic/tame binaries

As Eurocentric knowledges and discourses classify animals as a part of nature, externally opposed to humans and society due to perceived notions of reason and consciousness, so animals are separated into categories of wild and domestic or tame:

And the man gave names to the cattle and to the birds of the sky and to all the wild beasts ... Genesis 2:19, 20 (Plaut et al. 1981:30, my bold).

Asch (1989:208) examines the word wildlife and finds that English dictionaries define it by its opposition to domesticates, "there is a binary opposition between the concept 'wildlife' and the concept 'domesticate' when referring to animals". Although wild and domestic/tame

animals are perceived by many as naturally occurring categories, they are in fact reflections of Eurocentric beliefs in social evolution and linear progress and development. As Usher (1995:203) puts it:

... wildlife ... is not an objective description but a cultural statement of the relationship of people and animals (and habitat) in an agricultural, settler heritage. It appears to have no direct equivalent in aboriginal languages.

Linear notions of progress and development inform Eurocentric ways of knowing 'wildlife' and the perceived inevitable and preferred movement from a wild state to a domesticated state. Stories of social evolution see humans progressing from a state of hunter-gatherer through that of pastoralist to the pinnacle of achievement as agriculturalists. This progress is related to the taming and domestication of the uncontrolled wild that is nature and animals (and certain humans). Blaut (1993:22) argues that by the late 1800s:

Few doubted that biological and social evolution – that is, progress – were fundamental truths ... It seemed clear that Europeans were naturally to experience permanent social evolution, that this had been God's or Nature's plan throughout history.

These notions of progress still influence much thought today:

Wilson argues that the most significant turning point in human social evolution came at the moment when people began to live in houses. Roughly speaking, this marks a division between hunters and gatherers, on the one hand, and agriculturalists and urban dwellers, on the other (Ingold 1995:67).

Kleeman et al (1998:36) divide the world's environments into physical and built environments, separating nature from society, and primitive (non urban, non industrialised, non agricultural) from civilised:

Physical environments are those dominated by natural features ... Built are all the human-altered landscapes normally associated with settlements, industries and farms.

Belief in this linear process of social evolution transforms 'civilisation' as the taming, domesticating and controlling of an external, separated wild nature and animal through agriculture, industry, gardens and cities (Whatmore and Thorne 1998:435)⁵²:

According to the concept of progress, that which exists on the 'other' side of the frontier is an object waiting to be transformed. The land [and animals] will be domesticated (through pastoralism, agriculture or urbanisation), and the people will be civilised. Both will thus be made to be productive, and through this transformation into productivity will be brought into time, into history, into culture (Rose, D 1996a:187).

⁵² Anderson (1997:467-470) examines the way geographers have conceived of evolution and domesticity, and how many have universalised a progressive movement from wild to tame and savagery to civilisation.

Civilisation is seen as an improvement, a progressive, more developed form of society, than a previous (with some vestiges till ongoing) primitive, uncontrolled, untamed, wild existence of 'simply' hunting and gathering (and either 'living in harmony with nature' or 'living as a wild animal'):

In all respects, the early Bushman was the classic Old Stone Age man. He was a hunter and food gatherer; he had no agriculture whatsoever (Friendly 1963:854).

Through the opposition of civilised to primitive, characteristics of a wild, untamed nature and animal can be ascribed to wild societies and thus wild, savage, barbaric, primitive people. This categorisation of wild, primitive people in with wild animals and wild nature saw humans, such as pygmies from Africa, included with 'wild' animal exhibits in some nineteenth century zoos (Anderson 1995:292). In the 1950s, the formation of a wildlife refuge in Botswana (the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR)) sought not only to contain wild animals, but also wild, inferior Bushmen (Wilmsen 1995:222). This passage from Kipling illustrates the superiority↔inferiority binary underlying hierarchical transformations of British humans and 'wild' humans:

*Blessed be the English and all that they profess.
Cursed be the savages that prance in nakedness.
Blessed be the English and everything they own.
Cursed be the Infidels that bow to wood and stone (cited in Adams 1995:25).*

Notions of inferiority are powerful not only in legitimating colonial actions, but also in devaluing people as notions of savage and primitive are internalised:

... I came to hate myself for the image I could see in their [whites] eyes. Everywhere white supremacy surrounded me. Even in solitary silence I felt the word "savage" deep in my soul (Adams 1989:16).

In wildlife management discourses this notion of wild is rarely addressed. Rather, the boundaries between what is wild and what is domestic are taken-for-granted. In environmental programs in Canada, Southern Africa and Australia aimed at addressing perceived wildlife management problems, the concept of wildlife is firmly based not only on nature↔society and animal↔human oppositions, but also on further separations between wild and domestic animals, beliefs in hierarchy and linear notions of progress and development. Asch (1989:208) examines the Canadian Dene/Metis Harvesting Agreement, part of the Dene-Metis Agreement-in-Principle signed in 1988, and argues that it "closely follows Euro-Canadian cultural values". These values can be identified in the agreement's use of the word 'wildlife' and its definition as "all *ferae naturae* in a wild state including, fish, mammals, and birds" (Asch 1989:206). These types of co-management agreements from Canada are firmly

based on an assumption of what is wild, with all the baggage of wild↔domestic and nature↔society oppositions that it brings with it. As explored later in the thesis, assumed concepts of management and conservation, embedded within the binaries themselves, are also fundamental to the co-management regimes being negotiated and implemented in Canada.

In Australian common law, animals are separated into two categories:

... *ferae naturae* (wild by nature e.g. a wombat), and *mansuetae naturae* (tame by nature e.g. a dog) (Aslin and Bennett 1999:11).

An Australian Senate Committee report into the *Commercial Utilisation of Australian Native Wildlife*, defines the concept of wildlife as meaning “animals and plants that live in the wild”. This is taken from the Oxford and Macquarie Dictionaries that define:

... ‘wild’ as ‘not domesticated or cultivated’, the converse of which is that domesticated animals ... are ‘not wild’ ... wild as ‘living in a state of nature, as animals that have not been tamed or domesticated’ and ... ‘wildlife’ as ‘animals living in their natural habitat’ (Rural and Regional Affairs and Transport References Committee 1998:8-9).

Although the report discusses the problematic definition of ‘wild’ animals that have been raised in captivity, it does not challenge taken-for-granted notions of wild and domestic or tame, or notions of ‘natural habitat’.



However, by carefully considering the notion of wild animals, the assumption that wild, domestic and tame are natural categories is unsettled.

Respected elder Baha Mhlanga talks about the relationship his people from Mahenye in south-east Zimbabwe have with what we call tame and wild animals:

Animals have always helped us, and they still do ... The wild animals and the tame ones are the same to us ... (Respected elder Baha Mhlanga cited in Hove and Trojanow 1996:22-9).

Following Anderson (1995), let's consider one of the most taken-for-granted repositories of animals – zoos. By going to the zoo one expects to see wildlife from around the world, be it lions, tigers, kangaroos or bears. When viewing or learning about or researching these zoo animals, rarely is the context of the zoo itself considered. Once it is, notions of wildlife do not seem quite so simple. Are lions and bears wildlife in the zoo setting? What if the lion was captured in the 'wild' and transported to the zoo? What if the bear is tamed and sanitised by the use of antibiotics and tranquillisers? What if the lion was born in captivity or was bought by the zoo from a circus? What if the bear was bred in the zoo as part of breeding programs aimed to increase wildlife populations so the animals can be 'returned to the wild'? Anderson (1995:286-287) argues that “[i]nducing animals to breed in captivity seems to have been another part of the process of



domesticating that which was 'wild'". However, in the setting of the zoo, the process of domestication is disguised and the binaries of wild and tame are reinforced by exhibiting animals which have been categorised, captured, transported, bought, sold, contained, monitored, drugged and artificially inseminated as 'wild' (see also Whatmore and Thorne forthcoming).

Similarly, the realities and imaginaries of national parks and game reserves are based on the conception of being able to observe, photograph, study wild animals – animals in the wild, in their natural state:

It is essential to remember that you are not in a Zoo. You are in a Game Reserve ... Within this area the wild animals live their natural lives, unmolested and uncontrolled by Man. Lion and leopard seek their prey, the herbivorous Antelope are constantly on the alert against their natural enemies, the law of the jungle reigns supreme. Man is an interloper, and must behave himself (Hwange Conservation Society 1998).

The paradox becomes evident when it is realised that this objective of an untouched, authentic wildness is maintained by the intervention, control and management of conservation authorities. To gain this illusionary "natural state" wild animals are actively managed. This includes the erection of fences, the culling and shooting of animals, the installation of water points, wildlife counts, harvesting quotas, geographic information systems, game guards, the development of tourist facilities and the management of people.

Wild(er)ness: an authentic original

The linear, evolutionary notion of development, with humans and animals progressing from a wild to a domesticated or tamed state, assumes an authentic, original, untamed, undomesticated state. That original is characterised as wild or wilderness. As wild and wilderness are separated from tame and domesticated, they are seen in positive or negative terms depending on context, focus and position. Regardless of the connotation, notions of wild and wilderness reflect and inform a belief that Eurocentric humans are separate and superior to nature and can thus control, intervene and manage it; be it to protect and conserve a perceived original wild (wilderness as sanctuary, wildlife as sacred, wild human as noble savage) or tame and domesticate a wilderness in the name of development and progress.

Shifting European attitudes to gardens reflect both positive and negative attitudes towards the wild and wilderness, yet are always based on the view that a wild and wilderness categorically exist. For example, seventeenth century views that nature and wilderness exist only to be overcome and humanised are reflected by a:

... depreciation of natural beauty as vastly inferior to works of art: the feeling one finds in classical literature and which is still enunciated by Hegel that nature deserves appreciation

only when it has been transformed into a farm, a garden, and so has lost its wildness, its strangeness (Passmore 1995:135).

Attempts to transform wild nature into a tamed garden reflect human desires to control and exploit nature and are justified by a belief in the separation of society from nature:

The power of the king over his subjects, the control of nature by man, are echoed in the way the Chateau [at Versailles] dominates the garden: together they form a statement of mathematical order and of sovereignty (Gold 1984:19).

However, as the industrial revolution saw people removed from the 'countryside', Gold (1984:23) argues that "the countryside was perceived as that which had been lost, that which had been left behind". This concentration of people in urban settings was seen as a physical separation from nature. A yearning for that nature continues to inform attitudes today in which; "nature is simply an escape from the 'man'-made world; an Eden which we look forward to re-gaining at the weekend, or on holiday" (Gold 1984:24).

Positive notions of wild and wilderness as an escape, spiritual space and true research domain (or of noble savage as original conservationist or keeper of solutions) romanticise an illusion of a wild based on originality and authenticity, prior to and external from, human control and interference. Experiences of removals, evictions, interventions, control and management are silenced and ignored. Langton (1998:9, my bold) discusses the way Aboriginal people and their land management traditions have been rendered invisible by the application of notions of wilderness to Australian landscapes. She refers to this as a 'science fiction' that, like the legal fiction of *terra nullius*, arises from "**the assumption of superiority** of Western knowledge over indigenous knowledge systems ...". This assumption of superiority justifies a form of "ecological imperialism" (Langton 1998:18) as Aboriginal lands are materially and conceptually appropriated for Eurocentric purposes.

These Eurocentric purposes are prevalent in conservation and preservation discourses where wilderness is seen as a place to safeguard biodiversity, maintain sources of spiritual renewal, have self-reliant recreation and maintain opportunities for scientific study (Rose, D 1996b:17). In tourist discourses, wild animals, wild rivers and mysterious mountains are attributed to a natural paradise:

Rafting the rapids of the wild Zambezi, viewing the Victoria Falls, trekking in wilderness areas, climbing the mysterious mountains of Chimanimani, catching a glimpse of a leopard or riding elephants on a game ranch – these are some of the attractions on offer to tours visiting Zimbabwe. There is no doubt that the country is a naturalist's paradise ... (CAMPFIRE Movement no year given).


In tourist brochures for safari lodges in Mahenye Ward, the Gonarezhou National Park, land that the Shangaan were evicted from in 1966, is proudly represented as untamed (Zimbabwe Sun no year given-a, b). Tourism literature extols the virtues of Zimbabwe's wild areas whilst linking the benefits of tourism to "rural people who live among the wildlife" and who will then "see the economic benefit of preserving the wilderness environment and the wildlife" (Meldrum 1994:27). The violence that has formed these so-called wild areas, wilderness and wildlife is ignored and the people and relationships that have been dismembered are made invisible.

In juxtaposing the urban and the wild, the zoo also exemplifies Eurocentric ways of knowing nature as wild. In convincing visitors that zoo animals are wild, as opposed to domesticated, contemporary zoo designs aim to give the public "a sense of identification with ... animals as they would exist in apparently untouched ecosystems ... as they would appear in the 'wild'" (Anderson 1995:290). Thus within the urban (non-natural?) city, or as part of a trip or excursion, visitors to the zoo can embrace the object of their desire, an "unspoiled nature", animals in their "pristine natural environment". Thus, zoos can "shore up public anxieties and guilt about lost natures", can invoke a "romantic reversal of hierarchical oppositions of human and animal (without overcoming the dualistic legacy of past relationships)" and can offer the promise of a "heroic, human-led, recovery" for "nature's loss" (Anderson 1995:290). The carefully thought through work of designers, researchers and planners is hidden through this encounter with the 'wild' and a "culturally commodified and socially produced nature, [is] designed to shape a distinctive ('human') experience of Nature for late twentieth century audiences" (Anderson 1995:291; see also Whatmore and Thorne forthcoming).

Eurocentric perceptions of wilderness constantly shift, yet always reflect and inform beliefs in separation, hierarchy, social evolution and progress from an uncontrolled wild to a controlled domestic. Thus arguments that are naturalised and seen as mutually exclusive and opposing (calls for the protection of an authentic, valuable wilderness and calls to humanise and utilise an exterior savage wild) are both actually situated within the hall of mirrors and are both informed by and reflect the same Eurocentric beliefs.



***B**eliefs in an external, original, untouched wild and wilderness are soundly challenged and unsettled by other transformations of complex worlds. These epistemologies base their transformations on beliefs*



other than linear progress, development, reason and consciousness. Boundaries are set in shifting, multiple places and relations are seen as internal, dialectical and fluid.

The recognition that humans actively interact and transform complex worlds, both metaphorically and literally, debunks the fundamental assumption of wilderness as something separate from human, something prior, original, authentic and untouched. As D Rose (1988:385-386) puts it, "wilderness is actually home for a fair number of people who know it intimately".

Considering Ngarinman concepts of country, D Rose (1988:384-386) shows how these contrast with Eurocentric notions of an unspoilt wild and controlled tame. Ngarinman describe degraded country (country that has been tamed and domesticated through Eurocentric agricultural and pastoral practices) as "the wild, just the wild" and country that is cared for by the Aboriginal owners (what is seen as wilderness in Eurocentric discourses) as quiet. Thus, what is seen in Eurocentric land management narratives as degraded country is called wild by Ngarinman who see it as man-made and cattle made, where nothing grows and life is absent. Whereas what is known in wilderness discourses as uncontrolled, unmanaged, unoccupied, terra nullius, is termed quiet and seen as tamed, domesticated, not dangerous, under control, cared for and unspoilt by encroaching wilderness in Ngarinman ways of knowing.

This statement by D Rose (1996b:19-20) turns the notion of Australia as progressing and developing from a prior uncontrolled wild towards a present and future domesticated, controlled tame, upside down:

Since 1788, with the progressive cessation of Aboriginal land management practices ... with the increasing congregation of Aboriginal people in settlements, and with the introduction of new forms of land use and land management, there is developing a pervasive 'wild' – a loss of life, a loss of life support systems, and a loss of relationships among living things and their country. For many Aboriginal people, this 'wild' has the quality of deep loneliness.

McCormack (1998:28) considers the concept of wilderness in the Canadian context and argues that in native cultural constructions of the landscape the concept of wilderness has no meaning or validity:

As Dennis Martinez says, "there is no Indian word for 'wilderness' because there never was a wilderness".

Feral↔native

In Australia, notions of feral and native animals also exemplify the binaries of wild and domesticated and also are unsettled by indigenous perspectives. The dominant Eurocentric view is that feral animals, including donkeys, camels, horses, pigs, foxes, cats and rabbits, were introduced into the pre-existing, timeless, original, natural environment and as such are

wild, untamed and undomesticated and need to be controlled and eradicated (Rose, B 1995:107)⁵³. An Australian high school geography textbook states that:

Many species of plants and animals have been introduced to Australia ... [the ones] that have been kept under control have been very useful to Australians, but many ... now run wild and they have caused great damage to the Australian desert environment (Kleeman et al. 1998:92).

In Australian common law, feral animals are separated from 'wild' animals ('native animals') and are categorised as a subclass of tame animals. The Northern Territory *Pastoral Land Act 1996* defines feral animals as "an animal of a kind introduced into Australia since 1787 that is living in a wild state' (Aslin and Bennett 1999:11).



A review of indigenous perspectives on conservation practices in central Australia found that many Aboriginal people view 'feral' animals in very different ways. Instead of seeing these 'wild animals' as pests, their presence is accepted and "these animals are now seen to have the right, through long association, to live on the country ... they are not seen as being alien to the environment" (Rose, B 1995:108-109). 'Feral animals' are important to many indigenous people. Some have Dreaming relationships to creation ("Wild pussy cat from here, some rabbit from here too. Pussy cat got Dreaming, some wild pussycat got Law"); some, like cats and rabbits, replace extinct native species as an important component of diets; others are seen as pets; and others play a role in generating income and employment (Rose, B 1995).

Wildlife: "the meat that walks"

Freeman (1997) argues that western society has separated meat, what is killed, dressed and eaten, from the animal itself by removing such activities from the public domain and couching the process in less "meaty" terms. Thus, what is bought wrapped in plastic from a supermarket bears no relationship to a living animal, and certainly not what is conceived of as 'wildlife'. A Senate Committee report summarises some of the submissions it received opposing the commercial use of wildlife in Australia on animal rights grounds:

... animals have a right to live untouched in any way by human interference ... it is immoral to exploit any sentient being ...

and on the basis of intrinsic value and sanctity of wildlife grounds:

⁵³ Aslin and Bennett (1999) make the interesting observation that current Eurocentric negative attitudes towards 'feral' animals is a reversal of earlier Eurocentric mindsets in which 'native Australian animals' were seen in negative terms – as exotic, unfamiliar, unknown, unproductive, possibly hostile or dangerous – and animals from 'home', from Britain, were favoured and seen in positive terms.

... by its very nature, wildlife is different from domesticated animals ... wildlife belong to the public ... it was philosophically wrong to consume the very animals that were a symbol of Australia and, in particular, were represented on Australia's coat of arms (emus and kangaroos) (Rural and Regional Affairs and Transport References Committee 1998:20-22).

Similarly, Davies et al (1999:48) describe dominant Australian attitudes which disapprove of utilising kangaroo meat:

All States/Territories now allow sale of kangaroo meat for human consumption but limited market penetration means that meat from most of the kangaroos that are commercially harvested is used for pet food. Although it is of high quality, its image as a pet food in Australia undermines its promotion overseas ... A 1992 survey indicated that 50 per cent of Australians disapprove moderately or strongly to production and sale of kangaroo meat.

Wildlife is seen as a scientific study, photographic curiosity or environmental cause with no concept that other people may view it in completely different ways. For example, whilst writing this thesis, the photographic value of a separate, wild animal world was illustrated by one of Sydney's major newspapers running a feature supplement called *The Greatest Animal Pictures Ever Taken: a lavish wildlife series*:

Nothing can surpass the sheer beauty of the animal world ... These are pictures that will make you laugh with delight, others that will take your breath away. Week by week, they build into a collection you and your family will want to keep and treasure (The Sunday Telegraph 1999:supplement).

Similarly, an Internet based search on *National Geographic* magazine titles from June 1997 to July 1999 revealed titles and abstracts portraying wildlife as solely located within scientific and/or environmental Eurocentric frameworks⁵⁴:

Africa's Wild Dogs (May 1999)

By Richard Conniff, Photographs by Chris Johns

Dogs? Not really. Wild? Definitely. Only distantly related to any of the world's other canids, these bush hunters live in sociable packs but suffer a bloodthirsty reputation.

Forest Elephants (February 1999)

In a remote clearing in the Central African Republic, biologist Andrea Turkalo observes the lives of endangered animals that until recently were only glimpsed through the trees. Photographs by Michael Fay and Michael Nichols.

Red Colobus Monkeys (November 1998)

Deforestation and a low reproductive rate could spell the end for tree-dwelling monkeys on the increasingly crowded East African island of Zanzibar. Article and photographs by Tom Struhsaker.

Orangutans in the Wild (August 1998)

Backbreaking fieldwork and meticulous attention to scientific detail bring a deeper understanding of the elusive red apes of the Borneo rain forest. By Cheryl Knott. Photographs by Tim Laman.

⁵⁴ See <http://www.nationalgeographic.com/ngm/archive/index.html>.


Polar Bears (January 1998)

Scientists follow the sea bear into the Arctic vastness, puzzling out how it hunts, breeds—and keeps from freezing to death. Staff writer John L. Eliot and photographer Flip Nicklin venture into the Arctic to document a research team that has been collecting data on polar bears for almost two decades.

Making Room for Wild Tigers (December 1997)

Perilous but not hopeless, the future of the world's few thousand wild tigers hinges on providing them land, prey, and protection. Geoffrey C. Ward and photographer Michael Nichols report from Asia.

Humans are separated from nature and wild animals by being excluded from the photographer's, scientist's and writer's vision, and singular, Eurocentric perceptions of a natural, wild animal are universalised (Davies 1999:54).



Different groups transform animals, wildlife and meat in very different ways. Thinking of animals, especially those that are seen as wild and undomesticated, as meat can be unsettling for those who perceive of meat as something that is separate from the animal, and especially the wild animal.

However, this separation is not fundamental and people perceive of animals, human, wild and tame in fundamentally different ways. For example, in Zimbabwe, the Ndebele (cattle herders) call wildlife *nyamazan*, meaning "the meat that walks" (Raybourn 1995:44). *Tyua Bushmen* from north-eastern Botswana describe the ways they relate to wildlife as follows:

Our lives depends mostly on meat, and the laws have kept us from eating. I believe that when God created man, he provided all animals to be the food of the Masarwa. The Bamangwato depend on their cattle to provide their food. The Kalanga depend on their crops. White people live on money, bread and sugar ... The tradition that God gave us, the Masarwa, is to eat meat. Meat is our life. Small animals to us are not important; we eat kudu, duiker, steenbok, and birds every morning. What we really care about is big animals. These are our food, these are what we care about. Depriving us of meat is depriving us of life and of the tradition that God gave us (cited in Hitchcock 1997:84)

In response to a question inquiring about wildlife, Golpandan from Napranum replied:

We always want to eat them you know (16.9.98).

This citation further illustrates the diversity of ways of knowing animals. For conservationists, the panda has come to represent what is cute, cuddly, endangered and in need of protection. For others, the panda is immediately associated with meat:

It quickly became apparent that the panda symbol was a totally strange visual concept for these African villagers. They were curious to know what it was, where it lived, did it exist in their country, and could it be eaten (Pearce cited in Einarsson 1993:73).

Peter Okpik from King William Island in Canada emphasises the importance of meat and human↔animal interrelationships:

This is the way I think. A person is born with animals. He has to eat animals. That is why the animals and a person are just like one (cited in Freeman 1996:66).

Providing a slightly different slant, Freeman (1999:7) describes the notion of waste and how this is tied in with ways of knowing animals and meat:

The term "waste" will mean different things in different cultures. A non-indigenous person, is likely to see a partially-flensed whale on the beach as being a "waste" of food and therefore morally bad. However, Inuit would consider the same happening as morally bad only if the carcass were used for food. Meat and other edible tissues left on the carcass are not being "wasted", as other non-human being (e.g., gulls, foxes, crustacea – and through the recycling of all organic matter, eventually seals and whales) obtain food from the carcass.

This passage by Adams (1980b:89, 92-94) illustrates the way Eurocentric society separates the notion of meat from the animal by describing the reactions of the only two survivors from earth when they find themselves 'meeting their meat' in an 'alien' world:

The waiter approached.

'Would you like to see the menu?' he said, 'or would you like to meet the Dish of the Day?'...

'That's cool,' said Zaphod, 'we'll meet the meat'...

A large dairy animal approached Zaphod Beeblebrox's table, a large fat meaty quadruped of the bovine type with large watery eyes, small horns and what might almost have been an ingratiating smile on its lips.

'Good evening', it lowed and sat back heavily on its haunches, 'I am the main Dish of the Day. May I interest you in parts of my body?' It harrumphed and gurgled a bit, wriggled its hind quarters into a more comfortable position and gazed peacefully at them.

Its gaze was met by looks of startled bewilderment from Arthur and Trillian [the only two survivors from earth], a resigned shrug from Ford Prefect and naked hunger from Zaphod Beeblebrox.

'Something off the shoulder perhaps?' suggested the animal, 'Braised in a white wine sauce?'

'Er, your shoulder?' said Arthur in a horrified whisper.

'But naturally my shoulder, sir' mooed the animal contentedly, 'nobody else's is mine to offer.'

Zaphod leaped to his feet and started prodding and feeling the animal's shoulder appreciatively.

'Or the rump is very good,' murmured the animal. 'I've been exercising it and eating plenty of grain, so there's a lot of good meat there.' It gave a mellow grunt, gurgled again and started to chew the cud. It swallowed the cud again.

'Or a casserole of me perhaps?' it added.

'You mean this animal actually wants us to eat it?' whispered Trillian to Ford...

'That's absolutely horrible,' explained Arthur, 'the most revolting thing I've ever heard.'

'What's the problem earthman?' said Zaphod, now transferring his attention to the animal's enormous rump.

'I just don't want to eat an animal that's standing there inviting me to', said Arthur, 'it's heartless'.

'Better than eating an animal that doesn't want to be eaten', said Zaphod.

'That's not the point,' Arthur protested. Then he thought about it for a moment. 'Alright,' he said, 'maybe it is the point. I don't care, I'm not going to think about it now. I'll just ... er ...'

'I think I'll just have a green salad'. He muttered.

'May I urge you to consider my liver?' asked the animal, 'it must be very rich and tender by now, I've been force feeding myself for months'.

'A green salad', said Arthur emphatically.

'A green salad?' said the animal, rolling his eyes disapprovingly at Arthur.

'Are you going to tell me,' said Arthur, 'that I shouldn't have green salad?'

'Well,' said the animal, 'I know many vegetables that are very clear on that point. Which is why it was eventually decided to cut through the whole tangled problem and breed an animal that actually wanted to be eaten and was capable of saying so clearly and distinctly. And here I am.' ...



'Look,' said Zaphod, '... Four rare steaks please ...'
The animal staggered to its feet. It gave a mellow gurgle.
'A very wise choice, sir, if I may say so. Very good,' it said, 'I'll just nip off and shoot myself.'
He turned and gave a friendly wink to Arthur.
'Don't worry, sir' he said, 'I'll be very humane'.

Wild nature, wild animals, wild people and colonising discourses: imaginaries↔realities of power

Domestication, conceived in the expanded sense, of the taming and converting of that which is different ('wild') for pragmatic human ends can thus be understood as a form of conceptual and instrumental power (Anderson 1995:279).

People who assume that the beliefs on which they base their knowledge are universal have no impact if they do not interact. However this can not be the case. There is no such entity as 'universal knowledge', rather people transform knowledges in multiple ways in specific places. People constantly interact and it is then that people, by blinding themselves to their own fallibility, can assume that their knowledge is universal, and based on their own terms of reference, legitimate their superiority. It is in these material, discursive and conceptual places of interaction that power relations are dialectically imagined and realised.

When society and nature, human and animal, and domestic/tame and wild are perceived as universally accepted categories, the boundaries and relationships themselves become justifications for assertions and impositions of power and control. By assuming that animals as wildlife, landscapes as wilderness, or people as wild, are self-evident epistemological givens, Eurocentric discourses (such as science, Christianity, colonialism, capitalism and developmentalism) legitimate the assertion and imposition of Eurocentric practices of taming, domesticating, controlling, subduing and dominating the wild-wildlife-wilderness. These actions silence, ignore, denigrate and undermine alternative knowledges so that only the beliefs, demands, values and requirements of Eurocentric epistemologies are reflected back for them to judge their behaviour. The assumption of wild-wildlife-wilderness is therefore legitimated (see figure 11).

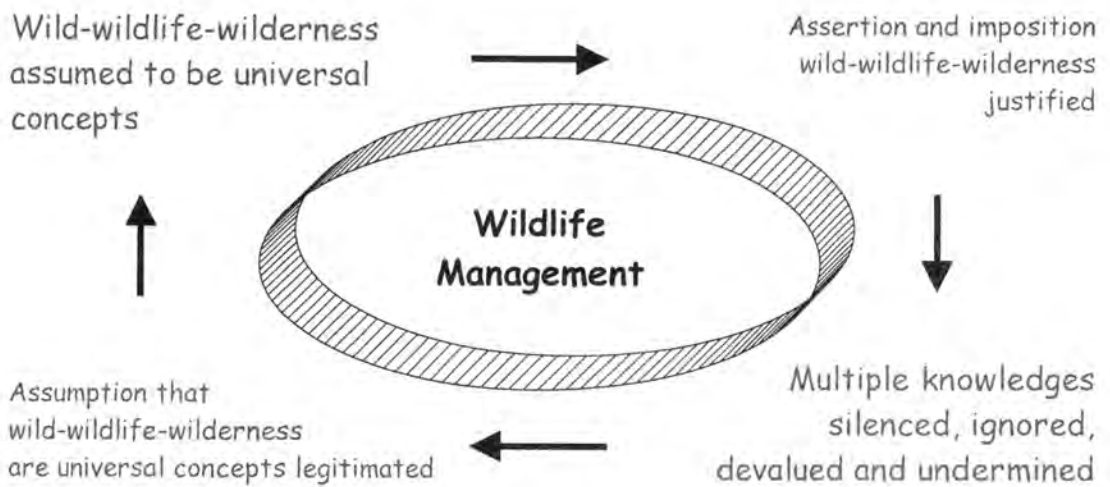


Figure 11
Wildlife management in the hall of mirrors:
reflections of wild-wildlife-wilderness

In transforming concepts such as society, human, nature, animal, wild and domestic, notions of separation, hierarchy and progress dialectically reinforce each other. The binaries that are transformed do not exist in a power neutral situation. Both ‘sides’ of the opposition do not have equal access to setting the terms of reference. The side that forms, asserts and imposes the representation is empowered (Fothergill 1992:46). Thus, Eurocentric powers are privileged and perceived as the superior, progressive side of any opposition as they themselves have transformed the opposition. To re-turn to this quote by Nader (1996:2)⁵⁵:

... the notion that one is superior by virtue of being in a position to create the categories, or to draw the lines.

Fothergill (1992:55) argues that the ability to transform and represent something, legitimates the actions of the person who is doing the representing if all actions are judged on the person’s own terms of reference and are thus universalised:

If we call the Other by certain names, we can legitimise our behaviour towards ‘it’ accordingly. Everything depends on who is doing the looking. What is the relative power status of the representer? Who determines the way of looking, the terms of the representing?

Beliefs in social evolution, development and progress underlying wild↔domestic binaries justify a superior European human controlling and colonising the inferior ‘other’ – wild nature, wild animals, and also wild humans, “[t]he Other was negation: nature, animal, black” (Fothergill 1992:49). Eurocentric colonising processes depend on these beliefs to justify the

⁵⁵ Turn back to chapter 2 to re-visit this point in its earlier stages.

'outwards'⁵⁶ expansion of their imaginary and real boundaries (Anderson 1997:475). For example, McCormack (1998:27) argues that "the concept of wilderness provided Canada with the intellectual justification for a series of political and economic initiatives":

Agriculturalists tilled the earth, and kept the 'wild' or untamed world at the edges of the fields or beyond the walls of the gardens. Nation-states contrast themselves with the uncontrolled and wild 'barbarians' or 'savages' beyond the rivers or walls that mark the edge of centrally controlled society (Rose, D 1996b:17).

Knowledges are conceptual representations of complex worlds. These knowledges are based on beliefs and are typified by representations. Representations of nature, society, humans and animals in Africa, Canada and Australia are literal and metaphorical representations of the 'other', and are fundamental sources of justification for colonising processes. Representing, naming, categorising, classifying, mapping, writing, teaching⁵⁷, drawing, and photographing transform images of uninhabited, untouched, pristine, harsh, unforgiving wildernesses, of wild, inferior, animal resources and of wild, dark, primitive, savage humans. The colonisers use these discourses to motivate and legitimate their behaviour.

Blaut (1993:25) identifies a "myth of emptiness" as a belief that colonised territory was empty. As territory is viewed as an uncontrolled wilderness filled with wild animals, so can it be perceived as being inhabited by people who are nomadic, have no claim to territory, no ownership of land or resources and no concept of political sovereignty. This passage from the Solemn Declaration of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples illustrates how Eurocentric colonising of peoples, lands and resources is justified by inferiorising indigenous peoples:

*Then other peoples arrived:
Thirsting for blood, for gold, for land and all its wealth,
Carrying the cross and the sword, one in each hand,
Without knowing or waiting to learn the ways of our worlds,
They considered us to be lower than the animals,
They stole our lands from us and took us from our lands,
They made slaves of the Sons of the sun (quoted in Jhappan 1992:66).*

Motivating and justifying colonising intrusions into Africa were, and are, such Eurocentric representations of African landscapes and African people. These narratives transform, in the mindsets of the colonisers, images of an Africa that is Garden of Eden-like – wild, natural,

⁵⁶ Although colonising processes are usually portrayed as an outwards expansion, they are also be seen as 'inwards' depending on focus, context and position.

⁵⁷ In the South African context Wesso (1994:331) argues that:

for imperialism, white domination and capitalist exploitation to flourish, the colonized, the dominated, and the exploited had to be alienated from their indigenous culture and their past. The educational system was the most appropriate means to establish cultural and political hegemony, and geography had a crucial role to play in this regard.

pristine, untouched, as well as deepest, darkest and contained. In a *National Geographic* article from 1963, the Kalahari Desert in Botswana and Namibia is described as a:

... forbidding wasteland of heat, thirst and thorns ... (Thomas 1963:866).

Local communities are viewed as either part of this wild, natural environment (wild animals) or ignored all together (uninhabited wilderness) (Bothma 1995; Baskerville 1994/5; Liebenberg 1993; Murombedzi 1992; Matowanyika 1989):

When the whites first arrived in this area, they thought we were wild animals and chased us into the forest. Now that they have found out that we are people they are chasing us out again (Oriek hunter-gatherer, Mau Forest, Kenya, 1992 cited in IIED 1994).

Fothergill (1992) examines Eurocentric representations of Africa and Africans to uncover the cultural assumptions underlying the representations and argues that the representations justify colonising processes and assertions and impositions of superiority and power. He finds that literary and popular representations do not remain static but shift as they adapt themselves to “new colonial impulses”. For example, earlier images represented Africa as an “exotic, mysterious and challenging landscape which needed taming (by the intrepid explorer) and of a primitive people who needed converting from heathen beliefs”. These representations shifted towards imperialist imperatives as desires for resources and wealth saw the “native population less as convertible savages and more as malleable inferiors to be subjugated and controlled as a labour resource” (Fothergill 1992:47-48). As with the domination of ‘animals’, ‘plants’ etc., ‘wild’ humans were classified and categorised as fundamentally separate and inferior to Europeans. For example, Worby (1994) describes the way colonial authorities and ethnographers in Zimbabwe assumed a naturalised human taxonomy. In this, Africans were opposed to Europeans (together with the marginal categories of Asians and Coloureds), and Africans were then sub-categorised into a fundamental tribal opposition (Shona and Ndebele), which were then divided into further sub-groups.

Representations of wild and wildlife (and their foundational binaries of superiority↔inferiority and wildness↔tameness) justify colonising appropriations, control and subjugation of ‘animals’ and ‘humans’. Notions of superiority based on perceptions of evolutionary development and underdevelopment transform the ‘wild’ human and ‘its’ relationship with the environment as a “beastly ... time-locked savage”⁵⁸ (Fothergill 1992:48). Separating wild (animals and humans) from superior Eurocentric society legitimates the perception of wildlife

⁵⁸ Transformations of primitive-civilised and notions timelessness are further explored in chapter 6.

and non-Eurocentric elites as resources which need to be managed and controlled so that they can feed the capitalist appetite⁵⁹.

It is important to remember that such representations and stereotypes are not unambiguously accepted by the society in which they are produced. Contesting discourses constantly critique and problematise these representations. For example, Joseph Conrad wrote about colonising processes in Africa in the late 1800s and employed many of the basic stereotypes described above. However, Fothergill (1992:50) argues that Conrad's "representation of the African other [also] offers a critique of European representations, even to the point of questioning the very basis of such 'otherness'". For example, in his book *Heart of Darkness*, Conrad not only applies the notion of darkness to Africa, but similarly locates London as "one of the dark places of the earth" (1973:7).

Stereotypical representations and justifications based on wild-wildlife-wilderness also accompany colonising processes in Canada. Adams (1995:1) considers ideological colonising processes and argues that:

The colonizer's falsified stories have become universal truths to mainstream society, and have reduced Aboriginal culture to a caricature. This distorted reality is one of the most powerful shackles subjugating Aboriginal people. It distorts all indigenous experiences, past and present, and blocks the road to self-determination.

Osherenko (1992) describes the European explorers, adventurers and entrepreneurs who invaded (and continue to invade) the Canadian Arctic and argues that two ideologies motivate and legitimate these colonising processes. One is of a wild, fearsome natural environment that provides a challenge for conquest and ingenuity. The other is of a vast treasure trove that requires colonising so that its valuable resources can be effectively and economically exploited. Cohen (1994) describes the typical imagination of Canada's North as one in which images of barren, empty and uncivilised wasteland dominate. These stereotypes were also applied to indigenous peoples. For example, images denigrating local peoples and associating them with 'animal attributes' of wildness and instinct included representations of:

... a wild man that was hairy, naked, club wielding child of nature who existed halfway between humanity and animality. Lacking civilized knowledge or will, he lived a life of bestial self-fulfilment, directed by instinct and ignorant of God and morality (cited in Adams 1995:26).

⁵⁹ The exploitation, management and controlling of 'wildlife resources' are further examined in the next chapter.

Indigenous peoples in Canada are also transformed and represented as resources in colonising discourses. Adams (1995:29) cites academic and scientific literature and research as the source of cultural racism in the nineteenth century that classified indigenous peoples as “backward and lazy” and “devoid of civility or creativity”. These representations were used, and persist today, in justifying the exploitation of indigenous labour.

The concept of ‘wild’ nature and ‘wild’ human also reflect and inform colonising discourses in Australia. Jordon and Weedon (1995:495) examine Eurocentric representations of Aboriginal people and argue that:

Travel books and brochures on Australia often mention Aborigines in the same context as descriptions of the natural world – Australia's land, plants and exotic animals. That is, in addition to viewing Aboriginal people as belonging not to HISTORY but to PRE-HISTORY ('the stone age'), they are also viewed as belonging not to CULTURE but to the world of NATURE.

In particular, the legal fiction of *terra nullius* has plagued, and despite the *Mabo* ruling, continues to plague Australian approaches to environmental management. Transformations of an uncontrolled, untamed wilderness still dominate representations of Australia's ‘natural environment’, justifying the imposition of a range of Eurocentric thoughts and actions. In a draft management plan for Mootwingee National Park from 1987 “Aborigines line up with ‘wildlife’, ‘recreation’, and ‘scientific’ and ‘educational enquiry’, as one of the many values National Parks are meant to cater for ...” (Savigny et al. 1990:7). Scientific, tourist and recreational discourses unproblematically refer to Cape York Peninsula in north-eastern Australia as undisturbed, unspoilt wilderness:

Cape York Peninsula is largely an undeveloped region. Biologically it is one of the richest and least disturbed large wilderness areas remaining in Australia ... Until recently, human impact on the Peninsula has been limited by difficulty of access (Herbert and Peeters 1995:2).

Cape York Peninsula is one of the remotest, wildest, least populated and unspoilt tropical wilderness areas of Australia (Frith and Frith 1991:2).

These fictions of an undisturbed wilderness bring with them notions of an unoccupied wilderness, natural, wild animals and inferior, primitive people. These notions ignore, silence and denigrate Aboriginal epistemologies and legitimate colonising processes which perceive lands, seas, animals and people as resources to exploit and conserve:

... European and American-derived concepts of wilderness ... involve the peculiar notion that if one cannot see traces or signs of one's own culture in the land, then the land must be ‘natural’ or empty of culture. In the context of Australian settlement by Europeans, it does not require a great leap of imagination to realise that the concept of terra nullius (land that was not owned) depended on precisely this egocentric view of landscape. Not seeing the signs of ownership

and property to which they were accustomed, many settlers assumed that there was no ownership and property, and that the landscapes were natural (Rose, D 1996b:17).

Howitt (forthcoming) argues that the imaginaries and realities of colonising processes in Australia cannot be “reducible to a single legal doctrine” and the setting of boundaries in Australia moves beyond the concept of *terra nullius*. He argues that many of the “political and administrative boundaries, social and cultural divides and ... spatial images that shape Australia public policy and cultural identities” reflect “a longstanding and foundational fear and loathing of the indigenous Other”. An uninhabited *terra nullius*, and representation of a feared ‘Other’, both reflect the oppositions transformed between wild and tame. Embodied in the wild Australian landscapes, together with the wild animals, is the wild indigenous Other. Howitt draws on Malouf’s imagery that clearly contrasts light with dark, and comfort with terror, to illustrate this representation of the wild Other:

It brought you slap up against a terror ... the Coal Man, Absolute Night ... all you have ever known of darkness, of VISIBLE darkness, seems but the merest shadow ... and all you can summon up ... out of a lifetime on the other, the lighter side of things ... weakens and falls away before the apparition ... of a sooty blackness beyond black ... you cannot conceive how it can be here in the same space, the same moment with you (Malouf quoted in Howitt forthcoming).

Scientific, conservationist, tourist and popular discourses, together with political, economic, artistic and academic narratives continue to justify and legitimate Eurocentric colonising processes in Australia, Africa and Canada. The representation of wild humans, embedded in (in harmony with?) the wild ‘lands’ and ‘animal’-scapes (wild ‘country’), legitimates colonising processes which ignore, devalue, silence, dispossess, marginalise and alienate indigenous and local people. These beliefs and representations are used to explain and justify conquest, repression, management, conservation and exploitation as rational, natural and desirable. By separating and opposing society to nature, human to animal and domestic/tame to wild, superiority and universalism is assumed, and multiple knowledges, which contest, contradict or impact on Eurocentric knowledges, are silenced, ignored, devalued and undermined. This reinforces “the myth of Europe’s [and European mindset’s] historical and cultural superiority” (Blaut 1993:25-26):

... teleological conceptions of the rational human afforded it the justification to order and control other spheres of life. These included [and continue to include] the feminine ... the racialized slave, the animal and the environment in general. In contexts of power-differentiated relations, the rational (male) subject’s perspective began to be set up as universal, as the generic ‘human’ gaze around which all else turned. Indeed it set itself up as neutral, objective, panoramic and all-knowing – as history’s master subjectivity – when in reality it was a ‘partial perspective’ that relied on various strategies of denial, exclusion, spatial separation and stereotyping of women, racialized peoples, non-human animals and ‘nature’ more generally (Anderson 1995:277).

Concluding comments

This chapter has considered what the wild in wildlife means and has shown that it is firmly embedded in Eurocentric knowledges, predominantly based on beliefs in separation, hierarchy and progress. It has shown that assuming that these beliefs are universal has legitimated and justified violent colonising processes based on notions of control, domination, intervention and management. In unsettling assumptions about what it means to be wild – that entities must be either society or nature, human or animal, domestic/tame or wild – the chapter appeals to situated engagement and the recognition of multiple knowledges to open up imaginaries and realities that are not captured by the hall of mirrors. This is similar to what Whatmore and Thorne (1998:436-437) attempt to do as they draw together the differences delineating human from animal, and civilised from wild, in their reconfigurations of the geographies of wildlife:

... to question what it means to be wild is to disconcert this binary geographical imagination and entertain forbidden possibilities for being otherwise in the world.

In the same vein, in the next chapter, the notion of management – how it transforms, and how assumptions of its universality has resulted in further blinding people and embedding wildlife management within the hall of mirrors – is considered.



The egocentric view of landscape, wherein one either sees oneself or one sees nothing at all, constitutes a kind of blindness; it closes off the evidence of what is really there. Aboriginal people understand settlers well in this regard. Anzac Munnganyi, a Bilinara man of Pigeon Hole (Northern Territory), said: 'White people just came up blind, bumping into everything. And put the flag: put the flag' (Rose, D 1996b:18).



5. What does 'manage' in 'management' mean?

Manage /'mænidz/ verb (**managed, managing**) – verb (t) 1. to **bring about**; succeed in accomplishing: *he managed to see the governor.* 2. to **take charge or care of**: *to manage an estate.* 3. to **dominate or influence** (a person) by tact, address, or artifice. 4. to **handle, direct, govern, or control in action or use.** 5. to **wield** (a weapon, tool, etc.) – verb (i) 6. to **succeed in accomplishing a task, purpose,** etc. 7. to **contrive** to get along: **Oh, I'd manage somehow* – MURRAY BAIL, 1988. 8. to **handle or train** (a horse) in the exercises of the manège. 9. To **conduct affairs.** [It. *maneggiare* handle, train (horses), from *mano* hand, from L. *manus*; sense influenced by F *manège* act of managing and *ménage* household] (Delbridge et al. 1997:1307, my bold helvetica).

Management↔development↔conservation: wildlife management and colonising processes

As with the concept 'wildlife', concepts and practices of 'management' dominating human↔nature, human↔animal and human↔human relations in many places are not a common sense, natural way of knowing and doing things. Concepts and practices of management are intimately tied up with the develop↔conserve binary, a binary based on belief in separation, hierarchy and progress, as justification for control and domination of inferior nature, animal, wildlife and 'wild' human by superior society and 'European' human. Nature, wildlife and 'wild humans' are devalued (often by being commercially valued) and transformed into *resources*, what Esteva (1987:138) terms an "epistemological transformation", to be either developed or conserved to fuel scientific and capitalistic processes. This conservation and development is imposed through the human management, external intervention in and dominating control of, nature, animals and wildlife (often through the illusion of removing control, intervention and management). As Shiva (1992:207) states, "'management of natural resources' has ... been a managerial fix for resource scarcity resulting from the uncontrolled destruction of nature".

Assertions and impositions of development, conservation and management are legitimised by underlying beliefs of separation, hierarchy and progress. Assuming these beliefs to be universal silences, ignores, devalues and/or undermines multiple knowledges and actively

encourages the dismembering and forgetting of these knowledges (see figure 12). As Scott (1996:85) argues:

The conventional social context of Western science tends to hierarchy and centralized control ... and this is the morality that is metaphorically projected onto our relations with "nature". For this very reason, the historical disqualification and subjugation of indigenous knowledge is intimately linked to Western culture's domination of nature.

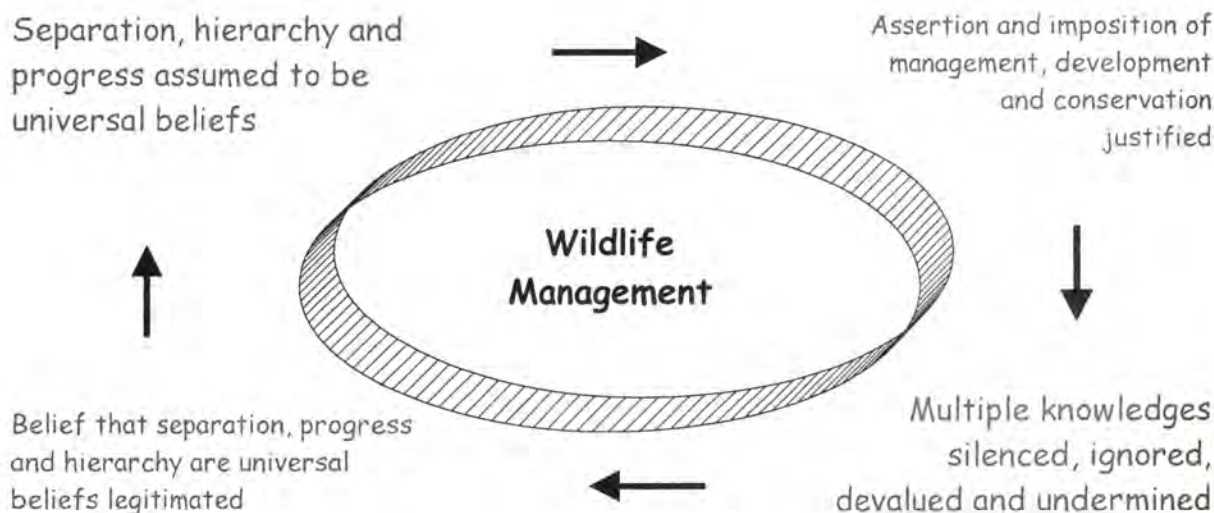


Figure 12
Wildlife management in the hall of mirrors:
reflections of separation, hierarchy and progress

Two approaches are used to explore the concepts management, development and conservation and to concurrently argue that they are Eurocentric transformations that are constantly rejected, accepted, transformed and adapted by local groups and communities:

- one approach shows how concepts of management, development and conservation are not taken-for-granted, universal notions but are ideas whose transformations are intimately associated with Eurocentric colonising, developmentalist, conservationist and capitalist discourses and processes;
- the other approach unsettles and challenges the concepts and the colonising processes themselves by offering glimpses into alternative knowledges and alternative realities and imaginaries of re-membering, resisting, being, existing, refusing, manipulating and adapting.

This discussion opens up material, discursive and conceptual places of interaction, humility and recognition which appeals to situated engagement as explored and nurtured in the next chapter.

Developing wildlife resources

Perceiving humans as separate from and superior to nature legitimates the notion that nature contains resources, such as wildlife, that can be, indeed must be, used and exploited for human gain. Through this exploitation and appropriation of 'resources' to fuel capitalist processes, the concept of development has transformed in Eurocentric epistemologies:

Western metaphysics and Western ethics have certainly done nothing to discourage, have gone to a great deal to encourage [and justify], the ruthless exploitation of nature, whether they have seen in that exploitation the rightful manipulation of a nature that is wax in man's hands or the humanizing of it in a manner which somehow accords with nature's real interests (Passmore 1995:136).

Development discourses are (mis)informed by Darwinian and capitalist beliefs. Notions of development are reliant on notions of underdevelopment or no development. Aspirations of development are seen as an inevitable evolutionary progression from primitive to civilised and from poor to rich. Value and success is premised on economic, monetary terms. For example, countries are categorised as developed or developing according to their financial balance sheets; labour and use is defined and evaluated according to economic gain; and social and cultural 'wealth' is defined and marginalised as against economic wealth (Howitt 1998).

Influenced by the position of the USA after World War Two, a notion of development was embraced by those in power and perceived in terms of "greater production" being "the key to prosperity and peace" (President of the USA, Harry Truman, cited in Escobar 1995:3). Eurocentric powers defined an aspiration of development on the basis of economic progress and material prosperity (Escobar 1995:4). Assumptions that this notion of development is a universal aspiration has resulted in its imposition on local groups and countries seen as 'underdeveloped' by a variety of international and national governments and organisations. Imagining and realising development discourses universalised, necessitated and made self-evident the fact that:

... the essential trait of the Third World was its poverty and ... the solution was economic growth and development (Escobar 1995:24).

Escobar (1995) argues that this discourse and its development practices formed the space known as the Third World, the South or the periphery. Categorising within Eurocentric frames of reference (economic development and social Darwinism) has legitimated 'developed' nations and organisations' colonising attitudes of superiority and practices of paternalism: