Connecting People and Nature in the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area:

A study of power, scale and multiple perspectives in Southern Africa

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the

degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Geography and Planning

Macquarie University

February 2019

MACQUARIE University

In memory of my father

Who taught me to reach for the stars

Lucius Gabarari Moyo

&

To my loving mother

Who has sacrificed so much for me to get here

Jane Magadalene Moyo

Contents

Abstract

Over the past two decades, the use of Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) as a strategy to preserve Southern Africa's natural heritage has increased. TFCAs bestride the borders of two or more countries and are jointly managed by the countries involved for conservation purposes. However, TFCAs are critiqued for side-lining certain natural resource users, particularly local communities (Borrini & Jaireth 2007, Ramutsindela 2005, Ramutsindela 2004, Leach *et al.* 1999). A growing body of research shows that protected areas and conservation strategies cannot protect natural resources in the long term without involving local communities in planning and implementation (Lele *et al.* 2010).

This thesis uses a case study of the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA-TFCA) to examine power relations that occur at multiple scales in nature conservation. KAZA-TFCA is the world's largest TFCA, encompassing 5 nation-states in Southern Africa - Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Guided by qualitative data, this thesis explores the multiple perspectives of different KAZA-TFCA stakeholders – human and non-human.

Specifically, the thesis analyses KAZA-TFCA through three scaled lenses. Firstly, it focuses on the creation and implementation of KAZA-TFCA itself as a new regional scale of conservation governance. Secondly, it focuses on the role of the nation-state within KAZA-TFCA through the lens of one of KAZA-TFCA's key players – Zimbabwe. Finally, it focuses on the north-west sector of Zimbabwe to enable a more nuanced local understanding of how power flows through and shapes human and non-human relationships in KAZA-TFCA.

Findings suggest that processes occurring at different scales and involving different stakeholders and non-stakeholders brush up against each other and directly affect what is happening within the TFCA. By examining how different actors from different positions of power and authority engage with conservation processes within KAZA-TFCA, the thesis reveals the contradictory and consonant practices that are shaping conservation and development in KAZA-TFCA. The results illustrate how power and scale interrelate and result in exclusionary conservation practices in transboundary conservation, especially exclusion of local – human and non-human - communities. The thesis contributes to emerging debates on

power and participation in nature conservation spheres and opens spaces for rethinking human and non-human relationships.

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List of Acronyms

ADMADE	Administrative Management Design (Zambia)
AWF	African Wildlife Foundation
CAMPFIRE	Communal Area Management Plan for Indigenous Resources (Zimbabwe)
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CMS	Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals
EU	European Union
EWB	Elephant Without Borders
FANR	Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Directorate of SADC
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation of the United Nations
GEF	Global Environmental Facility
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (German)
GLTFCA	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area
GMTFCA	Greater Mapungugwe Transfrontier Conservation Area
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
HSBCP	Hwange Sanyati Biological Corridor Project
HWC	Human-Wildlife Conflict
KAZA-TFCA	Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area
KfW	Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau Development Bank (German)
LIFE	Living in a Fine Environment (Namibia)
LIRDP	Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Programme (Zambia)
MIDP	Master Integrated Development Plan
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OKACOM	Okavango River Basin Commission
OUZIT	Okavango Upper Zambezi International Tourism
PA	Protected Area
PPF	Peace Parks Foundation
RDC	Rural District Council
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (Switzerland)
TBNRM	Transboundary Natural Resource Management
TFCA	Transfrontier Conservation Area
TFP	Transfrontier Park
TFPA	Transfrontier Protected Area
UCT	University of Cape Town (South Africa)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WDA/C	Wildlife Dispersal Area/Corridor
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
ZPWMA	Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority
ZRA	Zambezi River Authority

Declaration

I know the meaning of plagiarism and declare that this thesis is to the best of my knowledge my original work except where sources have been acknowledged and that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university. All the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references. Approval for this research has been obtained from the Macquarie University Ethics Committee, reference numbers 5201600528 and 5201700419 (**Appendix 1**). I am now presenting the thesis for examination for a Doctor of Philosophy in Geography and Planning to Macquarie University.

Acknowledgements

My deepest gratitude to all the humans and non-humans who participated in my study, for their generous time and knowledge and for being the foundation of my PhD. Without their time, knowledge and openness, this thesis would not have been possible.

Many thanks to my supervisors, Sandie Suchet-Pearson and Greg Walkerden. Sandie, thank you for having the patience to read my many drafts and providing such constructive comments. For pushing me to think in new directions and turning me into a geographer. I would also like to thank Prof Maano Ramutsindela for inviting and hosting me at the University of Cape Town and his expert knowledge and views on TFCAs.

I would like to thank my incredible siblings who have always been there for me. Simbiso, Rorisang and Martin for letting me practice my presentations on you and a special thank you to Rorisang for proofreading the thesis. Tamuka and my nephew Munyaradzi for accompanying me on some of my fieldwork and being my photographer and driver respectively.

Finally, I would like to thank my mother who is the most amazing mother a child could ever ask for. I am grateful for her putting her retirement on hold to help finance my PhD. For her faith in me and her constant encouragement. And my father who encouraged to me do this PhD and believed I could do anything I set out to do.

Preface

I am an African. I owe my being to the hills and the valleys, the mountains and the glades, the rivers, the deserts, the trees, the flowers, the seas and the ever-changing seasons that define the face of our native land … At times, and in fear, I have wondered whether I should concede equal citizenship of our country to the leopard and the lion, the elephant and the springbok, the hyena, the black mamba and the pestilential mosquito. A human presence among all these, a feature on the face of our native land thus defined, I know that none dare challenge me when I say: I am an African!

– Thabo Mbeki, Extract from the Statement on behalf of the African National Congress on the occasion of the adoption by the Constitutional Assembly of "The Republic of South Africa Constitution Bill 1996", Cape Town, 8 May 1996

Three years ago, I started this PhD, but the journey that led me to this point started long ago with two rhinos in an orphanage.

Plate 1: Rhinos in Matopos National Park, Zimbabwe (Source: Tamuka Moyo)

It was the first time that I saw a rhino. It was in 1993, I was four and a half years old and in kindergarten. My kindergarten class took a trip to Chipangali Wildlife Orphanage which is located about 20km outside of Bulawayo, Zimbabwe's second biggest city. The Chipangali Wildlife Orphanage is a not for profit organisation that provides haven for wildlife that has been orphaned, injured, abandoned, or born in captivity and unlikely to survive in the wild. I remember there were two rhinos there at the time. I was a tiny child, so tiny that my mother had to sew my uniforms herself as she could not buy any in my size. I saw these rhinos coming out of the shade and for someone so tiny, they looked humongous. I was in awe and so mesmerised by the size of these beautiful and majestic creatures. I did not know it at the time, but this is where my story began. Like Thabo Mbeki, I owe my being to my native land Zimbabwe and to the rhino.

Years later, I would learn of extinction and endangered animals and how the rhino I had seen and admired years ago was in danger of becoming extinct. It saddened me to think that my future children or grandchildren might never get the chance to see this beautiful creature in person, this creature that had amazed a little 4-year-old girl and left such an impression. I decided then that whatever my career would be, it would have to do with the protection of wildlife.

I was introduced to the world of marine life through books and TV, something so alien and foreign for a landlocked country. Having grown up seeing the vast biodiversity that Zimbabwe had to offer, marine life was something new, shiny and exciting and I fell in love. I found myself a few years later at the University of KwaZulu-Natal studying marine biology. However, the big exciting marine animals I had seen in books and on TV were rarely anywhere to be found during my 4 years of studying marine biology. I went on to study zoology for my master's degree, with an aquatic-based project focusing on the ecology and behaviour of burrowing prawns and their burrow symbionts.

In 2015, I was drawn back to the terrestrial world when I interned with the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZPWMA) in Kariba in northern Zimbabwe. I had never put much thought into communities and development as most of my studies were so focused on ecosystems – ecosystems that seemed to exclude humans. My time with ZPWMA highlighted the strained relationships between park officials, local communities and non-humans (what are defined in management discourses as natural resources and seen as

wildlife, wood, river, sand). The local people I interacted with felt that they were paying a high cost living with wildlife, seeing their children being attacked by baboons or elephants damaging their houses, for little to no reward as the resources/wildlife belonged to ZPWMA and the local people had no say in how these resources were managed or utilised.

One incident I dealt with while working for ZPWMA was that of a lone elephant that was terrorising community members. This elephant caused damage to several homes, electricity and phone poles as well as injuring an individual. The locals' frustrations came from not only having to repair their damaged properties without compensation from the government and ZPWMA who they saw as the owners of the wildlife, but after the problem elephant was finally put down by ZPWMA, the locals did not get any of the meat to eat. As I observed the interactions between these different groups, I started wondering whether these dynamics just existed in Kariba, or whether they also existed at in other places and at a larger scale. During my time in Kariba, my already strong interest in issues of conservation was given new meaning and shaped by the consideration of communities and development. Thus, in February 2016, I wrote a PhD proposal about 'connecting people and nature in the Southern Africa Region', focusing on transfrontier conservation areas.

The major motivation for undertaking this study is to contribute to the conversation regarding local peoples' rights to equally partake and benefit from conservation. I am interested in identifying and challenging the paternalistic power structures and dynamics of large-scale conservation efforts that side-line local peoples from fully participating and benefitting from conservation. As part of this I am particularly interested in the manner in which conservators of wildlife contribute to processes which are skewed in favour of 'wildlife' at the expense of certain people. I am also interested in challenging the mindsets which underlie this by reinforcing the need for trade-offs between humans and non-humans. Trade-off decisions produce priorities which emerge to skew the outcome in favour of one while neglecting the agency of the other. A Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA) is a perfect case study for this as it is a multi-scaled conservation initiative with multiple players, each with different powers and agendas.

However, as I was undertaking my study, I found myself often falling victim to the original mindset of trade-offs I had intended to critic. My issue had been that we place so much importance on wildlife that we tend to neglect the people living with wildlife. However, in my

quest to find justice for people, I found myself placing so much importance on people that I started to neglect non-human perspectives.

Within a multi-scaled landscape like a TFCA, actors do not just refer to humans but also non-human entities who share and create these spaces together with human actors. TFCAs offer an opportunity to rethink human and non-human relationships. Like people, non-humans are entities with their own necessities, rights and interests, and those interests matter. However, they cannot necessarily advocate those necessities, rights and interests themselves. It is the moral obligation of humans to be the voice for non-humans. I therefore find a need to do as much justice for the rhino, which is a representation of the non-human, as for the local people, for it is the rhino that initially set me on this path.

Before you lies my thesis, *Connecting People and Nature in the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area: A study of power, scale and multiple perspectives in Southern Africa.* It is my hope that this thesis is a productive contribution to on-going conversations on issues of power in conservation spheres.

I hope you enjoy your reading.

Ropafadzo Moyo

Sydney, 01/02/2019

Chapter 1: Getting to know the thesis

"I know of no political movement, no philosophy,

no ideology that does not agree with the peace parks concept

as we see it going into fruition today.

It is a concept that can be embraced by all."

(Nelson Mandela[1])

Introduction

This thesis is a story of power, scale and multiple perspectives and how these shape and influence conservation efforts in Southern Africa. In particular, the thesis explores how power and scale are understood, exerted and experienced by different human and non-human actors in Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs). TFCAs have been defined by the World Bank as large areas that bestride the borders of two or more countries, are jointly managed by the countries involved for conservation and sustainable use of resources and incorporate natural systems with one or more protected areas (PAs) (Ramutsindela and Tsheola 2002).

The thesis focuses on the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA-TFCA). Established in 2011, KAZA-TFCA is a relatively new conservation initiative that encompasses 5 nation-states in Southern Africa, namely, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Specifically, the thesis analyses KAZA-TFCA through three particular scaled lenses. Firstly, it focuses on the creation and implementation of KAZA-TFCA itself as a new regional scale of conservation governance. Secondly, it focuses on the role of the nation-state within KAZA-TFCA through the lens of one of KAZA-TFCA key players – Zimbabwe, and examines how its inter-National relationships interrelate with KAZA-TFCA. Finally, it focuses on the north-west sector of Zimbabwe which is part of KAZA-TFCA to enable a more nuanced

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[1] From Nelson Mandela's speech at a ceremony to celebrate the translocation of elephants from Kruger National Park to Mozambique, 12/10/2001; http://www.peaceparks.org/content/newsroom/news.

understanding of how power flows through and shapes human and non-human relationships from a more local perspective.

In this introductory chapter, I map out my thesis, presenting its aims and arguments, before briefly discussing its framing concepts of power, scale and multiple perspectives, and finally giving key historical and background information. Although TFCAs have existed since 1932 with the formation of Waterton/Glacier peace park between the United States of America and Canada, they have only become part of conservation strategies in Southern Africa in the last 20 years. The history of conservation in Southern Africa is a complex history that saw many black people dispossessed of land and subsequently marginalised from conservation. Below in this chapter, I provide a broad history of conservation in Southern Africa dating back to the big game hunting period of the 1700s and 1800s up until the formation of TFCAs in the 1990s. The formation of TFCAs did not occur in a vacuum, this historical context is critical for understanding why Southern African countries have embraced TFCAs. I also provide brief histories of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) and the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) who have been tasked with the facilitation of TFCAs establishment in Southern Africa as well as background on those TFCAs. With my second scaled lens focusing on the role of the nation-state within KAZA-TFCA through a focus of one of KAZA-TFCA key players – Zimbabwe – I provide some specific background information on Zimbabwe's colonial history and TFCA programme. I then discuss KAZA-TFCA itself, providing details on its establishment, objectives, stakeholders and issues at stake. The chapter ends with an overview of the rest of the thesis.

Thesis Aims and Argument

The complex interactions between human development and biodiversity conservation are a topic of constant debate, both in academia and practice. Since enlightenment and Eurocentric colonising processes started dominating in certain areas, a dualism has existed between humans and non-humans, conservation and development, often resulting in the exclusion of local communities from conservation. However, since the 1990s a case was made for the compatibility of conservation and sustainable development which led to a paradigm shift in conservation policy (Hulme & Murphree, 2001). Conservation strategies shifted from 'fortress conservation' tactics, that completely excluded people, to strategies such as Community-

Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and TFCAs that seek to engage with local communities as tools to achieve conservation and sustainable development outcomes. These initiatives move to reconsolidate socio-ecological systems thus challenging the human-nature duality. The primary objective of TFCAs is to conserve biological diversity across national boundaries. In line with broader discourses around sustainable development, bioregionalism and CBNRM, a secondary objective of TFCAs is to create livelihood opportunities for rural people living in and around these spaces. The two objectives are seen as win-win opportunities that generate ecological and socioeconomic cohesion.

Despite the win-win narrative, TFCAs in general are criticized as they tend to serve regional and national conservation interests and goals rather than incorporate local communities. Not only are they are criticised for recentralising power with states and undermining CBNRM initiatives, they are also criticised for reinforcing the human-nature dualism (Ramutsindela, 2005). The ambitious nature and scale of TFCAs tends to reinforce the struggles and contradictions at the heart of the human-non-human dichotomy. Agrawal & Gibson (1999) argue that conservation interventions with multiple actors with multiple interests and influences need to consider the heterogeneous nature of stakeholders in decision-making and implementation processes.

Thesis Aims

This thesis examines these dynamics in relation to the KAZA-TFCA in Southern Africa. The thesis explores how different stakeholders influence conservation and development in the context of KAZA-TFCA by focusing on the flows of power through various scales. Specifically, it uses the case of KAZA-TFCA to explore how power and scale influences conservation, stakeholder involvement and human-non-human interactions. The thesis has the following 3 aims:

1. To identify perceptions and attitudes towards conservation and KAZA-TFCA by different human and non-human stakeholders within KAZA-TFCA.

2. To explore power dynamics influencing stakeholder participation in KAZA-TFCA, including non-human stakeholders.

3. To use a scale lens to explore how power dynamics intersect at and with various scales within the context of human-non-human relationships and agencies in the KAZA-TFCA.

These aims reflect the main concerns and concepts of the thesis: scale, power and multiple perspectives through human-non-human relationships around the conservation-development nexus in Southern Africa. The aims also align with the structure of the thesis, as it progresses from the abstract to the concrete and uses regional, national, local lens to examine the dynamics within and around KAZA-TFCA.

Thesis Argument

The thesis findings suggest that processes occurring at different scales and involving different human stakeholders and non-stakeholders brush up against each other and directly affect what is happening within KAZA-TFCA. By examining how different human actors from different positions of power, authority and influence engage with conservation processes within KAZA-TFCA, the thesis reveals the contradictory and consonant practices that are shaping conservation and development in KAZA-TFCA. The results illustrate the importance of context and how power is scaled and is resulting in exclusionary conservation practices in transboundary conservation. The thesis thus argues that KAZA-TFCA is failing to integrate biological conservation and human development effectively, especially in relation to the continuing exclusion of local – human and non-human - communities. This aligns with findings from other TFCAs implemented in Southern Africa in which TFCAs were conceived and implemented in a top down manner with limited community influence and a lack of knowledge about these spaces by the local communities (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003; Munthali & Soto, 2001). It further contributes to this literature by highlighting the agency of non-human communities and the need to pay careful attention to non-human centred actors and processes from a non-anthropocentric approach.

Framing concepts

> *The view through a window depends upon whether the window is large or small, has many panes or few, whether the glass is opaque or clear, whether the window faces a street or a backyard. The unfolding scene also depends upon where one stands, far or near, craning one's neck to the side, or gazing straight ahead, eyes parallel to the wall in which the window is encased* (Tuchman, 1979 p.1).

This thesis engages with and contributes to conversations on power and scale in natural resource management, drawing on an appreciation that, as Tuchman describes above, there

are multiple perspectives that influence participation in conservation. Specifically, the thesis focuses not only on multiple human perspectives, but on the study of human-non-human relationships and a recognition and (partial) engagement with non-human perspectives as well. As such, the thesis discusses participation of different stakeholders in TFCAs, and in particular KAZA-TFCA, through the concepts of power, scale and human-non-human relationships.

Power in Transfrontier Conservation

Power is a contested concept with many different theories put forward to explain its nature. Power has been described by earlier scholars such as Weber (1954) and Dahl (1957), who understood power as a dominating force, to more recent scholars like Allen (2004, 2016) and Foucault (1978, 1980) whose work inspired much of the thinking on relational power. This thesis approaches power as relational and takes inspiration from Foucault and Allen who view power as existing in networks made up of different actors and playing out though the relationships that exist between these actors.

In a network, there are various human and non-human actors with different interests and intentions. The network is imbued with power relationships, usually uneven power relationships, as certain actors have greater power to influence the outcomes of the debate or decision-making process and other actors contest or attempt to shift the ensuing power relations (Foucault, 1979; Allen, 2004). With TFCAs being made up of a plethora of human and non-human actors with different interests and intentions, TFCAs can be viewed as networks where power is created, exercised and experienced through the relations between the different actors. The literature on relational power as well as the influence of power relations in stakeholder interactions is detailed in **chapter 3**. In **Chapters 4, 5 and 6** I analysis KAZA-TFCA and discuss on how different actors exert and experience power in transboundary conservation.

Scale in Transfrontier Conservation

In Geography, scale presents semantic and conceptual challenges as it holds different meanings in different contexts. Scale is a quintessential concept in geographic analysis, whether spatial, temporal or thematic scale. It has been viewed in physical geography as a pre-existing entity that has hierarchical organization (Buizer *et al.*, 2011, Phillips, 2004) but has also been theorised in human geography as a social construct that is continually

constructed, changing and transforming (Howitt 1993, Paasi, 2004). The varying use of scale in geography makes any definition of scale difficult. Consider this summary of the different meanings of scale by Ruddell & Wentz (2009; p.682):

> *scale is used to describe the level of detail, or scale of observation; scale can also refer to the scope or spatial extent of the study area, known as the geographic scale (Lam 2004). Additional meanings include cartographic scale, or the distance on a map in relation to the distance on the ground (Lam et al. 2005); operational scale, which corresponds to the level or scale at which a process under examination operates (Cao and Lam 1997); temporal scale, which refers to the degree of detail in the recording of change through time (Meentemeyer 1989); spectral scale, the degree of detail in the spectral characteristics of remotely sensed data (Lillesand and Kiefer 2002); support, or the domain within which linear averages of a geographical variable may be computed (Olea 1990); as well as resolution, the length measure, such that large-scale studies incorporate coarse resolution while small-scale studies are based upon fine resolution (Lam and Quattrochi 1992).*

This thesis adopts of social constructivist approach to scale and presents a scalar analysis of transfrontier conservation. As discussed in **chapter 3**, TFCAs represent a transformation of scale through conflict, negotiation and manipulation by different human actors to produce an appropriate scale for the protection of non-human actors – framed as biodiversity (Ramutsindela & Noe 2012). Although this thesis adopts a social constructionist view of scale, it acknowledges that scale is not just a relative theoretical concept, but it can also be very much *experienced* as categorical and hierarchical. The complexities of the dichotomy between constructionist scale and hierarchical scale are detailed in **chapter 3**. The ways in which scale is experienced as both constructed and hierarchical within KAZA-TFCA is discussed in **chapters 4, 5 and 6**.

Multiple Perspectives: Human-Non-Human Relationships

An appreciation of multiple perspectives provides deeper understandings of complex processes and is useful in understanding and explaining social behaviours and relationships between actors (Ferlie 2007; Merali 2006). A perspective is a view of the world arising from the context of a particular individual or group, therefore different humans and non-humans have different perspectives depending on their context. This thesis focuses on human-non-

human relationships in conservation spheres, and, to better understand these relationships, it considers not just multiple human perspectives but non-human perspectives as well. These perspectives are voiced verbally by humans and through behaviours and relationships formed, or not formed, by both humans and non-humans.

Transfrontier conservation represents an interesting arena for the study of the dialectic relationship between humans and non-humans. Western discourses dominated in Southern Africa during the colonial period and were based on a dualism between nature and society:

> *Europeans wanted to believe in a virgin land, unsullied by human hands. Yet, this Africa never was. Indeed, nowhere does the vision of Africa depart further from reality. Man has been an integral part of the African landscape for over 2 million years. That people lived in Africa, however, was irrelevant to the West; what mattered was the wilderness* (Adams & McShane, 1996; p. xiii)

Arguably, many conservation discourses and practices continue to dominate in post-colonial Southern Africa retain this dichotomy. However, the introduction of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes and TFCAs is seen as an attempt by Southern African governments to undermine the Eurocentric nature/society dichotomy (Wolmer, 2003). **Chapter 3** discusses anthropocentric and ecocentric views of nature and the nature-society dualism drawn on in many conservation strategies. It draws inspiration from assemblage theory to undermine the separation of humans and non-humans in conservation spheres (Tsing, 2015; DeLanda, 2006). Throughout **Chapters 4, 5 and 6** I try and decentre a human-centred approach and as I analyse KAZA-TFCA I pay attention to these human-non-human relationships and how humans *and* non-humans shape and reshape the world around them.

History of Conservation in Southern Africa
"All animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others" – Orwell (1945).

This statement, also said by the pigs in *Animal Farm,* presents 'equal' as relative and not absolute. By adding 'more equal', it implies varying degrees of equal-ness. The first part of the statement paints a picture of absolute equality and yet the second half of the statement reveals inequality, giving power to a small elite. In the broad history of conservation in

Southern Africa given here, indigenous[2] local people were marginalised from conservation by the policies and legislations of the colonisers and were certainly seen as less than equal. By the early 1980s when most African countries had obtained their independence, the new majority governments sought to correct the injustices thrust upon the local population by the colonial governments. One such way was to involve the local people in conservation, with biodiversity conservation viewed as a tool to alleviate poverty in communal lands in Southern Africa (Adams and Hutton 2007, Munthali 2007, Naughton-Treves, Holland and Brandon 2005). A number of programmes were established that sought to incorporate local people in biodiversity conservation and empower them to have a voice. The establishment of CBNRM programmes and TFCAs are two such programs. However, it is important to note that while CBNRM programmes take a bottom-up approach with local communities leading the charge, TFCAs have more of a top-down governing structure with multiple stakeholders with differing interests and degrees of power. As such local community priorities in TFCAs do not always take precedence as with CBNRM programmes.

The establishment of TFCAs in Southern Africa did not happen in an historical vacuum. Instead, TFCAs are perhaps the latest phase in a long and often ill-fated history of environment and development in Africa, in which the interests of local Africans have repeatedly been suppressed by colonial interests in name of the protection of Africa's wildlife and the economic exploitation of Africa's natural resources (Aramon & Buscher, 2005). Therefore, TFCAs in Southern Africa have been shaped by the political histories of these African countries that date back to the colonial era. As Aramon & Buscher (2005) argue, it is important to understand the colonial and neo-colonial histories that have shaped conservation in Africa when looking at TFCAs.

Vail (1977) challenges colonial concepts of conservation which are based on the separation of wildlife from people through the establishment of national parks and argues that prior to the nineteenth century, African communities were able to sustain viable ecological systems with a considerable degree of success. However, "the dual impact of capitalism and colonial administration ... resulted in major ecological catastrophes ... and the finely balanced

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[2] Indigenous people in this instance refers to the people who inhabited the land for thousands of years, in contrast to the settlers who arrived from other continents in the last few centuries. For the purpose of this thesis, in the context of post-colonial Africa, I refer to these people as local people.

relationship between man and his environment that had existed prior to the nineteenth century was undermined" (Vail, 1977 p. 129). Conservation might be a colonial term but that does not mean conservation was non-existent in pre-colonial Africa. My mother has told me stories passed down to her as a child about precolonial control systems that were in place in African societies to respect and protect wildlife. A view of Africa where humans and non-humans have always been part of the same landscape is supported by Adams & McShane in their book, *The Myth of Africa*. The ways of conserving wildlife might have differed from those imposed by the coloniser but the intended end result was more or less the same: the sustainable use of wildlife. However, it is important to note that the motivations for sustainability differed. In pre-colonial Africa, animals were revered for their cultural significance and for sustaining human life through consumption (Kideghesho, 2008), whereas colonists were initially motivated to preserve wildlife as a way of protecting their hunting interests (Adams & McShane 1992; Adams & Mulligan 2003; Adams, 2004).

Colonial Era

When European and North American explorers, adventurers and fortune seekers came to settle in Southern Africa in the 1700s, they found unique animals that they did not have in their own countries. They were fascinated by the big-game in the region which led to a period known as the 'big game hunting' period. During this period, wildlife in the Southern African colonies was slaughtered at an accelerated rate (MacKenzie 1997) until pioneer conservationists raised concerns over possible extinction of these animals. Approximately 20 million wild animals were killed by white settlers between 1780 and 1880, leading to the local and complete extinction of some species including the bloubok and quagga (Suich *et al.* 2012). Fuelled by the excessive century long killing of wildlife and fears of ecological disaster, the first systematic conservation legislation in Africa, the Cape Act for the Preservation of Game, evolved out of the Cape Colony[3] and was established in 1886. Although there had been other conservation regulations, the Cape Act for the Preservation of Game is considered by scholars as the first effective legislation for game conservation (Suich *et al.* 2012; Anderson & Grove, 1989). According to Anderson & Grove (1989), game regulations at the time were meant to

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[3] The Cape Colony was a Dutch colony in present-day South Africa from 1652 until the Dutch lost the colony to the British in 1795. After a peace treaty, the colony was returned to the Dutch in 1802 only to be repossessed by the British in 1806. It united with other British colonies in 1910 to form the Union of South Africa, a self-governing autonomous dominion of the British Empire.

exclude Africans from hunting. Hunting was considered a gentleman's sport and rights were given to white settlers (who were the 'gentleman'). Hunting licences were issued at ridiculously high prices that were beyond the reach of most Africans. Game protection became an important political issue spearheaded by the growing conservationist philosophy (Brown 2002).

In the 1920s, conservationists developed a strategy to expand conservation areas by forming alliances between countries that shared boundaries. These were the first talks of developing TFCAs. The Belgian regime set up Albert Park which was a TFCA between the colonial states of Ruanda-Urundi (now Rwanda and Burundi) and Congo in 1925 (Magome *et al.* 2003). The idea expanded out of Africa with Canada and the US declaring Waterton/Glacier a 'peace park' in 1932 (Ramutsindela 2004). However, TFCAs were not so welcome in Southern Africa. The British colonial states of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) negotiated for the formation of a TFCA between South Africa, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia in the 1930s. However, Mozambique saw this as a political move by South Africa to extend its political power into Mozambique and the negotiations broke down (Magome *et al.* 2003). This particular TFCA was revisited in the 'post-colonial' era with the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area (GLTFCA) established amongst South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe through the signing of a treaty by the presidents of the three countries in 2002.

In 1933, an international Convention for the Protection of the Fauna and Flora in Africa, also known as the "London Convention", was held in London. Ironically, Africans were excluded from the Convention despite the Convention discussing Africa. The Convention called for colonial governments to impose laws that would protect Africa's unique wildlife citing "indiscriminate slaughter of wildlife by Africans" (Neumann 2002). Commercial utilisation of wildlife was repelled by the Convention but hunting by sportsmen remained acceptable (Suich *et al.* 2012).

The laws and legislation setup by the colonial government after the Convention gave rise to the establishment of the first national parks and reserves in Africa. The London Convention called for large pieces of land to be set aside for wildlife "preservation". Preservation is put in quotes because, though there was a need for protection of wildlife, hunters played a key role in the development and establishment of protected areas in various parts of Africa to protect their hunting interests (Adams & McShane 1992; Adams & Mulligan 2003; Adams, 2004). The

period from 1930 to 1970 saw the establishment of what have become globally important parks including Kruger National Park in South Africa, Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe, Chobe National Park in Botswana and Serengeti National Park in Tanzania to name a few[4] (Suich *et al.* 2012). Large pieces of land were required to establish these national parks, so the colonial governments expropriated lands that belonged to local people and forcibly removed them from their homes and land without compensation. The expropriation of land from local people for the establishment of national parks was nothing new; in 1872, the Bannock, Shoshone, Crow and Sheepeater First Nations were forcibly removed from their land by the US government to make room for what is seen as one of the first ever national parks – the Yellowstone National Park (Keller & Turek 1998). This set a precedent that would be followed by many other countries (Magome *et al.* 2003).

However, it is important to note that although colonial governments were advocating for protection of wildlife and dispossessing local people to create spaces for the wildlife, sometimes their interests conflicted with that of wildlife. Therefore, it was not only the local human communities that were evicted for the interests of the white people. In the late 1950s, the construction of the Kariba Dam (now part of KAZA-TFCA) saw not only the local Tonga tribe being evicted from the land, but the local non-human population as well. According to Gewald *et al.* (2018), "hundreds of thousands of animals drowned, while thousands of people were forcefully deported" (p.6).

The new laws and legislation gave the colonial settlers control over conservation, tourism and hunting, and local peoples' interests were greatly restricted. By law, any killing of wildlife by non-whites was criminalised and designated as poaching. A black man fishing or hunting to feed his family became a poacher whereas a white man doing it for sport or leisure became an angler or hunter respectively. Local people were excluded from participating in wildlife related issues in any way that would benefit them financially or in terms of decision-making and power (Neumann, 2002). Adams & Hulme (2001), Brockington (2002) and Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau (2006) describe how colonialism and its new laws and legislations introduced a fortress conservation mindset that excluded local people.

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[4] Note that Hwange National Park and Chobe National Park are part of KAZA-TFCA.

After 1970, colonial efforts to conserve wildlife moved from national parks to off-reserve conservation and saw the introduction of the concept of conservation on private lands. Local people were further marginalised as this conservation targeted private land that was predominantly owned by white people in Southern Africa.

All these colonial changes, policies and bureaucracies resulted in the breakdown of socio-ecological systems nurtured by local people in precolonial times. These systems were either invisible to the colonial gaze or denigrated as not effective as they were not based on western ideologies of science or legislation that supported capitalism, national parks and reserves (Suchet, 2002). In Smith's (1999) book on decolonizing methodologies, she writes about how with colonisation came assumptions regarding the superiority of western knowledges and Indigenous knowledges and methods become irrelevant.

Post-colonial Era

With most African colonies having obtained their independence by the 1980s, the new majority governments sought to rectify the injustices that had been done to the local people. The new governments adopted policies aimed at circumventing, minimising and/or alleviating forced displacement and in cases where displacement was necessary, compensation and proper resettlement of the people (Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau 2006).

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, conservation practices and policies in Africa began to shift towards community-based approaches in an attempt to move beyond colonial practices (Hulme & Murphree 1999). These more inclusive, people-oriented approaches to conservation were in part a reaction to the injustices of exclusionary conservation. The idea of community-based approaches was to get local people more involved in conservation by decentralising power to a more local level. To achieve this, most Southern African countries established Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes such as, Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe, Administrative Management Design (ADMADE) and Luangwa Integrated Rural Development Programme (LIRDP) in Zambia and Living in a Fine Environment (LIFE) in Namibia. CBNRM programmes have "been represented as an antidote to the colonial 'fortress conservation' discourse which undermined people's control over their environment and criminalised their use of game" (Wolmer, 2003; p.8). The argument for CBNRM was that

decentralising control of natural resources to local people "improve[d] households' access to and management of those resources, thereby improving the resource base and their benefits to communities" (Pailler *et al.* 2015). With the establishment of CBNRM programmes, local people at various scales and in various forms were given some decision-making powers in how the resources, and benefits from those resources, would be utilised.

Conservation Across Boundaries: Transfrontier Conservation Areas

Southern African countries are seeking to come up with new conservation paradigms that are more politically resilient and relevant to society (Suich *et al.* 2012). The Southern African region is one of the best regions in the world in term of wildlife and biological diversity with 15.66% (1 082 160km²) reserved for the protection of wildlife. Table 1.1 shows the proportion and size of protected areas in relation to land area in the Southern African region. Protected area designation includes national parks, nature reserves, forestry reserves, protected landscapes, safari areas and wildlife management areas (Rusinga & Mapira, 2012).

Table 1.1: Protected Areas in relation to land areas in selected Southern African Countries

Country	Area (km²)	Size of Protected Areas (km²)	Proportion of Protected Area (%)
Angola	1 246 700	80 000	6.4
Botswana	581 730	226 875	39
Lesotho	30 350	68	0.2
Malawi	118 480	10 545	8.9
Mozambique	799 380	69 790	8.7
Namibia	824 290	111 414	13.5
South Africa	1 221 040	72 000	5.9
Zambia	752 610	224 078	29.8
Zimbabwe	390 580	50 385	12.9
Total	**5 965 160**	**845 155**	**14.2**

Adapted from: Chenje & Johnson (1994)

Many of these protected areas are close to national boundaries. This is no coincidence but reflects colonising processes that established protected areas on land that was deemed agriculturally unimportant by colonialists due to poor soils and rains (figure 1.1a). The close proximity of protected areas to national borders is not unique to Southern Africa. At least several hundred of the nearly 7000 protected natural areas that existed in the mid-1990s worldwide were found to either be adjacent to or very near to national boundaries (Westing, 1993). Butler & Boyd (2000) argue that these national periphery regions tend to be:

Remote and sparsely populated, and a general lack of government development typically renders them disadvantaged economically and relatively undisturbed (p. 267).

In Zimbabwe, for example, the major national parks and wildlife estates are at the national boundaries "mostly on land with a low agricultural potential, rejected for any kind of farming when the areas were proclaimed" as parks estate (Suich *et al.* 2012; p. 67). Some of the wildlife in these national parks have long migratory routes and ranges and where possible they tend to move across national boundaries.

Figure 1.1b shows elephant ranges in Africa with ranges traversing national boundaries.
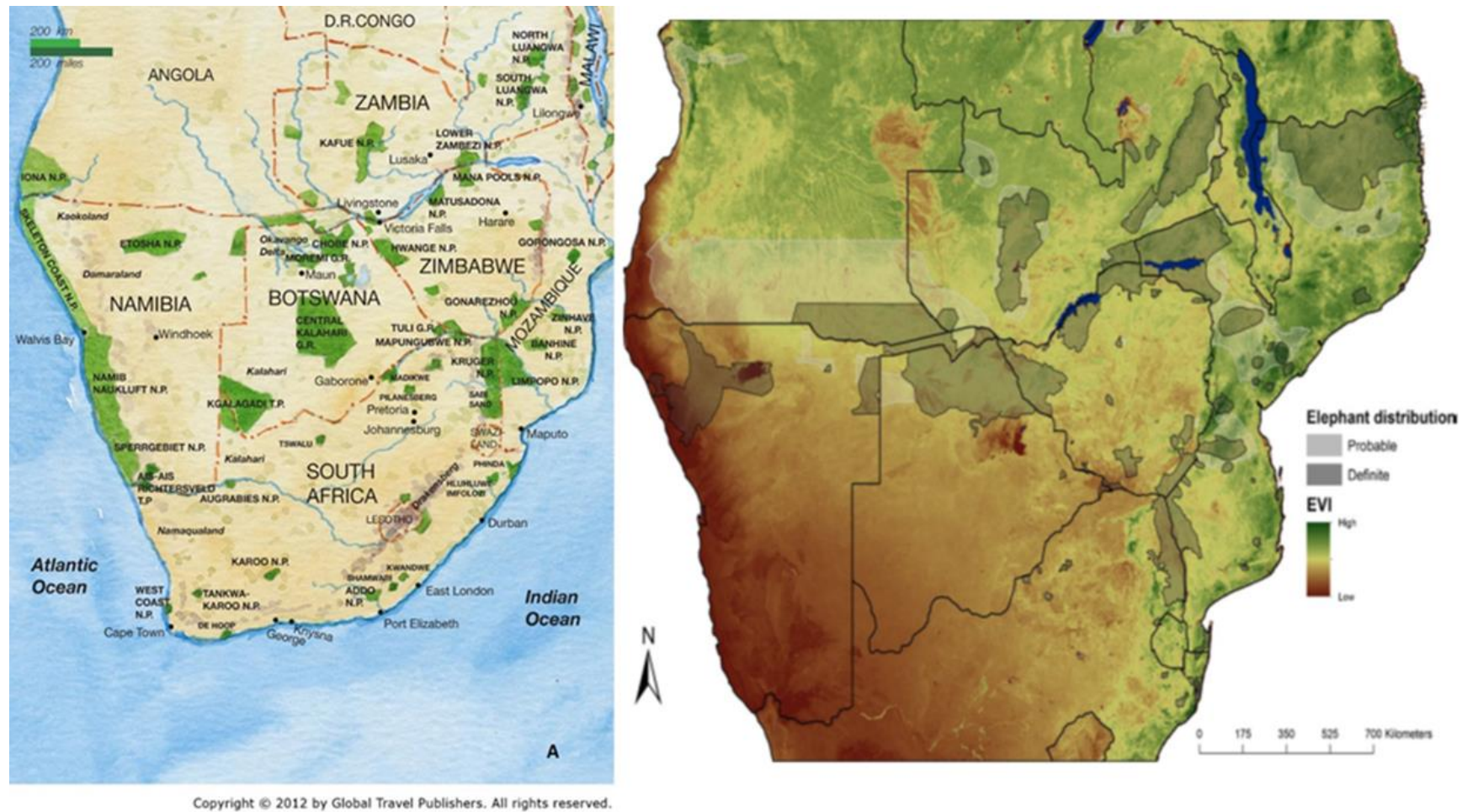
Figure 1.1: (A) Location of national parks in Southern Africa and (B) Elephant range in Africa [(b) Purdon *et al.* 2018].

With the realisation that the movement of wildlife across boundaries made them a shared resource which could benefit from joint conservation and management, in the mid-1990s plans for transboundary conservation parks, where shared resources could be managed jointly, were formulated in Southern Africa (Ferreira 2004). This aligned with international interest evidenced by TFCAs already created as well as international treaties for shared resources and it began to emerge as a key conservation strategy in Southern Africa (Duffy, 2001). Indeed, by 2001 there were an estimated 169 transboundary projects in 113 countries worldwide involving a total of 667 individual protected areas (Magome & Murombedzi 2003). According to the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)/ World DATA on PAs there were 287 Transboundary Protected Areas (TBPAs) or TFCAs around the world by 2007.

Rationales for Transfrontier Conservation Areas

TFCAs are also referred to as Peace Parks, TBPAs and Transfrontier Parks (TFPs). Though these terms are often used interchangeably, there are some subtle differences (Wolmer, 2003; Van Amerom & Buscher, 2005). Take for example the argument below by Van Amerom & Buscher (2005, p. 164):

> *The term 'TFCAs' has been in existence the longest and is widely used internationally. 'TBPAs' emanated from 'TFCAs' and is typical Southern African jargon aimed at claiming more ownership over the transboundary conservation. While both these terms still fairly neutrally describe the object in question, the 'Peace Parks' concept brings the terminology to a new and politically motivated epistemological level. By adopting the term Peace Parks, transboundary conservation has joined the arena of other elusive development concepts such as 'sustainable development', 'community ownership' and 'good governance', which share a similar all-embracing motivational purpose.*

Peace parks not only advocate for environmental and developmental goals, but the creation and strengthening of international friendships between countries involved is an explicit goal of peace parks (Van Amerom & Büscher, 2005). According to Sandwith *et al.* (2002), the term 'peace parks' can be traced to the 1980s and the promotion of 'parks for peace' by the IUCN. However, it gained momentum with its use in Southern Africa after the end of apartheid in South Africa in 1994. The end of apartheid signalled a new era and the opportunity for

improved relations between South Africa and other Southern African countries (Van Amerom & Büscher, 2005).

The development of TFCAs was rationalised by TFCA proponents, such as the Peace Parks Foundation, donors and governments as well as practitioners and researchers, as good for cultural integration, ecological integrity, strong political alliances and economic development (Wolmer 2003, Dressler & Büscher 2008, Ramutsindela & Tsheola 2002, Ramutsindela 2007a, Hanks 2003). The main objective of TFCAs is to protect biodiversity while promoting cross-border collaborations in sustainable use of natural resources and socio-economic development for communities[5] living with wildlife (Andersson *et al.* 2012). Transfrontier initiatives are meant to bridge the barrier between conservation and development and ensure that benefits are obtained by resource dependent people living in TFCAs (Dressler and Büscher 2008).

i. *Conservation of Biodiversity*

The principal objective for the establishment of TFCAs by scientists/conservationists is to conserve biodiversity. According to Wolmer (2003), the concept of TFCAs is linked to the idea of bioregionalism which holds that the Earth consists of connecting but distinct bioregions. Bioregions have been defined as natural units with similar biotic, abiotic, topography and physical features and processes along spatial and temporal trajectories (Rutherford *et al.* 2006, Wolmer 2003, Welsh Jr 1994). They are defined by characteristics of the natural environment rather than legislation or political frontiers and therefore often do not correspond to administrative boundaries (Duffy, 2001). Bioregionalism is not a new idea and Durning (1992) traces the concept to Indigenous understandings, arguing that long before bioregionalism entered the mainstream lexicon, Indigenous peoples practiced many of its tenets. For instance, Durning states that "Amid the endless variety of indigenous belief, there is striking unity on the sacredness of ecological systems" (p. 28). Bioregionalists advocate for decentralised governance, grassroots empowerment and self-sufficiency in areas defined as bioregions. Some aspects of this philosophy have found their way into the mainstream

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[5] There are many different definitions of the term 'community' and the concept of community is debated in scholarship (Hillery 1955). For the purposes of this thesis, the term 'community' is used to refer to local humans and non-humans who live in a specific geographical locality, however a unity of common understandings, purposes or aspirations is not assumed. The concept of community is further discussed in **chapter 6.**

conservation thinking that underpins TFCAs (Wolmer 2003). Proponents of bioregionalism and TFCAs such as Rutherford *et al.* (2006) and Hanks (2000) who have studied the role of bioregions and large-scale landscapes in conserving biodiversity argue that administrative and national borders undermine the ecological integrity of some bioregions. These borders also cause land fragmentations that hinder ecological processes and reduce migration ranges of wildlife. TFCAs aim to remove these administrative boundaries allowing connectivity and repairing and maintaining ecosystem functions in these regions (Wolmer 2003).

ii.   Socio-economic Development

TFCAs also have the potential to contribute to regional socio-economic development. TFCA researchers (Duffy, 2001; Van Amerom & Büscher, 2005) and practitioners (Vasilijević *et al.* 2015: they are part of the International Union for Conservation of Nature - World Commission on Protected Areas (IUCN-WCPA) Transboundary Conservation Specialist Group which is a group of specialist practitioners working on IUCN-WCPA's Best Practice Protected Area Guidelines Series) argue that by disbanding national boundaries, local benefits can grow as conservation and development spreads regionally. Murphree (2002) argues that conservation and development can occur simultaneously and the interests of both can be served. For example, TFCAs promote transboundary tourism that can bring benefits to all countries concerned (Vasilijević *et al.* 2015). Duffy (2001) argues that ecotourism can provide a sustainable stream of finance for TFCAs and the countries involved. For example, with the GLTFCA which involves a partnership between Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, the vast numbers of tourists that visit the Kruger National Park (South Africa) can continue into Zimbabwe and Mozambique to view more animals that benefit all three countries. This concept is also a viable concept in KAZA-TFCA with the introduction of the UNIVISA which allows tourists to visit Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana on one visa (discussed further in **chapter 4**). Trophy hunting is also considered a big economic contributor. Using available data from countries with significant hunting industries, Lindsey *et al.* (2007) estimated that trophy hunting generates gross revenues of at least US$201 million per year from a minimum of 18 500 clients in sub-Saharan Africa. This is much higher than the US$39 million per year from 45 000 to 60 000 clients in Eurasia. Wolmer (2003) argues that TFCAs open new spaces for private sector investment and allows for regional economic integration. TFCAs have also

attracted financial backing from international organisations such as the World Bank's Global Environmental Facility (GEF) (Duffy, 2001).

iii. *Regional Peace*

Scholars, activists, politicians and practitioners argue that other benefits of TFCAS may include improved political relations between countries involved and foster peace (Van Amerom & Büscher, 2005; Hanks, 2003; Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). Management of TFCAs requires diplomacy and transnational cooperation since TFCAs are spread across sovereign boundaries (Vasilijević *et al.* 2015). As discussed above, TFCAs are also referred to as 'Peace Parks' implying that they have the ability to foster some sort of peace amongst the nations involved.

The following quote summarises these views:

> *How can we explain the tremendous increase in the number of transboundary protected areas in the last few decades? And why has this phenomenon generated such tremendous enthusiasm in the conservation community? The answer is that the transboundary element can act as a multiplier, greatly amplifying the benefits protected areas already provide. Transboundary conservation area initiatives allow conservationists to operate at a larger scale, moving across political boundaries to protect a transboundary ecosystem in its entirety, rather than stopping at political borders that rarely correspond to natural systems. By the same token, a TBCA [Transboundary Conservation Area] can create unique social opportunities; for example, by reuniting communities divided by borders or allowing mobile peoples to move across their traditional territories more easily. TBCAs also add an enticing political dimension to conservation, which is the capacity to reduce tensions or even to help resolve conflicts between countries, in particular those stemming from boundary disputes. This peace-making dimension enlarges the range of benefits parks provide in a significant way. It also provides powerful evidence for one of the central tenets of conservation – that protected areas are not only necessary to secure the planet's ecological integrity but, more broadly, that they are an essential component of any healthy, peaceful, and productive society* (Mittermeier *et al.*, 2005: 41).

However, although leading TFCA scholars like Duffy (2006) and Ramutsindela (2007b) have in some instances shown support of TFCAs, they have also criticised them for their lack of

community involvement and recentralisation of power. Katerere *et al.* (2001) argue that formalisation of cross-border cooperation results in greater state-controlled regulations, thus power being taken away from communities. TFCAs are transnational and mostly operate at national levels driven by political and business elites (Van Amerom & Büscher, 2005), reinforcing the top-down conservation approaches that dominated the colonial era. This begs the question of whether TFCAs are a threat to CBNRM programs and whether they result in the further marginalisation of local people in post-colonial conservation efforts.

Southern African Development Community and TFCAs

As described above, post-colonial Southern Africa formulated plans for transboundary cooperation in the management and protection of share natural resources in the 1990s. In 2011, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) established the SADC TFCA programme to provide a common framework for the development and establishment of TFCAs in the SADC region (SADC secretariat, 2013). According to the *SADC Programme for Transfrontier Conservation Areas* published in 2013, TFCAs in the region were to be implemented by the participating states without the involvement of the SADC secretariat. However, due to some potential International Cooperating Partners (ICPs) only willing to provide funds through SADC due to lack of trust in transparency of some countries, SADC has become an important component of TFCAs in the region. Due to the key role played by SADC, it is important here to describe the history of SADC.

SADC is an inter-governmental organisation comprised of 15 Southern and Eastern African nation states. SADC was the result of political-security considerations in the Southern African region in the 1970s and was initially created as the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC). It was created as an anti-colonialism and anti-apartheid organ by the Front-Line States (FLS) (Schoeman, 2002), a coalition of African states which included Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe, dedicated to the eradication of white minority rule in the region. Consultative meetings between the FLS on the possible establishment of SADCC began in 1977, culminating in a ministerial meeting on SADCC held in Arusha, Tanzania in 1979 (SADC, 2017). The ministerial meeting established the goals of SADCC as (i) the reduction of economic dependence, particularly on the Republic of South Africa[6]; (ii) the forging of links to create a genuine and equitable integration; (iii) the

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[6] South Africa was still under apartheid at the time.

mobilisation of resources to promote national, interstate and regional policies and (iv) concerted action to secure international cooperation within the framework of a strategy for economic liberation (Green, 1980). Nine states - Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe - signed the Lusaka Declaration in 1980 thus launching SADCC (SADC, 2017). In 1992, SADCC was transformed to SADC through the signing of the SADC Declaration and Treaty by the member states which now included Namibia as the 10th state (SADC, 2017). South Africa and Mauritius joined in 1994 and 1995 respectively with Seychelles, and the DRC joining in 1997. The treaty was "*much more economically oriented than the mainly political-security considerations that underlay the earlier establishment of SADCC*" (Schoeman, 2002 p.6). The objectives of the organisation call for:

i. Economic co-operation and integration based on equality and mutual benefit, enabling of cross-border investments and trade across national boundaries.

ii. Common economic, political and social values, democracy and good governance, respect for the law and human rights, reduction of poverty. (SADC 2017).

The mission of SADC is to "*provide strategic expertise and co-ordinate the harmonisation of policies and strategies to accelerate regional integration and sustainable development*" (SADC, 2017). One important area in accomplishing this mission is improving utilisation and stewardship of natural resources. To protect and ensure sustainable use of natural resources, SADC's Directorate of Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources (FANR) established protocols such as the 1999 Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement, the 2002 Protocol on Shared Water Course and the 2002 Protocol on Forestry which allowed for the SADC-led establishment of initiatives including TFCAs (SADC Secretariat, 2013 & Gotosa, 2016). The SADC member states adopted the overarching SADC vision and mission statements for TFCAs in 2011 (SADC Secretariat, 2013).

TFCAs in the SADC Region

There are currently 18 TFCAs in Southern Africa at different stages of implementation. The TFCAs are categorised into three different categorises namely category A: treaty signed, category B: MoU signed and category C: conceptual TFCA.

Category A: seven treaties signed:

- Kgalagadi TFP (Botswana and South Africa) – first TFCA in the region established in 2000 and 35 551km²

- Great Limpopo TFCA (Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe) – considered the most advanced TFCA in the region in terms of its structure, institutions, and human and financial resources, it was established in 2000 and is 37 572km²

- Richtersveld TFP (Namibia and South Africa) – established in 2003 and is approximately 5920km²

- Kavango-Zambezi TFCA (Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe) – established in 2011 this is the largest TFCA in terms of area (520 000km²) and number (5) of partner countries and the focus of this study.

- Malawi-Zambia TFCA (Malawi and Zambia) – established in 2015, it is approximately 32 278km²

- Lubombo TFCA (Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland) – it is 10 029km² and boasts the first marine TFCA in Africa. According to the SADC TFCA program, a treaty has been signed but no date is provided for when the treaty was signed.

- Maloti-Drakensberg (Lesotho and South Africa) – approximately 14 740km².

A memorandum of understanding (MoU) has been signed for the following five TFCAs:

- Iona-Skeleton Coast TFCA (Angola and Namibia) – MoU signed in 2003 and is approximately 47 698km²

- Greater Mapungubwe TFCA (Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe) – MoU signed in 2006 and is 5909km²

- Chimanimani TFCA (Mozambique and Zimbabwe) – MoU signed in 2001 and covers an area of 4091km².

- Mayombe Forest TFPA (Angola, Congo, DRC and Gabon) – MoU signed in 2009 and Gabon in 2013. It covers an area of approximately 36 000km²

- Niassa-Selous TFCA (Mozambique and Tanzania) – MoU signed in 2015 and covers an area of approximately 154 000km²

A further six possible TFCAs have been identified with feasibility studies and negotiations underway, however MoUs have not yet been signed. Figure 1.2 shows the location of all 18 TFCAs, the countries involved and the different stages of implementation.
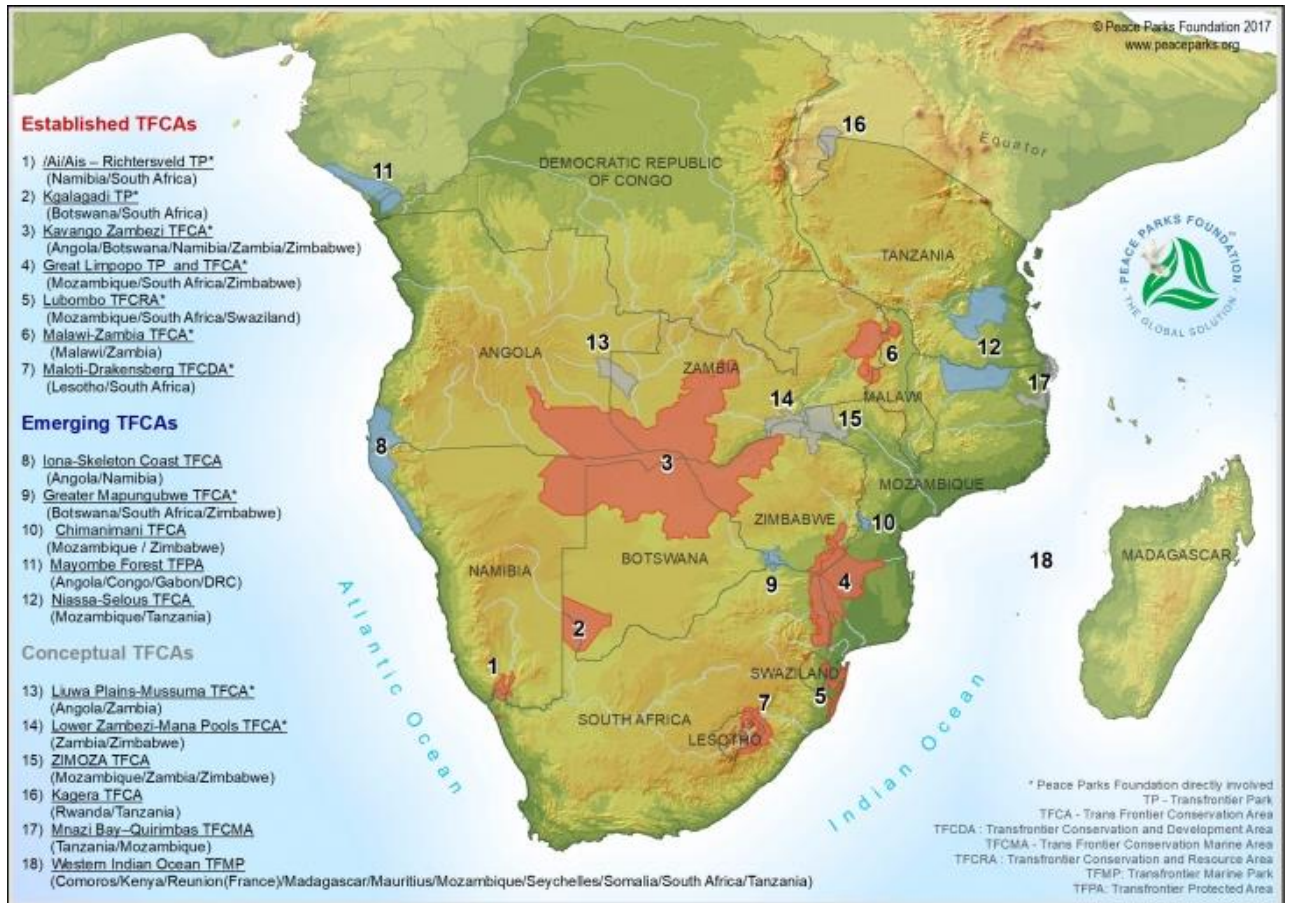
Figure 1.2: Location of the different TFCAs in the SADC region (PPF, 2018)

Peace Parks Foundation and TFCAs

In the 1990s, Dr Anton Rupert, the then president of World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) South Africa, an international non-governmental organisation working in the field of wildlife preservation, initiated talks between Mozambique and South Africa on linking the protected areas in southern Mozambique with those of South Africa. These talks led to an increase in interest in TFCAs not only in Mozambique and South Africa but in other neighbouring countries in the region as well. WWF South Africa saw the need for a separate body that would "*co-ordinate and drive the process of TFCA establishment and funding*" (Hanks & Myburgh, 2015 p. 164). In February 1997 the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) was launched in South Africa, spearheaded by Dr Anton Rupert, Nelson Mandela and HRH Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands who are named as the founding patrons together with Dr John Hanks, a former

WWF director who became the first Executive Director of PPF. The PPF was established to facilitate the creation of TFCAs across Southern Africa (Duffy, 2001; cf PPF 2018) with the following vision and mission:

> *Vision: Peace Parks Foundation envisages the establishment of a network of protected areas that links ecosystems across international borders.*
>
> *Mission: Peace Parks Foundation facilitates the establishment of transfrontier conservation areas (peace parks) and develops human resources, thereby supporting sustainable economic development, the conservation of biodiversity and regional peace and stability* (cf PPF, 2018).

The Foundation currently works on 10 of the 18 TFCAs spanning the borders of 10 Southern African countries. The TFCAs where PPF is directly involved are marked with an Asterix (*) in Figure 1.2.

Zimbabwe and TFCAs

With one of the thesis' foci on the role of the nation-state within KAZA-TFCA through the lens of one of KAZA-TFCA's key players – Zimbabwe - it is also important to understand the political history of Zimbabwe and its influence on current environmental and developmental issues. The issues that surround Zimbabwe's politics and its influence on current environmental and developmental issues cannot be understood fully without acknowledging the fact of Zimbabwe's past. The second focus and the colonial history of Zimbabwe is discussed further in **chapter 5**. In this section, I present an overview of the TFCA program in Zimbabwe.

Although South Africa is leading the way when it comes to establishing Transfrontier Parks with neighbouring countries, indeed South Africa has 6 TFCAs, 5 of which have signed treaties and the last with a signed MoU, Zimbabwe is following closely behind. Of the 18 TFCAs mentioned in the previous section, Zimbabwe is currently involved in 6 of them at different stages of implementation. Two have signed treaties, another 2 have signed MoU and the last two are in the conceptual stage of implementation.

I.   Great Limpopo TFCA

The GLTFCA was first proposed in 1927 by South Africa but was rejected by their counterparts in Mozambique and the then Rhodesia. The request was repeated over the years but failed to come into fruition. Mavhunga & Spierenburg (2009) attributed this failure to the regional

politics at the time and conflicts between cattle and game, with fears of cattle disease spreading through the transboundary wilderness area. The concept was revived in the 1990s and on the 9th of December 2002 the presidents of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe signed the treaty that marked the official launch of the TFCA.

II.   Kavango-Zambezi TFCA

In 2006 and 2011 the governments of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe signed the MoU and treaty respectively of the Kavango-Zambezi TFCA making it the largest operational TFCA in the world. The official opening of the KAZA-TFCA made it Zimbabwe's second TFCA.

III.   Greater Mapungubwe TFCA

Initially named the Limpopo-Shashe TFCA, this TFCA was established with the confluence of the two major rivers Limpopo and Shashe at its centre. The governments of Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe signed the MoU for this TFCA on the 22nd of June 2006. In 2009 it was renamed the Greater Mapungubwe TFCA. It is considered a cultural TFCA with the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape proclaimed a World Heritage Site in July 2003 (cf. PPF, 2018).

IV.   Chimanimani TFCA

On 8 June 2001, the governments of Mozambique and Zimbabwe signed a MoU for the establishment of the Chimanimani TFCA.

V.   Lower Zambezi-Mana Pools TFCA & ZIMOZA TFCA

The Lower Zambezi-Mana Pools TFCA between Zambia and Zimbabwe and the ZIMOZA TFCA between Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe are still in the conceptual stage of development.

The KAZA-TFCA Case Study

The Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA-TFCA) is the focus of this thesis. KAZA-TFCA is the largest TFCA in the world spanning over 520 000 km² over 5 different countries - Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe (see Figure 1.3). A Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed in 2006 and in 2011 the heads of states of

the 5 countries signed a treaty which formalised the establishment of the TFCA. In March of 2012, KAZA-TFCA was officially launched in Namibia.

The area where the 5 KAZA-TFCA countries converge is located in the Okavango Delta and Zambezi River basin, which are some of the largest wetlands on the African continent (UNEP, 2000). KAZA-TFCA includes 17 national parks and game reserves, 2 in Angola, 3 in Namibia and 4 each in Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana. It also includes several community conservancies and forests reserves and is home for approximately two million people.
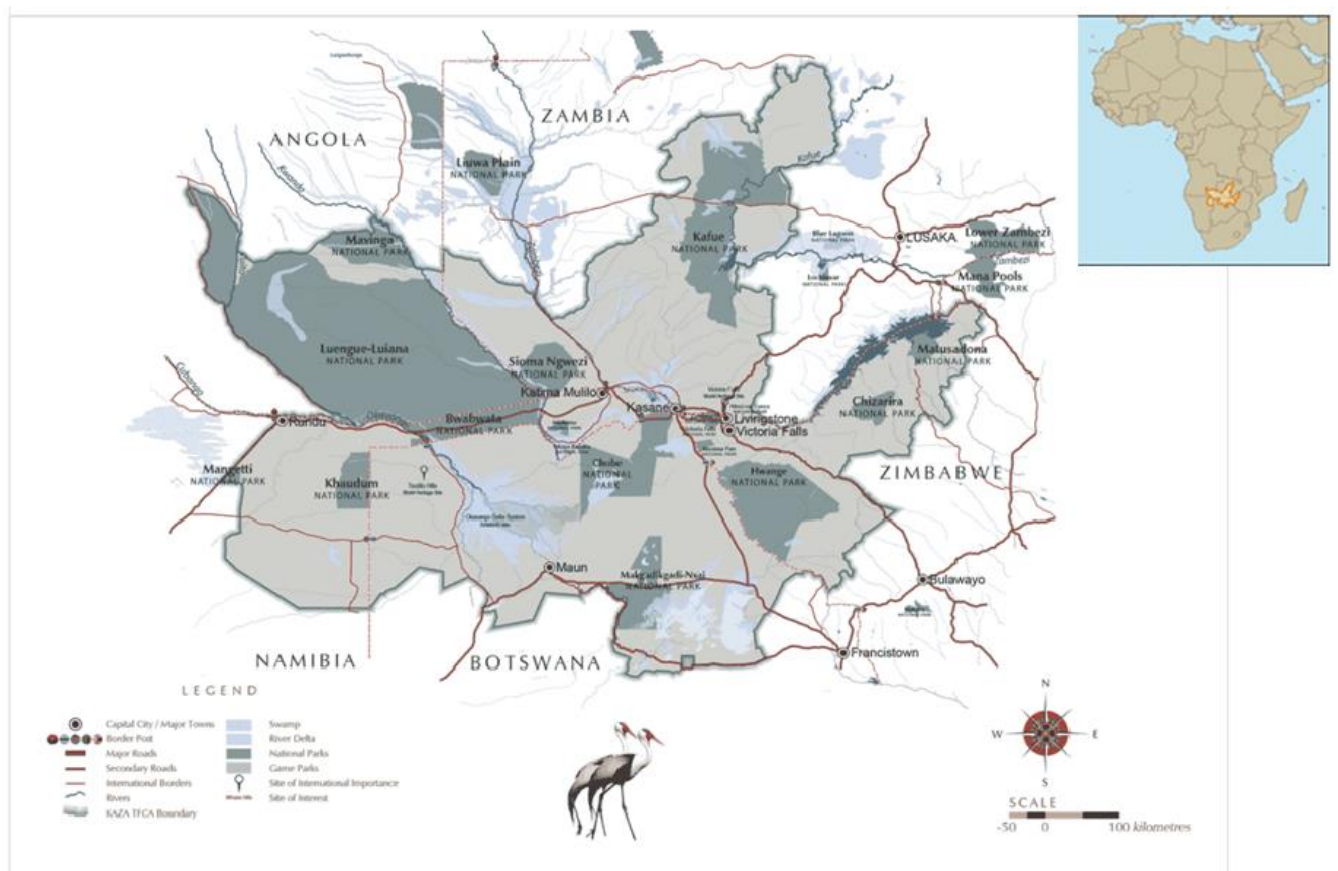
Figure 1.3: Map of KAZA-TFCA showing its location in Southern Africa as well as national parks, game reserves and forest reserves within the boundaries of the conservation area (Credit: KAZA Secretariat)

KAZA-TFCA was established with a mission to "*sustainably manage the Kavango Zambezi ecosystem, its heritage and cultural resources based on best conservation and tourism models for the socio-economic wellbeing of the communities and other stakeholders in and around the eco-region through harmonization of policies, strategies and practices*" (KAZA-TFCA 2013). According to KAZA-TFCA policy documents (KAZA-TFCA 2013) the TFCA was established to:

- *Conserve the shared natural resources and cultural heritage of this vast area of Southern Africa*

- *Promote and facilitate the development of a complementary and linked network of protected areas that protect wildlife and provide and restore dispersal corridors and migratory routes*

- *Develop the KAZA-TFCA into a world-class tourism destination offering a variety of breath-taking adventures and luxurious relaxation*

- *Promote the free and easy movement of tourists across borders*

- *Implement programmes that ensure the sustainable use of natural resources in ways that improve the livelihoods of communities and reduce poverty in the region*

- *Harmonise conservation legislation and natural resource management of the TFCA.*

TFCAs were developed with the aim of sustainable development for communities using the wildlife resources available to those communities. Like most TFCAs, the main aim of KAZA-TFCA is to promote biodiversity in the Okavango Delta and Zambezi River basin while simultaneously promoting tourism, cultural diversity and alleviating poverty in communities in that area.

Stakeholders and the Issues at Stake in KAZA-TFCA

KAZA-TFCA involves multiple stakeholders with different interests and issues at stake. To understand who is a stakeholder in KAZA-TFCA and what their interests and stakes are, I will discuss what stakeholders are and why one becomes a stakeholder before discussing who the stakeholders in KAZA-TFCA are and their issues at stake.

There are numerous definitions of what a stakeholder is in the literature. The concept of a stakeholder can be traced back to 1963 where it was defined as "those groups without whose support the organisation would cease to exist" in a Stanford Research Institution Memo (cited in Freeman & Reed, 1983). However, the concept was popularised by Freeman in 1984 who classically defined stakeholders as "any group or individuals who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives" (p. 46). For an individual or group to be a stakeholder, they must have a 'stake' in the organisation or issue. According to Freeman's

(1984) definition, how you affect or are affected becomes the 'stake'. What counts for each stakeholder is based on what is at stake (Mitchell *et al.* 1997), therefore what counts will be different for each stakeholder. Stakeholder theory is based on the principle that the organisation must take into account the issues at stake of all the groups and individuals who can affect or are affected (Freeman, 1984; Donaldson & Preston, 1995).

There is an agreement in literature about who can be a stakeholder: "*Persons, groups, neighbourhoods, organizations, institutions, societies, and **even the natural environment** are generally thought to qualify as actual or potential stakeholders*" (Mitchell *et al.* 1997; p 855, bold emphasis added). Stakeholders are discussed further in relation to power and participation in the literature review (see **chapter 3**). A stakeholder analysis workshop was conducted for the KAZA-TFCA region in 2008 and the stakeholders identified during that workshop are summarised in the table 1.2.

Table 1.2: Possible KAZA-TFCA stakeholders identified during a stakeholder analysis workshop

ORGANIZATION OR INDIVIDUAL	ROLES AND FUNCTIONS	RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER STAKEHOLDERS
GOVERNMENT (various levels; National, District, and Local)	Interpret policies; create enabling environment; facilitate policy compliance; technical support; and ensure implementation.	Inter-Sectoral Committee, Extension Officers, Development Committees Etc.
FUNDING AGENCIES (Donor & International Agencies)	Provide funds and technical support to the development of KAZA-TFCA bilateral and/or multilateral cooperation between the agency or agencies and the partner countries or a bilateral relationship between the agency and one or more of the partner countries.	
LOCAL COMMUNITIES	Target Group for improved living conditions through increased tourism development as well as through efficiently managed wildlife and conserved biodiversity.	
NGOS (National and International)	Facilitate the process between planners and implementers; job creation; technical backstopping; capacity building and solicitation of funds.	Networking; fundraising; workshops; training and exchange visits (capacity building) and monitoring.
PRIVATE SECTOR	Establishment of viable business enterprises, public-private sector partnerships, job creation and marketing.	Formal and informal forums.
TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES	The point of entry for the process. Have the power to accept or reject any	Traditional forums, Village Development Committees.

	initiative, mediation of conflict between shareholders, disseminate information and mobilize communities.	
KAZA SECRETARIAT	Ensures that project objectives, goals, values and timelines are met and adhered to, coordinate activities and reach targets.	Reporting, meetings, workshops and through the project liaison officer.
CORPORATE & BUSINESS PARTNERS	Provision of funds and other form of support to the TFCA either business principles of '*greening*' the company's value chain or its Corporate Social Responsibility towards the environment.	
NETWORK OF CONSERVATION ALLIANCES, RESEARCH & ACADEMIC INSTITUTIONS	Funds, skills, Equipment best practices and other resources.	
MEDIA	Dissemination of Information	

Source: KAZA-TFCA stakeholder engagement strategy

The authors of the KAZA-TFCA stakeholder engagement strategy acknowledged that the list in the table was not exhaustive:

> *… specific engagement exercises to be conducted in specific locations in KAZA-TFCA would require more detailed stakeholder analysis including identifying, analyzing, and mapping stakeholders. The exercise of analysis would be guided primarily by the national Integrated Development Plans (IDP's) and other KAZA-TFCA developmental projects and needs* (p.12)

However, the KAZA-TFCA stakeholder engagement strategy left out some very important stakeholders, specifically the non-human stakeholders. As acknowledged by Mitchell's (1997) comment of '*even natural environments*' (quote above), non-humans can partake in a network as stakeholders. As will be discussed further in chapter 3, these networks are made up of assemblages (both human and non-human) which are open-ended gatherings referring to diverse groups. Non-humans therefore refer to anything from the landscapes to the animals, rivers, lakes and soils, anything that makes up part of the ecosystems minus the humans. For the purposes of this study, I have identified the following stakeholders in KAZA-TFCA (see figure 1.4).
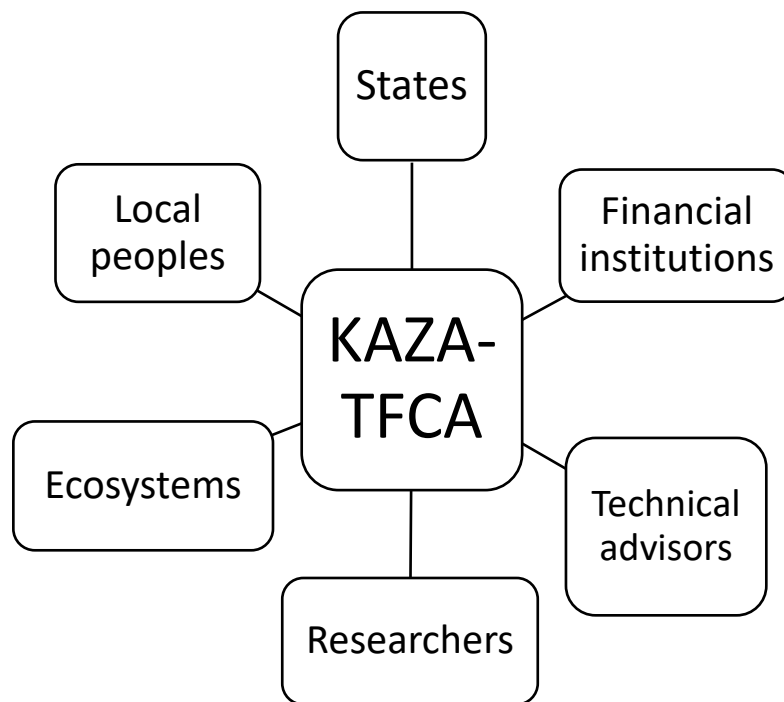
States

The creation and management of individual TFCAs is the responsibility of participating nation-states. They have the authority and shared responsibility for protecting and managing natural resources across international boundaries. Participating states have the duty to drive programme implementation at the national and local levels (SADC secretariat, 2013). KAZA-TFCA is therefore the responsibility of the five partner countries who own and manage the TFCA as stated in article 5 (1)(j) of the KAZA-TFCA treaty:

1. *For the execution of the objectives expressed in this Treaty, the Partner States undertake to uphold the following principles: (j) ensure that the ownership of the KAZA-TFCA remains with and is led at all times by the governments and the people of the five Partner States.*

The importance of the state in the management and implementation of KAZA-TFCA activities can be seen through the governance structure of the KAZA-TFCA shown in Figure 1.5 below.

Ministers of Tourism and Wildlife

⬇

Permanent Secretaries of the Ministries of Tourism and Wildlife

⬇

Directors of the Ministry of Tourism and Wildlife

⬇

TFCA coordinators in the five Countries

⬇

KAZA Secretariat

Figure 1.5: KAZA-TFCA governing structure as stated in the treaty.

It was the collaboration between these countries that made the establishment of KAZA-TFCA possible. Each of the five countries are represented by the ministry and the minsters responsible for environment and supported by their departments of wildlife on the ground. In Zimbabwe, the Ministry of Environment, Water and Climate represents Zimbabwe as a stakeholder. On the ground, the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZPWMA) and Zimbabwe liaison to the KAZA secretariat operationalise KAZA-TFCA.

At stake for the states is the collaborative conservation and management of shared resources, the development of a world class tourist destination for the mutual benefit and development of the region as well as poverty alleviation in the region (KAZA-TFCA, 2013):

> *The state is required to create conditions that are supportive to the ideals of nature conservation. In the case of TFCAs, the state is required to provide a legislative framework, which in turn is a precondition for the formalisation of cross-border nature conservation* (Shaw *et al.* 2011; p.365).

KAZA Secretariat

The KAZA Secretariat is the designated entity established by the KAZA-TFCA partner countries to manage the day-to-day operations of the TFCA. It facilitates participation, develops tools, identifies programmes and ensures effective communication. It manages finances, human

resources, procurement and language translation. It undertakes publicity and advocacy and is responsible for the website. It develops proposals for donor funding, operates the KAZA-TFCA Fund, drafts policy documents and is responsible for monitoring and evaluating KAZA-TFCA programmes (KAZA-TFCA IDP, 2014). The office of the Secretariat is headquartered in Kasane, Botswana.

Financial Institutions

Financial institutions and donors affect the KAZA-TFCA by providing the funds needed to run the project. Members of this group of stakeholders are generally not from Southern Africa but have a large presence in TFCAs in Southern Africa. A project of this magnitude requires enormous financial investments that the partner countries cannot provide on their own. The KAZA-TFCA website lists seven donors, all international, namely the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development; Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH (GIZ); the World Bank; Netherlands Directorate-General of Development Cooperation (DGIS); Dutch Postcode Lottery; Swedish Postcode Lottery and Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW) Development Bank. KfW, a German bank, is the largest donor, having committed over \$47 million to the project. Members of this stakeholder group often regard themselves as 'non-political', however this is debatable, as discussed in **chapter 5**.

Technical Advisors

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) play a significant role of providing technical support in different forms. They complement government efforts and provide conceptual guidance, planning support and technical assistance. As such, numerous NGOs including the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF); Southern Africa Regional Environmental Programme (SAREP); Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC); WWF and Climate Resilient Infrastructure Development Facility (CRIDF), are considered stakeholders of KAZA-TFCA providing support in community development and support, tourism, conservation, wildlife research and capacity building. PPF is a key NGO providing technical and financial support. It was appointed as an implementing agency by the partner countries. With TFCAs in Southern Africa being part of the SADC TFCA programme, the SADC secretariat is another technical advisor. The Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources (FANR) Directorate of the SADC is responsible for the management of the SADC TFCA programme (SADC secretariat, 2013). The SADC TFCA Framework (2007) articulated the role of the SADC Secretariat with respect to the

development of TFCAs in the SADC Region as primarily "*to streamline TFCAs with regional strategies for biodiversity conservation, as well as for poverty alleviation and sustainable development.*" The SADC Secretariat only facilitates the efforts of the Member States in the implementation of programmes "*while participating countries … maintain full responsibility and authority for each TFCA.*" (SADC TFCA Framework, 2007)

Research Institutions/researchers

Researchers provide solutions to various environmental and social problems in the KAZA-TFCA. KAZA-TFCA works with researcher institutions such as Elephants Without Borders (EWB), based in Kasane, Botswana, that conduct elephant research and monitoring; Cornell University's Animal and Human Health for the Environment and Development (AHEAD) Program that conducts research on wildlife, livestock, human health and livelihoods interface and PANTHERA which conducts research on wild cat species around the world. All three organisations are governed in the United States of America.

Ecosystems

The goal of the KAZA-TFCA is "To sustainably manage the Kavango Zambezi ecosystem". Constructed in and around the Okavango Delta and Zambezi River basin the KAZA-TFCA landscape has a diverse number of ecosystems which have been demarcated, bounded and labelled as 20 National Parks, 85 Forest Reserves, 22 Conservancies, 11 Sanctuaries, 103 Wildlife Management Areas and 11 Game Management Areas spread across five different countries. These ecosystems are directly affected by the KAZA-TFCA's objectives which are set by particular human actors. However, these ecosystems are not just objects being acted upon by processes set in train by human decisions, they also have the ability to influence conservation outcomes, which makes them active agents within KAZA-TFCA (see **chapter 4, 6 & 7**).

Like the human stakeholders discussed above, the non-humans – wildlife, rivers, trees, soils – that make up the ecosystems are heterogenous, dynamic and were instrumental in the formation of the KAZA-TFCA landscape (**chapter 4**). They possess agencies that both intersect with and are independent of human interests. For example, the charismatic attraction of certain wildlife species, such as the big five in Southern Africa, help to determine the boundaries of many of the national parks. However, because of agencies beyond human interests, these wildlife species are not confined by the national parks' boundaries set by

humans. As will be discussed in **chapter 6**, although some of the wildlife migration patterns are influenced by human activities and alliances formed between humans and non-humans, there are many other factors independent of human activity that drive migration of wildlife. **Chapter 6** will show how human and non-human agencies intersect, sometimes leading to alliances being formed, and sometimes contradicting one another resulting in conflict. The non-human agencies shape and reshape processes and relations with and within KAZA-TFCA, affecting the outcome of KAZA-TFCA goals (**chapter 6**). This makes them important stakeholders.

Local people

Community participation in the TFCA processes is an essential element to successful programme implementation. The socio-economic wellbeing of the communities in and around the eco-region is part of the KAZA-TFCA's goal. As is the implementation of programmes that ensure the sustainable use of natural resource in ways that improve the livelihoods of communities and reduce poverty in the region. Researchers argue that local communities are some of the most important stakeholders in conservation (Mosimane & Silva 2015; Andrade & Rhodes, 2012; Perrault *et al.* 2006; Fiallo & Jacobson, 1995; Kiss, 1990). Studies have shown that local 'involvement' in conservation results in successful wildlife conservation as well as the sustainable use of natural resources (Andrade & Rhodes, 2012; Fallio & Jacobson, 1995). Local people coexist with the resources being conserved and managed by the KAZA-TFCA and their livelihoods are affected how these resources are managed, be it by benefitting from the resources or bearing the costs of living with the resources. With over 2 million people living within the KAZA-TFCA landscape, in communal lands, urban centres, conservancies and private lands, this makes local people a heterogeneous and sizeable stakeholder.

Thesis Scope and Structure

In this chapter, I introduced KAZA-TFCA, identified its key stakeholders and the issues at stake. I set this within the context of the history of conservation in Southern Africa and the established of TFCAs. I described the thesis aims and argument and made the case for using a TFCA to examine the politics of scale and power and human-non-human relationships in conservations efforts in Southern Africa. I now describe the structure of my thesis, to enable the reader to clearly navigate through the thesis.

In **chapter 2**, I describe the methodological approach taken. I describe in detail the research design, the research process and the ethical considerations guiding the research. I reflect on the research process and the challenges encountered while collecting data. Finally, I discuss my power as a researcher and reflect on the research process.

Chapter 3 presents the theoretical foundations of the study by reviewing the literature on power, scale and human-non-human relationships. It provides a review of how scale and power have been explored and understood. It also explores the concepts of stakeholder participation in organisations and how power influences level of participation. This chapter also explores how nature and society are viewed in environmental/conservation spheres. It explores the concept of assemblages and how it can be used to undermine the nature/society dualism and recognise the importance of both human and non-human agency.

Chapter 4 explores the creation and implementation of KAZA-TFCA as a 'new' scale of governance and the challenges and opportunities of embedding a 'new' scale within existing scales. It examines how the construction of the KAZA-TFCA scale affects and is affected by existing local, national and international conservation efforts. By examining the dynamics and inter-relationships which emerged through the formation of KAZA-TFCA, key indicators are identified including increased cooperation with co-existing scales as well as the formation of new categories of inclusion and exclusion, erasures and invisibility. Whilst acknowledging the benefits of a transboundary approach to addressing environmental issues and natural resource management, I argue that the interaction of multiple levels and scales can sometimes lead to the exclusion and erasure of other scales, knowledges and governance structures.

Chapter 5 focuses on one of the five nations of KAZA-TFCA, Zimbabwe, and examines how the politics of the nation-state impact conservation strategies and KAZA-TFCA. In doing so it not only delves into the political history of Zimbabwe, dating back to the colonial era, but also considers how this colonial history relates to international sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe from 2000. It explores how capacity building and project implementation of KAZA-TFCA projects in Zimbabwe compares to the other partner countries as Zimbabwe is currently the only one out of the five partner countries unable to access funds from some of KAZA-TFCA's key donors.

Chapter 6 focuses on the north-west sector of Zimbabwe, which is part of KAZA-TFCA, to enable a more nuanced understanding of how power flows through and shapes human and non-human relationships from a more local perspective. It highlights the importance of local scales in conservation. This chapter focuses on local experiences, perceptions and attitudes towards wildlife and conservation. It speaks to larger issues of power/powerless of local communities (human and non-human) in conservation strategies in local spaces as well as in KAZA-TFCA.

Chapter 7 brings together insights from the findings presented in chapters four, five and six. This chapter discusses the main findings of this thesis and the implications for conservation. Lastly, the Conclusion chapter, **chapter 8** summarises each of the seven previous chapters in this study. This chapter revisits the research aims, discusses the thesis significance and contributions and identifies potential areas for further inquiry. It also provides a reflection on the research process.

Chapter 2: Getting to know the research

Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework within which the study was designed and undertaken. I provide a description of the methodological approach and research design and rationale for the case study. I then look at the research techniques used to collect data, the advantages of each of the techniques and how they were applied in the context of the thesis. The ethical considerations guiding the research are also explained. Finally, I discuss my positionality and power as a researcher and reflect on the research process.

Research Design

The design of this study is qualitative, descriptive and explorative in nature (Klopper, 2008). Qualitative methods, complemented by one quantitative method in the form of a short survey, were used to explore the aims of this study. A qualitative approach was chosen because qualitative data allows deeper insights into human experiences and improves understandings of ideas through analysis of patterns and explanations. Qualitative research allows for truths and realities to emerge through a range of methods such as interviews, textual analysis and participant observation. Through these methods, it is possible to identify and engage discourses and practices influencing conservation. These discourses and practices are a compilation of claims, counterclaims and perceptions, thus an interpreted reality, which I could only collect as qualitative data (Welman *et al*. 2005).

The study used a case study approach. According to Hancock *et al.* (1998), case study research offers a wealth of in-depth information not usually offered by other methods. It identifies how complex conditions come together to produce a particular manifestation, and also it is a highly versatile research method and employs any and all methods of data collection from testing to interviewing (Hancock *et al.* 1998). The case study method can lead to a fuller understanding of particular cases (de Vaus, 2002). For this project, a case study approach was used to identify and understand perspectives and experiences of a large-scale conservation effort.

Like any approach, case study research has limitations. Case study research is criticised as not necessarily representative of similar cases and therefore the results not being generalizable (Hancock *et al.* 1998, Thomas 2015). Hancock *et al.* (1998) address the key criticism about the limitations of the case study approach in terms of whether the findings can be applied elsewhere. They argue that people misunderstand the purpose of case study research which is contextual and used to describe a particular case in detail. The reader has to decide whether or not the case being described is sufficiently representative to their own situation. However, the writer also has an obligation to draw out the main principles and lessons learnt from a case study and how they be of importance to other cases (as done here in **chapters 7 and 8**).

Case studies can be single or multiple and comparative. In each circumstance the case/s should serve a purpose within the overall scope of inquiry (Yin, 2003). Due to the nature of my study, I have chosen a single case study with embedded units (see figure 2.1). Yin (2003) describes an embedded case study as a study where multiple units of analysis are studied within a case. Yin (2003) also warns of the pitfall that novice researchers fall into, that they analyse at the individual subunit level and fail to return to the global issue that they initially set out to address. It is important that once the individual subunits have been analysed, one returns to the main case study and link the subunits back to the case study. KAZA-TFCA is the overall case study and focus of my research and its formation is the focus of **chapter 4**. However, embedded within this I specifically focus on the nation-state experience of Zimbabwe (**chapter 5**) to further examine the interrelationships between power, scale and conservation (see research context in chapter 1 for reasons for choosing the two scales). Finally, in response to the invisibility of and importance of local participation, influences, affects and effects I embedded a third foci on the north western part Zimbabwe – Hwange District Council region (**chapter 6**).
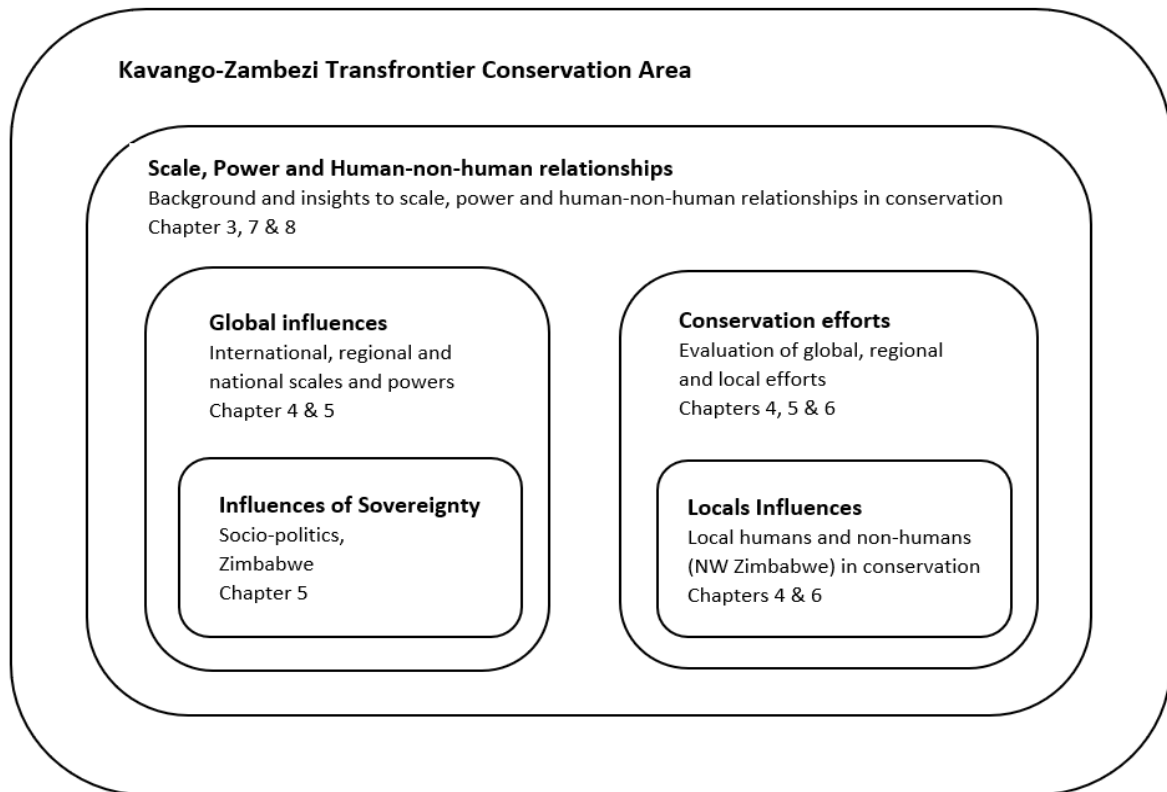
Figure 2.1: An overview of the multiple embedded case study methodology employed

Study Area

The main study area is the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (figure 2.2). Within the KAZA-TFCA landscape, I focus on the nation scale of Zimbabwe and the local scale in north west Zimbabwe, specifically Hwange District.
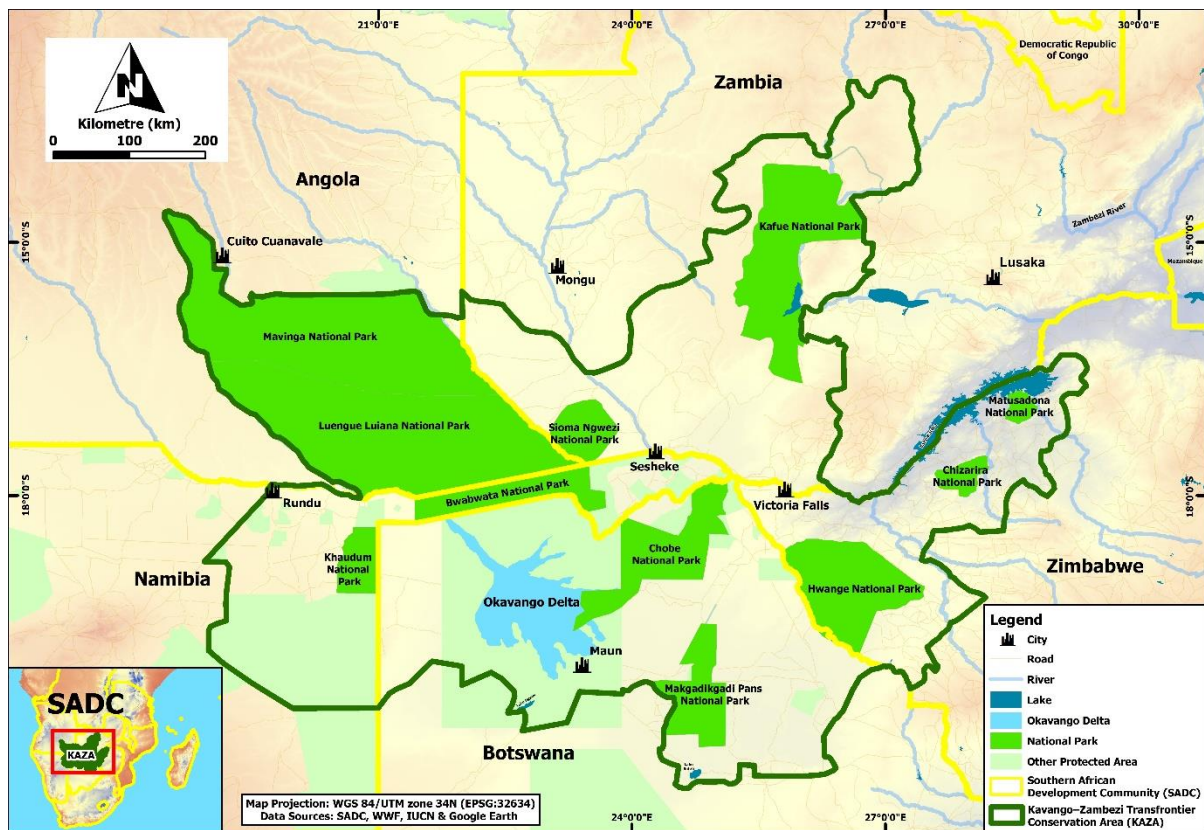
Figure 2.2: Map of KAZA-TFCA showing its location in Southern Africa as well as national parks and protected areas within the boundaries of the conservation area (Produced for the purpose of this study).

Hwange District

Hwange District (Hwange Rural as well as Hwange and Victoria Falls urban areas) is located within the Matabeleland North Province, in northwest Zimbabwe (figure 2.3). The region is a multiple land use area encompassing national parks, conservancies, protected areas, gazetted forests, game ranches and communal lands. A land use map is provided in **chapter 6** where I focus of local communities in communal lands.
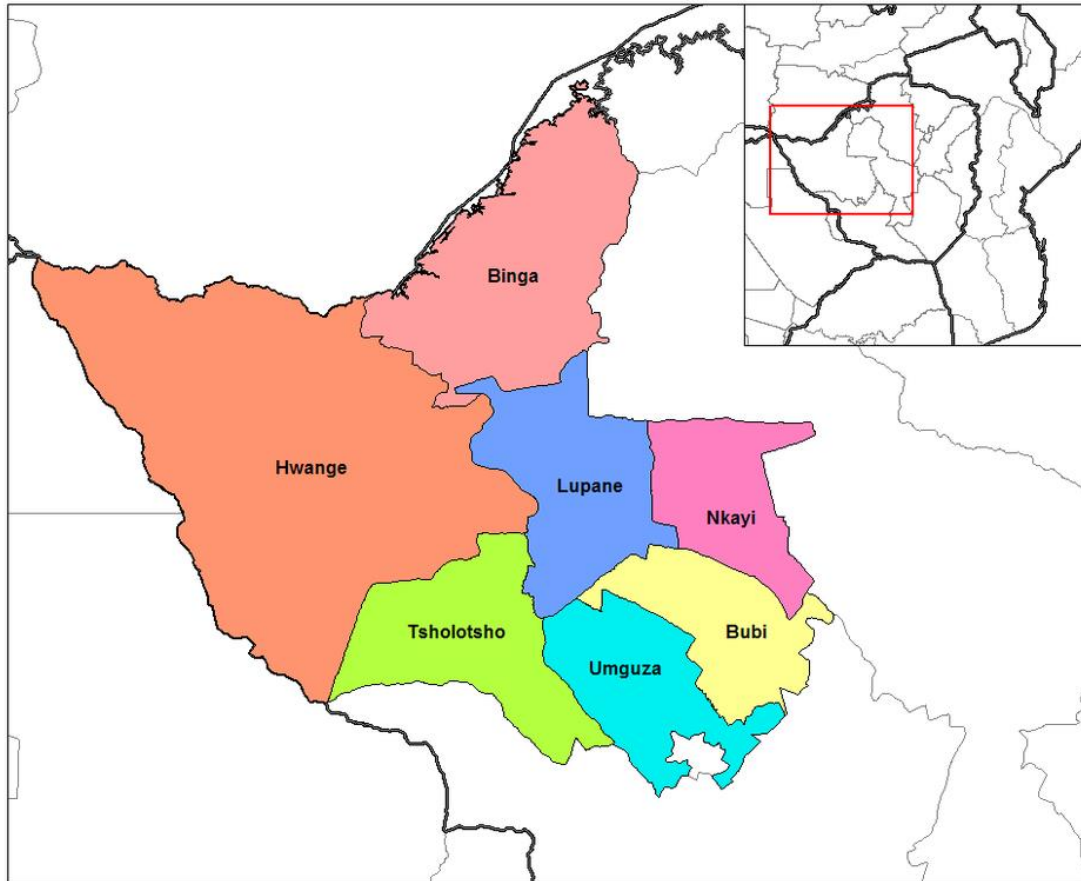
Figure 2.3: Matabeleland North province, Zimbabwe, showing the location of Hwange District (Wikipedia, 01/05/2018)

Hwange district lies in natural region IV and V (see figure 2.4) which are considered as semi-arid regions suitable for farm systems based on livestock and drought resistant fodder crops as well as forestry and wildlife/tourism (FAO, 2006). It is characterised by high temperatures of 25°C and above and rainfall of less than 450mm. Due to these unfavourable climatic conditions as well as poor soils, intensive agricultural practices are unsustainable (Nhemachena *et al.* 2014). Hwange RDC is dominated by maize production (due to it being the staple food of Zimbabwe) even though crops such as sorghum and millet would produce better than maize in this region. Livestock production and ownership is also important in the region as many people are dependent on cattle for income, food, manure, labour for ploughing and status (Nhemachena *et al.* 2014). The entire district of Hwange falls within the KAZA-TFCA.

Natural Farming Regions

I – Specialised and Diversified
Farming Region (>1000m)

IIA – Intensive Farming Region
(750 – 1000mm)

IIB – Intensive Farming Region
(750 – 1000mm)

III – Semi-Intensive Farming Region
(650 – 750mm)

IV – Semi-Extensive Farming Region
(450 – 650mm)

V – Extensive Farming Region
(<450mm)
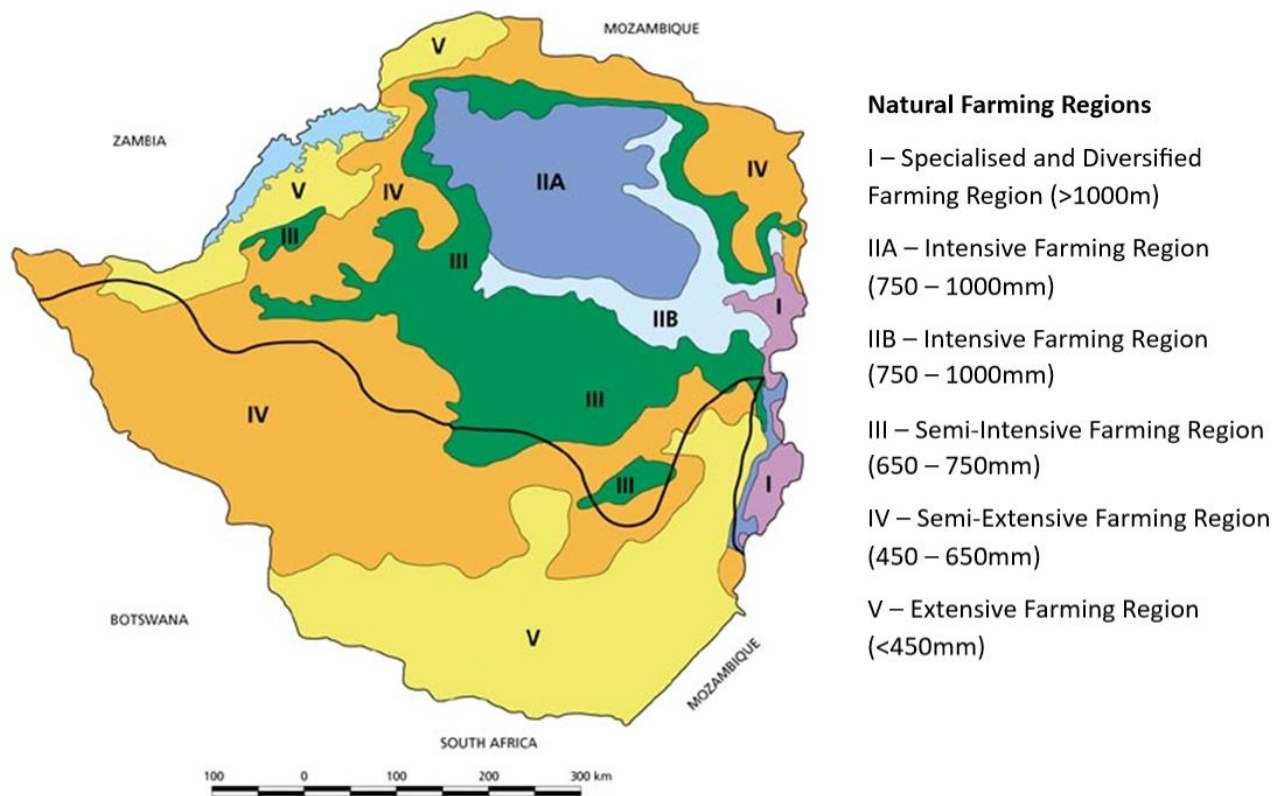
Figure 2.4: Map of Zimbabwe showing the natural regions (FAO, 2006)

Hwange district takes part in the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) (see chapter 1).

According to the 2011 national census, the district has a population of approximately 133,976 people (Zimstat, 2012). The local people who participated in the study were selected from areas within the Hwange district. The locals were from 3 areas within the Hwange RDC and from the town of Victoria Falls. In rural communities, it can be difficult to gain access due to a mistrust of strangers by the local. I had no knowledge of any of the local communities in Hwange RDC and I was unknown by the local population. However, a long-time family friend living and working in Victoria Falls had business with some of the local people in the villages around Victoria Falls and Hwange and therefore was able to help me gain access to these villages. Over the years, he had built good relationships with these villagers through doing business with them. It is important to note that no coercion or strings attached were enforced as his business with the villagers had long concluded. Having him go with me to these areas, introduce me and vouch for me to the people living in those areas made them more accepting of me and willing to participate in my research. It is through this contact that the particular

areas were chosen. As discussed in detail further in the chapter, to protect the identities of my participants the details of the areas are not revealed in this thesis.

Why KAZA-TFCA and KAZA Zimbabwe

As mentioned in the **preface**, I come from a biological science background. Most of the projects I undertook looked at abundances/populations, distributions and behaviours of non-human organisms. The projects were always focused on the organisms and never about people. As an ecologist, I knew about the impact/influence of humans on ecosystems, but I personally had not really thought about the importance of people. It was not until I started working with Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZPWMA) as a volunteer ecologist that I started questioning this separation having worked/interacted with locals in the area I was posted. I started to interrogate the power relations between parks officials and locals, the locals and wildlife, local perceptions and attitudes towards wildlife and the impacts of these attitudes. I wondered if the power relations and attitudes observed were localised to the area I was in.

As discussed in **chapter 1**, Southern African governments sought to come up with new conservation paradigms that are more politically resilient and relevant to society such as TFCAs (Suich *et al.* 2012). The idea of TFCA was fascinating to me, it was the perfect opportunity to answer some of the questions I had been pondering, how power relations, perceptions and attitudes in conservation play out at different scales.

TFCAs are multi-scaled conservation initiatives involving a range of stakeholders of differing powers and interests. They are established with the hopes of conserving and promoting equitable management of natural resources, empowering different stakeholders and economic development on a larger scale. Therefore, a case study of a TFCA will help answer key questions around how power and scale affect conservation. Most studies done on KAZA-TFCA before 2012 reviewed the KAZA-TFCA MoU, exploring the possibilities of what a TFCA as large as KAZA-TFCA could achieve and doing baseline studies before the TFCA was established (Cumming 2008, Suich *et al.* 2005, Jones 2008). Studies conducted after the establishment of KAZA-TFCA have focused on biodiversity issues such as wildlife migration and populations (Naidoo *et al.* 2014, Cushman *et al.* 2015) but none have yet focused on the various power dynamics in KAZA-TFCA nor how they are influencing conservation and development in the region. This thesis starts to address this gap.

I chose to focus on the nation-state scale of Zimbabwe due to practical reasons. As a Zimbabwean citizen I am fluent in both main local languages (Shona and Ndebele) which removed the possibilities of language barriers and communication issues with participants. Working with ZPWMA for 8 months also helped me cultivate some networks in the conservation industry in Zimbabwe that would prove helpful to my research. It also provided me with local knowledge of conservation efforts happening in Zimbabwe. However, being an ecologist and a Zimbabwean citizen affected by some of the inter-national politics discussed in this thesis, I am aware that might bias how I conducted, analysed and interpreted the data collected. Mehra (2002), argues that bias and subjectivity are commonly inevitable in qualitative research. All research is really about the researcher (Denzin, 1989), what is important is that one is aware of one's "biases, blind spots, and cognitive limitations" (Brown, 1996; p.20) and is able to move the research beyond the researcher and their situation. Although I had preconceived perceptions and biases going into this research, particularly in relation to the political situation in Zimbabwe, I worked hard to ensure my biases did not affect my research in my data analysis, interpretation and presentation of results. I made sure I reflected explicitly on my assumptions and then considered the data I collected afresh, making sure I moved beyond my biases to carefully and critically evaluate the data I collected.

Data Collection Techniques

This section explores the various techniques employed to obtain data and how they were used in the context of this research. I sought methods that would highlight the truths, realities and lived experiences about power, scale and human-non-human relationships in the context of KAZA-TFCA. Primary methods such as existing literature and material, in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, surveys, observations, keeping of research diaries and informal discussions were the core of my qualitative inquiry (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). These were supplemented by secondary methods such as analysing existing literature and collecting and analysing documentary material. These methods are detailed below in the context of this research.

Collecting Existing Literature and Material

The collection and review of existing literature and material provides history and context of the research setting. This material for analysis comes in many forms, ranging from research journals, textbooks, newspapers, to formal policy documents, minutes from meetings,

pictures or political speeches (Marshall & Rossman, 1999). Secondary data was collected from the internet, university libraries, research centres, academics, resource centres, NGOs and government offices. The timeframe and scope of a PhD does not always allow for the collection of data first-hand. I therefore had to make use of the wealth of information and data that others have collected over the years. Through searches from these sources, I managed to collect a wealth of literature and material for my thesis. I collected data from the KAZA Secretariat in Kasane in Botswana on the Integrated Development Plans (IDPs), background information on KAZA-TFCA, and current and possible future projects. I obtained data on how the political situation in Zimbabwe has affected donor funding from the Zimbabwean Parliament Library in Harare, and international institutional websites including the World Bank and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). I also obtained data on work done in local communities from pamphlets and books by NGOs including Wilderness Safaris.

Textual analysis was used as a tool to interpret and understand the meaning of texts through identification, construction and deconstruction of assumptions that challenge meanings and is an essential part of discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003, Stern 1996, Hsieh & Shannon 2005). I drew on key scholars working on TFCA (Duffy, 2001, 2005, 2006; Hanks, 2003, 2015; Munthali, 2007; Ramutsindela, 2004, 2005, 2007a, b, c; Noe, 2010, 2015; Wolmer, 2003) to identify discourses influencing natural resource use and management in transboundary conservation and these are woven through **chapters 4, 5 and 6**.

Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the main research technique used to collect empirical evidence. Semi-structured rather than structured interviews were used because structured interviews strictly stick to pre-planned questions and this was too rigid for this research. Semi-structured interviews are more open-ended, allowing for flexibility depending on the responses and expertise of the participant and are more suitable to capturing people's views and perceptions (Yin, 1994). Semi-structured interviews allow the interviewer and the interviewee to construct stories and truths from the context of the interviewee. The aim of these interviews was to gather the perceptions and lived experiences of some of the stakeholders involved in the KAZA-TFCA and these may have been limited with a more structured approach.

In line with the theme of power, interviews highlighted the interplay of power between the interviewer and interviewee. The interviewer, whose power is in the authority as a seeker of knowledge and methodological expertise, and the interviewee, whose power rests on their authority as a privileged knower (Nunkoosing, 2005). At times, as the interviewer, I was in a more empowered position as I seemed to have more knowledge on the issue than the interviewee. This was most evident with some local communities who had no knowledge on KAZA-TFCA. Their lack of knowledge was an insight in itself into the power dynamics and stakeholder involvement that exist in KAZA-TFCA. However, it is important to note that power dynamics could change within a single interview, for example, a local informant with no knowledge of KAZA-TFCA could have local knowledge of elephants' movement making them more empowered than myself.

There is no set acceptable sample size in qualitative research. Qualitative research is concerned with the richness of information obtained from exploring the range of perceptions and different representations of an issue. The sample size is therefore ambiguous and dependent on the nature of the topic and what the research seeks to find (O'Rielly & Parker, 2012; Patton, 2002). Patton (2002, p. 242-243) captures this ambiguity in this quote from his work on qualitative methodology:

> *Qualitative inquiry is rife with ambiguities. There are purposeful strategies instead of methodological rules. There are inquiry approaches instead of statistical formulas. Qualitative inquiry seems to work best for people with a high tolerance for ambiguity … Nowhere is this ambiguity clearer than in the matter of sample size … There are no rules for sample size in qualitative inquiry. Sample size depends on what you want to know, the purpose of the inquiry, what's at stake, what will be useful, what will have credibility, and what can be done with available time and resources.*

Qualitative researchers seek information rich cases, contexts and participants to help them understand the phenomena being studied. For the purposes of this study, I conducted 56 semi-structured interviews with participants from a range of different stakeholder groups. I used a purposive sampling technique to identify possible participants from the KAZA Secretariat, partner organisations, government institutions, NGOs and ZPWMA. Purposive sampling allows researchers to target participants that have information that is specific to the context. I also relied on recommendations from participants to identify other participants.

In the first phase of the research, I interviewed twelve participants from the KAZA Secretariat, experts from university institutions, technical advisory organisation, NGOs, SADC and partner organisations (**see appendix 2**). In the second phase, I interviewed forty-three participants from Zimbabwe. The interviewees were from a wide spectrum from state and local government, international organisations, NGOs, scientists, park managers, rangers and professional guides, traditional leaders and locals (**see appendix 3**). An additional interviewee was recruited and interviewed outside the phase I and II periods to help fill data gaps and enrich the data (**see appendix 2**). Table 2.1 shows a summary of interviewee categories selected to achieve widespread variation and obtain the perspectives and experiences of different human stakeholders.

Table 2.1: Semi-structured interviews participants

Participant Category	Number of interviewees
KAZA secretariat	5
NGO officials	8
Technical and financial advisory	7
Government officials	3
Parks officials	8
District officials and leaders	2
Scientists/researchers	5
Professional guides and tourism operators	1
Local people	17
Total	56

Following ethics processes approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (see below) before each interview, I provided the interviewee an information and consent form (**see appendix 4**) which I went through with the interviewee. I obtained informed consent for participation before proceeding with the interview. I also obtained consent to record the interview and took detailed notes during the interviews. Each interview was scheduled for an hour, however, the times for the specific interviews varied depending on the expertise of the interviewee and how much they had to say. The times varied from approximately 20mins to 1hr 50mins. A semi-structured interview proforma was used which

was modified to suit the different groups who were interviewed (**see Appendix 5 for an example**).

My interviewees' views and opinions served as narratives used to illuminate the ways relationships between people and the environment are viewed. My interviewees' position in the hierarchy of management and across national boundaries highlighted the ways in which power dynamics, politics and cultural differences play a key role in ideas and practices of conservation. Interviewing participants up and down the hierarchy ladder revealed consistencies and tensions amongst the different power positions.

Focus Groups

Focus group discussions are a commonly used data collection technique in social science studies (Morgan, 1997, 2002). A focus group is a group of people that have been brought together by the researcher to explore and discuss specific issues being researched from a point of personal experience (Powell & Single, 1996; Kitzinger, 1994). The size of focus groups varies but there is a consensus of an average of 6 to 12 people. Focus groups are used to explore issues that affect a specific group by discussing people's experiences. Focus groups allow for participants to interactively discuss and deliberate on their experiences and perceptions towards a certain issue (Stringer, 2007; Kitzinger 1995). The use of an interactive method between participants can also highlight subcultural values or group norms (Kitzinger, 1995). Focus group discussions are led by a facilitator, usually the researcher, whose role is to facilitate open, uninhibited dialogue between participants to get the most out of the focus group. The facilitator uses probing techniques to stimulate free debate and discussion amongst the participants about set issues, a process that sometimes takes the research in new and unexpected directions (Powell & Single, 1996). The following reflective comments by one of the participants in one of my focus groups confirms this claim:

> *It was great to gather here and talk about some of the issues that affect us, and it was great to hear how we can combat some of the problems raised such as the issue of lions, at least I am not the only one who wants something to be done about these lions* (Focus group 1 participant – 09/2017).

Successful and productive focus group discussions occur when research participants are provided with opportunities to deliberate extensively about their experiences and perceptions (Stringer 2007).

All focus group discussions were conducted in the second phase of the fieldwork with people living in the local areas at the time of the focus group discussion. Table 2.2 shows a summary of the focus groups, the number of people in each group and how long the discussions were.

Table 2.2: Focus Group participants

Participant Category	Number of interviewees	Duration
Focus group 1	8	65 mins
Focus group 2	9	58mins
Focus group 3	4	42mins
Focus group 4	5	51mins

A total of 4 focus group discussions were conducted with groups involving a total of 26 people (21 men and 5 women). With focus groups 1 and 2, I approached individuals I had interviewed before and asked them to participate in the focus group discussion. I then asked them to suggest other potential participants for the focus group who could provide rich insights into the dynamics of community engagement in the area. Not all the individual participants participated in the focus group and not all focus group participants had individual interviews. With focus group 3, I approached individuals that were working with one of the scientists I had interviewed and asked them to participate in a focus group discussion. Focus group 4 was a group of professional guides working in the region.

The focus group discussions ranged from 40 minutes to an hour. Like the semi-structured interviews, informed consent was obtained from the participants before the discussions started. The discussions were recorded (with consent from participants) and written notes taken of the main discourses that were emerging from the discussions. The purpose of each of the focus groups was to generate data and insights from group interaction, particularly around local peoples' perceptions of KAZA-TFCA, wildlife and conservation efforts in their areas, power relations and interaction between the locals and 'authority' institutions such as ZPWMA and KAZA-TFCA. These are themes that emerged from individual interviews with local people. The focus groups discussions enriched data obtained from the interviews. I assured

my participants that no personal identifying information would be used in my write-up and that none of them would be named personally without explicit consent. Focus groups were an effective method to obtain insight into how the locals in similar contexts perceive and engage with issues affecting them. With some focus groups the discussion become so positively animated between the participants that as the facilitator, I became a complete outsider to the conversation.

Survey

Groves *et al.* (2011) define surveys as a method of gathering information from a sample of individuals to ascertain quantitative descriptors of the larger population which the individuals belong to. Surveys use a standardised method of collecting information so that everyone is asked the same question in the same way.

I conducted a brief survey during phase 2 of my research with random tourists, local people and participants of the study. A total of 139 people participated in the survey. Of the 139 people, 39 were tourists, 26 were locals from the RDC and 30 were local from the urban centres of Victoria Falls and Hwange. The other 44 people were from different organisations, institutions and government departments. The purpose of the survey was to determine how much people from different backgrounds knew about TFCAs and KAZA-TFCA. It sought to ascertain how widespread knowledge of TFCAs is. Who knows about TFCAs, is it just the people directly involved? One of the objectives of KAZA-TFCA is to "d*evelop the KAZA-TFCA into a world-class tourism destination offering a variety of breath-taking adventures and luxurious relaxation",* so my survey focused on how well KAZA-TFCA had been advertised and whether tourists knew about it. KAZA-TFCA is also determined to improve livelihoods of local communities in the region through engagement with local communities and programmes that ensure sustainable use of natural resources by locals; my survey asked whether locals know about this.

I introduced myself to each of the participants and told them briefly about my study and that I was conducting a survey to help answer some of the questioned raised in the study. The survey participants were then asked to verbally consent to participating in the survey. Each participant was asked:

1. Whether they knew what TFCAs are and what their purpose is?

2. If they knew what KAZA-TFCA is, and how they knew about it?

Attendance at Symposiums on KAZA-TFCA and TFCAs

I attended two symposiums held in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe, one on KAZA-TFCA and one on north western Zimbabwe which is part of KAZA-TFCA. The first symposium, *State of KAZA-TFCA Symposium*, was hosted by the KAZA Secretariat celebrating 10-years since the signing of the KAZA-TFCA MoU. It was held in Victoria Falls from the 31 October the 2 November 2016. The Symposium:

> *… brought together governments, traditional authorities, transboundary natural resource forums, conservation and development NGOs, conservation biologists and other scientists to share experiences, learn from each other and map a way forward for integrated conservation and sustainable development in the KAZA-TFCA as an economic option for the region integration and development* (KAZA-TFCA website).

This Symposium provided a wealth of data on the state of KAZA-TFCA, on what had been achieved since the signing of the MoU and what the plans for the future were.

The second symposium, *Symposium on harnessing landscape connectivity and ecosystem resilience for sustainable socio-economic development in north western Zimbabwe*, was hosted by the World-Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) Zimbabwe. I was invited to attend this symposium by the WWF Country Director after interviewing officials from the organisation as part of my research. The Symposium was held from 23-25 August 2017 at the Kingdom Hotel in Victoria Falls. The Symposium focused on north western Zimbabwe as a landscape for conservation and sustainable socio-economic growth. It provided insight into what Zimbabwe is doing within the KAZA-TFCA landscape in terms of conservation and social development with, and independent of, KAZA-TFCA.

I also attended a third symposium hosted by the University of Cape Town's Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences: The International Symposium on the Dialectics and Paradoxes of Peace Parks in Southern Africa. The symposium ran from the 15-16 February 2018. The symposium was attended by conservationists and TFCA scholars and students working in TFCAs in Southern Africa. This symposium provided insights into ideologies, experiences, and perceptions on not just KAZA-TFCA but on other TFCAs in the region.

The symposiums were a great opportunity to participate in and observe how the different stakeholders interact with one another and the decision-making process involved with mapping out plans for future projects (KAZA-TFCA symposium). Participant observation gave me an insight into issues that cannot be quite articulated in interviews. Participant observation allows the researcher to be immersed into the setting of the social world chosen for the study and to "hear, see and begin to experience realities as the participants do" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999: p. 106). For example, the traditional authorities at the 10-year KAZA-TFCA symposium were supposedly representative of the local communities. However, the fact that the local communities themselves were not invited to the symposium is telling of the depth of involvement of local communities in KAZA-TFCA's decision-making processes. Merriam & Tisdell (2015) argue that observation provides first-hand encounter with the phenomena, rather than second-hand information obtained through interviews, which might not reveal some of the tensions experienced first-hand. When used in conjunction with interviews, observations can help understand unclear phenomena from interviews.

Observation and Keeping a Research Journal

Observation is a fundamental and highly important part of qualitative research. Observation occurs during other data collection techniques and is in every part of field research. In focus group discussions and in-depth interviews, the researcher does not only listen to the words spoken but "*notes the interviewee's body language and affect in addition to her words*" (Marshall & Rossman, 1999: p. 107). Observational data is recorded as field notes as well as in a research journal.

Keeping a research journal is a useful technique for critical reflection. Critical reflexivity is a process of self-analysis of one's self as a researcher and the research process (Dowling, 2000), it is an interrogation of one's claims and knowledge as a researcher:

> *Your efforts to be reflexive will be enhanced if you keep a research diary. The contents of a research diary are slight different from those of a fieldwork diary. While a fieldwork diary, or field notes, contains your qualitative data – including observations, conservations and maps – a research diary is a place for recording your reflexive observations. It contains your thoughts and ideas about the research process, its social context and your role in it* (Dowling, 2010: p. 31).

I kept a research journal where I recorded research events and activities, dates and meetings with participants, the people involved and my own reflections of the process. Scholars acknowledge that the use of journal writing as a research tool is useful for reflecting on one's biases (Coghlan & Brannick, 2005; Elliot, 1993). The journal enabled me to reflect on what was happening around me, the research process, my interactions with the participants and my biases towards some of the participants. The following entries confirms this:

> *Today I attended the last day of the symposium and as I was reflecting on what I had heard and learnt, I realised that local communities 'voices' were not heard as much as the other voices* (02/11/2016).

> *I interviewed a researcher today and as I was listening to him talk I started to think that he might have a bit of a god complex and an entitled superiority over the local people....I instinctively disliked him for that.* (10/2017).

Critical reflection allows the researcher to acknowledge their own biases and positionality and how this influences the research. Through critical reflection, the researcher can understand how their positionality constrains or enhances their research process (Dowling, 2000). Qualitative research is subjective, the researcher brings part of themselves to the data collection, analysis and writing. Critical reflection helps in understanding how much of my own truths and realities are influencing my research interactions. Self-reflection allows me to understand how my truths and realities and experiences as a researcher influenced the research process and hence the story told here.

During the fieldwork, I also made an effort to pay attention to the non-humans in KAZA-TFCA. I observed the landscapes, the rivers – water levels and flows and organisms within them, the wildlife and the livestock. I took photographs and videos of some of the non-humans and recorded my reflections of the non-human in my diary.

Informal Interactions

After the Symposium held in Cape Town, I was invited to stay on at the University of Cape Town (UCT) as a visiting scholar. I joined Professor Ramutsindela, a key scholar on TFCAs in Southern Africa, in his lab for a 4 week stay. During my time there, I had informal interactions with some of the students at UCT who were also working on TFCAs and conservation in

Southern Africa. I documented insights from these interactions in my journal as confirmed by this journal entry reflecting on the research process:

I spent the afternoon chatting with a colleague who is also doing her research on KAZA-TFCA. It was interesting to learn that I am not the only one failing to obtain information from some of the bureaucrats. She seems to be failing to get some relevant information from the KAZA secretariat as well (02/03/2018).

It was very interesting to learn what other people were working on in terms of TFCAs and to learn about the similarities and differences experienced by each of the researchers, as well their participants, especially with people working on the same TFCA but from different countries' perspectives. Attending the symposiums also gave me an opportunity for informal interactions with people who were attending the conferences.

My informal interactions were not limited to colleagues. Some of the less formal interactions were also had with participants and other guests at the lodge where I was staying during breakfast or dinner while seated at the table. I also had a lot of informal conversations on issues related to my research and conservation with different family members, who gave consent to use our discussions in the thesis, as highlighted by the mother's comment regarding local people perceptions of conservation:

We grew up with these animals, growing up, people in the village knew how to use animals sustainably. People took what they needed, knowing that in order for the wild to keep giving, you had to take responsibly.

Analysing data

For a vast area like KAZA-TFCA, 139 people is too small of a sample size to be representative of the entire KAZA-TFCA area. However, the data shed some light on knowledge of KAZA-TFCA and TFCAs in general by the local communities I interviewed. Survey data was analysed using Microsoft excel. The people were categorised into local (urban), local (rural), government, local government, traditional leaders, NGOs and partner institutions, Parks officials and rangers, tour operators, professional guides, researchers, tourists and international institutions. I calculated the percentages of those who knew and did not know about the TFCAs and KAZA-TFCA and described which category they belonged to.

The interviews, focus group discussions, informal conversations and my reflective diary entries were analysed using manual techniques. Data was systematically compiled into themes. I coded the data looking for common issues based on participants' experiences about KAZA-TFCA, conservation, authority, wildlife attitudes. Coding is viewed as an important part of qualitative data analysis as it allows the researcher to identify themes that emerge from the interviews (Creswell, 2007). Some of the themes overlapped with more than one theme being awarded for specific section in the data. Table 2.3 provides an example of the themes applied to the data from two different interviews, one with a local government official and the other with a local farmer. Some of the data, especially with the locals, was translated to English from Shona or Ndebele. The translation was completed by myself. Some challenges arose from translating interviews from Shona/Ndebele to English. Some statements/sayings in the local language lose their meaning or have less of an impact when translated to English.

Table 2.3: Examples of emerging themes from interview extracts

Source	Response	Themes
Local gov official	As the RDC, we were extensively consulted on KAZA-TFCA and we have various special projects coming through that will be funded by KAZA-TFCA e.g. the restocking of Sidinda in ward 8 and the development of an arts and craft centre in Mabale ward 17. In order of these projects to be successful, we need buy-in from the communities therefore community consultation is very important.	• Consultation • Support from KAZA-TFCA • Importance of locals
Local farmer	We are visitors in the land of the lions. This past month (August 2017), I have had 4 of my cattle killed and eaten by lions. I have reported and registered the issue with the police and national parks but nothing has happened....Campfire	• Human Wildlife Conflict • Lack of support from authorities • Attitude towards wildlife

provides no help for the people, there is no compensation for my dead cattle. Back during the white people government, we at least got help with problem animal control, now Parks does not often respond and provide excuses like no fuel or car. I have heard of this conservation agriculture business which would supposedly help protect my livestock, but I have no idea what it is. It would be good if the 'experts' could come and teach us these things and show us how it is done.	• Lack of knowledge in combating HWC • Role of experts

The process of data analysis was iterative and cyclical. I found myself coming back to both the original data, written note, transcripts and listening to the taped interviews over and over again to help me re-immerse myself in the realities of my participants. It was a process of analysing, reflecting, interpreting and writing, reflecting and the cycle would start all over again with analysing. Marshall & Rossman (1999), argue that data analysis is never straightforward and linear as reflected by the quote below:

> *Data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and interpretation to the mass of collected data. It is a messy, ambiguous, time-consuming, creative and fascinating process. It does not proceed in a linear fashion; it is not neat* (p.150).

Qualitative data is very subjective. As mentioned above, the researcher brings part of themselves in the data collection, interpretation and writing. This sentiment is captured by Morrow (2005):

> *In direct contrast to quantitative research traditions, which view objectivity as a goal or, at a minimum, as an aspiration, qualitative researchers acknowledge that the very nature of the data we gather and the analytic processes in which we engage are grounded in subjectivity* (p. 254).

My social positioning influenced how this data was interpreted. Due to the subjectivity of social research, my interpretation of the data will probably differ from those of some of my readers. However, it is important that those interpretations be justifiable. It is not just enough to present my interpretation of the data; the reader needs to understand why I have interpreted the data in the manner that I have interpreted it. Reflexivity plays an important role in data interpretation, as it "relates to the degree of influence the researcher exerts, either intentionally or unintentionally, on the findings" (Jootun *et al.* 2009; p. 42). The reflection process must therefore be part of the research process as trying to understand how one's views and opinions may influence findings adds credibility to the research.

Ethical Considerations

Gaining Access in Zimbabwe

During my time with ZPWMA, I cultivated some contacts and networks that would prove helpful in undertaking my research in Zimbabwe. These networks provided access to ZPWMA and KAZA Zimbabwe. My uncle also worked as the Permanent Secretary for Environment a long time ago and has a wealth of connections in the environmental sector, some extending outside of Zimbabwe that I could tap into. Some of these connections were connections I did not even know about but found out about when I showed up for the interview as highlighted by the conservation below I had with one of my regional informants:

> Informant: *So, you are from Mberengwa?*
>
> Me: *Yes, how did you know that, my business card does not indicate that?*
>
> Informant: *I have known about you for a while, your 'father'[7] used to tell me that he has a daughter who is interested in wildlife and conservation. When I saw your name in the email request, I had a gut feeling it was you because the last time I saw him, he told me you were interested in pursuing your PhD.*

Also, as discussed above, access to the local communities was through a family friend who had done business with these local communities and was known to them. The relationships he had cultivated with the locals made them more welcoming and accepting of me, a stranger, as they trust him. Although some of the bureaucrats knew who I was as they had worked with

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[7] In the Shona culture, my paternal uncle is my father.

my uncle previously and some of the local communities had done business with a family friend, I had no previous knowledge or communication with these people other than communication to setup the interviews. I was therefore able to maintain objectivity as I had no close relationships with the research subjects.

Obtaining Consent

Due to the nature of my fieldwork design, I submitted two formal ethics applications to the Macquarie University's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) for approval. Each phase of the fieldwork had its own ethics approval (**see appendix 1**) and fieldwork commenced only after I had obtained ethics approval. The HREC operates in accordance to the Australian National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007) which imposes responsibilities on the researcher to comply and respect the rights of the research participants. It outlines the values and principles of ethical conduct, research merit and integrity, justice, beneficence and respect, that the researcher must comply with (p. 9-11 of the Statement).

In Zimbabwe, I contacted the Research Council of Zimbabwe to seek permission for conducting fieldwork in Zimbabwe. However, I was informed that as a Zimbabwe citizen I did not require consent from them but would require consent from the different institutions and government departments within my scope.

I obtained a research permit from ZPWMA to carry out research within the boundaries of the parks estate (**appendix 6**). I obtained consent from the Ministry of Rural Development, Promotion and Preservation of National Culture and Heritage (**see appendix 7**) to conduct research in the Hwange RDC and had to sign the declaration of secrecy which is guided by the Public Service Act [Chapter 16:04], the Official Secrets Act [Chapter 11:09], the Prevention of Corruption Act [Chapter 9:16] and the Access to Information and Protection of Privacy Act [5 of 2000].

Informed Consent from Participants

Informed consent from participants is key to ethical research. Informed consent is a lot more than the participant agreeing to be interviewed. The researcher must fully disclose the research and intentions to the participants and the research participants have to understand the information disclosed to them before participation can commence (Dowling 2000). With all interviews and focus group discussion, I obtained informed consent from the participants

before the interview or discussion. I explained to them what my research was about, what they could expect from me as the researcher and what I expected of them as participants, how much of their time I required. I stressed that this was voluntary and that even after consenting, they had the right to pull out of the study at any time with giving a reason or fear of repercussions. All my participants, for both formal interviews and informal conservations, in this study were voluntary.

Some of the locals were English illiterate and, in such cases, I translated the information on the information and consent from for them in either Shona or Ndebele (I am fluent in both languages), depending on what the participant preferred. Some of the local people did not understand the formality of obtaining and receiving consent and were not comfortable with signing the forms out of fear of their participation being made public. I explained to them the best I could that it was for their protection as well as mine and that it would guide our researcher/participant relationship. I reiterated that the consent would protect their identities as there was a confidentiality and anonymity clause in the consent form. I accommodated participants' fears of signing forms and acknowledged verbal consent.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

Respecting the privacy of the participants is another key element to ethical research. Dowling (2000) argues that conducting qualitative research often involves revealing issues about your participants that are customary considered private. Therefore, it is important to ensure that the research does not enable others to identify your participants. However, it is important to note that when dealing with public figures, it is not always possible to maintain anonymity. Discussion of confidentiality and anonymity is a crucial part of informed consent. As part of the informed consent, I went through privacy issues with my participants (see figure 2.5).

Privacy Policy:

The recordings done during the interviews will be used for further qualitative data analysis, for my PhD and associated publications on the KAZA TFCA. However, nothing you tell me today will be shared with anyone outside the research team and nothing will be attributed to you by name without your consent.

Anonymity:

I wish to be identified by a pseudonym ☐

I wish to be de-identified ☐

Recording of the interview:

I consent to an audio recording ☐

Figure 2.5: An extract from the information and consent form (appendix 4) on privacy issues.

Some of the participants voiced fears of repercussions for speaking out and were adamant that the only way they would participate in the study was if they remained anonymous and their voices would not be traced back to them. It was important for me to highlight to my participants that they could still participate in the study even if they wished to remained anonymous.

Protecting my Participants

Some of the information provided by some of the participants was controversial. To protect the identities of my participants, especially the local people at community level, the names of the places within the RDC have been changed to generic names. This allows for the protection of the villages where some villagers raised controversial points of view that might lead to backlash from certain authorities, for example:

Parks is very unhelpful when it comes to problem animals. We constantly get our cattle killed or our crops damaged by wildlife and we are not compensated. So, if a poacher comes in and kills a lion that has been eating my cows or an elephant that has been destroying my crops, why should I report them to the authorities when they have done me a big favour of removing the problem animal? (Interview: local person, 09/2017).

These young boys know when there are people (poachers) that are not from here that have entered the area. They see them when they are out herding cattle but without any incentives or benefits from wildlife, why should they care or report the presence of these people. If the animals are killed (poached), it does not affect them because they

were not getting anything from those animals anywhere (Interview: local person, 09/2017).

Comments like these might lead to some of these local people being viewed as accessories after the fact or as helping the poachers by not reporting them. As such I have ensured that local participants cannot be personally identified, and that the location of the villages are not shared.

I also acknowledge that as the story teller, the way I tell the story of my participants' perceptions has the potential to change how these people are viewed by others. However, as controversial or risky as some of the views and opinions might be, it is my responsibility as the researcher to adhere to the ethical principle of justice that recognises the vulnerability of some of my participants, protects those participants and still allows their voices to be part of the conversation. Therefore, to protect my participants, the names of the communities have been changed, especially considering that some of the participants had voiced fears of repercussions for speaking out.

Power as a Researcher and Writer

You are not the first to come and talk to/ask us questions about these issues. As researchers, you have been researching on issues affecting rural communities for years and writing books about it and yet nothing has changed.....so what is the use of you going to school and doing all this research if it amounts to nothing in terms of changing the status quo? (Interview: local person, 09/2017).

In my limited experience, the academic process of research tends to focus on producing results for academic consumption. The highly specialised languages and forms of results such as presentations, international symposiums, journal publications and academic theses tend to exclude the 'person on the ground' from the conversation. This was highlighted by the comment above made by an old man in a village in north west Zimbabwe who will likely never have access to academic research results.

In the PhD context, students can be more worried about fulfilling the institutional commitments of completing their thesis in the set timeframe than the ethical commitments to the people 'on the ground', and even if this is a concern it can be difficult due to time, financial and logistical constraints to go back to the 'field' and implement their results. The

comment from the old man forced to me to re-evaluate my contribution to local empowerment

As with conducting the research, writing about the research is important. Stories are very powerful, this thesis is a story and as the writer of this story, I have a responsibility to do justice to the different stories that were shared with me and that I learnt through this PhD journey. The power and importance of storytelling is captured in Adichie's (2009) quote below from her TED talk 'the danger of a single story':

> How stories are told, who tells them, when they are told, how many stories are told are really dependent on power … Many stories matter. Stories have been used to dispossess and to malign, but stories can also be used to empower and to humanise. Stories can break the dignity of a people, but stories can also repair that broken dignity.

We each carry conscious and unconscious biases that shape who we are and how we believe and understand things. Our experiences shape our beliefs and since our experiences differ, our beliefs will probably differ too. To understand others with different backgrounds, beliefs and understandings, I needed to recognise and accept my biases and learn to appreciate others' perspectives by exploring their lived experiences.

Reflections

Difficulties in Obtaining Data

With some organisations and government departments, protocols are in place for disseminating information to researchers. These protocols are in place to alleviate fears of disseminating information to "media outlets who pose as students to get information, only to find yourself quoted in the newspaper the following day" (Interview: Government official, 08/2017). However, even with these protocols in place, I still found it difficult to obtain data from some government departments. For example, I requested financial data from the KAZA Secretariat who informed me that I had to write an official request. I did, but got no response. The executive team went through a change-over while I was still conducting my research. I sent the request through to the new executive team and still got no response.

Other informants were adamant in differentiating their views from those of the organisation that they were representing, as highlighted by the quote below:

Now I am not speaking on behalf of [organisation], this is just my personal view on the matter. I am speaking as a fellow scientist who believes that there is more that organisations like ours ought to be doing for local communities. The profits we make from the landscape are staggering and yet what we put back into the landscape is insignificant – (Interview: NGO official, 09/2017).

Comments like this one made me wonder whether the reluctance to participate by some people stemmed from fears of misrepresenting the organisations or being misquoted or unknowingly providing information that they should not divulge. I especially wondered about the 'divulging information' part of it with regards to Zimbabwe civil servants who are made to sign the declaration of secrecy.

I also found it difficult to secure interviews with potential participants, especially those in government and PPF. The higher up in the government hierarchy, the more difficult it was to obtain an interview due to the "*very busy schedules*" of the individuals. Most of the government officials did not bother to respond to my emails and some of the responses came several months after my initial email. With regards to PPF, I made several attempts at obtaining interviews. The people at PPF would engage in the initial communications but when it came to setting up the actual interviews, they either cancelled on me or stopped responding to my communication attempts. I did manage to secure an interview with Mr Sedia Modise who is a PPF consultant but was unable to secure any other interviews. As a key player, PPF would have provided essential information especially on the negotiation of KAZA-TFCA and the funding or lack of for Zimbabwe. I reflect on these gaps in the thesis.

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter was to provide the research design and methodology employed in the research. The chapter discussed the case study design and the selection criteria for the case study, focusing on a description of the study areas.

The data collection techniques were then described. These included, analysis of existing literature and material, in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, surveys, participation at symposium observations and keeping of research journal throughout the data collection period and informal discussions. The thematic data analysis employed was described as well as the ethical considerations employed.

The following chapter provides a review of the literature on power, scale and human-non-human relationships/multiple perspectives in natural resource management and nature conservation. Understanding of the nature of power in conservation spheres is of importance to the understanding of stakeholder interactions, participation, exclusionary dynamics and influences on conservation outcomes which will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Scale is an essential concept in geographic analysis, particularly in conservation where cross-scale process can influence scale interactions. Scale transformation is also of particular importance in the study of TFCAs as TFCAs represent a shift/transformation of single protected areas to multiple protected area landscapes and transformation of national scales into a supranational scale (Noe, 2015; Ramutsindela, 2007c). Chapter 3 also provides a review of nature-society relationships in the study of nature and conservation. TFCAs embody a shift from 'fortress conservation' tactics, that completely excluded people, to a strategy that moves to reconsolidate social-ecological systems thus challenging the human-nature duality.

Chapter 3: Power, Scale and Multiple Perspectives in Natural Resource Management and Nature Conservation

Introduction

The thesis evaluates and critically analyses the power relations which exist between the different human, and non-human, stakeholders at different scales within KAZA-TFCA. The outcomes of these power relations and scale effects are analysed in terms of influence and participation by the different stakeholders giving insight into how scale impacts upon power dynamics and shapes human and non-human relationships.

In order to frame my approach to power and scale and how they impact upon human and non-human relationships, it is important to perform an in-depth literature review of power, scale and human-non-human dynamics. The objective of this chapter is to gain an understanding of how all of these elements interrelate and impact upon each other.

Hence, this chapter discusses different views of power and scale, then more specifically the relational nature of both concepts. The relationality of power and scale are framed within a poststructuralist paradigm. Poststructuralism posits that there is no one truth or one reality, meaning has come to be understood as not fixed, but as historically and culturally specific. (Harcourt 2007). Truths, realities and knowledges are socially constructed through relationships and people's experiences. This aligns with relational views of power and scale – whereby relational effects of interaction are traced through relationships and connections.

This chapter also discusses how power dynamics influence and shape participation by stakeholders in conservation spheres. With **chapter 4** focusing on non-human roles in the creation of KAZA-TFCA and **chapter 6** focusing on more nuanced understanding of how power flows through and shapes human and non-human relationships from a more local perspective, this chapter also discusses human and non-human relationships paying particular attention to the society-nature dualisms that dominated conservation in the colonial era and how this has become a problem for modern day conservation strategies. To assist with an unsettling of the nature-society dualism, this chapter discusses Anna Tsing's concept of assemblages as it challenges the separation of humans and non-humans.

Exploring Power

Power is a contested concept with vast diversity in ideas resulting in different theories put forward to explain it. This section provides a sense of the scholarly debate on the issue of power. I start this review by looking at the different definitions of power and provide a general overview of the different views of power. I am interested in how these views address the nature of power and how this informs and illuminates the subsequent discussion of power in conservation. It is not intended to be an exhaustive review of power.

The Macquarie Dictionary defines 25 different types of power from mathematics to physics, from electricity/energy to politics, authority, influence and control. They all have the term power and they use the term to mean different things. The diverse definitions of power are what make the term so contested in literature. Due to the debate over power's definition, when discussing power, it is important to note whose power one is referring to.

According to Sadan (2004), modern thinking on power began with the writings of Thomas Hobbes who viewed power in the context of sovereignty and conceptualised it as centralised, stemming from a single unit (Clegg, 1989). For Hobbes, "the ultimate backing for power is violence and coercion over which the Sovereign holds a monopoly" (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009 p.2). This domination view of power has been reformulated by many other theorists. For instance, theorists such as Max Weber, Robert Dahl and Peter Blau all view power as one's ability to impose one's will on others. Weber (1947) defined power as:

> The probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in a position to carry out his own will despite resistance, regardless of the basis on which this probability rests (1947, p. 152) and the possibility of imposing one's will upon the behaviour of other persons (1954, p. 323).

His work on power was based on bureaucracy and linked to authority and rule. He discussed power in the context of organisational thinking (Sadan, 2004). Continuing with Weber's approach to power that is linked to authority and rule, Dahl (1957) defined power as:

> My intuitive idea of power, then, is something like this: A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do (p. 202).

However, unlike Weber, Dahl situated his views on power within the boundaries of an actual community where power is exercised by the ruling elite within that community (Sadan, 2004). Like Weber and Dahl, Blau (1967) conceptualised power as 'power over' and defined power as:

> *The ability of persons or groups to impose their will on others despite resistance through the deterrence either in the form of withholding regularly supplied rewards or in the form of punishment, in as much as the former, as well as the latter, constitute, in effect, a negative sanction* (p.117).

These definitions of power show power as a domination of others, 'power over' by an individual/individuals who can exert their will and influence the interests of the dominated. Unlike Dahl and Blau, Weber did not explicitly consider coercion in his analysis of domination. However, there is an element of implied (Weber) and apparent (Dahl and Blau) coercive power in all their definitions. Domination and coercion are, no doubt, abiding features of power; yet they are not all that power is about.

Other theorists, like Hannah Arendt, Talcott Parsons and Barry Barnes, conceptualised power as the opposite of coercion and dominance. For these thinkers, power is viewed as a capacity for action, as 'power to' rather than 'power over' (Clegg & Haugaard, 2009).

Arendt (1970) defined power not as the property of an individual, but rather as belonging to a group and exists only so long as the group keeps together:

> *Power corresponds to the human ability not just to act but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together. When we say of somebody that he is "in power" we actually refer to his being empowered by a certain number of people to act in their name* (p.44).

Parsons (1967) argued that power is a capacity to "to get things done in the interest of the collective" (p.181), when obligations are legitimized with reference to the collective goals, and where in case of non-cooperation, there is a presumption of negative sanctions. Unlike Arendt who contrasted power and force, Parsons brought the two under one unified concept

of power (Habermas & McCarthy, 1977). According to Barnes (1988), power is both a 'capacity to' and something that is possessed and exercised by those who possess it.

Although the theorists discussed above view power differently, an important insight that emerges from the above discussion is that power emerges from human action within a social relationship. The idea that power emerges through social relationships constitute an interesting way of understanding power. Social relationships are not fixed but are continuously changing depending on the context. Therefore, the context in which power emerges can change, changing the power dynamics and hence power becomes relational. Although not explicitly stated in any of the above definitions, 'power over' and 'power to' can both be seen as relational powers. This is supported by Hanna Pitkin (1977), who argues that 'power over' is only conceivable in social relations as it involves other people, and though 'power to' does not necessarily need to involve other people, "if what he has power *to* do is a social or political action" (p.277) then it becomes a social relation. It is this dimension, that conceptualises power as relational through social relationships, that is of interest for this thesis. The next section discusses relational power as informed by the works of Michael Foucault and John Allen.

Relational Power

The power theorists discussed above see power as overt, as something that is possessed and wielded by a few and exercised from a central position, and where those few that have the power always seem to get their way at the expense of the rest. A more recent poststructuralist thinking of largely influenced by Michael Foucault, challenges this view of power. Foucault (1981) strongly believed that power should not be thought of as something which can be possessed by a dominant group, such as states, or owned by a certain political or social institution. To him:

> *Power is not something that is acquired, seized or shared, something one holds onto or allows to slip away* (p. 94), *power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives* (1980, p.39).
>
> *…*

> *Power comes from below, that is, there is no binary and all-encompassing opposition between rulers and ruled at the root of power relations, and serving as a general matrix – no such duality extending from the top-down and reacting on more limited groups to the very depths of the social body* (1978, p.94)

Foucault (1978) argued that power is everywhere and in everything without a source from which it emerges. He posited that power is relational and does not follow a hierarchy, it flows in all directions from top-down, bottom-up and sideways (Foucault, 1980; Allen, 2004; Newman, 1999) and this becomes apparent when exercised. The idea that power is multidirectional is important for this thesis. Within KAZA-TFCA power seems to be playing out in a top-down manner; from international to national (**chapter 5**) or regional/national to local (**chapters 4 and 6**). However, it is important to also acknowledge those not so visible bottom-up and sideways powers relations. For example, local people who have been nurturing their livelihoods and/or working on conservation in their local area have been asserting their own ways of doing conservation through their local knowledge. As argued by Foucault (1980), power and knowledge are interconnected, and knowledge enables the exercise of power and vice versa. Certain non-human beings, such a migratory species, have also continued their migrations despite the imposition of national boundaries, or adapted their routes to by–pass fences or other obstacles.

In his book, *Topologies of Power*, Allen (2016) supports the idea of non-dominate forms of power that he refers to as "quieter registers of power" (p.2). According to Allen, the most conspicuous forms of contemporary power include acts of domination, authority and use of violence. However, there are subtler powers that can achieve the same results:

> *There is more to power than its more manifest forms of control and constraint. In particular … what passes for the 'power to' secure outcomes can often obscure the fact that today more subtle means of control and influence may be employed to achieve similar results* (p. 69).

Nye (2002) also refers to this type of power and calls it 'soft' power. Soft powers work by shaping the preferences of others so that they want what you want through attraction, enticement or manipulation:

Power must be analysed as something which circulates, or rather something which only functions in the form of a chain. It is never localised here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth. Power is employed and exercised through a net-like organisation … individuals are the vehicles of power, not its point of application (p. 98).

Each individual has at his disposal a certain power, and for that very reason can also act as the vehicle for transmitting a wider power (Foucault, 1980; p.72).

Both Nye and Foucault identify multiple ways in which power relationships can take form. Foucault also moves beyond the view of power as domination of powerless by the few powerful and argues that power can be found at individual levels, with individuals able to take part in power operations. In particular, Foucault (1978) challenges the assumed power of sovereign nation-states, stating that:

Power must not assume that the sovereignty of the state, the form of the law, or the over-all unity of a domination are given at the outset; rather, these are not the only terminal forms of power takes (p.92-93).

Allen (2004) expands on the idea of sovereign states no longer being viewed as the centre of power. He acknowledges that there are other players, such as non-governmental organisations, multinational enterprises and local administrative units, where power can also be found. When this view of power is applied to TFCAs, power is no longer viewed as simple nor uni-directional, for example, if the nation-states want a TFCA then a TFCA will be established. Rather, a relational power analysis recognises that there are other players involved, including local players, who also have power and are able to affirm, resist, shape and manipulate the effect of this power and help determine the success of the TFCA. Power according to Allen is not just a one directional state-people power relation:

Power as a relational effect of interaction is traced through relations of connection and simultaneity which, in turn, open up spaces for political engagement that a centred or radically dispersed notion of government may fail to register (2004, p.31).

An example of this can be seen from the South African side of the Greater Mapungugwe TFCA (GMTFCA) which is dominated by white private landowners. Some of the private landowners

have resisted incorporating their land into the GMTFCA. The South African side has therefore faced some difficulties in consolidating the core area for their contribution to the TFCA (Sinthumule, 2017). According to Sinthumule (2017), the landowners that are resisting "are not interested in being part of the project, or in selling their land to conservation agencies, or in signing a contractual agreement with SANPark" (p.66). There are 10 white owned game farms and a further 10 large-scale commercial irrigation farmers within the boundaries of the TFCA that fall outside the management of the TFCA. Since they are not part of the TFCA, these farms are not required to soften their boundaries and thus have fences around them that restrict movement of wildlife:

> *The implication is that human imposed fences have disjointed the conservation habitat in the Mapungubwe area and hinder the free movement of wildlife. In other words, resistance by white game and irrigation farmers within the conservation areas has highly fragmented the area ecologically* (Sinthumule, 2017; p.70).

Different competing groups are also able to manipulate power to affect the outcome of TFCAs. In the Toledo District in Belize, conflicts between a planned Belize-Guatemala TFCA and a highway development project resulted in a power struggle between supporters of the highway project and supporters of the TFCA project, including the local Mayan communities (Duffy, 2005). The solution was to establish a 2-mile corridor on the Mayan sides of the highway where development was not permitted. However, the local Mayan communities are not convinced that development will not occur once the highway has been constructed (Duffy, 2005). Duffy (2005) argues that these competing interests are likely to affect the effective implementation of the TFCA.

Foucault (1980) criticised scholars who attempted to analyse power in a categorical way - defining it or attempting to identify its location. According to Foucault, this underestimates the other relations of power and relational connections that exist in a particular society (McHoul and Grace 1993). Although Foucault's works were published in the 1970s and early 1980s, they remain some of the most quoted work on relational power.

Scholars have studied relational power in conservation initiatives. Relational power studies do not just focus on the power difference between the various actors involved, but rather

allow for the analysis how power is enacted in the relationship between stakeholders. Arévalo & Ros-Tonen (2009) argued that partnerships in conservation constitute:

a 'discursive battlefield' in which the framing of the process is constantly shifting as the outcome of dynamic power relations between participating actors (p.735).

As Li (1999) asserts, "as an agreement between two parties, a compromise assumes that agency is distributed, if unevenly: both sides have a 'power to'" (p.298). The constant shifting and compromises reflect power balances and imbalances at given moments. These shifting power (im)balances allow different actors to exert agency and adjust structures in their favour at particular moments for a variety of purposes (Arévalo & Ros-Tonen, 2009). Even in the most unequal of power relations, negotiations and shifts in power balance still occur.

In his work, *Researching actor power: analyzing mechanisms of interaction in negotiations over space,* Few (2002) discusses how power becomes manifested at broader scales in environmental decision-making and processes of participation. He examines how planners and local stakeholders of joint marine and terrestrial protected area projects influence outcomes through different power dynamics. An analysis of power shows that planners used power in an attempt to contain participation by the local stakeholders through mechanisms of power such as domination, persuasion, manipulation, compromise and exclusion. In an attempt to increase their power in negotiation and influence decision-making, local stakeholders used power tactics such as persuasion, manipulation, compromise and the formation of alliances with other stakeholder to increase their bargaining power.

Exercising and Experiencing Power

As Foucault emphasised, power exists in social relationships and networks, it does not exist in isolation. Power can be experienced when it is exercised, and knowledge is important to the exercise of power. Since power is constructed in and through social relationships which are always dynamic, power can be changed.

Foucault (1979) argued that there was no structure of the exercise of power, however, power could not arise or be exercised in isolation. He argued that power was not only generated through relationships but was also exercised and experienced through these relationships. He also argued that those who experienced the power being exercised had the ability to resist

the power (1980). Knights & Vurdudakis (1994) argue that any act of resistance is in itself an act of exercising power.

The issue of power resistance is of importance for this case study with regards to the success of achieving the goals of the KAZA-TFCA. Conflict and resisting change can be the result of resisting power. Within a large multi-scaled and multi-stakeholder enterprise like the KAZA-TFCA, there are bound to be conflicts amongst stakeholders with those in power pushing to enforce change and those experiencing this push, resisting the change. If for example, within this case study, local communities experience a lack of power in the decision-making processes, they are less likely to be supportive of the initiatives and could subsequently be more disposed to resist change than those with the ability to exercise power in the decision-making process.

Of relevance to power in decision making processes is Lukes' (1974) view of power. Lukes drew his views of power from Foucault's thinking of power and is best known for his 'three dimensions of power' theory. The theory puts forward three dimensions of power, namely decision-making power, non-decision-making power and ideological power. Lukes (1974) argued that with decision-making power, the powerful influence the decision-making process to obtain their desirable outcomes. In non-decision-making power, the powerful can eliminate others from the decision-making process and confine decision-making to issues on their own agenda thus controlling the agenda. Lastly, ideological power not only controls the agenda but shapes people's perceptions and preferences in such a way that they accept the agenda and their role in the existing order.

Lukes' (1974) focus on power in decision-making processes is highly relevant for an analysis of the implementation of TFCAs. Understanding how power is exercised, experienced and resisted by the different stakeholders within the context of KAZA-TFCA is a useful analytical tool for determining the power dynamics influencing stakeholder participation in KAZA-TFCA.

Power, Participation and Stakeholders

Participation

Participation has become a key discourse in environmental conservation and natural resource management (Stringer & Paavola, 2013; Collins & Ison, 2006; UN, 1998). Participation has a wide range of definitions with differing degrees and kinds of participation. Bishop & Davis

(2002) consider participation as simply engaging with any activity. Arnstein (1969), on the other hand, considers participation as a process through which influence and control are shared by stakeholders over development initiatives. Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation (Figure 3.1) was perhaps the first model of different types of public participation and is one of the most known typologies of participation. Developed in the 1960s through her work on the U.S. Department of Housing, the ladder consists of 8 rungs depicting different levels of influence and control namely, 1) Manipulation, 2) Therapy, 3) Informing, 4) Consultation, 5) Placation, 6) Partnership, 7) Delegated power and 8) Citizen control. Arnstein (1969) argued that her ladder of participation can be applied in any context where there is a need for citizen participation:

> *The underlying issues are essentially the same – 'nobodies' in several arenas are trying to become 'somebodies' with enough power to make the target institutions responsive to their views, aspirations, and needs* (p. 216).
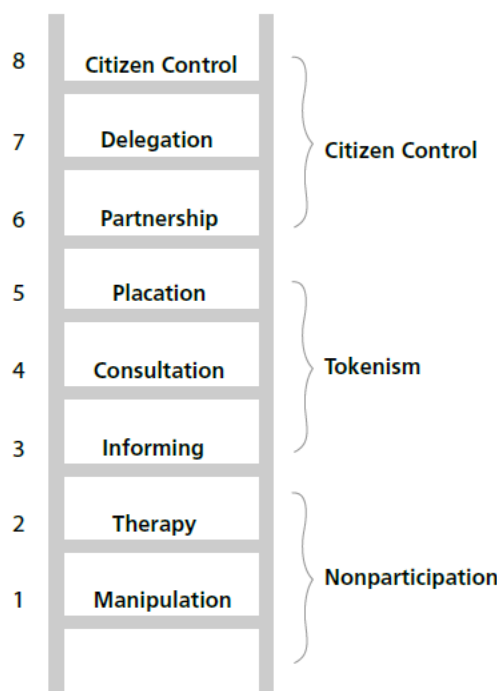
Figure 3.1: Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation (p.217)

Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation presents three degrees of participation – focusing on the perspective of the citizen on the receiving end of the project. She conceptualises participation as power i.e., measures participation according to the power one has to make

decisions in the project. The steps on the ladder represent citizen participation ranging from non-participation at the bottom of the ladder through tokenism to citizen control. The ladder represents citizen power with an increase in power and decision-making the higher you go up the ladder.

Arnstein's model retains considerable relevance with scholars still referring and building on it when discussing citizen participation. For example, Dorcey *et al.* (1994) and UNDP (1997) developed models which also depict eight levels of participation, Pretty & Shah's (1994) model depicted what each level would involve and Fischhoff (1998) also presented models which have parallels with the Arnstein ladder.

Wilcox (1994) simplified the eight-step process presented by Arnstein (1969) and Dorcey *et al.* (1994) by proposing a five-staged people's participation model. Wilcox's level of participation model is presented in table 3.1:

Table 3.1: Wilcox' (1994) level of participation

	Level of Participation	Description
Increasing levels of Involvement ↑	Supporting independent community interests	local groups or organisations are offered funds, advice or other support to develop their own agendas within guidelines
	Acting together	not only do different interests decide together on what is best, they form a partnership to carry it out
	Deciding together	encouraging additional options and ideas, and providing opportunities for joint decision making
	Consultation	offering some options, listening to feedback, but not allowing new ideas
	Information-giving	merely telling people what is planned

Source: Wilcox (1994)

Wilcox (1994) argues that the bottom two rungs of the ladder, information-giving and consultation, are usually misrepresented as participation. He argues that organisations concerned with participation should not consider this as participation but should aim for greater degrees of participation starting from the third rung upwards.

The conceptualisation and understanding of local participation makes it difficult to define as it covers a wide spectrum of power relations and local people's levels of influence (Stenseke,

2009; Kiss, 1990). It can be anything from governments informing locals to locals having complete decision-making power. Mendez-Lopez *et al.* (2014) describe three levels of participation depending on how much voice and control the participants have. The first level, which is the lowest, is passive participation and involves sharing of information, designs and implementation strategies that assume what local people want. In the middle level, local people most affected by the project have a "decision-making" role and therefore are able influence a conservation project or process through a joint decision-making process. The highest level of participation is when local people have the ability to initiate an action or decision-making which is a more active form of participation.

Local Participation in Conservation

Paul (1987) defines community participation "whereby people act in groups to influence the direction and outcome of development programs that will affect them" (pg. 20). He argues that participation involves active and collaborative influence. Participation gives 'voice' to people on issues that directly affect them. Calls for greater community participation in conservation became prominent in the 1990s with conservation groups endorsing grassroots roles in Natural Resource Management (NRM) (Few, 2000). As discussed in **chapter 1**, this call for grassroots involvement resulted in the development of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes.

Proponents of TFCAs argue that the establishment of TFCAs will be good for local communities who will be able to partake in implementation and benefit sharing of natural resource projects. However, studies have shown that local participation in TFCAs is mostly limited to basic consultation whereby locals are informed of what is happening without being given a real voice in decision-making processes. Ramutsindela (2004) argues that TFCAs take away from CBNRM by recentralising power with the state. In their nature, TFCAs are trans-national, therefore they operate or are managed at national level. This makes them a top-down initiative recentralising power back to the states and potentially undermining CBNRM programmes. For example, Chapin (2004) argues that the Great Limpopo TFCA is a response to the difficulties experienced with community-based conservation and a way to marginalise local communities by sidelining them from decision-making processes. As a TFCA, Chapin (2004) argues that the GLTFCA is paternalistic and driven by the agenda of conservationists with very little to no input by the local communities.

Ghimire & Pimbert (1997) discuss issues of power differentials between conservation agencies and local communities and how these power differentials constrain local participation in conservation. Participation is shaped in a complex social and political environment, amid an intricate web of power relations:

> *It is rare for conservation professionals to relinquish control over key decisions on protected area design, management, and evaluation. Participation is still largely seen as a means to achieve externally desirable conservation goals* (Ghimire & Pimbert 1997, 23).

A study by Chiutsi & Saarinen (2017) on local participation in transfrontier tourism in GLTFCA showed that 53% of the local community members interviewed did not know of their contribution and participation in GLTFCA management towards improving sustainable tourism. The study also showed that 42% of the interviewees were under the perception that they were excluded from key decision-making processes and 55% believed that the structures for facilitation community engagement and participation were not transparent enough and not functional. Chiutsi & Saarinen (2017) suggested a need for clear guidelines and blueprints that highlight the roles and responsibilities of stakeholders including local communities in conservation and tourism. They argued that the absence of such guidelines contributed to: "lack of information about the industry; lack of knowledge about the tourism opportunities; and lack of knowledge about how the communities can leverage from the available opportunities" (p.272) and the misconceptions by the locals with regards to the TFCA.

However, Few (2000) argues that the narrative of power differentials is not as simple as conservation agencies and local communities. Disparities in power can also exist within communities. Communities are heterogenous entities where issue of age, gender, class and status cause uneven power dynamics like any other network. The uneven flows of power usually result with 'community leaders' able to exercise power more that the ordinary local person. These community leaders therefore have a greater capacity to exert influence.

Chapter 4 of this thesis exposes the unevenness of power through the exclusion of local communities from KAZA-TFCA negotiations. **Chapter 5** shows how local communities are caught up in the power struggles occurring at other scales. **Chapter 6** examines local community engagement in conservation in the north western Zimbabwean part of KAZA-TFCA

and adopts the participation process described by Wilcox (1994). It argues that the 'information giving' level of participation is present through a one-way process, where people are the mere recipients of information – and this is an incomplete and flawed process in itself. Here, the authorities, both the Zimbabwean government and KAZA-TFCA, told only *some* people about their decisions before or during implementation of development programs. However, local people have had no say whatsoever in what happens within the KAZA-TFCA landscape. The 'consultation' level of participation involves two-way communication, where local people are consulted with regards to the KAZA-TFCA in order to make the decision of implementation. However, there is no evidence of decision-making power being granted to local people. Even when local people are consulted, the decision-making ultimately lies at the top. The 'acting together' level of participation is perhaps the most relevant to KAZA-TFCA. Being a multi-stakeholder project, the KAZA-TFCA landscape has multiple players with different interests. This level of participation provides capacity to all the different stakeholders, including local communities, to decide and implement the 'best possible' outcome for stakeholders involved. However, at this level, the authority tends to consult an elite group of people such as traditional and community leaders as 'community consultation' which might not always be representative of the community as a whole. The 'supporting independent community interests' level of participation draws more from the CBNRM approach to management where power is decentralised to local levels (see more on this below). Local people are empowered to bring forth their ideas, partake in decision-making and implement projects. At this level, people control the projects and KAZA-TFCA plays the role of facilitator for development and implementation.

Stakeholder Classification

There are numerous definitions of what a stakeholder is in the literature. The concept of a stakeholder can be traced back to the organisational literature – in a 1963 Stanford Research Institution Memo (cited in Freeman & Reed, 1983) it was defined as "those groups without whose support the organisation would cease to exist". However, the concept was popularised by Freeman (1984) in his work entitled *Strategic Management: A Stakeholder Approach*, who classically defined stakeholders as "any group or individuals who can affect or is affected by the achievement of the organisation's objectives" (p. 46). For an individual or group to be a stakeholder, they must have a 'stake' in the organisation. According to Freeman's (1984)

definition, how you affect or are affected becomes the 'stake'. What counts for each stakeholder is based on what is at stake (Mitchell *et al.* 1997), therefore what counts will be different for each stakeholder. This stakeholder theory is based on the principle that the organisation must take into account the issues at stake of all the groups and individuals who can affect or are affected (Freeman, 1984; Donaldson & Preston, 1995).

Scholars have made various attempts to classifying stakeholders by their level of importance. Table 3.2 provides a summary of stakeholder classification topologies.

Table 3.2: Stakeholder classification topologies

Author	Classification Used
Goodpaster (1991)	The strategic and the moral stakeholder
Savage *et al.* (1991)	Stakeholder's potential powers to threaten or cooperate with the organization
Clarkson (1995)	The primary (with formal relationships) and the secondary (without formal relationships)
Mitchell *et al.* (1997)	Power, legitimacy and urgency
Rowley (1997)	Network density and the centrality of the organization focus
Scholes & Clutterbuck (1998)	Power of influence, impact on the organization and affinity with organizational objectives
Kamann (2007)	Power and the level of interest
Fassin (2009)	Classical stakeholders, stakewatchers, stakekeepers

Source: Wagner Mainardes *et al.* 2012

Of the topologies mentioned above, Mitchell *et al.* (1997)'s topology is perhaps the most popular. Mitchell *et al.* (1997) suggest that stakeholders can be classified based on their perceived power, legitimacy and urgency. To determine the stakeholder prominence, their model incorporates three factors: i) power – the stakeholder's power to negotiate ii) legitimacy – the stakeholder's relational legitimacy with the organisation and iii) urgency – the organisation's urgency in attending to the stakeholder's needs. According to Mitchell *et al.* (1997), the model is dynamic because:

i) the three factors are variable, neither static nor stationary;
ii) the factors are socially constructed and thus relational not objective; and

iii) stakeholders do not always know that they are in possession of one or more factors.

Due to the factors being variable and relational, the level of importance of each stakeholder can change depending on the situation and relationships at any given time.

Having defined the terms, Mitchell *et al.* (1997) then classified the stakeholders into 8 classes depending on how many of the variables were present. The classification system is shown in figure 3.2 below:
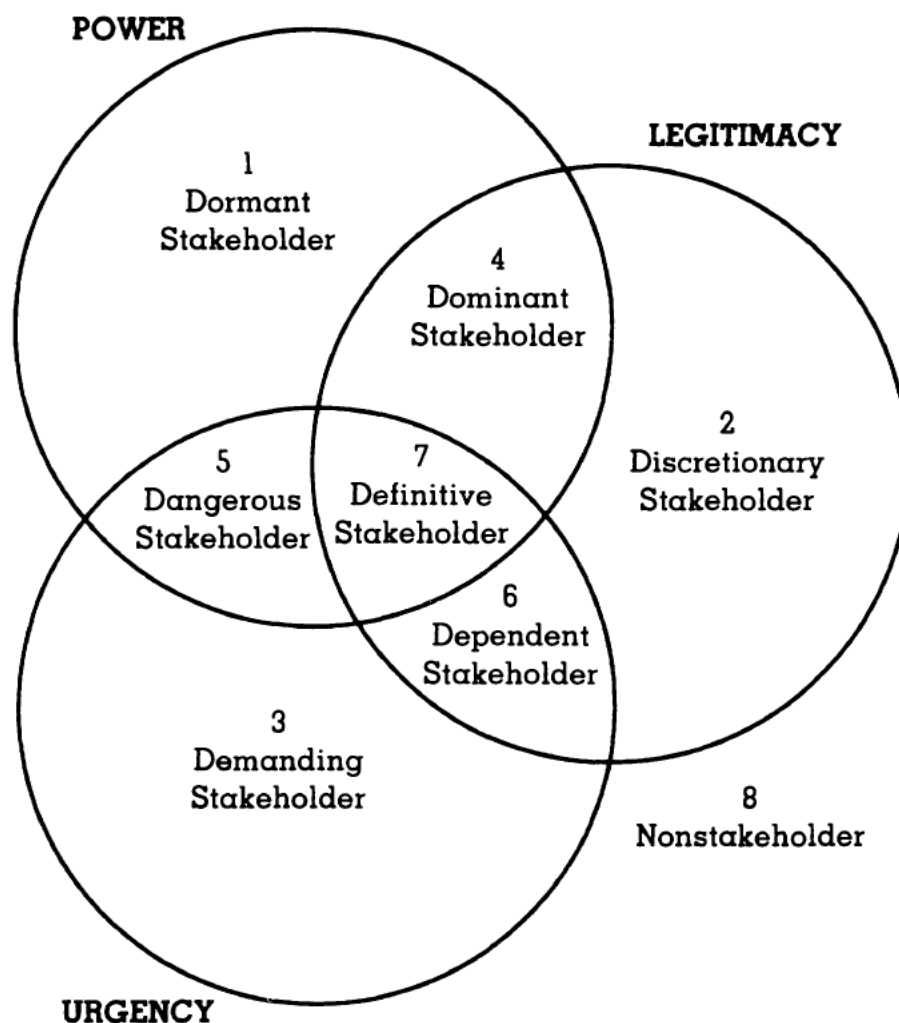
Figure 3.2: Stakeholder classification according to the attributes they possess (Mitchell *et al.* 1997).

The dormant stakeholder has the power to impose their will on the organisation but without legitimacy or urgency their power falls into disuse with little or no ongoing interaction with the organisation. The discretionary stakeholder has legitimacy but lacks both the power to influence the organisation and any urgency. The demanding stakeholder has urgency but lacks

power or legitimacy. These three types of stakeholders possess just one attribute and probably do not get much attention from the company. The next three stakeholder types possess two attributes which affords them more stake. The dominant stakeholder holds influence over the company guaranteed by power and legitimacy. The dangerous stakeholder is in possession of both power and urgency but lacks any legitimacy. This stakeholder is considered coercive and may represent a threat to the organisation. With the power to impose their will and a need for immediate attention on their claims, they can force attention on their claims whether it is for the good of the organisation or not. The dependent stakeholder holds attributes of urgency and legitimacy but lack power and therefore depends on other stakeholders for their claims to be taken into consideration. The 7th type of stakeholder is the definitive stakeholder who possesses all three attributes (power, legitimacy and urgency). This is perhaps the most important and most prioritised of all the stakeholders in the context of the model. Lastly, there is the non-stakeholder who possesses none of the factors and therefore has no influence nor influenced by the organisation.

Mitchell *et al.* (1997) stakeholder classification topologies is based on an organisation. However, it falls short when looking at a more complex system like TFCAs that involve multiple stakeholders from multiple organisations and non-organisations. Take for example the definitive stakeholder. With multiple actors available, TFCAs could have more than one definitive stakeholder with different power, legitimacy and urgency dynamics. With the definitive stakeholder being the most prioritised, which stakeholder is prioritised when there is conflict between the different definitive stakeholders?

Mitchell *et al.'s* (1997) view on non-stakeholders and their inability to influence or be influenced by the organisation also fails to take into account the external relationships that exist between stakeholders and non-stakeholders. As will be discussed in **chapter 5**, this case study shows that non-stakeholders of KAZA-TFCA can greatly influence and impact the activities that occur within the TFCA. Although the UK government and its allies are not KAZA-TFCA stakeholders, the international relations that exist between them and one of the partner countries, Zimbabwe, impact KAZA-TFCA processes and activities in Zimbabwe, consequently impacting on KAZA-TFCA. **Chapter 5** discusses in detail how the political decisions in Zimbabwe and the subsequent sanctions on Zimbabwe by the UK government and its allies influence donor fund flow into Zimbabwe and consequently into KAZA-TFCA landscape.

Complexities of Scale

Geographers consider scale to be one of several concepts defining the discipline, alongside other core geographic concepts such as territory, space, and place (O'Lear & Diehl, 2007). Although it is a defining concept, the discussion of scale is a complex matter. Across the literature, scale is explored from spatial, political, social, ecological and geographical perspectives. On the one hand, realists view scales as pre-existing categories or "real entities" (Buizer *et al.*, 2011). The spatial qualifiers of local, national, regional and international which are widely accepted, carry an implied geographical meaning and their nature is usually seen as fixed.

On the other hand, social constructionists view scale as a socio-political construct that is manipulated through various social and political processes and thus continually constructed, changing and transforming. Spatial qualifiers carry connotations of inflexibility that constructionists challenge as they argue that scale labels can mean something different to different people depending of the situation and context they are being used in. Politics, societies, economics, cultures and environments all shape and re-shape scales. Even the nation state scale, which can seem relatively stable and have a sense of scale fixing through the mapping of distinct boundaries, is open to challenge, change and transformation. Countries claiming islands to expand territory, the splitting of nation-states into different countries like the split of Sudan in 2011, or conflicts between countries over space, continually reshape seemingly fixed scales.

Howitt (1993, 1998, 2002) explores scale as size, as level and as relation. Conventional understandings of scale revolve around the first 2 metaphors. Scale is seen as size, for example the size of a study area or a cartographical concept (McMaster & Sheppard, 2004). It is also seen as the hierarchical bounded space of different sizes such as provinces, countries and continents and levels of analysis such as local, national and global where political processes occur (Noe, 2015; Howitt, 1998; Delaney & Leitner, 1997). It is the third view of scale, as relation, that pushes thinking of scale beyond area and level and towards understanding scale through relationships and networks of association. Social constructionists advance this understanding of scale and argue that scale hierarchies need to be understood as socially constructed and hence they can be reconstructed through a range of mechanisms.

Scale constructionists find pre-given and fixed hierarchies of bounded spaces that are defined by the first two metaphors as problematic. Scale is not fixed, it is constantly transforming depending on relationships, processes and influences, on diverse actors and their networks engaging at different levels (Delaney & Leitner, 1997). Scale is not made up of impenetrable boundaries, it is a fluid construct that is continually evolving and changing (Swyngedouw, 1992; Howitt, 1993, 1998; Newman, 2003). Geographers are increasingly aware that scale is socially constructed, rather than pre-existing, and that scale is continually produced "through everyday habits, routines, practices, negotiations, experiments, conflicts and struggles" (O'Lear & Diehl, 2007 p.167). This is not to say constructionists have done away with the concept of bounded hierarchical scale, but "the notion of the fixed hierarchy of bounded spaces was expanded to accommodate the possibilities for the reconstruction and rearrangement of scales and appreciate scales as effects of networked practices" (Ramutsindela & Noe, 2012; p.140).

Not only is scale socially constructed by networks and relationships, socio-political and economic processes and of course power relations, but the emerging scales also influence and change these processes. As stated by Swyngedouw (2004):

> *I conceive scalar configurations as the outcome of socio-spatial processes that regulate and organise social power relations, such as the contested making and remaking of the European Union or the process of state devolution or decentralisation. The emergence of new territorial scales of governance and the redefinition of existing scales (like the nation-state) change the regulation and organisation of social, political and economic power relations* (p. 26).

One aspect that increasingly features in discourses on all perspectives of scale is the complexity of scale. Integral to the study of scale, especially in environmental systems and natural resource governance, is the increasing conceptualisation of scale and cross-scale dynamics as not simply linear and hierarchical (Adger *et al.* 2005; Buizer *et al.* 2011; Cash *et al.* 2007).

In the 1980s, discussions around scale often viewed scale as a hierarchical concept presenting it as nested hierarchies of bounded space such as local, regional and global (Taylor, 1987; Smith, 1984). In the 1990s, geographers started to challenge such linear and hierarchical

understandings of scale (Howitt, 1993; Jonas, 1994), accentuating the interconnections and interdependences of 'the layers of scale' (Paasi, 2004). Howitt (1993) challenged the idea of scale as nested hierarchies and postulated that the problem with viewing scale in such a manner is that:

> *the notion of nesting assumes or implies that the sum of all the small-scale parts produces the large-scale total……... In the contemporary world, localities interact with national and global spaces directly through a wide range of political, technological and trade related mechanisms, sometimes with and sometimes without the mediation of sub-national, national or international spaces* (p. 36)

Howitt goes on to acknowledge that there is some sense of hierarchy in terms of increased sized space but there is no distinct relationship between scale and order. The idea that local scales can sometimes interact with international scales without the mediation of regional and national scales (scale jumping), as shown in figure 3.3, removes the hierarchical order that dominated scale discussion in the 1980s.
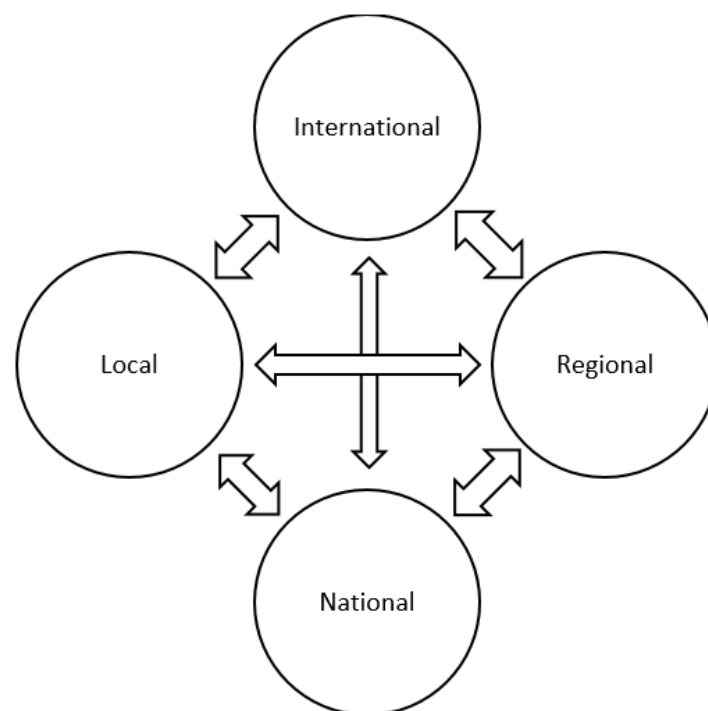
Figure 3.3: Scale interaction between local, national, regional and international scales.

Studies and practices of environmental assessment and natural resource management increasingly recognize the importance of scale and cross-scale dynamics in understanding and addressing global environmental changes (Cash & Moser, 2000; Adger *et al.* 2005; Buizer *et al.* 2011; Cash *et al.* 2007). Environmental issues such as climate change, pollution and biodiversity loss are often seen as a global issue with causes and solutions spanning multiple scales and levels. As such, interactions need to occur within (cross-level) and amongst (cross-scale) scales to address the various challenges and processes. Work on scale has shown that scales can be networked, rearranged, linked and jumped (Ramutsindela, 2004; Ramutsindela & Noe, 2012). Cash *et al.* (2007, p. 2) define cross-level interactions as "interactions among levels within a scale, whereas cross-scale means interactions across different scales". It is important to note that cross-level interactions can also occur across scales with levels in one scale interacting with levels in other scale.

Ramutsindela & Noe (2012) argue that a particular scale can be crucial for the production of other scales, especially in conservation. The establishment of TFCAs represents a particular production and transformation of scales. TFCA construction reflects a shift from nature protection of a single protected area to harmonising nature protection across protected areas in close proximity, but separated by national boundaries (Noe, 2015). It is also a transformation of national scales into a supranational scale (Ramutsindela, 2007c). This new scaler arrangement depends on the relationships and political processes between participating states as well as networks and flow of funds. The resulting scale is the consequence of conflict, negotiations and manipulations between different actors, or political entities (Leitner 1997). Understanding scale as a set of relationships based upon networks, influences, inclusion and exclusion of humans and non-humans, relationships between actors, knowledge of their construction helps understand power structure of equalisation and differentiation that certain scales facilitate (Jones, 1998).

Scalar transformations such as the establishment of TFCAs requires a scale analysis to enable better understandings of the processes sustaining those changes, including socio-political and economic changes. Scale analysis of the processes underpinning scale production are

important for conservation thinking and practice (Ramutsindela, 2007c; Ramutsindela & Noe, 2012). As stated by Ramutsindela and Noe (2012):

> *From the ecological perspective, the appropriate scale at which ecosystems should be governed is necessary for the survival and protection of biodiversity. This accounts for the increasing interest in ecoregional planning. However, human responsibility and the organizational structures of power do not match the spatial, temporal and functional scale of ecosystems (Sayre, 2005). It is this mismatch and its consequences on nature and society, as well as the need for appropriate intervention strategies, that make scalar analysis important for understanding evolving spaces of nature conservation, such as the wildlife management areas (WMAs) and their contribution to the creation of transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs)* (p. 138).

The issue of multiscale and multilevel interaction is pertinent to the construction of TFCAs. In their work on scalar thickening that conceptualises "how various processes of scale construction are strategically linked or delinked to achieve specific goals, and how the density of actors alters the power geometry of the scale in question" (p.141), Ramutsindela & Noe (2012) argue that TFCA scale construction involves interactions and processes at subnational levels and their integration into processes at supranational levels. The scalar configurations and transformations involved with TFCAs, and the impacts of these changes on nature and society, make the study of TFCAs and their role in scale changes fascinating and important. The purpose of this thesis is to engage with the scale of conservation as it unfolds in the KAZA-TFCA rather than to search for its existence in a predetermined way.

The study will draw on two specific relational approaches for its scalar analysis: cross-scale interactions and scaler thickening. Scholes *et al.* (2013) argue that cross-scaling is a form of multi-scaling where a study is conducted at several scales, essentially simultaneously (p.19) but unlike multi-scaling, it pays particular attention to how the scales interact. Ramutsindela & Noe (2015) argue that scalar thickening "speaks to the manner in and by which processes of scale construction are strategically linked or delinked to achieve specific goals, and how the density of actors alters the power geometry of any given scale" (p.503). Applying concepts of cross-scaling and scalar thickening, **Chapter 4** will discuss the construction of the KAZA-TFCA scale through the transformation of existing scales and how this scale interacts and co-

exists with existing local, national, regional and international scales. **Chapter 5** will discuss the impacts of international-scale policies on Zimbabwe's politics and economics, the effects of this on conservation efforts in Zimbabwe and subsequent implications for KAZA-TFCA. **Chapter 6** will discuss the implications of the KAZA-TFCA scale for local-scale human-non-human interactions.

Human-Non-Human Perspectives

Not only does this thesis employ a relational approach to power and scale but it also interrogates one of the underlying binaries in conservation – an assumed separation between humans and nature. Discourses on the relationship between people and the environment, particularly Western discourses which have dominated in Southern Africa, are often based on a dichotomy between anthropocentric and ecocentric views. On the one hand, ecocentrism values elements of nature for what they are. According to this discourse, nature has its own worth and (intrinsic value), regardless of its usefulness to people. On the other hand, anthropocentrism perceives the value of nature as depending on its usefulness to people. These views are captured in the works of Callicott (1984):

> *An anthropocentric value theory (or axiology), by common consensus, confers intrinsic value on human beings and regards all other things, including other forms of life, as being only instrumentally valuable, i.e., valuable only to the extent that they are means or instruments which may serve human beings. A non-anthropocentric value theory (or axiology), on the other hand, would confer intrinsic value on some nonhuman beings* (p.299).

The anthropocentric attitude essentially rejects that nature has any inherent worth. Even when anthropocentrists argue for the importance of non-humans, ecological anthropocentrism still exhibits favouritism toward humanity with ecological anthropocentrists like Bernard Williams arguing for the importance of humans over others:

> *Now there are some people who suppose that if in any way we privilege human beings in our ethical thought, if we think that what happens to human beings is more important than what happens to other creatures, if we think that human beings as such have a claim on our attention and care in all sorts of situations in which other animals have less or no claim on us, we are implicitly reverting to a belief in the*

absolute importance of human beings. They suppose that we are in effect saying, when we exercise these distinctions between human beings and other creatures, that human beings are more important, period, than those other creatures. That objection is simply a mistake. We do not have to be saying anything of that sort at all. These actions and attitudes need express no more than the fact that human beings are more important to us, a fact which is hardly surprising (Williams 2006, p.139).

Williams (2006) argues that one's identity as a human being is reason enough for placing more importance on humans, that human beings are more important to 'us' because we are human beings. Would that same argument not apply to non-human beings if they could argue for themselves? Would they not find their own projects and interests more important than the interests of the humans if they could voice their opinions? Like the pigs in *Animal Farm* referred to in **chapter 1** that declare "all animals are equal, but some animals are more equal than others", Williams' statement begins by giving a sense of importance of both humans and non-humans*.* However, the end of the statement reveals inequality, awarding more importance to humans.

From Williams' perspective, even when it seems the humans are considering non-humans and acknowledging their importance, it is not for the interests of the non-humans but for the humans. An anthropocentric world-view affords the interests of non-humans to be heard as long as they align with those of humans. Horton (1991) argues that there is no distinction between valuing non-humans as a resource base or as an absolute value as either perspective calls for the conservation of non-humans through policies, though these policies may differ since the interests differ:

However interesting and important the philosophical question of whether nonhuman elements of nature have intrinsic value, answers to this question do not correspond in any direct way to important disagreements regarding environmental objectives and policies. Longsighted anthropocentrists and ecocentrists tend to adopt more and more similar policies as scientific evidence is gathered, because both value systems—and several others as well—point toward the common denominator objective of protecting ecological contexts. Environmentalists, of course, will continue to disagree about what should be done in particular situations. (p.246).

However, the problem with Norton's view emerges when the interests of humans and non-humans diverge. Anthropocentrism all too easily authorises non-human interests to be overridden when interests do not align.

The distinction between human and non-human is a view that certain humans have constructed through an anthropocentric world view that designates hierarchies of humans and non-humans, with the humans on top of the hierarchy. As Tsing (2015) puts it:

> This "anthropo-" blocks attention to patchy landscapes, multiple temporalities, and shifting assemblages of humans and nonhumans: the very stuff of collaborative survival (p.20).

This human/nature dualism presents nature as a product of the social world, but nature is much more than that, it has properties that exist independent of humans. Purser *et al.* (1995) give an example of plants and photosynthesis and how that process has intrinsic value and occurs regardless of humans' view of non-humans. Purser *et al.* (1995) argue that an anthropocentric world view is at its zenith in positivistic science, "According to this view, nature is an assemblage of things that obey immutable mathematical laws, and science helps to uncover and use these laws to human advantage" (p.1058). The historical dominance of the enlightenment concept of nature has been seen as a major cause of human separation from nature (Descola & Pálsson, 1996). Ramutsindela (2005) argues that the way we study nature, even with subjects like geography dedicated to exploring the relationship between nature and society, continues to reinforce the nature-society dualism "by maintaining the dichotomy between human and physical geography" (p. 3).

In conservation, the nature-society dualism was evidenced by the establishment of national parks. According to Ramutsindela (2005), national parks were setup as a way to preserve pristine natural environments against human interference. However, Adams & McShane (1996) argue that the African wilderness was seen as pristine by European colonisers and yet humans had been part of this wilderness for over 2 million years. As stated by Cronon (1996) in relation to the concept of wilderness:

> Far from being the one place on earth that stands apart from humanity, it is quite profoundly a human creation-indeed, the creation of very particular human cultures at very particular moments in human history. It is not a pristine sanctuary where the last

remnant of an untouched, endangered, but still transcendent nature can for at least a little while longer be encountered without the contaminating taint of civilization. Instead, it is a product of that civilization, and could hardly be contaminated by the very stuff of which it is made. Wilderness hides its unnaturalness behind a mask that is all the more beguiling because it seems so natural (p.7)

In its pursuit of conservation, Tanzania has gazetted no less than 27% of its land as protected areas where human habitation is banned. In 1988, several thousand people were displaced from Mkomazi Game Reserve by the government out of fear that the humans and their livelihoods were destroying the 'wilderness' of the area (Brockington, 2002). Kothari (2004) reported that nearly 4 million people in India faced eviction following amendments to their protected areas policy. Schmidt–Soltau (2003) reported the expulsion of local communities from protected areas around the Congo Basin. This conservation and scientific need for a perceived pristine land, unsullied by certain[8] humans, reinforces the nature-society dualism.

This anthropocentric world view that separates nature and society based on a human - non-human dichotomy has come under a lot of criticism. As stated by Taylor (1981):

Now if the groundlessness of the claim that humans are inherently superior to other species were brought clearly before our minds, we would not remain intellectually neutral toward that claim but would reject it as being fundamentally at variance with our total world outlook. In the absence of any good reasons for holding it, the assertion of human superiority would then appear simply as the expression of an irrational and self-serving prejudice that favours one particular species over several million others (p. 217).

Tsing (2015) argues that non-humans have value beyond human consumption. She argues that looking at humans and non-humans from an anthropocentric view diminishes the importance of non-humans. Like humans, non-humans have their own projects and interests independent of humans and like humans, they have the ability "to remake the world through seasonal pulses of growth, lifetime reproductive patterns, and geographies of expansion" (p. 21). She argues that in order to see these non-human world-making projects, humans must

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[8] 'Certain' humans because national parks are usually then reinhabited by managers, scientists, researchers and those supporting the tourist industry

reorient perception away from the 'anthropo-'. Tsing's (2015) view acknowledges the importance of both humans and non-humans in shaping and re-shaping the world and in turn changing everyone else's world. She uses the term assemblages to challenge the separation of humans and non-humans, as assemblages are open-ended gatherings referring to diverse groups. She discusses multispecies interactions in world-making projects that undermine the human-nonhuman dualism:

> *It may be useful to imagine the polyphonic assemblage in relation to agriculture. Since the time of the plantation, commercial agriculture has aimed to segregate a single crop and work toward its simultaneous ripening for a coordinated harvest. But other kinds of farming have multiple rhythms. In the shifting cultivation I studied in Indonesian Borneo, many crops grew together in the same field, and they had quite different schedules. Rice, bananas, taro, sweet potatoes, sugarcane, palms, and fruit trees mingled; farmers needed to attend to the varied schedules of maturation of each of these crops. These rhythms were their relation to human harvests; if we add other relations, for example, to pollinators or other plants, rhythms multiply. The polyphonic assemblage is the gathering of these rhythms, as they result from world-making projects, human and not human (p.24).*

Bawaka Country et al. (2013) use the phrase "care as Country rather than care for Country" to emphasise that people are also part of the environment. Country being defined in the Aboriginal context "which includes not just the territorial, land-based notion of a homeland but encompasses humans as well as water, seas and all that is tangible and non-tangible and which become together in a mutually caring and multi-directional manner to create and nurture a homeland" (Bawaka et al. 2013 p.186). Although the term assemblage is not specifically used by the authors, Country is an assemblage made up of different human and non-human components who are all equally important to the wellness of Country. This assemblage comes to "being" through the "be(com)ing together" (p.186) by the different humans and non-humans that make up the assemblage which they refer to as "co-becoming".

DeLanda (2006) also refers to the notion of the assemblage. According to DeLanda, assemblages are made up of many interrelated parts, both human and non-human, and consist of relationships between a multiplicity of agents without eroding each agent's complexity and heterogeneity. Not only are they made up of different individual components,

but these components can be part of other assemblages as well. He highlights the uniqueness of the parts as each individual and assemblage is created through particular historical contingencies. Since assemblages are contingent upon historical construction and different individuals have different histories, like power and scale, DeLand's conceptualisation of the assemblage is also relational.

The development of transfrontier parks as a 'new' model for nature conservation seeks to do away with the dichotomy between humans and non-humans by integrating human and non-human projects. The construction of TFCAs tries to move away from the separation of humans and nature seen in the establishment of national parks. TFCAs are multi-land use landscapes that include land uses by both humans and non-humans. Although the boundaries between people and national parks within the TFCAs still exist, the TFCA incorporates both humans and non-humans within its boundaries and seeks to do justice to both conservation and development within that landscape.

However, even as transfrontier parks seek to undermine the nature-society dualism, they are criticised for taking an anthropocentric world view where nature is seen as valuable due to its utility for humans. Worthington wrote in his 1983 memoir *The Ecological Century*, that the ecologist's perspective revolved around questions of:

> *[H]ow Homo sapiens could himself take benefit from this vast ecological complex which was Africa, how he could live and multiply on the income of the natural resources without destroying their capital (except in the case of minerals), and how he could conserve the values of Africa for future generations, not only the economic values but also the scientific and ethical values* (p.46).

Although his writing showed an understanding that humans were part of, not above, an intricate ecosystem, he was still concerned about Africa's ecological system's value to humans. As stated by Ramutsindela (2005), "transfrontier parks have an economic logic, namely, the use of nature in the promotion of tourism and economic development" (p. 14). Nature cannot escape socio-economy. In fact, the issue of socio-economic development is used as an incentive to integrate local people, seen as segregated from nature due to colonising processes, into TFCA landscapes. TFCA proponents argue that the establishment of

TFCAs would create job opportunities as well as livelihood opportunities for local people (Munthali, 2007).

Conclusion

Drawing on the scholarly literature, this chapter framed my approach to power and scale. Although there are different meanings of power and scale depending on the context, the chapter argued that both power and scale are relational and can be traced and understood through relationships and networks of association. The chapter also considered multiple perspectives and particularly interrogated one of the underlying binaries in conservation, an assumed separation between humans and nature. It highlighted the anthropocentric view of nature and how even some ecocentric views still have an anthropocentric element through the view of nature as economically valuable to humans. I discussed Tsing's assemblage concept that advocates for the valuing of both human and non-human interests and projects own their own rights and not for their usefulness to the other. Because assemblages are made from different components with different histories, like power and scale, assemblages are relational.

The literature cited in this chapter argues that relational power and scale are dependent on relationships and networks. Foucault (1978) and Allen (2004) argue that power is dispersed through every relationship, and Howitt (1998) and Delaney & Leitner (1997) argue that scale is not bounded or fixed but is continuously transforming through relationships of actors engaging at different levels. I ague that these relationships can include non-human actors, which means relational power and scale dynamics also embed non-humans within their power and scale relations. However, the participation of non-humans is not explicitly acknowledged in this literature. The relational power and scale literature cited in this chapter is predominantly anthropocentric and focuses on human-human interactions. Macey (1993, p.74) writes that Foucault "insisted that he loathed nature", and perhaps it is this loathing that prompted him to omit non-human agency in his consideration of relational power. Throughout the coming chapters, I acknowledge that relational power and scale are inherent within every interaction in KAZA-TFCA and recognise that humans and non-humans are all participants within these relations of power and scale and that power and scale shape these relationships in particular ways. The different levels of participation and interactions of the

humans and non-humans within these relations of power and scale highlight the multiple perspectives of both the humans and non-humans.

The concepts of relational power and scale, and human-non-human relationships from an assemblage point of view, will be used as the basis of analysis of the empirical data in the following 3 chapters. **Chapter 4** draws on relational power and scale to explore the transformation of scale in the creation of the KAZA-TFCA scale. **Chapter 5** draws on relational power and scale to explore how power relations playing out at different scale can impact/influence other scales. **Chapter 6** will explore the role of local communities in KAZA-TFCA and how they interact across scales. The 3 concepts will also form the basis for the dialogue in **chapter 7** that brings together scale, power and human-non-human relationships as a way of understanding TFCA processes. Using Tsing's (2015) concept of assemblages that acknowledges the importance of both humans and non-humans in shaping and re-shaping the world, **chapter 4** will discuss the importance of both human and non-human stakeholders in the creation and shaping of the new KAZA-TFCA boundary and **chapter 6** will challenge the view of community as predominately human and acknowledge the role on non-human communities in KAZA-TFCA. It will discuss how local human and non-human communities shape KAZA-TFCA landscapes and vice versa. The human-human interactions of relational power and scale will be decentred to include human-non-human and non-human-non-human relational interactions. Non-human capacities for negotiation with humans through the exerting and experiencing of relational power will be discussed in **chapters 4, 5 and 6**.

Chapter 4: Conservation without boundaries? Cross-scale challenges and opportunities of introducing a 'new' scale – KAZA-TFCA

This, the first of three empirical chapters, discusses the complexities of different scales and levels in natural resource management and governance and examines how Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) are managed in relation to international, regional, sovereign and local scales. It focuses on Kavango-Zambezi (KAZA-TFCA) TFCA as a 'new' scale of governance, that is, the establishment, development and implementation of KAZA-TFCA and how it interacts with existing scales. The construction of this 'new' scale was intended to complement existing arrangements as well off-set some of the current shortcomings. By examining the dynamics and inter-relationships which emerged through the formation of KAZA-TFCA, key indicators are identified including increased cooperation with co-existing scales as well as the formation of new categories of inclusion and exclusion, erasures and invisibility. Whilst acknowledging the benefits of a transboundary approach to addressing environmental issues and natural resource management, I argue that the interaction of multiple levels and scales can sometimes lead to the exclusion and erasure of other scales, knowledges and governance structures.

Conservation Without Boundaries?

The creation of TFCAs relies upon a recognition by neighbouring nation-states that share resources, such as river systems, migratory species and ecosystems, that more effective and sustainable management requires joint governance. The idea of TFCAs was first put forward in the 1920s by conservationists who developed a strategy to expand conservation areas by forming alliances between countries that shared boundaries (see **chapter 1**).

However, TFCAs were not so welcome in Southern Africa at the time. As discussed in **chapter 1**, a potential TFCA between South Africa, Mozambique and Southern Rhodesia failed to materialise in the 1930s due to Mozambique's scepticism about the motivation for TFCAs (Magome *et al.* 2003). It was not until the 1990s that Southern African nations embraced the

TFCA concept through the encouragement of Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Ferreira, 2004; Ramutsindela, 2004).

Historically, most conservation plans occured at national or sub-national level. However, the resources being managed are often spread across multiple boundaries (Kirk *et al.* 2015). Realising this, Southern African governments rallied around the concept of transboundary natural resource management (Wolmer, 2003) due to their joint interests in sustainable use and conservation of the shared natural resources and the development and empowerment of resource dependent local communities (Vasilijević *et al.* 2015, Andersson *et al.* 2012, Dressler and Büscher 2008).

In conjunction with SADC and Peace Parks Foundation (PPF), the governments involved renegotiated boundaries based on ecological principles, rather than politics, to form a range of TFCAs throughout Southern Africa. TFCAs recognise that current boundaries are politically and socially constructed rather than ecologically constructed and aim to ensure that ecological processes continue to function where nation boundaries have divided natural systems (Suich *et al.* 2005). The development of these transnational networks resulted in the construction of new spatial scales of governance:

> *TFCAs existence provides a platform where you come together and negotiate on a management plan that everyone could adhere to* (Interview: Elago, SADC secretariat, 10/2016).

The Emergence of KAZA-TFCA

The Okavango and Zambezi River basins are amongst some of the largest wetlands on the African continent (UNEP, 2000). The Okavango Basin extends across parts of Angola, Botswana, Namibia and Zimbabwe covering an area of about 721,000km², whereas the Zambezi River Basin extends across parts of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe covering an area of approximately 1,390,000km² (see figure 4.1).
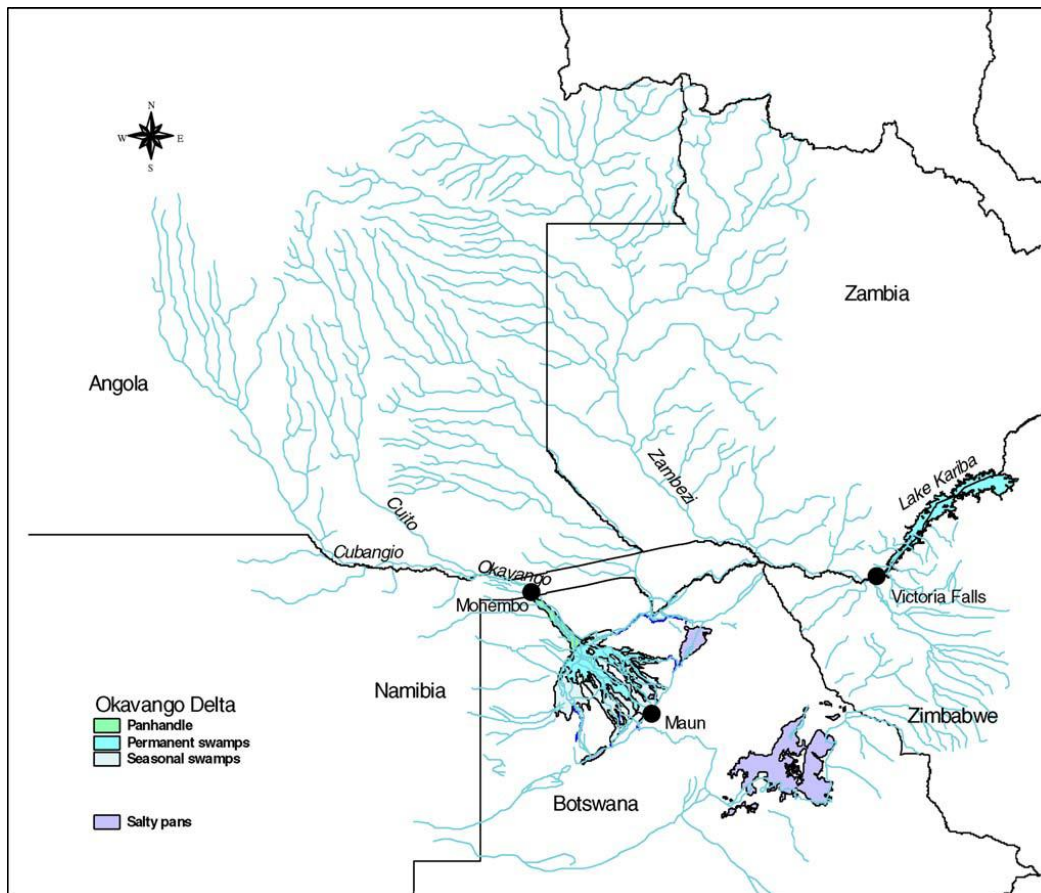
Figure 4.1: Location of the Okavango River Delta and the Zambezi River System up to Victoria Falls (Mazvimavi & Wolski, 2006).

In the early 1990s, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe recognised the potential for tourism and resource management to work across these basins. In 1993 at a regional workshop on water resource management, an idea was presented to take advantage of the region's network of protected areas, as well as the rich wildlife diversity, natural resources and cultural heritage and develop the region into a world class tourism destination (Suich *et al.* 2005). The idea was taken up by "Four Corners" Transboundary Natural Resource Management (TNBRM) Initiative, a programme implemented by the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), and the Development Bank of Southern Africa who developed it into the Okavango Upper Zambezi International Tourism Initiative (OUZIT) (OKACOM, 2017). The idea was to promote transnational cooperation in natural resource management in the region (Suich *et al.* 2005; Hall-Martin & Modise, 2002). The focus of OUZIT was on using conservation for tourism. The initiative was privately owned without participation agreements by any of

the governments involved. The OUZIT initiative lost its momentum as a result of its poorly defined scope and lack of ownership by the national governments involved.

In 2001, the tourism ministers of the SADC nations adopted OUZIT as a regional project and put forward a proposal to produce a status report on existing and potential Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) in the SADC region (Hall-Martin & Modise, 2002). The status report named the potential TFCA as the Okavango-Upper Zambezi Conservation Zone and estimated an area of about 75 000km² covering parts of the Kalahari Basin, the Zambezi River Basin and the Okavango Delta. It was not until 2003 that the ministers responsible for environment, natural resources, wildlife and tourism in the five partner countries came together to discuss the potential of transnational cooperation in natural resource management in the form of the Kavango-Zambezi TFCA owned and led by the governments involved (KAZA-TFCA booklet).

The five partner countries commissioned PPF to undertake a prefeasibility study to guide them in the development of the TFCA. The study was conducted over a period of 10 months, from October 2005 to August 2006. The study focused on the justification for establishing the TFCA, specifically the benefits that would ensue to each of the partner countries and the region in general. This included the enhancement of conservation of biological diversity and natural resources as well as the socio-economic developments that would results from conservation. As part of the feasibility study, 268 stakeholders from national and local government organisations, NGOs, donors, community representatives and private sectors were consulted (Hanks & Cronwright, 2006) and a breakdown of the number of people consulted in each country is provided in Figure 4.1 below.

Table 4.1: Number of people consulted in each country by category (Transfrontier Conservation Consortium, 2006 pg. 4).

Country (total)	Category of consultation					
	Government	Private Sector	NGOs & Parastatals	Aid Agency	International Organisation	Community
Angola (45)	42	0	1	0	1	1
Botswana (77)	34	11	14	7	9	2
Namibia (46)	15	7	6	3	3	12
Zambia (38)	9	10	11	3	1	4
Zimbabwe (62)	39	10	8	0	3	2
Other (12)	0	0	4	3	5	3

At the conclusion of the prefeasibility study, a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) was signed in 2006. It was agreed coordination of the TFCA would be led by one country at a time and that it would be on a two-year rotation basis starting alphabetically. According to Mr Sedia Modise, the first KAZA-TFCA facilitator, (Interview, 10/2016) Angola was meant to be the first coordinating country but coming out of a civil war, they were unprepared for the responsibility and passed the coordination onto Botswana. As the first coordinator, Botswana appointed Mr Modise, a former Director of Parks Services in Botswana, as the first facilitator. His duties included the drafting of the planning documents, the drafting of the treaty, the establishment of the job descriptions for the various KAZA secretariat positions and organising meetings and discussions between the partner countries:

> *I must confess, the groundwork had already been laid down for me by various people.*
> *A template on what to do had already been drawn up as well as information from the*
> *pre-feasibility study, which I contributed on* (Interview: Modise, 10/2016)

The governance structure and the secretariat were established in 2007 and is shown in figure 4.2:

Ministerial Committee

⬇

Committee of Senior Officials

⬇

Joint Management Committee

⬇

TFCA coordinators in the five Countries

⬇

KAZA Secretariat

Figure 4.2: KAZA-TFCA governing structure as stated in the treaty.

The Ministerial Committee is composed of the five ministers responsible for tourism and wildlife from each partner country and is responsible for policy in the development and implementation of KAZA-TFCA. This is the highest level of decision-making in KAZA-TFCA. Reporting to and advising the Ministerial Committee is the Committee of Senior Officials, comprised of the permanent secretaries of the ministries responsible for tourism and wildlife in the partner countries. Below the Committee of Senior Officials falls the Joint Management Committee which is the technical experts committee comprising of directors from the ministries responsible for tourism and wildlife. Each of the partner countries has a TFCA coordinator who facilitates communication between the partner countries and liaises with the KAZA Secretariat. Finally, the Secretariat coordinates the day-to-day operations of KAZA-TFCA, facilitates participation by stakeholders and manages finances, human resources, procurement, language translation and the website. In 2011, the heads of states of the 5 countries signed a treaty which formalised the establishment of the TFCA. In March of 2012, KAZA-TFCA was officially launched in Namibia.

KAZA-TFCA as a 'New Scale'

Ramutsindela & Noe (2012) argue that natural resource management occurring at local levels, together with parks and game reserves at national levels, are used as a base from which TFCAs

are created. Each of these scales have different forces and processes influencing and shaping conservation and because these scales are interconnected and interdependent, the forces and processes taking place at the different scales influence each other in powerful ways.

The conceptualisation, negotiation and formalisation of the KAZA-TFCA boundary represents a 'new' scale of conservation governance shaped from, within and on top of existing local, national and regional scales. KAZA-TFCA's boundaries were negotiated by existing nation states with the help of technical advisors such as PPF and were actively shaped by the presence of wetlands (the Okavango Delta, the Zambezi River basin), 20 national parks, 22 conservancies, 85 forest reserves and the migratory routes and spread of wildlife (e.g. elephants, zebras, buffalos) and other 'resources' across the national boundaries. The idea that non-humans actively shaped the boundaries of KAZA-TFCA highlight non-humans as active agents in conservation. In other words, non-humans are not just objects acted upon by human activities but are also subjects that act upon and influence not just human activity but the world around them. This aligns with the assemblage concept and Tsing's (2015) idea that non-humans have the ability to remake the world through geographies of expansion. The construction of the KAZA-TFCA scale by both humans and non-humans is a convergence of multiple relations that recognises the importance and influence of multiple actors – human and non-human (Latour, 2005).

KAZA-TFCA is a testament to the way that scale is continually changing and transformed by intertwined human and non-human factors. Jones (2009) argues that space is not categorically territorially bounded, rather, all kinds of unlikely things can knock up against each other in all kinds of way. Factors that construct and transform scale such as politics, environment and society can knock up against each other. As discussed in **chapter 3,** even with scales that seem relatively stable, like nation states, the scale can be open to dispute or change. For example, an island sits in the Chobe River between Botswana and Namibia. Namibia claimed the space as Kasikili Island, seeing it as part of the former German colony of South West Africa. However, on British maps the same island, known as Sedudu, appears as part of colonial Botswana. In 1996, the two countries brought the case to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) by Special Agreement. In the Agreement the States asked the Court to determine the boundary between them around Kasikili/Sedudu Island and the legal status of the island. In 1999 the ICJ ruled in favour of Botswana declaring that the Island belongs to

Botswana and effectively transformed the scale of the Namibian nation-state (Baregu 1999). The dispute came to an end with an agreement between the two nations allowing watercrafts from both countries unimpeded navigation in both the northern and southern channels around the island (Ashton, 2003).

As with all TFCAs, in KAZA-TFCA the politically constructed nation states, which also represent geographic scales in terms of their distinct national boundaries, conflicted with the perceived ecological needs of the region. Administrative and national borders were seen to undermine the ecological integrity of some bioregions. These borders also caused land fragmentations that are seen to hinder ecological processes and reduce migration ranges of certain species of wildlife (Wolmer, 2003; Duffy, 2001). Wolmer (2003) argues that the construction of TFCAs removes these boundaries and allows for connectivity within bioregions. The governments of the five KAZA-TFCA partner countries recognised a need to construct a space that would perform a function that the existing scales of fractured protected areas and nation-state boundaries could not. These existing scales of fractured protected areas were upscaled and transformed into a more suitable space that would serve the needs of the partner countries.

Political, social and ecological factors shaped the construction of the KAZA-TFCA scale in an attempt to resolve these tensions between ecological processes, such as elephant migration, and the imposition of nation-state boundaries, both physical boundaries and incommensurate policies:

> *Administrative boundaries formed during the colonial era were cut in a classroom setup with no consideration of bioregions or culture. The construction of TFCAs is trying to correct this* (Interview: Gotosa, SADC-TFCA secretariat, 10/2016).

As a transboundary scale of governance, KAZA-TFCA is governed by multiple institutions at multiple levels and involves multiple human and non-human stakeholders. In terms of human stakeholders, there are the 5 partner countries who own and lead the TFCA. In addition to the partner countries, there are financial partners such as Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW), technical and strategy partners such as SADC, the PPF and Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit GmbH (GIZ), ecological research partners such as Elephants without Borders (EWB) and World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF), as well numerous complex and heterogeneous community partners. In terms of rules, laws and policies, KAZA-TFCA's

five partner nation-states each have policies and legislations relating to biodiversity, natural resources and conservation. In addition, SADC has protocols and common positions on issues relating to biodiversity and anti-poaching. The partner countries as well as SADC also adhere to international standards of governance and management such as the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). The non-human stakeholders are numerous and diverse and include the river systems as well as wildlife discussed above that shaped the boundaries of KAZA-TFCA as well as the soils and forests, the pathogens and fish that live and in and move through KAZA-TFCA.

This seemingly straight forward process of nation states coming together to form this 'new' and ecologically 'better' geographic scale suddenly becomes complicated with recognition of the various human and non-human stakeholders and cross-scale interactions, use and management (Raudsepp-Hearne & Peterson, 2016). Indeed, processes implemented at one scale do not always easily translate to success at a different scale. Understanding these various scales, how they work and how they interact, is important in developing an effective system that ensures the management and sustainable use of natural resources in the region.

Coexistence: Interconnecting and Overlapping Scales

KAZA-TFCA nation states have come to the realisation that environmental issues are transnational and therefore cannot be solved by one physically and legislatively-bounded nation. Rather, cooperation and collaboration with other nations is essential in the conservation and sustainability of natural resources. Conservation and wildlife protection in KAZA-TFCA occurs at international, regional, national and local scales. Yet none of these scales exist in isolation or are fixed, all are interconnected, overlapping and dynamic. In this section I examine the how KAZA-TFCA objectives align with international and regional scale objective to achieve conservation and socio-economic development goals. I examine the different international treaties and SADC protocols that are relevant to KAZA-TFCA and how KAZA-TFCA complies with these international and regional laws.

Sovereignty and International Law

Sovereignty is of great importance to once colonised nations. The colonial encounter excluded the majority populations in these nations, including all the five KAZA-TFCA partner countries, from the realm of sovereignty therefore, "the acquisition of sovereignty by the

Third World was an extraordinarily significant event" that they guard (Anghie, 2007, p.2). As important as sovereignty is to former colonised nations, it also the bedrock of international law. As argued by Jackson (2006), sovereignty implies that there is no higher power than the state. International law norms are therefore only valid to states only when those states consent to them. In practice, this means that treaties and conventions cannot apply to a state unless the state has signified consent by signing the treaty or convention.

The KAZA-TFCA is governed by different governance and management approaches, treaties, conventions and protocols. A discussion of treaties relevant to KAZA-TFCA highlights the issue with sovereignty, with some partner countries choosing not to be signatories to some of the treaties discussed. Even when a treaty is signed, it must then be ratified and be compliant with national legislations or adopted into domestic law for it to become enforceable:

> *The ultimate objective of setting up these TFCAs is ultimately you must harmonise not policies per say, but policies in law. If you just say policies, it has no meaning. That to me is not enough and the folly of international organisations is that they do not follow up with domestic laws and that's where the weakness is* (Interview: Former Permanent Secretary Min. of Environment Zimbabwe, 08/2017).

While, according to Shaw (2003), international conventions are binding contracts upon the signatories, in certain countries international conventions are not automatically binding, and must be the approved by an Act of Parliament to become part of the country's law. Simply put, a treaty is not part of law unless and until it has been incorporated into the country's law through legislation.

Take Zimbabwe for example:

> *As a matter of legal fact, I believed in my mind that customary international law automatically is part of Zimbabwean law. However, treaties, conventions and protocols have to be domesticated; agreement signed, then ratified and enacted as part of domestic Law through legislation. Thus, for example the CITES Convention was domesticated through S.I. 76 of 1998 Parks and Wildlife [Export and Import Regulations] S.I. 76 OF 1998. I think most of the environmental treaties have been*

domesticated by the EMA, the Environmental Management Act [Chapter 20:27], though not explicit (Interview: ZPWMA legal officer, 10/2018).

The view above provided by the legal officer from the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (ZPWMA) is supported by the Constitution of Zimbabwe. Customary international law[9] was made part of Zimbabwe law by section 326 of the Constitution which states that:

> *(1) Customary international law is part of the law of Zimbabwe, unless it is inconsistent with this Constitution or an Act of Parliament.*
> *(2) When interpreting legislation, every court and tribunal must adopt any reasonable interpretation of the legislation that is consistent with customary international law applicable in Zimbabwe, in preference to an alternative interpretation inconsistent with that law.*

Section 326 (1) clearly states that customary international law is part of the law of Zimbabwe. It can only be excluded if it is not consistent with the Constitution or an Act of Parliament. Therefore, according to the constitution, domestic law takes precedent when there is conflict/inconsistence between customary international law and domestic law. However, although domestic law takes precedent, section 326 (2) encourages an interpretation of domestic statutes that is more inclined towards making them more consistent with customary international law.

In terms of international treaties, the statement by the legal officer is supported by section 327 (2) (a) and (b) of the Constitution which states that:

> *An international treaty which has been concluded or executed by the President or under the President's authority—*
>
> *(a) does not bind Zimbabwe until it has been approved by Parliament; and*
> *(b) does not form part of the law of Zimbabwe unless it has been incorporated into the law through an Act of Parliament*

---

[9] Customary International law is defined by the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in article 38 (1) (b) as "a general practice accepted as law" which according to Shaw (2003, p.6) are "basically state practices recognised by the community at large as laying down patterns of conduct that have to be complied with.

Therefore, according to section 327 (2) (a) and (b) of the constitution, international treaties need to be domesticated for them to be binding in Zimbabwe. Also, for the treaty to enforceable domestically, it must be enacted into domestic law through legislation.

KAZA-TFCA complements the goals and obligations of several international and regional treaties. This is possible because the nation-states are signatories to the treaties and regardless of the treaties being legislated, the states comply with the treaties. Consider this statement by Shaw (2003):

> *Contrary to popular belief, states do observe international law, and violations are comparatively rare……. Thus, despite the occasional gross violation, the vast majority of the provisions of international law are followed* (p.6).

KAZA-TFCA recognises the need for solutions that occur across scales and calls for the use of approaches that integrate legislations and policies across different scales. Article 6 (1) (h) of the KAZA-TFCA treaty reads as follows:

> *promote and facilitate the harmonisation of relevant legislation, policies and approaches in Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources management across international borders and ensure compliance with international Protocols and Conventions related to the protection and Sustainable Use of species and ecosystems.*

International Conventions

There is growing recognition of the importance of the international scale in issues pertaining to the environment (Coombe, 1998). As environmental issues tend to cut across scales, especially nation-state scales, solutions need to occur across scales (Ramutsindela, 2007; Duffy, 2005). This desire for collaboration resulted in several international environmental treaties and conventions. Discussed here are some of the international conventions that are of most relevance to KAZA-TFCA.

i.   Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance

Wetlands are recognised for their importance in ground water protection, regulation of the water cycle, water storage, water purification as well as their ecological significance for many forms of life. In 1971 in the small town of Ramsar, Iran, 18 nations came together to sign a treaty to protect wetlands. This was the birth of the Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of

International Importance, the first modern strategy to conserve natural resources cross nation-state boundaries and on a global scale (Navid, 1989; Matthews, 1993). The Convention came into effect in 1975. Four of the five KAZA-TFCA partner countries, Botswana (1997), Namibia (1995), Zambia (1991) and Zimbabwe (2013), are signatories to the Ramsar Convention. Currently, there are over 2,264 sites covering over 2 million square kilometres across 168 countries on the list of Ramsar sites including the Okavango Delta System and the Zambezi River System (floodplains and delta) (Ramsar, 2017).

With KAZA-TFCA established on the Okavango and Zambezi River basins, amongst some of the largest wetlands on the African continent and considered as important wetlands in the Convention, this Convention is of relevance to the implementation of KAZA-TFCA. For example, the objectives of KAZA-TFCA to conserve shared natural resources and implement programmes that ensure the sustainable use of natural resources (**see chapter 1**), complements the goals of the Ramsar Conventions as stated in article 3(1):

> *the contracting parties shall formulate and implement their planning so as to promote the conservation of the wetlands included in the List, and as far as possible the wise use of wetlands in their territory.*

The Convention goes further and in article 5 calls for contracting parties to cooperate with each other in cases were the wetlands are transboundary:

> *the contracting parties shall consult with each other about implementing obligations arising from the Convention especially in the case of a wetland extending to the territories of more than one Contracting Party, or where a water system is shared by Contracting Parties. They shall at the same time endeavour to co-ordinate and support present and future policies and regulations concerning the conservation of wetlands and their flora and fauna.*

The obligations of both KAZA-TFCA and the Ramsar Convention are concerned with the conservation and sustainable use of natural resources as well as the harmonisation of policies amongst concerned parties. This should enable them to manage and conserve shared resources together.

ii.   CITES

The Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) was signed in 1973 in Washington DC in response to the exploitation of and international trade in wildlife. CITES was established to regulate the export, transit and import of rare or threatened wildlife. The international community recognised that international collaboration was critical for the protection of vulnerable species of flora and fauna against overexploitation (CITES, 2017; Wijnstekers, 2000). With Southern Africa being a strong hold of some highly illegally traded species, such as rhinos and elephants, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe become part of the Convention in 2013, 1978, 1990, 1981 and 1994 respectively. According to Jones (2008) policies regarding specially protected animals are considerably similar for Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe:

> *All four countries provide a higher level of protection to rhino and elephant, but with differences in approach. All four regulate and control the trade in ivory and rhino horn and follow CITES principles. All four countries enable the shooting of wildlife (including specially protected species such as elephant) in self-defence or in defence of someone else's life. While the offences for illegal use of wildlife are fairly similar, the penalties differ from country to country. Trophy hunting is allowed in each country and is regulated. Professional hunters have to be licensed according to legislation in all four. Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe require the licensing of tourism guides, but this is not a requirement in Namibia which is still awaiting new tourism legislation which should provide for this* (p. 61).

The above statement not only highlights the compliance of national laws with CITES, it also highlights the complementarity/similarity in the laws of the four countries that make it possible for policy harmonisation within KAZA-TFCA landscape. However, as of 2014 Botswana banned trophy hunting. While these countries have strict provisions in line with CITES, there is no data for Angola with regards to trade in ivory and rhino horns (Jones, 2008).

iii. Bonn Convention

Species migrate with changing environmental conditions, breeding seasons and food availability (Naidoo *et al.* 2014) and often, these migrations extended across national boundaries. Due to this, there was a need for international cooperation in the conservation of migratory species. In June of 1979, 28 nations signed a treaty dedicated to the conservation

and sustainable use of migratory wildlife and their habitats, the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals (CMS or the "Bonn Convention") (CMS, 2017; Lyster, 1989).

One of the rationales of establishing TFCAs is the recognition that bioregions and ecosystems do not recognise administrative boundaries (**see chapter 1**). Wildlife does not recognise administrative boundaries and can move across national boundaries depending on their migratory range. TFCAs recognise the need for cooperation in the management and conservation of these migratory species. KAZA-TFCA lists the need for cooperation in management of migratory species as one of their objectives per article 6 (1) (b) of the KAZA-TFCA Treaty which is as follows:

> *promote and facilitate the development of a complementary network of Protected Areas within the KAZA-TFCA linked through corridors to safeguard the welfare and continued existence of migratory wildlife species.*

This recognition is in compliance with the articles of CMS, for example, as stated in article 2:

> *Article II: Fundamental Principles*
>
> *1. The Parties acknowledge the importance of migratory species being conserved and of Range States agreeing to take action to this end whenever possible and appropriate, paying special attention to migratory species the conservation status of which is unfavourable, and taking individually or in co-operation appropriate and necessary steps to conserve such species and their habitat.*
>
> *2. The Parties acknowledge the need to take action to avoid any migratory species becoming endangered.*
>
> *3. In particular, the Parties:*
>
> > *a) should promote, co-operate in and support research relating to migratory species;*
> > *b) shall endeavour to provide immediate protection for migratory species included in Appendix I; and*

c) shall endeavour to conclude AGREEMENTS covering the conservation and management of migratory species included in Appendix II.

With KAZA-TFCA trying to manage shared resources, it is important to note that only two of the five partner countries, Angola (2006) and Zimbabwe (2012), are Parties of the Bonn Convention that protects shared wildlife. This can be a potential stumbling block for a group of nations trying to manage and preserve shared resources together (see story of migrating zebra between Botswana and Nambia discussed later in the chapter).

iv.   Convention on Biological Diversity

Lastly, in response to the alarming rate of biodiversity extinction, the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) convened experts to explore the possibility of an international Convention on biological diversity. In 1992, the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) was opened for signature and entered into force in 1993 with 168 signatories (CBD, 2017). All the partner countries have since become signatories of the Convention, Angola (1998), Botswana (1995), Namibia (1997), Zambia (1993) and Zimbabwe (1994).

The obligations of CBD as stated in the Convention text article 1 are as follows:

The objectives of this Convention, to be pursued in accordance with its relevant provisions, are the conservation of biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits arising out of the utilization of genetic resources, including by appropriate access to genetic resources and by appropriate transfer of relevant technologies, taking into account all rights over those resources and to technologies, and by appropriate funding.

The objectives of the KAZA-TFCA (**chapter 1**) align with the objectives of this Convention in terms of conservation of biological diversity, sustainable use and equitable sharing of benefits.

It is important to note that not all the partner countries have signed all the International Treaties and Conventions mentioned above, with some of the implications for this discussed under the subheading *Reinforcing nation state sovereignty* further below. However, not all strategies that recognised the need for joint governance have centred on global agreements. Global guidelines may not always meet regional issues and concerns therefore regional

agreements are established that allow the sharing of expertise among countries in the region and the tailoring of management strategies particular to the region's issues and concerns.

SADC Programs and Protocols

In addition to, and often in response to, international treaties, regions such as Southern Africa have their own treaties and protocols. The SADC community, which all 5 KAZA-TFCA countries are members of, has a common position on many issues affecting Southern African nations. According to Blanken (Field interview: 10/2016), SADC has common positions on issues such as CITES, law enforcement and anti-poaching and natural resource management. These common positions have resulted in strategies and protocols that SADC member countries adhere to. Some of these protocols provided a platform conducive for the establishment of TFCAs and are relevant to fulfilling the objectives of the KAZA-TFCA. These include the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement, the SADC Protocol on Forestry, the SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourses, the SADC Protocol on Development of Tourism and the SADC Law Enforcement and Anti-Poaching Strategy.

i.   Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement

The Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement was signed by SADC member states in August of 1999 with the primary objective according to article 4 of the Protocol to:

Establish within the Region and within the framework of the respective national laws of each State Party, common approaches to the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife resources and to assist with effective enforcement of laws governing those resources.

Article 4(2)(f) goes further to call for the promotion of "conservation of shared wildlife resources through the establishment of transfrontier conservation areas". Not only does the KAZA-TFCA objectives align with the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement, the obligations of the Protocol also align with international Conventions that call for the protection of natural resources. It is in this Protocol that SADC member States define a TFCA as "the area or component of a large ecological region that straddles the boundaries of two or more countries encompassing one or more protected areas as well as multiple resources use areas".

ii.   SADC Protocol on Forestry

Signed in Luanda, Angola in October of 2002 by all SADC member States at the time, including the five KAZA-TFCA partner countries, this Protocol according to article 2 applies:

To all activities relating to development, conservation, sustainable management and utilisation of all types of forests and trees, and trade in forests products throughout the region.

Like the Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement, this protocol calls for the conservation and sustainable use shared natural resources in the region. However, it is specific to forest resources. This Protocol is relevant to KAZA-TFCA because there are 85 forest reserves within the KAZA-TFCA area which have been integrated into the overall management of the TFCA.

iii. SADC Protocol on Shared Watercourses

This Protocol, signed by all five KAZA-TFCA partner countries along with the rest of SADC member States in August 2000, governs the management, protection and utilisation of shared water courses in the SADC region. Like the Ramsar Convention, this Protocol is of great importance to KAZA-TFCA as the Okavango Delta and the Zambezi River Basin are shared watercourses shaping the boundaries of KAZA-TFCA. The Zambezi River is shared by all five partner countries and the Okavango is shared by Angola, Botswana and Namibia. Article 3(1) of the Protocol states that:

The State Parties recognise the principle of the unity and coherence of each shared watercourse, and in accordance with the principle, undertake to harmonise the water uses in the shared watercourses and to ensure that all necessary interventions are consistent with the sustainable development of all Watercourse States and observe the objectives of regional integration and harmonisation of their socio-economic policies and plans.

The obligations of KAZA-TFCA to jointly manage shared natural resources as well as harmonisation of policies to ensure proper conservation and management are aligned with the obligations in this Protocol.

iv. SADC Protocol on the Development of Tourism

Article 6 (1) (c) and (d) of the KAZA-TFCA treaty address the objectives of KAZA-TFCA with regards to tourism:

> *c) provide opportunities, facilities and infrastructure that shall transform the KAZA-TFCA into a premier tourist destination in Africa made up of a range of independent yet complementary and integrated sub-regional tourism development nodes;*
> *d) facilitate tourism across international borders in the KAZA-TFCA*

These objectives of KAZA-TFCA are aligned are with the obligations of the SADC Protocol on the Development of Tourism signed Mauritius in September of 1998. All the member states present at the time signed the Protocol, including the KAZA-TFCA partner countries, except for Angola.

v. SADC TFCA programme

As discussed in **chapter 1**, the SADC member states acknowledged the need for regional cooperation and integration and enhancing socio-economic development in the Region through the sustainable use of shared natural. They adopted the overarching SADC vision and mission statements for TFCAs in 2011 through the establishment of the SADC TFCA programme under the SADC Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources Directorate (SADC Secretariat, 2013). According to a SADC Programme for Transfrontier Conservation Areas document published in 2013 by the SADC secretariat, SADC nations had agreed in 2004 that the countries would establish and implement TFCAs without the involvement of the SADC secretariat. However, due to difficulties in obtaining financing, with and some international funding partners only willing to channel their funds through SADC, the SADC TFCA programme, mandated by the 1999 SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement under article 3(c) and article 4(2)(f) was established with the vision to make: "SADC, a model of community centred, regionally integrated and sustainably managed network of world class transfrontier conservation areas." This included a mission:

> *To develop SADC into a functional and integrated network of transfrontier conservation areas where shared natural resources are sustainably co-managed and conserved to foster socioeconomic development, and regional integration for the benefit of people living within and around TFCAs, the SADC region, and the world (SADC secretariat, 2013).*

The SADC TFCA programme identified seven key components (SADC, 2018) to enable the realisation of the vision:

i.   Policy harmonisation and advocacy;

ii.   Sustainable financing;

iii.   Capacity building;

iv.   Data and knowledge management;

v.   Local livelihoods;

vi.   Climate change vulnerability; and

vii.   TFCAs as marketable tourism products.

Compliance with International and Regional Treaties

The international and regional treaties discussed above are reflected in the KAZA-TFCA objectives. For example, the objective of article 4 of the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement is to establish common approaches to the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife resources and to assist with the effective enforcement of laws governing those resources. Article 4 (2b) further states that, specific objectives of the Protocol shall be to harmonise legal instruments governing wildlife use and conservation. This can be seen occurring through KAZA-TFCA as follows:

> *Botswana, Namibia and Zambia share the Chobe River and there used to be tensions due to conflicting open/closed fishing seasons. Now through KAZA-TFCA, the fisheries seasons of the three countries have been harmonised within the KAZA-TFCA landscape. This was done so that there would not be an open season on one side of the river whilst the other side is closed thus eliminating conflict between fishermen from different sides of the river* (Interview: Gotosa, SADC TFCA programme, 10/2016).

Each of the five partner countries has its own legislations and policies with regards to environment and natural resources. A report commissioned to provide a basis for the harmonisation of policy and legal frameworks for management of natural resources by the partner countries reported that "except for Angola, there is a considerable degree of complementarity between the policy and legislation of the KAZA-TFCA partner countries and no major areas of conflict" (Jones, 2008 p.59). The similarities in legislation and policies makes

it easier for these countries to come together and manage their shared resources together, thus the construction of the KAZA-TFCA scale of governance. With a shared mission to:

sustainably manage the Kavango Zambezi ecosystem, its heritage and cultural resources based on best conservation and tourism models for the socio-economic wellbeing of the communities and other stakeholders in and around the eco-region through harmonization of policies, strategies and practices (KAZA-TFCA, 2013)

the partner countries seek to harmonise conservation legislation and natural resource management to realise their vision. In addition, these countries are signatories to international conventions that support transnational conservation and sustainable use of natural resources, mentioned above, which they also adhere too.

As relatively recently formed nation states, these countries are embedded within multiple scales of governance when it comes to environmental issues as shown in figure 4.3. The complementarity of the different scales makes it possible for these scales to work in harmony with each other.
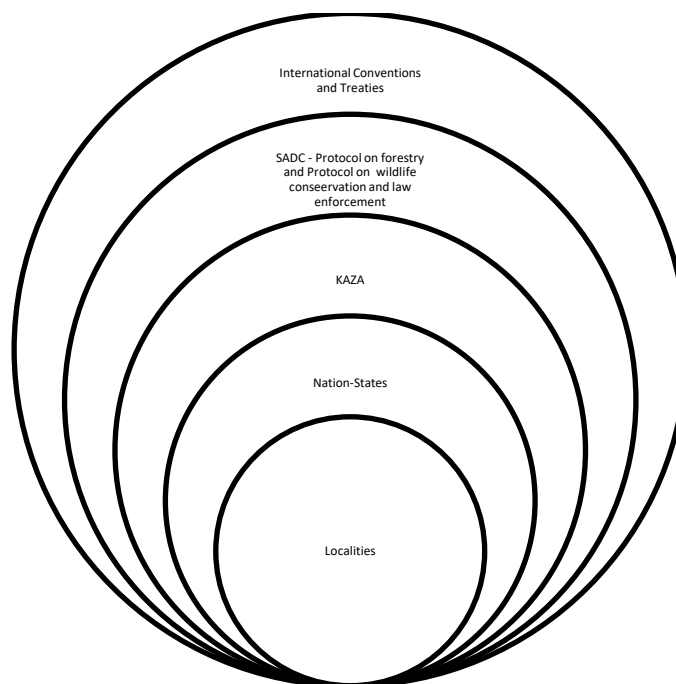
Figure 4.3: Relationship between five scales of governance

The Zambezi River Authority (ZRA) provides a good example of policy harmonisation between countries sharing a common natural resource through domestication of policy into domestic

law. ZRA is a corporation jointly owned and operated by Zambia and Zimbabwe and is tasked with operating and maintaining the Zambezi River and the Kariba Dam. The Zambezi River powers the Kariba Dam Hydroelectric Station which is shared by the two countries. To ensure equal ownership, the governments of Zambia and Zimbabwe established ZRA through parallel legislation (the Zambezi River Authority Acts Chapters 467 and 20:23 of the Laws of Zambia and Zimbabwe, respectively) passed in the parliaments of both countries in October of 1987 (cf Zambezi River Authority, 2018). Although unlike KAZA-TFCA which is a partnership between 5 countries, the partnership between Zimbabwe and Zambia in establishing and managing ZRA shows that the harmonisation of policy between/amongst countries sharing a common resource is possible. As mentioned before Jones (2008) indicated that with the exception of Angola, there was enough "complementarity between the policy and legislation of the KAZA-TFCA partner countries and no major areas of conflict" (p. 59) which makes policy harmonisation possible.

The idea behind KAZA-TFCA was to conserve and sustainably use shared natural resource in a way that would be beneficial to all five partner countries. In the 1970s, elephants crossing the border from Botswana into Namibia (then South West Africa) to graze on the floodplains which are mostly across the Chobe River in Namibia were shot down by the South African Defence Forces. At the time, the Kasikili/Sedudu Island was under dispute and there was a military build-up by both Botswana and Namibia on respective sides of the island and some cross-border shooting incidents were witnessed (Baregu, 1999). Some of the elephants died and some of them managed to escape and cross back into Botswana (Modise, field interview: 10/2016). In collaboration with existing international treaties such as the Convention on the Conservation of Migratory Species of Wild Animals which established cooperation from 'range' states of migratory species crossing international boundaries (FAO, 2002), TFCAs introduce 'new' political and scale dynamics that allow for collaboration at different scales to prevent such things from happening again. The KAZA-TFCA scale provides a 'new' platform for cooperation and managing shared natural resources in this region:

> *The idea behind these TFCAs is to try and mitigate conflict that exists between not only people and wildlife but also to harmonise people to people relationships and also try to resolve this tragedy of the commons, especially when resources are communally owned. TFCAs trying to come up with a formalised way of addressing that conflict that*

is caused by free for all resources and harmonise the different cross-border legislations
to make sure that they are in line with our goals of achieving conservation, improve
benefits to communities (Interview: Elago, SADC TFCA programme, 10/2016).

KAZA-TFCA is achieving some important harmonisation of polices at international and supra-National scales. However, like other TFCAs, it has its limitations. TFCAs have received criticism for failing to place as much importance on people as they do on natural resources and for undermining the decentralisation strategies of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes. Ramutsindela (2016) argues that rather than building on the work by CBNRM of decentralising power, TFCAs, due to their nature of being transnational, are recentralising power back to the state.

Reinforcing Nation State Sovereignty

The new scales of governance set in play through the negotiation of KAZA-TFCA are working in conjunction with existing scales of governance at local, national, regional and international levels. The co-existence of KAZA-TFCA policies and objectives with those at local, national, regional and international levels creates a complex landscape. Different policies and legislations at the different scales have to be able to complement each other. However, with so many scales of governance, conflicts are bound to happen and some scales are rendered more visible and powerful than others. Soberon & Sarukhan (2009) argue that the introduction of new scales almost always introduces new stakeholders with differing values, understandings and processes used to reach agreement. In the case of TFCAs, national scales tend to take precedence:

Sovereignty not just in TFCAs but even if you work together at the SADC level, we have
a supportive process towards a common position development for CITES. Of course,
you can have a common vision or a SADC position on something, but sovereignty comes
first. So, if a country really disagrees or has a different opinion then that has to be
respected and accommodated in a certain way (Blanken, GIZ, field interview,
10/2016).

The needs of those positioned at one scale are sometimes overshadowed by the needs of others positioned within other scales. National interests are not always in line with KAZA-TFCA's interests and when that happens, national interests seem to take precedence over

KAZA-TFCA interests. Migratory species are a good example of a shared resource that need to be conserved collaboratively, however how this is done is not always straight forward. Research conducted by various organisations, including EWB and WWF, on migratory species including elephants and zebras across the borders of the KAZA-TFCA partner countries, revealed some tensions (Taylor, WWF, field interview, 2016). Because these species move across national borders, ownership of the species becomes an issue – do they belong to the nation within which they are found at any particular point in time or should they belong to all the countries in their migratory route? Indeed, can they 'belong' to a nation-state at all? Articles 3 and 4(a) of the CBD state:

> States have, in accordance with the charter of the United Nations and the principles of international law, the sovereign rights to exploit their own resources in pursuant to their own environmental policies….in areas within the limits of its national jurisdiction.

Therefore, technically, while in the jurisdiction of that country, the said country can use the resource in accordance with their domestic legislation. However, it is the responsibility of that country at that particular time to conserve the population, range and habitat of the migratory species (CMS Bonn, 1979). The importance of TFCAs comes into play when dealing with such species. However, sometimes, countries utilise the resource in a way that is counterintuitive to the objectives of the whole. One of my interviewees (who wished to remain anonymous), described a population of zebras which migrates between Botswana and Namibia, covering 500km over several months (Naidoo *et al.* 2014). While zebras were migrating from Botswana to Namibia, a number of zebras were allegedly darted on the Namibia side for sale to a farm in Zambia. This was sanctioned by Namibia without any consultation with their Botswanan counterpart. Whilst I have not been able to corroborate this story, this emphasises the power of the nation state and illustrates how the inter-National KAZA-TFCA scale can be shifted aside by the needs and actions of one sovereign country.

As stated above, neither Botswana nor Namibia are Parties to the Bonn Convention whose goal is the conservation and sustainable use of migratory wildlife and their habitats while promoting cooperation in the management of migratory species. Therefore, they are not obliged to adhere to the articles of the Bonn Convention. In this way, Namibia was justified to utilise 'their' wildlife as they saw fit without consulting with their Botswanan counterpart.

However, both these countries are signatories of the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement. As mention earlier, this Protocol calls for the joint management of shared wildlife resources. As such, one would expect that as countries who are signatories to the SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement and have an established Treaty (KAZA-TFCA) between them, that both seek to manage shared resources, there would have been some level of consultation between the two countries before such action was taken by the Namibia government.

This is not only about the construction of particular borders and the movements of animals (dictated by the animals themselves or by human intervention) across them, but is directly inter-related with issues of power and politics, be it Namibia asserting the right to ownership of the zebras when in Namibian territory and hence the right to sell and benefit from them, or be it KAZA-TFCA's vision of negotiated discussions between the countries to decide the fate of the shared resource. These fundamental issues of power, politics and scale are discussion further in **chapter 7**.

Richtersveld Transfrontier Park is a TFCA that straddles the borders of Namibia and South Africa and was formed by combining the Hot Springs Game Park (Namibia) and the Richtersveld National Park (South Africa) in 2003. It again illustrates the power of the nation state and how it can be reinforced through TFCAs. In South Africa, Richtersveld Transfrontier Park encompasses the Northern Richtersveld reserve which is owned by the Nama people. The Nama are an African ethnic group found in South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. The Nama were herders and pastoralists found in the vast land between the Namib and Kalahari deserts stretching south to the Cape (Saugestad 2004). When Richtersveld National Park was established in 2003, due to new South African Land Rights legislation, the South Africa National Parks Board negotiated with the people living on the reserve as these people had a state-recognised right to their land and the courts would not allow those right to be violated. It was decided that because the land belonged to the local people, they would continue using the land within the park and be involved as co-managers of the park (Sharp & Boonzaier, 1994). However, the Nama people in Namibia had a different history compared to those in South Africa. Between 1904 and 1908, the Germans who had colonised Namibia perpetrated genocide against the Herero and Nama people in the southern parts of the country and dispossessed them of their land (Kossler, 2007). These people never got their land back. When

the Richtersveld Transfrontier Park was established, the Nama on the Namibia side were never consulted nor were they given the same rights as their counterparts across the border as they had no legal right to the land like the Nama people of South Africa:

> *Richtersveld, on the South African side, the community has got land which they got back through the land restitution but their relative on the other side of the border, which is the Namibia side, don't have the same rights because they don't have land rights. They are not even in the treaty. The treaty is very specific, local communities on the SA side we mean the Nama people. There are Nama people on the Namibia side who are not mentioned because they do not have land rights. So, we end up with some local people being involved but not others within the same TFCA* (Interview: Ramutsindela 10/2016).

Inclusions, Exclusion, Erasures and Invisibilities

With any scale or boundary construction, there are dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, issues of visibility, invisibility and erasures. The complexities of scale construction grow when considering questions of where the boundaries should be and how, and who, which and why certain human and non-human communities should be included or excluded from the boundaries. In constructing a new scale of governance, everyone is not always recognised or included, highlighting the limitations of the process and specific practices and implications of exclusion and erasure.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, conservation practices and policies in Africa began to shift towards community-based approaches in an attempt to move beyond colonial practices (Hulme & Murphree, 1999). Ramutsindela (2007, pers comm 2016) argues that TFCAs are transnational projects which have more state control and thus have moved away from CBNRM (bottom-up) back to state-controlled top-down management. While TFCAs promote international collaboration, they may side-line local communities in development. This process can be seen in KAZA-TFCA in a number of areas such as community consultation, community participation in boundary negotiations and decision-making processes.

Throughout KAZA-TFCA to date, community priorities continue to be overshadowed by ecological priorities. During the prefeasibility study, out of the 268 stakeholders consulted, only 21 of those were communities and community representatives, which is less than 8% of

the consulted stakeholders (see figure 4.1). As stated by Modise during a field interview (10/2016) "Let me point out that the primary role of TFCAs is conservation, all other objectives are secondary". Ramutsindela points out that in conservation, non-humans come first[10] but acknowledges that this in itself is a major problem. He points out that there are legal frameworks and treaties to support wildlife to cross borders (see above) but no similar instruments to support the movement of local people across national borders (Ramutsindela, field interview 2016). This reinforces the nature-society dualism and the importance conservationists and policy makers give to wildlife over people. Ramutsindela believes that there should be legal frameworks and treaties that bind countries to support people as they are bound to support on animals. The lack of treaties that deal specifically with local people, especially communities of the same culture that were separated by the formation of the nation state boundaries in the first place, such as the Nama people previously discussed, illustrates the invisibility of cultures and communities as scales of governance and practice that can be negotiated with and responded to in the region.

The SADC Protocol on Culture, Information and Sport (2001) recognises the importance of culture and attempts to mainstream cultural heritage in economic development issues. Section 1 article 11 of the Protocol states that:

> *In fulfillment of the principles of this Protocol, State parties shall co-operate in the area of culture in order to attain the following objectives: (e) ensure that culture plays a significant role in the economic development of the region and evaluate all SADC projects and programmes for their cultural impact.*

My research in north western Zimbabwe, especially in the rural areas covered by KAZA-TFCA, revealed that local people seem to not know about KAZA-TFCA. A survey was conducted that sought to explore knowledge of TFACs and KAZA-TFCA by different groups of people (**see chapters 2 and 6**). The survey had the following responses:

> *We have never heard of KAZA-TFCA, we do not know what it is.*

> *We have no idea what KAZA-TFCA is, nobody has ever come and talked to us about it.*

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[10] These non-humans come first on human terms of how humans can benefit from said non-humans. This anthropocentric valuing of non-humans is discussed further in chapters 6 and 7.

I have seen the KAZA-TFCA logo on cars and on t-shirts/shirts, but I have no idea what it is exactly.

The above statements were echoed by a number of my informants during field interviews. The feasibility study conducted for KAZA-TFCA mentioned in an earlier section of this chapter, reinforces the exclusivity nature of TFCAs (see table 4.1 on page 100). Local communities were not involved in the negotiation processes of KAZA-TFCA including boundary negotiations:

The governments of the involved countries negotiate the boundaries of a proposed TFCA with the help of technical and financial advisors together with private land owners where private land becomes part of a TFCA. Research is conducted to see where the boundaries go, and these boundaries can be marked by physical barriers, rivers and lakes and biodiversity/ecosystems (Interview: Advisor for Transfrontier Conservation Areas at GIZ, 10/2016)

The quote above leaves out local communities in the boundary negotiation process and echoes the colonial power structures of privileging white land owners while marginalising communal locals. States, technical and financial advisors, private land owners, researchers as well as non-humans through their value to biodiversity all play a role in the negotiation of TFCAs but there is no mention of local human communities within the boundaries of TFCAs. This aligns with the fact that most of the local communities are found in communal lands where the locals inhabiting the area have no legal rights due to the state-owned nature of communal lands (this is discussed in detail in relation to Zimbabwe in **chapter 6**). The lack of local community consultation renders community members living on communal lands invisible and powerless. With only a few communities consulted, the nearly 2 million people in countless communities not consulted were not given the opportunity to negotiate their terms and indeed most had no idea what was happening.

Unfortunately, the side-lining of local communities is an all too familiar process in TFCAs. In the GLTFCA, the Mozambican part of the TFCA incorporated the Coutada Sixteen, a wildlife utilization area, with a population of 27 000 people. This was meant to be a multiple use area that would benefit the impoverished local community. However, after the signing of the of TFCA agreement, the area was turned into a national park without any consultation or consideration of the local population (Spierenburg *et al.* 2006). Spierenburg *et al.* (2006)

argue that the transformation of Coutada Sixteen into a national park undermined the local population's rights to the land and with little to no bargaining power, they are unable to challenge the state's decision.

The priorities of KAZA-TFCA and issues of invisibility and exclusion of local communities is further illustrated and exacerbated by the funding cycles of KAZA-TFCA:

> *The first two funding cycles went into capacity building with a top-down focus thus making the bottom-up invisible. However, the third funding cycle focuses on community related development which should bring bottom-up priorities into focus* (Interview: Dipotso, KAZA secretariat, 10/2016).

The first two funding cycles of KAZA-TFCA for €8 million and €12 million from KfW in 2010 and 2013 respectively were utilised for national capacity building of national authorities responsible for conservation and management of natural resources:

> *I think it is important that when you start, you start with capacity building. If you for example start with the communities and support them in activities such conservation agriculture, which is one of the activities we will be supporting in Angola. You are going to support the community in conservation agriculture, but the national authority will not be capacitated to help these communities to deal with issues of human wildlife conflict, poaching and any other problems identified by the communities. So, it was in order that KAZA-TFCA started with capacity building of the national authorities then we move into the communities* (Interview: KAZA-TFCA Programme Manager, KAZA secretariat, 10/2016)*.

This was more of a top-down process and contributed to the further exclusion and invisibility of local communities in the KAZA-TFCA process. However, according to field informants from KfW, KAZA secretariat and GIZ, the third funding cycle which is expected to commence in late 2018 and run until 2022 is earmarked for community-based projects. The informants expect this will give local communities the opportunity to get more involved in the KAZA-TFCA process:

> *So far, KfW has committed €20 million into the KAZA-TFCA program. This money has been distributed through 2 funding cycles for development and capacity building.*

Phase 1 and 2 were therefore not focused much on local communities…..KAZA-TFCA recognises that communities play an important role on achieving KAZA-TFCA goals and without their involvement, the KAZA-TFCA initiative will not be able to achieve its objectives therefore the 3rd phase where KfW has committed €15.5 million will be focused on community related development…..it will be all about the communities (Interview: KAZA-TFCA Programme Manager, KAZA secretariat, 10/2016).

The third funding cycle which is coming up very soon will be looking more towards community development which is something that was not done much with the other funding cycles (Interview: KAZA-TFCA Executive Director, KAZA-TFCA secretariat, 09/2017).

We have committed €15.5 million for the third phase which will hopefully be dispensed within the next few week [August 2018][11]. The third cycle dispensation is based on the IDP and the projects will be mostly for the communities by the communities (Interview: Principal Project Manager, Southern African Region, KfW, 06/2018).

According to one of my informants, some of the exclusions and invisibilities brought about by KAZA-TFCA are not by design but due to lack of resources, such as finances (Interview: KAZA Zimbabwe liaison, 09/2017). According to the KAZA secretariat, information about KAZA-TFCA reaches communities through the various partner countries' liaison's office and NGOs (Interview: KAZA-TFCA programme manager, 10/2016). However, the KAZA Zimbabwe liaison's office does not have the funds to carry out these duties. According to the national TFCA coordinator's office, "the operational budget for the Zimbabwe TFCA office is very minimal" (Interview, 08/2017). Donors, like KfW, could not provide funds to Zimbabwe due to their national policies, and PPF who pledged but failed to supply funding for Zimbabwe (**see chapter 5**), have inevitably reinforced the exclusions and invisibilities of local communities in Zimbabwe by side-lining Zimbabwe in the funding process:

We wish we could consult with all the communities within our region and let them have a say as they are affected by the processes of KAZA-TFCA. However, Zimbabwe is not

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[11] As of January 2019, there is no indication that funds for phase III have been released yet.

*getting much funds from the donors therefore we just do not have the resources to reach every community out there (*Interview: KAZA Zimbabwe liaison, 09/2017)*.

It is important to note that though local people might be invisible from the perspective of KAZA-TFCA decision-makers, not all people are erased. Different people are prioritised, and this has direct implications for power, politics and money. For example, KAZA-TFCA conducted a pilot study on the KAZA-TFCA UNIVISA which recognises the need for tourists to be able to travel across national boundaries with ease within the KAZA-TFCA region. The establishment of the UNIVISA complies with the SADC Protocol on the Development of Tourism (1998). Article 2 of the Protocol states that:

The objectives of the Protocol are: (10) to facilitate intra-regional travel for the development of tourism through easing or removal of travel and visa restrictions and harmonisation of immigration procedures.

The Protocol further states in article 5 that:

(1) *Member States shall endeavour to make the entry and travel of visitors as smooth as possible and shall remove practices likely to place obstacles to the development of travel and tourism both regional and international by: (c) having a tourism univisa which facilitates movement of international tourists in the region….*

The UNIVISA pilot project was launched in 2014 and allows tourist from 65 different eligible countries access to Zimbabwe and Zambia for 30 days. It also allows for day trips to Botswana through the Kazungula border post (KAZA-TFCA, 2018). In 2016, the Ministers of Home Affairs from both Zambia and Zimbabwe signed a MoU symbolising the commencement of the permanent issuance of the KAZA-TFCA UNIVISA. The objective is that the UNIVISA will eventually incorporate the other three partner countries. KAZA-TFCA identified tourism as one of the key socio-economic pillars of the TFCA. Tourism boosts the economic wellbeing of the member states therefore tourists are prioritised. The UNIVISA was meant to make travel between the partner countries easier for tourists.

Another group of people that are visible and tend to be privileged through KAZA-TFCA are the scientific and social researchers. Without the natural resources, there would be no KAZA-

TFCA. The need to conserve these natural resources to enable continued benefit from them promotes the need for research, especially that of shared resources, which ensures that researchers are not invisible. The KAZA Secretariat and partner countries encourage research projects in the KAZA-TFCA region, with partner countries approving research permits for researchers seeking to conduct research in the area (KAZA-TFCA website). Not only is this visibility shown through the encouragement by KAZA-TFCA of research in the region, it was made clear to me during the symposiums I attended in Victoria Falls (**see chapter 2**) where many researchers were invited to join the symposiums, unlike the local communities who were under represented. The quote below was taken from the KAZA-TFCA website, it is part of the statement advertising the symposium:

> *The Symposium will bring together governments, traditional authorities, transboundary natural resource forums, conservation and development NGOs, conservation biologists and other scientists to share experiences, learn from each other and map a way forward for integrated conservation and sustainable development in the KAZA-TFCA as an economic option for the region integration and development* (KAZA-TFCA 2016).

Note the absence of local communities in the statement above. The publication of the *State of KAZA-TFCA Symposium 2016 Proceedings* (n.d) recorded the attendance of over 270 people from the five partner countries (p.81-102). Those recorded as in attendance were affiliated with NGOs, government departments, conservation groups, research institutions, media and a few traditional and community leaders but none were registered as just a community member.

"The granaries might be full, BUT the surrounding people remain poor". This quote was taken from a presentation by Diggle *et al.* (2016) on tourism joint venture models in communal areas at the KAZA-TFCA symposium. The presenter, a CBNRM Business Specialist from WWF in Namibia, argued that the states were reaping the benefits of KAZA-TFCA and yet some of the communities within KAZA-TFCA are the most socio-economically disadvantaged people in the region. They attributed this to leakages of benefits and resources from the local communities. This aligns with Ramutsindela's (2007) argument that TFCAs have the potential

to sideline local communities' development in the name of regional development and international collaboration.

However, there is an emerging advocacy for community involvement and participation in conservation strategies and evidence of how important it is for conservation outcomes. With the help of ecotourism consultants, lawyers and German government funds, the Makuleke community repossessed their land in 1998 under the South African Restitution of Land Rights Act (1994) (Khan, 2009; Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). However, the repossession process was marked by compromise on both sides. According to Ramutsindela (2002), the government had to make a hard choice between redressing the injustices of the apartheid regime and protecting other national interests such as economic benefit from tourism and conservation. In the end, negotiations resulted in a collaboration between the community and the Kruger management in the Great Limpopo TFCA (Khan, 2009; Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002). The Makuleke case serves as a model for settling land claims in other conservation areas in Southern Africa. In 1999, the Khomani San and the Meir won their land claim in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park which also resulted in joint with SanParks (Carruthers, 2007). However, Kepe *et al.* (2005) and Thondhlana *et al.* (2011) report a persistence in the imbalance of power even in these cases where joint management occurs. They argue that conservation ideologies continue to dominate of over community development – a character of colonial legacy.

Within KAZA-TFCA, the PPF facilitated the establishment of the Simalaha Community Conservancy with the support of the Zambia Wildlife Authority. The Conservancy is led by traditional authorities, Senior Chief Inyambo Yeta and Chief Sekute. The leadership ensures that the local population has ownership of over the natural resources and wildlife in the area. Over 500 rural farmers have been trained in conservation agriculture, which has produced remarkable results whereby not one animal has been poached in four years (Anasambala & Sparrow, 2016). It is the hope of those involved in the KAZA-TFCA that phase III of the funding will see more of community-based projects like the Simalaha Community Conservancy:

> *The Simalaha Community Conservancy is a great initiative that involves community members. We are hoping to see more initiatives like this in the near future ... Phase I and II were mostly for capacity building of national institution that are meant to*

support community projects. Phase III on the other hand will fund local community projects (Interview: KAZA Secretariat Programme Manager, 10/2016).

According to Chief Shana (pers comm, 09/2017), his people on the Zimbabwean side of the Zambezi River are not benefitting from community projects because unlike his counterparts on the other side of the river in Zambia, they do not own the land on which they live. He believes that the Zambian chiefs have more negotiating power than the Zimbabwean chiefs because they owned the land. Land ownership issues and its role in TFCA participation is discussed further in **chapters 6 and 7**.

There are of course conflicting views on what should be prioritised in and through the KAZA-TFCA. In the 1990s while working as the Director of the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in Botswana, Mr Modise was discussing matters of acting on conservation issues for the sake of conservation with a politician. The politician responded to his concern of conversation by saying that he was voted into being a member of parliament by the people, not animals, therefore if and when it came down to choosing who to prioritise between people or animals, he would choose people. This view of people versus animals reinforces the dualism between nature and society that KAZA-TFCA and other TFCAs are attempting to undermine by supporting simultaneous conservation and development initiatives. As discussed in **chapter 3**, the idea of looking at people and animals as a dichotomy is increasingly being problematised and critiqued in nature-societies studies (Schmidt–Soltau, 2003; Brockington, 2002; Adams & McShane, 1996; Cronon 1996). The distinction between nature and society is seen as a false binary, usually based on Western assumptions of separation and superiority (Adams & McShane, 1996; Cronon 1996, William. 2006). Swyngedouw (1999, p.445) argues that there is no distinction between natural and social processes but that they are intertwined and dependent of each other, which is characteristic of assemblage thinking:

> *contemporary scholars increasingly recognize that natural or ecological conditions and processes do not operate separately from social processes, and that the existing socio-natural conditions are always the result of intricate transformations of pre-existing configurations that are themselves inherently natural and social.*

Conclusion

TFCAs claim to remove borders, particularly colonial borders and potentially conceptual borders between humans and nature, with bioregionalists arguing that national borders undermine the ecological integrity of some bioregions due to land fragmentations that hinder ecological processes and reduce migration ranges of wildlife (Wolmer, 2003; Hanks, 2000; Zbicz, 1999). However, this is only true in cases where national boundaries are demarcated by actual physical boundaries like fences. As documented by Ramutsindela (2007b), not all African state borders are marked by fences, some are simply lines on a map. Wildlife does not recognise national boundaries and if there are no physical barriers to stop them, they can move freely across national boundaries. The free movement can, however, come at a cost to the wildlife as demonstrated in this chapter by the story of the elephants being shot as they moved from Botswana to Namibia.

Although TFCAs claim to remove borders, the creation of TFCAs is itself a process of bordering where new spaces are created. Spierenburg & Wels (2006) argue that space is created through the exercise of power, therefore, not only is it a bordering process, it is an act of power (Newman, 2006; Paasi, 2004). The establishment of TFCAs results in the creation of new borders that reshape access and rights by different actors (Noe, 2010). As this chapter demonstrates, certain actors have the power to negotiate and reshape existing scales, transforming them into new spaces suitable for the fulfilment of their interests and goals. In the process, the rescaling of conservation strategies from local to regional strategies results in the side-lining of local human communities (Ramutsindela, 2007b, 2009) with many local people in KAZA-TFCA left out of the negotiation or decision-making processes. Other studies support the findings of this chapter, illustrating how the creation of TFCA spaces create new boundaries where access and use of natural resources are controlled by those who create these boundaries (Noe, 2010).

The creation of the KAZA-TFCA landscape is an example of scalar thickening where local and national scales are rescaled into a regional scale. Rescaling or making of new scales is closely tied to economic, political and cultural shifts (Swyngedouw, 2004a; Smith, 2004). The scalar configuration of KAZA-TFCA discussed above is a result of political, economic and ecological agendas pursued by certain actors within KAZA-TFCA. In principle, TFCAs advocate for the incorporation of human communities into the conservation landscape. This is a shift from the

'fortress conservation' thinking where biodiversity conservation and ecosystem integrity were the main focus, with the view that environmentalism and sustainable development can be achieved simultaneously (Beresford and Phillips, 2000; Hall-Martin & Modise, 2002). KAZA-TFCAs therefore calls for greater involvement of local communities in conservation strategies through both its MoU and Treaty.

However, the transformation of nation-states into the KAZA-TFCA scale altered the geometry of social power by strengthening the power and the control of some while disempowering others (Swyngedouw, 2004a). Swyngedouw (2004a) suggests that some scalar configurations can become nested arenas for further social and political struggle over access of natural resources. This chapter demonstrated how the new scalar configuration of KAZA-TFCA can exclude, erase and make invisible other 'less powerful' resources users, particularly local human communities. The side-lining of other considerable 'less powerful' resource users by those considered 'more powerful' at certain scales illustrates that scale and power function as a practice of exclusion within TFCA landscapes. However, power is relational and power dynamics are constantly changing depending on relationships, networks and context (Foucault, 1980). The Nama people of South Africa discussed above show how relationships and context can empower groups usually consider 'less powerful', thus shifting the power dynamic.

This chapter focused on the first scale lens which discussed the creation and implementation of KAZA-TFCA itself as a new regional scale of conservation governance. It discussed its harmonies and conflicts with exiting national, regional and international treaties, conventions and protocols. The creation of this new scale highlights dynamics of inclusion and exclusion, issues of visibility, invisibility and erasures. Building on this, the next chapter focuses on the role of the nation-state scale within KAZA-TFCA through the lens of one of KAZA-TFCA key players, Zimbabwe, and examines how its inter-National relationships interrelate with KAZA-TFCA.

Chapter 5. Inter-National politics, conservation and the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA-TFCA): How the political situation in Zimbabwe is influencing conservation strategies within KAZA-TFCA

> "*The past is never dead. It's not even past*"
>
> (William Faulkner, 1951)

Introduction

Due to their transboundary nature, TFCAs are managed and governed by multiple players at different levels and scales. As such, cross-level and cross-scale relationships are critical factors in the running and success of TFCAs. **Chapter 4** discussed the cross-scale interactions shaping KAZA-TFCA. These interactions are shaped by human and non-humans players situated in different contexts in often inequitable and unbalanced ways. Not only do human players directly related to the TFCAs shape processes and outcomes (stakeholders), but they also interact with other human players seen as outside of the TFCA (non-stakeholders). These interactions can also greatly influence and affect the dynamics and effectiveness of the TFCA.

This chapter will focus on one of the five nations of KAZA-TFCA, Zimbabwe, and examine how the politics of the nation-state impact conservation strategies and KAZA-TFCA. In doing so, it not only delves into the political history of Zimbabwe, dating back to the colonial era, but also considers how this colonial history relates to international sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe from 2000. It explores how capacity building and project implementation of KAZA-TFCA projects in Zimbabwe compares to the other partner countries, as Zimbabwe is currently the only one out of the five partner countries unable to access funds from some of KAZA-TFCA's key donors. I start by outlining how international politics involving stakeholders and networks other external networks [non-stakeholders] can affect what is happening in KAZA-TFCA. I dive into the land history of Zimbabwe that resulted in the contemporary policies that led to the sanctions imposed on by Zimbabwe and what effect these sanctions have on Zimbabwe's conservation efforts.

International Politics and KAZA-TFCA

Rosenau (1990) claims that the politics of everywhere affects the politics of everywhere else. This is indeed the case with international politics and the KAZA-TFCA. A specific example of countries that are not usually categorised as being direct stakeholders in KAZA-TFCA directly influencing processes and outcomes can be seen in the tensions that have existed between Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom and its allies in the past two decades, with an even longer history dating back to the 1800s when the British colonialised the area. These political tensions led to and exacerbated disruptions within the Zimbabwean political and economic sectors. Important sources of foreign exchange like donor funding for development projects, banks' lines of credit, and foreign direct and portfolio investment, dried up which had great implications for the transboundary projects Zimbabwe is involved in, including KAZA-TFCA.

> *Donors say they do not discriminate against any country but the reality of the ground is very different … take Chimanimani TFCA as an example, when Mozambique was coordinating, funds were coming in but when it was Zimbabwe's turn to coordinate, the funds stopped coming* (Interview: National TFCA coordinator, 08/2017).

Duffy (2006) argues that the political situation in Zimbabwe greatly undermined the GLTFCA. Six months after signing the TFCA agreement, the Zimbabwean government changed the land use status of portions of one of the critical areas of the TFCA, the Gonarezhou National Park, from protected area to resettlement area. This move by the Zimbabwean government raised anxieties with the other GLTFCA stakeholders including partner countries and donors such as USAID (Wolmer, 2003; Duffy, 2006).

Wolmer (2003) argues that TFCAs open new spaces for private sector investment and allow for regional economic integration. The formation of TFCAs thus seems like a good tool in developing co-management of natural resources amongst states, stakeholders and communities in an even-handed manner - promoting conservation while simultaneously promoting development. However, in practice, instead of equitable management, empowerment and dynamic ecological-socio-economic systems, this tool may side-line some resource users while strengthening the position of others due to different power dynamics and divergent interests (Borrini & Jaireth, 2007; Ramutsindela, 2005, 2004; Leach *et al.* 1999). Financial power is one such dynamic that can side-line certain resource users.

Like most TFCAs in Southern Africa, KAZA-TFCA relies on international donors and has so far received approximately $48.9 million[12]. It is sponsored by international organisations and governments including the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC), the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Dutch and German governments and the Kreditanstalt für Wiederaufbau (KfW), a German Development Bank, which is KAZA-TFCA's biggest donor organisation (KAZA Secretariat).

However, in 2000 the USA and the European Union (EU) imposed economic sanctions on Zimbabwe. This was due to Zimbabwe's political situation, which is analysed in detail below. As a result of these economic sanctions, Zimbabwe is unable to access funds from KAZA-TFCA's main donor, KfW, as KfW is situated within the EU. KfW is currently withholding the funds allocated to Zimbabwe until the political system has been resolved to the satisfaction of the EU:

> *KAZA-TFCA is a 5-partner country program but in terms of resource access and allocation, the donor will have a final say on how they want their money spent. And at the moment, the largest donor KfW as an institution has managed to occupy a central position in KAZA-TFCA* (Interview: Zimbabwe National TFCA coordinator, 08/2017).

> *All the other countries got their portion for country specific projects in phase one except for Zimbabwe. The money for Zimbabwe is there, they were allocated but the funds are sitting with the donor, waiting for the political situation in Zimbabwe to be to the satisfaction of the EU…….yes, the funds for Zimbabwe will be released once that happens* (Interview: Mtsambiwa, KAZA secretariat, 09/2017)

However, these views that KfW is withholding funds for Zimbabwe until such a time as the political situation is resolved to the satisfaction of the EU is in contradiction with the information obtained from KfW. The KfW informant indicated that when KAZA-TFCA was being negotiated, KfW made it very clear that they would not be sending any funds to Zimbabwe as this would be in contravention of German and EU policies:

> *KfW made it very clear that there would be no funds for Zimbabwe. We made no commitment or provisions for Zimbabwe for phase 1 and 2 as this would have been in*

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[12] I requested financial records from KAZA secretariat of how this money has been distributed within KAZA-TFCA and they have been reluctant to share that information with me.

conflict with German policies with regards to donor funds to sanctioned countries. (Interview: Principal Project Manager, Southern African Region, KfW, 06/2018)

Botswana was named the first coordinator for the TFCA and therefore the first facilitator was provided by Botswana - the mandate at the time stated that the coordinating country must provide the facilitator. I interviewed Mr Modise, the first official facilitator, and he had some interesting information to share about the financial negotiations that took place to establish KAZA-TFCA:

As the facilitator, I talked with the development partners, like KfW, to say they should bring money to KAZA-TFCA and they agreed. I told the partner countries, and everyone was happy. Then on the last day, KfW came and said they are not going to fund Zimbabwe, that the funds they are going to give to KAZA-TFCA, none of it should be spent in Zimbabwe because of the politics. The partner countries rejected this proposal, they said if the money excludes Zimbabwe then it is not for KAZA-TFCA because KAZA-TFCA includes Zimbabwe. They said the development partner wants to setup something that excludes Zimbabwe then the TFCA cannot go on. Eventually another development partner, PPF, stepped in and pledged to provide matching funds for Zimbabwe. I know that PPF has provided some funds to Zimbabwe, but I do not know or think that they have matched the funds that the other partner countries are getting from the main donor (Interview: Former KAZA-TFCA facilitator, 10/2016)

As explained in **chapter 2,** I attempted on several occasions to contact PPF to hear their side of the story but was unsuccessful. KfW committed over €47million over 3 funding cycles (personal communication, KfW official, 06/2018). With four countries currently benefitting from these funds, that is a commitment of over €10million for each of the countries benefitting. It is an interesting question whether PPF, which is also donor dependent, would have actually been able to fund Zimbabwe by matching the funds provided by KfW to the other countries.

To meet the objectives of the KAZA-TFCA, projects are implemented in two ways, namely transboundary projects and nation specific projects (see figure 5.1).
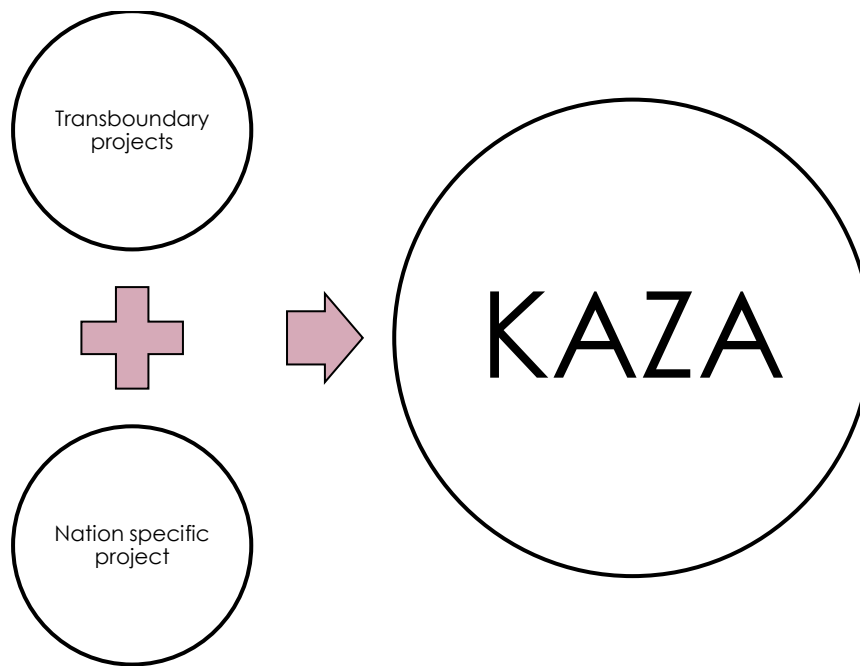
Figure 5.1: KAZA-TFCA project implementation through (i) transboundary projects and (ii) nation specific projects.

Transboundary projects are projects that include two or more of the 5 partner countries. The UNIVISA project (see **chapter 4**) is an example of a transboundary project. The project was mostly funded by the World Bank which is one of the organisations that still provides international funding to Zimbabwe (discussed in detail further in the chapter) and co-financed by KfW:

> *KfW made it very clear from the beginning that no funding could go to Zimbabwe because the German policies would not allow it. The only exception we had was with the UNIVISA and that was possible because it was done by the World Bank and it was a regional project. KfW acted as a co-financer to a World Bank project providing funds for software and salaries. It was considered acceptable for the funds to be provided as this was a regional project* (Interview: Principal Project Manager, Southern African Region, KfW, 06/2018).

Nation specific projects help the individual countries to fulfil their obligations of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP). With the exception of Zimbabwe, each of the partner country received money to implement nation specific projects including demining in Angola and restocking of wildlife in Sioma Ngwezi and Lower West Zambezi in Zambia. Angola's 27-

year civil war led to approximately 20 million landmines being planted throughout the country, 4 million of which remain due to intermittent demining efforts since 1992 (Human Rights Watch Africa 2003). The presence of landmines was a limitation for conservation and tourism management therefore the participation of Angola in the KAZA-TFCA was on condition of the completion of demining campaigns in the KAZA-TFCA region of Angola. In 2011, the Angolan government approved the demining operational plan, and according to the MIDP, as of 2014 approximately 70% of the Angola component of KAZA-TFCA is considered to have been cleared of mines (KAZA-TFCA, 2014).

Funds from the main donor, KfW, have been availed to Zimbabwe only for the transboundary projects such as the UNIVISA and the establishment of the KAZA Zimbabwe liaison's office who works for the KAZA Secretariat in Zimbabwe. For the nation specific projects, funds were meant to have been sourced and provided by PPF. As described above, when negotiations almost broke down because donors like KfW would not fund Zimbabwe, PPF stepped in and pledged to match the funds that the other countries were getting from the donors for Zimbabwe (Interview: former KAZA-TFCA facilitator, 2016). However, the funds that have been availed to Zimbabwe by PPF are insignificant compared to what the other countries are getting:

> *Peace Parks had pledged to provide funds for KAZA-TFCA projects in Zimbabwe, they have provided some funds here and there, but the funds are very little and are not a match to what the other countries are getting* (Interview: National TFCA coordinator Zimbabwe, 10/2017)

Without funds for nation specific projects, Zimbabwe cannot fulfil its obligations highlighted in the IDP and hence their capacity building and country specific projects are lagging behind:

> *Zimbabwe has not been allowed to benefit in terms of infrastructure development to support the government, but they have benefitted in terms of institutional capacity related to transboundary projects* (Interview: KAZA-TFCA Executive Director, 10/2017).

Power and International Relations

Economic Power and Sanctions

Sanctions have been used by states throughout history to achieve political objectives. One form of sanctions that powerful nations use on subordinate nations is economic sanctions. Pape (1997) defines economic sanctions as seeking:

> *to lower the aggregate economic welfare of a targeted state by reducing international trade in order to coerce the targeted government to change its political behaviour* (p.93).

Economic sanctions are effective on these subordinate nations because "the economic life of subordinate nations is penetrated by and intertwined with that of powerful nations" (Cox, 1983 pp. 169). The financial dependency of subordinate nations makes them susceptible to manipulation by those countries that have the financial power. According to Zhou *et al.* (2009, p.700), "money enables people to manipulate the social system to give them what they want". The risk of losing financial support from the powerful nations often results in donor-dependent nations conforming to western ideologies. Bassett & Crummey (2003, p.12) argue that "African governments play roles subordinate to these external agencies to whom they are beholden for funding and expertise".

International Political Conflicts and Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe is experiencing an economic and political crisis. According to Cawthra (2010), this crisis can be traced back to the year 2000 when a referendum on a new Constitution failed and the invasion of white-owned farms by war veterans[13] commenced. In 2000, Zimbabwean voters rejected a proposed new Constitution by 54.7%. The new Constitution would have allowed for the seizing of white 'owned' land by the government. According to literature (Grebe, 2010; Chingono, 2010; Cawthra, 2010) the failed 2000 constitutional referendum marked the beginning of political violence and democratic violations in Zimbabwe. Following this failure, in February 2000, war veterans invaded and occupied commercial farms which were 'owned' by white farmers. In the months that followed, more black people invaded and occupied the white owned farmers, while the police did nothing to aid the evicted white

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[13] Former combatants of the Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army (ZANLA) and Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) who served during the Rhodesian Bush War also known as the Second Chimurenga War.

farmers (Chingono, 2010; Cawthra, 2010). Since then, Zimbabwe has been marked by claims of human rights violations, violence, electoral irregularities, voter intimidation and vote rigging as observed by the international community and the opposition parties. The land reform program of 2000 which saw over 4000 white farmers 'violently' removed from farms across Zimbabwe attracted a great deal of backlash from the international community (Noko, 2011; Chingono, 2010). This resulted in a major conflict with the United Kingdom (UK) and its allies who saw this as human rights and property rights violations.

Sanctions on Zimbabwe

In December 2001 the US passed the Zimbabwe Democracy and Recovery Act opposing extensions of loans or any debt cancellations from the Multilateral Organizations. The United Kingdom and United States joined forces in 2002 to call for its allies to impose sanctions on Zimbabwe. On 18 February 2002, following the expulsion of the EU head of election monitoring mission the Swedish diplomat Pierre Schori, accused of interfering with the elections, EU introduced restrictive sanctions on Mugabe and some senior government officials from traveling in and around Europe and freezing of personal assets and bank accounts. In September 2002, the Howard government in Australia imposed targeted sanctions on members of the Zimbabwe government in protests against the deteriorating political situation in Zimbabwe. These included travel restrictions, arms embargo and targeted financial sanctions. What is unique about the Australian sanctions is that the government went on to remove children of some notable senior government officials who were studying in Australia (Chingono, 2010 pp.1)

Zimbabwe has been under targeted sanctions since 2000, mainly from United States of America (USA), UK and the European Union (EU). These sanctions were imposed on Zimbabwe due to what the sanctioners perceived as human rights violations, political violence, democratic violations and violations of property rights during the fast-track land reform program discussed above. Immediately after the dispossession started, the USA and UK imposed sanctions on Zimbabwe (Noko, 2011; Chingono, 2010). It was not until the 2002 parliamentary election, when EU election observer Pierre Schori was denied entry into Zimbabwe after being accused of trying to interfere with the elections that the EU imposed its first sanctions on Zimbabwe (Chingono, 2010; Grebe, 2010).

The hope of the targeted sanctions, which targeted the then president Mugabe and his senior government officials, was that the sanctions would hurt the government enough for them to change their policies and conform to "western standards" of democracy, human rights and land rights.

Targeted sanctions target specific individual persons in order to minimise unintended humanitarian (economic and social) impact for vulnerable populations and innocent bystanders (Grebe, 2010). The USA and EU claim that the sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe are targeted to specific people in the Mugabe regime and certain companies. EU foreign ministers released a statement in 2002 saying that the EU sanctions on Zimbabwe were "designed not to harm ordinary citizens of Zimbabwe or her neighbours" (The Guardian, 2002). However, the Zimbabwean government argued that these sanctions economically affected the Zimbabwean population and did not seem to minimise humanitarian impacts on the normal Zimbabwean. Speaking at the United Nations General Assembly in 2008, President Mugabe called for the removal of sanctions:

> *I appeal to the world's collective conscience to apply pressure for the immediate removal of these sanctions by Britain, the United States and their allies, which have brought untold suffering to our people*".

He described the leaders behind the sanctions as "*international perpetrators of genocide, acts of aggression and mass destruction[14]*".

In 2001, the US passed the Zimbabwe Democracy and Recovery Act opposing extensions of loans or any debt cancellations from Multilateral Organizations. Under this Act, international financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the African Development Bank cannot extend credit to the Zimbabwe government without the approval of the US president. This produces an interesting dynamic that highlights unequal power dynamics between nations, where one nation-state can dictate international organisations actions. Zimbabwe foreign investment dropped from US$400 million in 1998 to less than US$30 million in 2007 (Noko, 2011). According to Chingono (2010), this Act marked the beginning of economic sanctions on Zimbabwe as any applications for monetary funds made to these institutions were denied through the influence of the United States. Drezner (2011)

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[14] A copy of the full speech can be found on http://www.un.org/ga/63/generaldebate/zimbabwe.shtml

argues that foreign banks adhere to the US Treasury Department's advisory warnings to stop doing business with targeted parties because the US is an epicentre of global finance. International bankers need access to US capital markets to conduct international transactions and the fear of losing access to this market makes them comply with their demands.

The humanitarian fallout from the economic sanctions on Zimbabwe should have been minimised by targeted sanctions, however, this was not the case. As a Zimbabwean citizen living in Zimbabwe during this time I witnessed vulnerable populations and innocent bystanders suffering due to these sanctions. The economy of Zimbabwe collapsed and at its worst, in 2008, Zimbabwean people had to queue in shops for everything including the most basic of commodities. The sanctions affected trade and therefore shops and shelves were empty. Coupled with drought during the 2006/07 agricultural season and low productivity from 2006 – 2008, there were severe food crises in Zimbabwe in 2008 (Chirinda & Nyathi, 2008; Smith, 2008; CNN 2008). People queued to buy bread with some shops going so far as to impose limits to one loaf of bread per customer. Through all this, sanctions failed to yield results, the Mugabe regime would not back down.

Land Reform in Zimbabwe

The violent land reform program in Zimbabwe which saw the dispossession of 4000 white farmers from 'their land' together with the subsequent sanctions imposed on Zimbabwe is framed by a particular narrative in some academic literature, international media and international political discussions (Berry, 2002). This narrative has a particularly western point of view in which the UK and its allies, many human rights activists, and the international media focus on the fault of the Zimbabwean government. It is a selective narrative that vilifies the Mugabe regime and leaves out crucial information, particularly information regarding what led to the initial displacement of white farmers. In her TED talk, the danger of a single story[15], Adichie (2009) addresses the danger of how one starts a story: "Start the story with the failure of the African states and not the colonial creation of the African state and you have an entirely different story". The dominant narratives around Zimbabwe in the last two decades have very much started with the failure of the State (in this case the human rights violations of the Mugabe regime) and ignored the role of the colonial creation of the African state.

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[15] See https://www.ted.com/talks/chimamanda_adichie_the_danger_of_a_single_story?language=en for the full talk.

Land issues in Zimbabwe are complex and deeply rooted in the colonial era. The impacts of colonial systems in Rhodesia[16], and their continuity into postcolonial Zimbabwe, are more complex than what dominant narratives on the land reform from scholarship, media and civil societies suggest. Makunike (2017) argues that contemporary studies on land reclamation and conflicts regarding land ignore the historical colonial context that form the foundation of these issues in Zimbabwe. Alexander (2006) challenges the poorly understood narrative of land reform and acknowledges that the politics of land in Zimbabwe are a lot more complex and are intimately intertwined with the dispossession of land in Rhodesia. These scholars acknowledge that to understand the complex issue of land reform in Zimbabwe, one must understand the history of land in Zimbabwe. Here the words of Sir Shridath Ramphal[17] are most relevant:

> It was about land in the beginning; it was about land during the struggle; it has remained about land today. The land issue in Zimbabwe is not ancient history.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009) argues that colonialism created African nationalism and nationalists are very much anti-colonialists due to their lived experiences of colonialism. Mugabe is one of the best known African nationalists and his ideologies have been shaped by colonial and nationalist histories (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2015). To understand the Mugabe regime and the current political situation (2000-2018) in Zimbabwe, one can therefore not ignore the complex entanglements of history, power and politics within which it has emerged. The story of Zimbabwe's international political conflicts, therefore, starts with the colonialization of the Zimbabwean people by the British.

In the 1800s, the British colonialised Zimbabwe. Already an unpaid MP in the Cape Parliament, Cecil John Rhodes had dreams to expand his power and business to the north and in 1888 he gained support from Sir Hercules Robinson who was the British High Commissioner in Southern Africa (Bourne, 2012). In 1889 Queen Victoria signed a charter that allowed the British South Africa Company (BSAC), led by Rhodes, to act as a government and administer the territory from Limpopo to Lake Tanganyika on behalf of the British empire (Bourne, 2012).

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[16] Rhodesia was the colonial name of Zimbabwe. The name was officially changed from Rhodesia to Zimbabwe in 1980 when independence was obtained.

[17] Secretary-General of the Commonwealth from 1975-90. He made this comment in an interview with G Moyo and M Ashhurst (eds), "Sleight of hand at Lancaster House" in Day After Mugabe (Africa Research Institute, 2007), p. 160

The BSAC's goal was to promote colonisation and wealth exploitation in the region. Rhodes used the charter to establish Fort Salisbury (now Harare) in 1890. During this period, the colonists drove the Ndebele and Shona people off their fertile lands and possessed them for themselves. This invasion of Zimbabwe by white settlers marked the beginning of a long history of dispossession of local people from their land in Southern Africa (Makunike, 2017). In the 1890s, the local people of Zimbabwe found themselves without rights to their ancestral land and sought to reclaim their land from the white minority. In March of 1896, the Ndebele people were determined to fight for their land and began the first Chimurenga[18] War, which was joined by Shona people a few months later. Armed with bows and arrows, they were no match for the British with their superior weapons. The war came to an end in October of 1897 (Kaome, 2016).

The next six decades saw an increase in dispossession of the Zimbabwean people. The frustrations and agitations experienced by the black people due to the ever-increasing rule by the white minority culminated in the second Chimurenga War (1966-1979) led by African nationalists, including Mugabe, which resulted in the end of the white minority rule in Rhodesia and the formation of Zimbabwe. In 1979, the Lancaster House Constitutional negotiations and agreement were held from September to December. The purpose was to discuss the terms of an Independence Constitution to allow Rhodesia to become independent of British authority (Lancaster House Agreement, 1979). According to Sachikonye (2003), the land issue was one of the most contentious issues negotiated at the conference. At the Lancaster House Accords, it was agreed that the newly independent Zimbabwean government would not embark on any land reform for at least 10 years, and that the British government would finance half the costs of land compensation for white people when land reform started, which would be on a willing buyer/willing seller principle. However, it is important to note that the issue of land as discussed at the accords was weak at best. Although discussed and agreed upon, the promise of land compensation by the British government was not enshrined in the Independence Constitution signed at Lancaster House (Sachikonye, 2003). The Thatcher government upheld this agreement and paid half the costs of compensation for land that white farmers sold back to the Zimbabwean government from

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[18] Chimurenga is a Shona (one of Zimbabwe's national languages) word meaning revolutionary struggle.

the 1980 until the early 1990s, however, this was "barely 55 % of its promise and expected contributions" of the targeted land (Moyo, 2001; p.8).

In 1997 the Blair government backed out of the deal. According to Willems (2005) and Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2009), Clare Short, the then Secretary of International Development in the Blair government, wrote a letter to Kumbirai Kangai who was the Minister of Agriculture in Zimbabwe at the time in which she stated:

> I should make it clear that we do not accept that Britain has a special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe. We are a new Government from diverse backgrounds without links to former colonial interests. My own origins are Irish and as you know we were colonised not colonisers.[19]

This led the Mugabe government to retaliate and start the fast-tracked land reform process. An amendment was made to section 16 of Amendment No.16 of the Constitution of Zimbabwe (article 16a: Agricultural land acquired for resettlement) in 2000 which allowed for the Government and the people to repossess agricultural land for the resettlement of people in accordance to the land reform programme. The amendment argues that (1)(a) *under colonial domination the people of Zimbabwe were unjustifiably dispossessed of their land and other resources without compensation* and (1)(c) *the people of Zimbabwe must be enabled to reassert their rights and regain ownership of their land*. As part of the response to the Blair government backing out of the compensation deal, the amendment of article 16 allowed for the removal of white farmers from the land they occupied without any compensation from the Mugabe government. Specifically, section 16 (1)(c)(ii) *if the former colonial power fails to pay compensation through such a fund, the Government of Zimbabwe has no obligation to pay compensation for agricultural land compulsorily acquired for resettlement*.

At the Earth Summit in South Africa in September 2002, Mugabe publicly called out Tony Blair on his withdrawal from the land deal:

> The British - since Tony Blair came to power and changed the face of the Labour Party completely in disregard to relations with us - have reneged on the understanding and agreement reached at Lancaster House regarding the land reform programme and the

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[19] The letter was printed in the Pan-African magazine *New African* in March of 2002. For the full letter, see 'Short, Clare, how it all started', New African Magazine, March 2002.

compensation they agreed to pay to enable us to buy the land from their kith and kin here . . . And what did Blair do? He doesn't talk of that. He talks of a Zimbabwe that is breaching the tenets of democracy, human rights, rule of law, and which is a dictatorship.

Media and scholars that criticise the Mugabe government for the fast-tracked land reform programme tend to overlook these crucial points in history in their criticism. The Blair government failed to respect the conditions, history and ethics of their agreement. The colonialisation of Zimbabwe and the colonial laws, policies and violation of black people's right resulted in 5% of the population (white minority) owning 80% of the arable land and millions of local people relegated to unproductive communal land (Plaut, 2007), communal lands that play a significant role in local community participation in conservation (see **chapters 6 & 7**). Critics focus on the 'evils' perpetrated by the Mugabe regime, steal landing from the 'poor' white farmers through intimidation and violence, violating their human rights and property rights.

While reflecting on my thesis and discussing it with my mother as I occasionally do, she used an analogy of a car:

> *If someone comes to my home and steals my car, then some 5 or 6 years down the road I have a chance to get my car back, does that mean I have stolen my own car from the thief? Just because the thief has been using my car as his own does not mean that the car belongs to him.*

I concede that the analogy of a stolen car is a lot simpler compared to land ownership issues, however, the principles behind the issues are the same. Many Africans were dispossessed and disinherited, their land stolen by the colonialists. Nhemachena *et al.* (2017) argue that colonialism robbed, denied human rights and dispossessed Africans, it denied them the rights to ownership and control of their land. For postcolonial Africans, in this case, the Mugabe regime, it was important to correct an injustice that was established by the colonial rule by giving the land back to the people. For the Mugabe regime, this was a key measure of the success of the liberation struggle (Makunike, 2017). However, the process of land repossession is a difficult one as colonial establishments and western ideologies and entitlements make it difficult for postcolonial governments to repossess land without

seemingly 'dispossessing' others of land which they are perceived of as having 'owned' for generations.

There is a sustained resistance by descendants of colonists (who dispossessed Africans centuries ago) to give up ownership and control over African land (Nhemachena *et al.* 2017: p5.). In a post-colonial Africa, Africans in countries like Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Tanzania who were dispossessed during the colonial era are still being denied ownership and control of their land. In South Africa, at the end of apartheid in 1994:

> *roughly 82 million hectares of commercial farmland (86% of total agricultural land, or 68% of the total surface area) were in the hands of white people (10.9% of the population) and concentrated in the hands of some 60 000 owners. Over 13 million black people, the majority of them poverty-stricken, remained crowded into the former homelands, where rights to land were generally unclear or contested and the system of land administration was in disarray* (Lahiff, 2007; p.1578)

Tribes that applied for land restitution and ownership of their ancestral lands have been denied due to the complexity of repossession of land that is currently occupied by white farmers or used for conservation purposes. Like Zimbabwe, the willing buyer/willing seller strategy was a cornerstone for South Africa's land distribution policy and the government has blamed the slow progress on the land redistribution program on resistance from landowners to sell and the high prices being demanded for land for those willing to sell (Lahiff, 2007).

The complexity and difficulties of land repossession by local and Indigenous groups is not an issue unique to Africa. In Australia, many Indigenous people are still trying to negotiate land repossession and land ownership rights with the Australian government. The Yorta Yorta people of northern Victoria and southern New South Wales (NSW) sought recognition of their ownership of Yorta Yorta Country from the Australian government. They were seeking native title over their land under the *Native Title Act 1993*. However, both the Federal Court and the High Court denied them native title. According to the court, "native title did not exist because there was an 'interruption' in the Yorta Yorta's observance of traditional law and custom in 1881" (Seidel, 2004: p.70). The colonialist establishments used in the ruling were biased against the Yorta Yorta people. According to Seidel (2004), the Yorta Yorta had to prove that they had continuously observed the laws and customs based on the tradition of their

ancestors. The judge in the case used documented evidence from written observations by a European pastoralist who resided in the area in the 1840s. However, he did not consider that documentation of evidence was based on a western ideology which privileges written information over oral knowledge. He disregarded indigenous ways of knowing which for the Yorta Yorta was embodied in story telling rather than the written word (Seidel, 2004).

However, the complexities of the Zimbabwean land issue and its strong links to colonialism do not exonerate the Mugabe regime from the corruption and abuses that ensued since 2000. To solidify and hold on to his power, Mugabe displaced white farmers from the farms under pretence of a movement against sustained neo-colonial oppression by white farmers (Hammer, 2002). Some of it did, with certain large commercial farms divided into small pieces of land for resettlement, like the Fair Range Ranch in Chiredzi District, south-eastern Zimbabwe (Chaumba *et al.*, 2003):

> *What had once been a heavily forested cattle and game ranch was 'scarred' by the randomly scattered rudimentary huts of 'farm invaders'. Fences had been pulled down, trees chopped down, cart-tracks and footpaths established, pasture ploughed up, and wildlife and cattle slaughtered* (p.1)

However, the land redistribution was dominated by a few elite and influential individuals, some who were Mugabe's allies, with some having more than one farm (Moyo, 2007). This violates the Constitution. According to section 293 subsection (2) of the Constitution, "the state may not alienate more than one piece of agricultural land to the same person and his or her dependants". However, according to news articles published by NewZimbabwe.com, a Zimbabwe online newspaper, on the 28th of September 2016 and on the 5th of March 2018, Mugabe himself had 14 farmers in 2016 and 21 by 2018. Far from the 'Third Chimurenga' claimed by the Mugabe regime, the land 'reform' was plagued by corruption and paradoxically reinforced the very colonial practices it claimed to rectify by giving land to the elite. This reinforcement shows how legacies of the past linger and can be re-imagined and repeated in the service of the present.

Effects on Conservation and Livelihoods in Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe experienced high inflation between the years 2000 to 2008, with record high annual inflation of 200 million per cent being recorded in July 2008. This led to Zimbabwe

adopting a multicurrency system in 2009 (Kavila & le Roux, 2016; Ngamanya-Munhupedzi & Chidakwa, 2017). The Mugabe government blamed the economic crisis in Zimbabwe on the economic sanctions, which it perceived as western governments' means destabilising political issues in Zimbabwe they did not agree with (Chingono, 2010). Even though Zimbabwe obtained its independence in 1980, like most African countries, it is dependent on foreign aid. According to Bräutigam & Knack (2004):

> *Colonialism did little to develop strong, indigenously rooted institutions that could tackle the development demands of modern states. Economic crisis and unsustainable debt, civil wars, and political instability have all taken their toll* (p.255)

This has resulted in 'aid dependent' countries that are unable to deliver basic public services without the aid from external donors (Goldsmith, 2001; Bräutigam & Knack, 2004). Due to its dependence on foreign aid, Zimbabwe continued to be informally governed and dictated by international institutions that are under the control of western governments (Makunike, 2017). Figure 5.2 shows allocation of donor funds to development and environmental projects in Zimbabwe from 1983-2017.
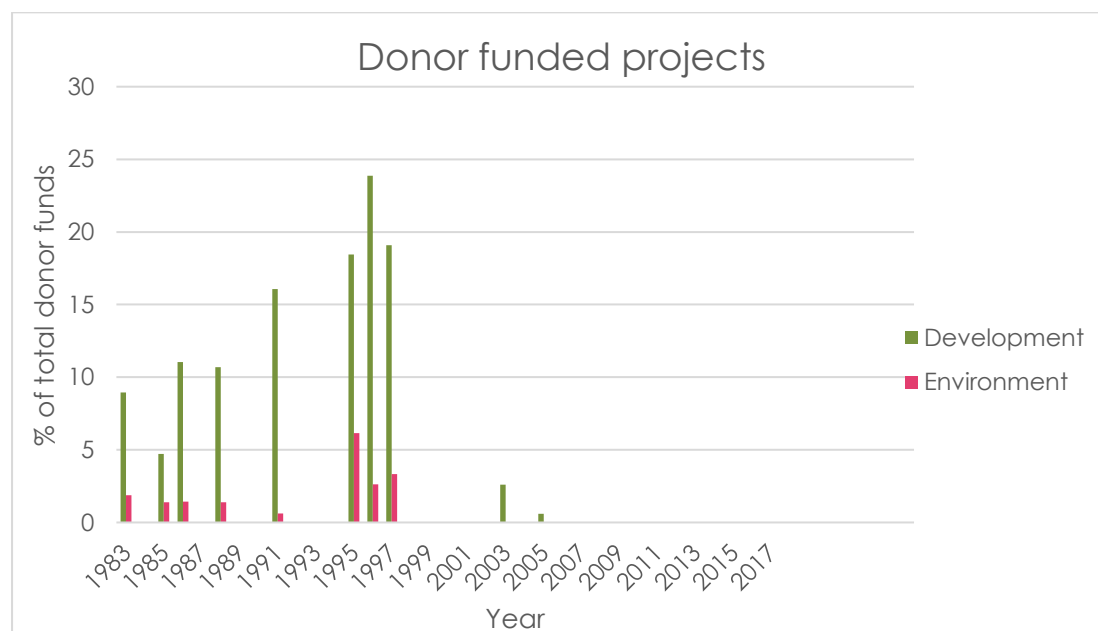
Figure 5.2: Donor funds used for government developmental and environmental donor funded projects in Zimbabwe since 1983 (Data obtained from annual budget blue books[20])

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[20] Annual budget blue books published by the Ministry of Finance and accessible through the Zimbabwe Parliament library.

With some sectors such as environment, it is difficult to target specific sections without influencing and affecting the whole system. One cannot conserve parts of an ecosystem while neglecting other parts and expect a healthy[21] ecosystem.

ZPWMA are the custodians of all wildlife in Zimbabwe whether on state or private land. As a government entity, ZPWMA are failing to acquire funding from foreign donors due to the political sanctions placed on Zimbabwe. This makes their job as the custodians of wildlife difficult (personal communication: ZPWMA official, 10/2017). Since they are failing to obtain adequate funds for their operations, they have had to rely on partnerships with other organisations such as WWF which is a "sister institution to conservation and development" (personal communication: ZPWMA Director of Finance, 10/2017). However, these partnerships have not been without conflict and tensions:

> *We are working on the Hwange Sanyati Biological Corridor Project (HSBCP) with WWF. They have been tasked with the management of the funds and sometimes, because they have they funds, they tend to overstep their role into ZPWMA's role or sideline ZPWMA altogether. ZPWMA could have done this project themselves because Parks knows the job, all they need is the funding and the mandate* (Interview: Anonymous, 10/2017).

Following the land grab saga, another effect on livelihoods came from the banning by the USA and its allies of imports of hunting trophies from some conservancies, for example from the Hurungwe Rural District Council (RDC) and Save Conservancy (personal communication: National TFCA coordinator, 10/2017). Conservancies that experienced controversy of redistribution during the 2000 land reform programme are the ones that have been targeted with regards to hunting trophies. These conservancies have become contested lands and countries like the USA will not allow imports of trophies acquired in these areas (personal communication: UNDP official, 11/2017; ZPWMA official, 10/2017). This impacts on livelihood of locals who depend on income from hunting. If foreign hunters cannot export their trophies back with them, then they are likely to find other places to hunt where they are allowed to take their trophies back home with them. Revenue from the sale of hunted animals as well as income from tracking and professional hunting guide service is therefore lost.

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[21] There is an acknowledgement that there is no universally accepted benchmark for a healthy ecosystem.

Donor funded projects in Zimbabwe have also dwindled with communities unable to access funds from donors to carry out projects. Commenting on projects being conducted by local communities in the KAZA-TFCA landscape, one of the respondents commented:

> *We have been told that because the government's relationship with the EU is unstable, others are getting money and developing but we are getting nothing and getting poorer* (Interview: Chief Shana, 09/2017)

However, while donor funds to Zimbabwe have dwindled significantly, they have not completely dried out. As mentioned above, foreign investment dropped from US$400 million in 1998 to less than US$30 million in 2007. Nevertheless:

> *There is still a lot of funds coming into Zimbabwe from other sources, such as the World Bank and even from the EU (European development funds), and these funds are mostly channelled through NGOs because the view is that the government fails to meet standards to account for donor funds but the large NGOs can* (Interview: UNDP official, 11/2017)

Current Donor Funded Projects in Zimbabwe

Since Zimbabwe is under targeted sanctions that have targeted certain government officials and sectors, it means that those people and departments that are not targeted are still free to obtain funds from international donors. UNDP and the World Bank are some of the international institutions that are still providing funds to Zimbabwe for implementation and management of projects in conservation and development.

> *The projects funded by international organisations are usually an indication of what kind of sanctions a country is under. If you have total sanctions as they had in Ethiopia or Iraq, you probably will not find people funding for example wildlife conservation or environmental projects because the people in those countries probably have bigger issues to worry about than wildlife* (Interview: UNDP official, 11/2017).

UNDP

Currently UNDP has three projects running in Zimbabwe across different sectors including the environmental sector, funded to a total of US$62.8million. The projects are:

(i)   Climate change adaptation project run by the Environmental Management Agency (EMA) 2014-2018: US$16.8million;

(ii)   Democratic governance project which is concerned with electoral commission capacity building, human rights delivery and service delivery capacity for sustainable development 2016-2020: US$41million, and

(iii) Inclusion growth and sustainable livelihoods project run by the Ministry of Small and Medium Enterprises 2016-2020: US$5million.

The first and the third projects are concerned with environmental issues and local community development. They are not specifically located in the KAZA-TFCA landscape but the idea that environmental and community development projects in Zimbabwe can still access foreign donor funding gives hope to the implementation of nation specific projects in the Zimbabwean component of KAZA-TFCA.

World Bank

From 1990 to 1999 (before the crisis), the World Bank provided funds to Zimbabwe to run 16 different projects with funds totalling $906.75million. The largest single lending was for $175million in 1992 for a structural adjustment credit project (World Bank, 2017). The main objective of the loan and credit was to support the first phase of the Government's five-year (1991-1995) structural adjustment program (SAP) in the areas of budget deficit reduction, external trade liberalization, and domestic deregulation (Goudie *et al.* 1995). Between the 2000 and 2008, when the conflict between Zimbabwe and the sanctioners was at its highest, no funds were availed to Zimbabwe. As of 2009 until now, $138million has been made available to Zimbabwe through the World Bank. The highest amount for a single project was $20.8million for a public financial management enhancement project. The objective of the project (which is still an active project) is to improve control, transparency and accountability, and oversight in the use of public resources in the Zimbabwe (World Bank, 2017). Figure 5.3 below shows a summary of funds committed, in $millions, to projects in Zimbabwe by the World Bank from 1990-2017.
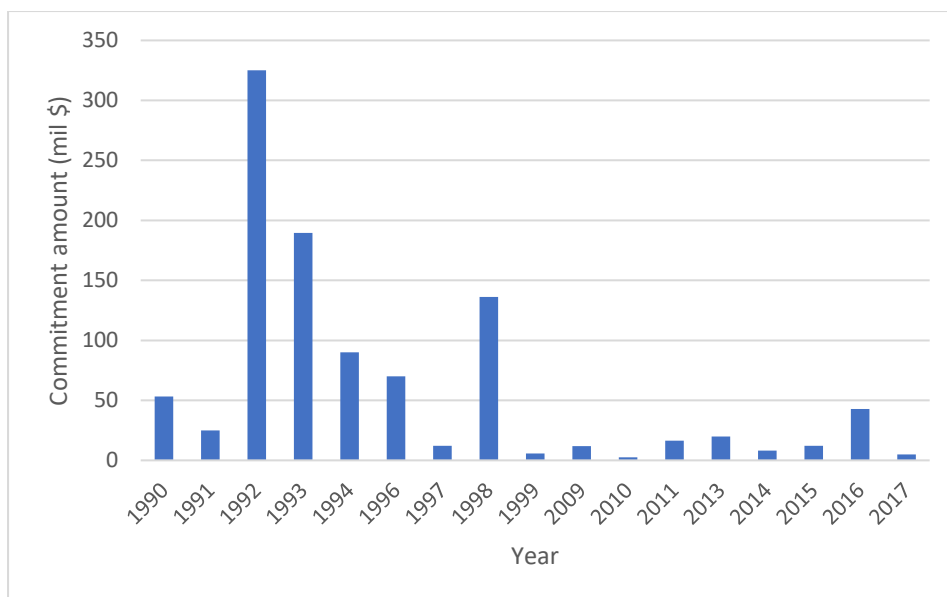
Figure 5.3: Funds obtained from the World Bank for donor funded projects in Zimbabwe since 1990 (World Bank database)

Currently, the Global Environmental Facility (GEF) through the World Bank is funding the Hwange-Sanyati Biological Project (HSBCP) to an amount of approximately $6 million. The project, managed by WWF Zimbabwe, is running from 2014-2019 (WWF Zimbabwe, 2018). The HSBC covers an area of 5.4million hectares in north western Zimbabwe spanning six administrative districts namely Nyaminyami (Kariba), Gokwe North, Kusile (Lupane), Hwange, Tsholotsho and Binga. These areas all fall within the KAZA-TFCA landscape (personal communication: WWF Zimbabwe country Director, 08/2017). According to the HSBC Environment and Social Management Framework (2013, p. 1-3) the project has four main components namely:

- Improving PA management effectiveness and provide alternative livelihood to communities living in sensitive areas
- Pilot subprojects that will address land degradation
- Support to institutional, policy and legal framework
- Project Coordination

Although Zimbabwe has not been allowed to benefit from the KAZA-TFCA donors with regards to nation specific projects, the HSBC project fills in the gap that has been created by the decisions of the KAZA-TFCA donors. Being in the KAZA-TFCA landscapes, the projects conducted through the HSBC project ensure that KAZA Zimbabwe has not lagged too far

behind the other partner countries in implementing nation specific projects that fulfil Zimbabwe's obligations to KAZA-TFCA (Personal communication: Min. of Environment Director Conservation, 08/2017). As another respondent commented:

> *We are not sitting idle by waiting for a time when we will be able to get funds from KfW. We are learning from what the other countries are doing and we are also channelling funds into the KAZA-TFCA landscape through other donors and projects that are independent of KAZA-TFCA but within that landscape like the HSBCP funded by GEF* (Interview: KAZA Zimbabwe liaison, 10/2017).

This comment was echoed by other respondents in both the government and the NGOs working within the KAZA Zimbabwe component. It is a good example of relational power in play. Although the donors have sidelined them, they continue to work on projects that empower KAZA Zimbabwe.

Implications of Inter-National Power Dynamics for KAZA-TFCA

As discussed in **chapter 4**, KAZA-TFCA is a state-owned entity owned by the five partner countries:

> *Just because the central state is 'higher up', institutionally and geographically, does not pre-judge whose will eventually prevails; in a regional assemblage that is an outcome to be unravelled from the tangled practices of power and authority* (Allen, 2011 pp. 155)

As the largest donor, KfW can dictate financial resource access and allocation. Up to this point, this chapter has mostly focused on the disparities in capacities to finance and manage projects, especially comparing Zimbabwe with other four partner countries. However, these disparities are not just the result of the financial control exerted by the donor, the partner countries themselves already had socio-economic and political disparities before the TFCA was established. TFCAs do not take into account "regional economic, political and environment differences that may lead to one state within the bioregion to be very economically wealthy and environmentally rich, while another is not" (Duffy, 2001: p.17). In theory, implementing partners should be equal, however, due to difference in economic,

organisational, political and financial capacities there are major implications for the balance and equality between partner countries.

i.   Socio-economic disparity

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Development of Tourism (1998) which came into force in 2002 calls for free movement of people throughout the region. Article 5 (1)(b) on travel facilitation states that:

1. Member states shall endeavour to make the entry and travel as smooth as possible and shall remove practices likely to place obstacles to the development of travel and tourism both regional and international by:
   …
   (b) having visa requirements for regional tourists who wish to enter their territory as visitors, abolished, in furtherance of existing and future SADC protocols.

TFCAs open channels for this free movement of tourists. However, Duffy (2001) argues that this might be a problem. The region is characterised by high human mobility across international borders with South Africa as the main destination. She argues that with the example of the Great-Limpopo TFCA, consisting of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe, having the strongest economy of the three countries involved, South Africa fears an increase in unskilled workers migration from the other countries. Unskilled workers from the neighbouring countries might exploit the relaxed movement between countries to gain entrance into South Africa to seek employment.

ii.   Political disparity

After gaining its independence from Portugal in 1975, Angola experienced a 27-year civil war which ended in 2002. The war devastated Angola's infrastructure, and severely damaged the nation's public administration, economic enterprises, and religious institutions. More importantly and of relevance to conservation studies, the war caused large-scale destruction of wildlife. There were reports of hundreds of thousands of elephants killed during the civil war (Chase & Griffin, 2011). Wars typically result in negative effects on wildlife and wildlife habitats (Dudley *et al.* 2002). In a study monitoring elephant movement in and out of the

Caprivi Strip (in Namibia), Rodwell (1995) reported a decrease in elephant movement from the Caprivi into Angola, which he attributed to the civil war during that time. A later study conducted by Chase & Griffin (2006) showed that elephant populations had increased from 366 in January 2004 to 1827 in November 2005 in the Luiana Reserve (in Angola) following the end of the civil war. The elephants were moving back into the area from the Caprivi. The presence of landmines in the KAZA-TFCA portion of Angola was also a threat to the movement of wildlife in this region. Angola was therefore required to complete its demining program as a condition of being part of KAZA-TFCA.

Duffy (2001) argues that issues of regional and national security are important in the discussion of TFCAs. She argues that there might be a resistance from other countries to form TFCAs with countries that are unstable. Mistrust and political conflict between partner countries might also hinder the success of the TFCA. For example, at the early development of GLTFCA, the perception in Zimbabwe, particularly in government, was "that the process was driven by the top-down, 'external agenda' of foreign donors, international NGOs, and the South African state; chiming with ZANU-PF's antipathy to all things seen as interfering with national sovereignty and potentially neo-colonial or imperialist" (Wolmer, 2003, p. 17). This made Zimbabwe more reluctant to enter into the TFCA agreement. Diplomatic mistrust among member countries can also affect the success of a TFCA. For example, in 2008, diplomatic tensions between Zimbabwe and Botswana were gathering momentum because Zimbabwe was accusing Botswana of colluding with the United States and Britain to effect regime change in Zimbabwe. This mistrust also characterises the nature of engagement among partner countries in TFCAs.

iii.   Policy and resource use disparities

Partner countries might have different conservation and development goals resulting in different policies that might have a direct impact on implementation in TFCAs. One of the major policy disparity observed within the KAZA-TFCA is that of trophy hunting. Trophy hunting is larger in Southern Africa than any other region on the continent with Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia leading in the hunting industries (Lindsey *et al.* 2007). Until 2014 when the government of Botswana banned hunting, it was also amongst the leading countries in trophy hunting.

At the CITIES meeting, Botswana was advocating for elephants being put in appendix 1 which would have meant that there would be no trade at all on elephants meaning that it wouldn't have been allowed to be hunted for trophies anymore. Namibia, South Africa and Zimbabwe fought against this with Namibia even threatening to pull out of CITIES if elephants were put in appendix 1. (Interview: Anonymous, 11/2016).

The ban by Botswana risks an imbalance in resource allocation and benefits for the local communities in the KAZA-TFCA landscape. As one of the respondents working for an NGO in Botswana commented:

The ban on hunting has affected local communities that were dependent on the proceeds from hunting. Communities got more from the hunting than any other form of tourism, but that is gone now as hunting is now illegal here (Interview: Anonymous, (10/2016).

Of importance to the success of TFCAs is the harmonisation of policies and working towards a common goal. Jones (2008) argues that "in order to achieve the envisaged collaboration between the countries over natural resources management and tourism development there needs to be sufficient similarity in approach to these issues" (p.7). In the case of KAZA-TFCA, the five partner countries recognised this need, and this is recognised in article 6 (1)(h) of the KAZA-TFCA treaty:

promote and facilitate the harmonisation of relevant legislation, policies and approaches in Natural and Cultural Heritage Resources management across international borders and ensure compliance with international protocols and conventions related to the protection and Sustainable Use of species and ecosystems.

As discussed in **chapter 4**, except for Angola, the legislation and policies of the partner countries are compatible with no major areas of conflict which could make policy harmonisation by the four countries possible. There is a need for review and revision of Angola's policies and legislation to it in line with the other four countries. Similarities in legislation and policies of all partner countries would provide a legal framework that can facilitate cooperation in wildlife and natural resource management (Jones, 2008).

Duffy (2006) argues that it is difficult to have genuine partnerships between countries when such clear inequalities exist. This sentiment was also echoed by the people working on TFCAs in Zimbabwe:

> *It is hard to have a genuine partnership amongst the stakeholders where such clear inequalities of resource allocation exist* (Interview: KAZA Zimbabwe liaison, 09/2017)

> *How can we say we are equal partners when some of us are being sidelined from access resources that would enable us to achieve the objects that were set for the success of the TFCA?* (Interview: Zimbabwe National TFCA coordinator, 10/2017).

These disparities might disadvantage some of the partner countries while others gain disproportionately from the TFCA project. Take the GLTFCA for example, South Africa's tourism industry in that region has a greater capacity and global profile through the Kruger National Park that Mozambique and Zimbabwe do not have. Therefore, South Africa stands to gain more from the TFCA project than the other two countries (Duffy, 2006).

Conclusion

As discussed in **chapter 3**, power relations exist in a network with different actors and power dynamics can and do shift. Montgomery (2009) and Pettigrew (1972) argue that power in networks comes from an actor's position in relation to other actors and the resources at their disposal, such as capital, information and control. This chapter demonstrated how Zimbabwe's dependency on foreign aid has made it susceptible to an exercise of power by the UK and its allies. However, power is not uni-directional, it is relational and as argued by Foucault (1980), those who experience the power being exercised have the ability to resist the power and acts of resistance are in themselves an act of exercising power (Knights & Vurdudakis, 1994). This has been demonstrated in this chapter through the resistance of the Mugabe government to conform to the UK and its allies' demands, even in the face of sanctions. The Zimbabwe government under Mugabe's leadership continued with land repossession regardless of the sanctions.

Although power can be affirmed, resisted, shaped and manipulated through relations of connection by any of the actors in the network (Allen, 2004), Knoke (1993) argues that power relations are asymmetrical and allow some actors greater control over the behaviour of

others. As demonstrated in this chapter, KAZA-TFCA, like other TFCAs in Southern Africa, is donor dependent and these donors occupy a central position within KAZA-TFCA, dictating how the funds are distributed and controlling access to funds by other stakeholders. As such, Zimbabwe, due to its international relations with donor countries, has so far failed to benefit adequately from the creation of KAZA-TFCA. This is supported by Bachrach & Baratz's (1962) power domination view where when an actor controls other actors by offering or withholding benefits or harm, as an exchange or reward for compliance.

Chapter 3 discussed Mitchell et al.'s (1997) stakeholder classification topologies. According to Mitchell et al. (1997), the non-stakeholder, one of the 8 different stakeholders types, possess none of the attributes that constitute a stakeholder of the organisation and therefore has no influence nor influenced by the organisation. However, this chapter has shown that non-stakeholders can have relationships with stakeholders that can affect their ability to perform within the organisation thus influencing the outcomes of the organisation. Zimbabwe – a KAZA-TFCA stakeholder – has relations with the UK – a non-stakeholder in KAZA-TFCA – that have resulted in sanctions being imposed on Zimbabwe and restricted some of the donors' [KAZA-TFCA stakeholder] abilities to provide funds for the Zimbabwean component of KAZA-TFCA, affecting Zimbabwe's participation in KAZA-TFCA. The relationship between Zimbabwe, the UK and KAZA-TFCA also provided a platform for cross-scale analysis. Scholes *et al*. (2013) argued that processes at a larger or smaller scale interact in ways that influence outcomes at a particular scale and the processes between the UK and Zimbabwe interacted in ways that influence the outcomes of KAZA-TFCA.

Context matters in understanding how we know things and how they came to be what they are (Howitt, 2011). For Zimbabwe and its current standing in KAZA-TFCA, how it came to be in the position it is can be understood through the context of its colonial and contemporary histories. African studies have shown that colonial histories of land conflict and dispossession have shaped political dispositions in Southern Africa and given rise to rethinking of colonial 'fortress conservation' strategies in an attempt to undo colonial injustices (Rangarajan, 2003; Wolmer, 2003; Alexender, 2006; Cernea & Schmidt-Soltau 2006; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009). This chapter demonstrates how the need for undoing the injustices created by the colonial Rhodesian government has driven the lengths to which the Zimbabwean government has gone to correct these injustices. However, in their quest for justice, the Zimbabwe

government has created its own injustices towards the local communities for whom they sought justice for. As discussed in this chapter, the land acquired for the locals often ended up in the hands of a few elite and influential individuals, some who were Mugabe's allies, thus recreating neo-colonial injustices.

The chapter focused on the colonial history of one of the five partner nations of KAZA-TFCA, Zimbabwe, and examined how its colonial history impacts and influences current politics of the state. It explored how the current politics impacted donor dependent projects, including conservation strategies in the country and ultimately KAZA-TFCA. It explored how capacity building and project implementation of KAZA-TFCA projects in Zimbabwe compares to the other partner countries, as Zimbabwe is currently the only one out of the five partner countries unable to access funds from some of KAZA-TFCA's key donors. The experience of TFCA implementation indicates that it is important to deal with such disparities.

Building on colonial histories and their influence on current strategies, the next chapter focuses on local communities in KAZA-TFCA through the more local lens of north-western Zimbabwe. It explores how colonial histories and policies can be reshaped and reimagined and continue to linger. In the case of KAZA Zimbabwe, I explore how local communities in contemporary settings are still being sidelined by nation-state governments in conservation spheres. I discuss how these communities resist the exclusionary agency and colonial legacies through their own local conservation initiatives and strategies.

Chapter 6: Beyond KAZA-TFCA: Local community engagement in conservation in North Western Zimbabwe

> ### *Wilderness safaris tourist excursion to schools*
>
> *Wilderness safaris conducts excursions with tourists to schools that they work with. The tourists who visit these schools sponsor some of schools' nature clubs. Other tourists go even further and sponsor the education of some of the pupils in these schools. While in Victoria Falls in 2017, I embarked on one of these excursions. There were six of us, three from America, two from the UK and myself, accompanied by two Wilderness Safaris' employees. Six pupils appointed to each of us acted as our guides to show us around the school and the nature projects that they have done. My guide was a 12-year-old grade 7 girl who was excited about going to secondary school the following year. She had attended the Children in the Wilderness program the previous year. "I want to go to a school where I can learn sciences because I want to be an ecologist when I grow up and save the animals," the girl said to me. She was very excited when I told her I was an ecologist. A Zimbabwean girl studying towards a PhD in Australia, there was hope for her to achieve greatness she thought. The passion in her voice as she spoke about animals and the nature club was evident, and I thought to myself that Children in the Wilderness must have been doing something right.*

Introduction

All species interact with other species forming an ecological network, and humans are part of this network. Yet historically, and especially in Southern Africa, conservation efforts have isolated humans from ecosystems (see history of conservation in Southern Africa in **chapter**

1 and human-non-human perspectives in **chapter 3**), with community involvement being weak in most cases (Allendorf *et al.* 2012). With the exception of CBNRM programs, the majority of PAs operate with a top-down approach which excludes local people. Scholars have long debated the importance of local people in nature conservation. Studies show that local 'involvement' in conservation results in successful wildlife conservation as well as the sustainable use of natural resources (Andrade & Rhodes, 2012; Fallio & Jacobson, 1995). Conversely, other scholars (Brockington, 2004; Young *et al.*, 2013) argue that local involvement has very little to no influence on conservation outcomes. Stone & Nyaupane (2014) argue that at times, community-based conservation fails to consider intra-community differences such as gender, age, vested interests, local history and geographical settings resulting in the adoption of a one-size-fits-all model. One-size-fits-all models are problematic as there is no one community, which partly explains the differing opinions on the success and failure of community involvement in influencing conservation outcomes. Either way, the issue of local involvement is an important discussion in wildlife conservation.

In Zimbabwe, biodiversity is valued for its economy as the country relies heavily on natural resources for employment opportunities and income generation through tourism. It is also viewed as fundamental to the livelihoods of people living within and adjacent to protected areas (Needs, n.d.). Due to the colonial history and land appropriation of agriculturally rich lands, most of these areas adjacent to protected areas are communal lands, where local people practice subsistence farming as part of their livelihoods and food security (see **chapter 5** for history of land in Zimbabwe). The diverse land uses increase the risk of conflict between land users in the different land systems, especially if the land uses in the adjacent lands are incompatible. When wildlife and agropastoral land uses come into contact it usually results in human-wildlife and livestock-wildlife conflict. Hulme & Murphree (2001), Mbaiwa (2004), Mosimane & Silva (2015) and Murphree (1993, 1995) all argue that communities are more inclined to better manage natural resource when they derive benefits from it that outweigh the costs from issues such as human-wildlife conflict (HWC). Therefore, the involvement and engagement of local people in conservation issues needs to be more than superficial, so locals can realise benefits from conservation that offset the loss of life, livestock and crop damage done by wildlife:

Community members need a reason to support and actively engage in conservation, including anti-poaching. Rights and benefits are both important, though each may be inadequate alone. Empowerment of communities to manage their own resources through strengthened land and resource rights can be a strong motivating force. The overall benefits from conservation need to outweigh the costs of conserving it. Although benefits need not necessarily be financial … these different options must be culturally appropriate and self-chosen by local people (Cooney *et al.* 2018, p. 10).

Our report, 'Wild life wild livelihoods', argues that we can save wildlife but only if we incentivise local farmers and local landowners. Local communities bear the cost of living with wildlife. These communities are custodians of important wildlife. In Southern Africa for example, most elephant range is outside the state protected areas and on land with a claim of one form or the other. If local communities are to continue saving wildlife, as they should, the deal on the table has to be strengthened (Maxwell Gomera, Deputy Director United Nations Environmental Program World Conservation Monitoring Centre)

During my fieldwork I attended the State of KAZA-TFCA Symposium which was held in Victoria Falls, Zimbabwe in 2016. The symposium, celebrating 10 years of KAZA-TFCA had the theme "Where are we coming from, where are we and where do we want to be". Over 250 individuals from KAZA-TFCA's five partner countries and different partner organisations came together to identify weaknesses, lessons and precedents over the past ten years. One of the main issues discussed was the involvement of local communities within KAZA-TFCA. In this chapter, I focus on the experiences of one part of KAZA-TFCA - north west Zimbabwe and discuss the involvement of local human and non-human communities in KAZA-TFCA. This is informed by KAZA-TFCA documents, the Symposium and field interviews. The chapter explores knowledge of KAZA-TFCA by local human stakeholders. It examines how much the stakeholders know of KAZA-TFCA, their level of involvement in KAZA-TFCA and the implications of KAZA-TFCA for their lives and livelihoods - whether they know about KAZA-TFCA or not. The chapter also examines conservation within the KAZA-TFCA landscape but beyond the KAZA-TFCA project. It acknowledges that KAZA-TFCA is not all encompassing at the local level and conservation was happening before, and continues, because of and despite, the formation of KAZA-TFCA. It explores local community perceptions on

conservation and wildlife, the conservation efforts by locals and their interactions with KAZA-TFCA initiatives. The chapter also expands on the notion of local community by exploring the implications of KAZA-TFCA for local non-human communities. It explores how the establishment of KAZA-TFCA affects and influences these non-human communities as well as how they interact with local human communities.

Community: a Social Construct, Imagined and Contested

Community means different things to different people, there is no consensus on the definition of the term. In his work '*Definitions of community: areas of agreement*', Hillery (1955) identified over ninety different meanings of the term. Apart from three definitions which have an ecological orientation, all the definitions predominantly assume human communities. Hillary (1955) notes that this presents a dichotomy between human social interactions and ecological relationships. Due to the diverse meanings of the term, one productive way to explore community is by approaching it as imagined and contested. Gallie (1964) described contested concepts as concepts whose use "inevitably involves endless disputes about their proper uses on the part of their users" (158). Carey (1997) captures the complexity of the term community in the quote below:

> *Community is one of the most difficult, complex, and ambiguous words in our language. It is a contested concept, one that represents or gathers to it contradictory, mutually exclusive images, meanings sacred and profane by turn* (p. 1).

Given the diverse interpretations of community, Fuoss (1995) argues that:

> *scholars have several options: (a) drop the concept altogether; (b) clearly indicate which of the existing interpretations of community is being used; (c) add additional interpretations, hoping that these will be embraced in a manner that previous ones have not; and (d) recognize that different persons use the concept differently and investigate what these differences reveal* (p. 81).

The fourth idea by Fuoss (1995), that recognises that different persons use the concept differently, is what makes the concept socially constructed and imagined. How one uses the term community is dependent on social and cultural structures. What constitutes a 'community' can therefore change as it is continually negotiated through social and cultural processes.

Community in Conservation

The history of community in conservation in Southern Africa is one of exclusivity. The process of establishing areas protected for conservation has historically involved the removal of Indigenous and local communities from their homelands and the exclusion of these communities from use of the lands and resources as well as decision-making processes (see **chapter 1**).

Criticism of exclusionary approaches to conservation paved way to community-based conservation strategies. Community-based conservation is promoted as a win-win strategy achieving both conservation and development outcomes (Ramutsindela 2007b, Sunderlin *et al.* 2005; Adams & Hulme, 2001). Community-based conservation involves the empowerment of communities through the devolution of power from the state to communities. Empowerment is generally understood as a "process by which people, especially poor people, are enabled to take more control over their own lives and secure a better livelihood with ownership of productive assets as one key element" (Chambers 1993, p. 11). In theory, it gives people living with wildlife the opportunity to determine the best land use strategies and to participate in the decision-making processes with regards to wildlife conservation and management (Hackel, 2001).

Due to this history of excluding local communities from conservation, TFCAs have been met by animosity by some local communities. Dzingirai (2004) criticised TFCAs as "disenfranchisement at large" where up-scaling reduces many small-scale human communities to marginal. Wolmer (2003) argues that the formation of the GLTFCA revealed a tentative relationship between communities and conservation agencies and occurred against a background of several contemporary narratives in Southern Africa, including the priorities of land reform, poverty alleviation, and community-based conservation. In the establishment of KAZA-TFCA, emphasis was placed on local communities and their participation in the TFCA. As stated in the Stakeholder Engagement Strategy for the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (n.d):

> *Of the vast diversity of stakeholder groups in KAZA-TFCA, the local actors or communities living within and around the boundaries of the TFCA are directly affected, to the greatest extent, by decisions made about natural resource management and*

the options for using the land on which they depend for their livelihoods and therefore
have a right to be involved in the decision making process (p.6).

Given the assertion above that TFCAs can marginalise local communities, this chapter discusses KAZA-TFCA with regards to local communities further below.

Human-non-human Communities

Numerous studies have focussed on the nexus between development and natural resource conservation (Adams & Hutton 2007, Adams *et al.* 2004, Brandon 1997). It is widely accepted that these goals are linked and should be undertaken together but the success of integrated strategies is debated (Sunderlin *et al.* 2005, Adams *et al.* 2004, Alberti *et al.* 2003). Most studies show a struggle to reconcile development and natural resource conservation (Kepe *et al.* 2004, Wells & McShane 2004, Reardon & Vosti 1995), with trade-offs occurring between the two goals (McShane *et al.* 2011). McShane *et al.* (2011) argue that win-win situations in these circumstances are difficult to achieve and trade-offs are the most likely scenario. This is because dominant approaches conceptualise people as a separate entity in ecosystems, rather than as part of the ecosystem (Cumming *et al.* 2013, Alberti *et al.* 2003).

Relatively few studies focus on the complex ecological-socio-economic systems involved (Ramutsindela 2007b, Sunderlin *et al.* 2005). Miller *et al.* (2011) argue that landscape level conservation strategies that include all land-uses, from conservation to social values, can help integrate biodiversity conservation and human wellbeing. Some conservationists continue to support the exclusion of socio-economic goals but others have come to the realisation that "conservation without local support is doomed to fail" (Lele *et al.* 2010 p.95).

In ecology, the term community refers to a set of species co-occurring at a given time and place (McGill *et al.* 2006). Leibold *et al.* (2004) define community as the individuals of all species that potentially interact within a single patch or local area of habitat. With humans and non-humans occupying the same landscape and constantly interacting with each other as can be seen through HWC, both humans and non-humans form a single community within this landscape.

As discussed in **chapter 3**, Bawaka Country *et al.* (2013) not only embrace more-than-human authorship of their paper but use the phrase "care as Country" to emphasise that people are part of the environment. They show how even framings of 'caring for Country' can reinforce

separations between people and 'the environment'. Buddhism teaches the principle of dependency; that everything is born from everything and therefore is dependent on everything and when one suffers, everything suffers (Schweizer, 1994). By realising and acknowledging that we are part of Country and are all dependent on one another, then we would care *as* Country which includes caring for ourselves, rather than caring for ourselves and neglecting Country, which in an often less visible manner includes neglecting ourselves.

As discussed in **chapter 3**, Tsing's (2015) view of assemblages acknowledges the importance of both humans and non-humans and challenges the nature-society dualism perpetuated by the colonial establishment of national parks. This chapter draws on this work to not only consider human local communities but also non-human local communities. The theoretical insights from work on assemblage thinking is useful as a conceptual framework for tracing connections and relations between a variety of actors, both human and non-human.

Human Communities

Analysis of TFCA literature on local communities suggests that TFCAs have the potential to improve the livelihoods of local people living with wildlife. However, these local people are mostly already marginalised, and the scale of TFCAs with its multiple actors and different power dynamics could potential marginalise these communities further (Anderson *et al.*, 2012). Literature further suggests that local community participation is vital for the success of TFCAs. However, studies on local community participation in TFCAs show that these communities are mostly not consulted, and are sidelined in the decision-making process (Murphree, 2009). The following section discusses knowledge of KAZA-TFCA by different people, including local community groups in the KAZA-TFCA portion of Zimbabwe.

Visibility and Knowledge About TFCAs and KAZA-TFCA

Although community participation is considered important for the long-term sustainability of TFCAs, studies show that very few communities within the various established Southern African TFCAs even know of the TFCAs and their projects (as discussed in **chapter 4).** While examining benefit, empowerment and conservation as the foundation of a successful CBNRM strategy, and how empowered CBNRM regimes are a prerequisite for the long-term health of the TFCAs, Murphree (2009) argues that within the context of the GLTFCA, "few of the local people even know of the project, concocted in the boardrooms of Pretoria, Harare and

Maputo. Even fewer have had a meeting in their own turf on the subject" (pg. 2560). A report done by the University of Witswatersrand Refugee Research Programme (RRP) in 2002 entitled "*A Park for the People?*" found that 40% of locals interviewed for the report had never heard about GLTFCA. The 60% who had heard about the GLTFCA were largely from Massingir District, a more accessible region of Mozambique. However, of those who had heard about the GLTFCA, 71% had almost no information and 83% said that they had never been consulted about the Park and had heard about it in some other way. Murphree and RRP's findings align with the data collected for this thesis regarding who knows about KAZA-TFCA in north western Zimbabwe.

As part of my fieldwork I surveyed 139 people to determine their knowledge of TFCAs and of KAZA-TFCA. The people involved in the survey were the participants in the interviews and focus group discussions as well as random local people from both rural and urban parts of Hwange District. The people were grouped into local (urban), local (rural), government, local government, traditional leaders, NGOs and partner institutions, parks officials and rangers, tour operators, professional guides, researchers, tourists and international institutions. The results showed that of the 139-people surveyed, 52% had no knowledge of what TFCAs are or what their purpose is. Of the 52% with no knowledge on TFCAs, two thirds of them were locals and the other third were tourists.

With regards to knowledge specifically about KAZA-TFCA, there were three different categories of responses: those who knew about KAZA-TFCA, those who had never heard of KAZA-TFCA and those who had seen cars and clothes with the KAZA-TFCA logo and therefore knew about it but did not know what it was exactly. Of the 139-people surveyed, 50% of them had no knowledge of KAZA-TFCA. Of those who had no knowledge of KAZA-TFCA, 47% of them were locals, 51% were tourists and one was a ranger who had just been transferred to Victoria Falls from elsewhere. The ranger knew about TFCAs but did not know about KAZA-TFCA. The locals made up the entire 10% of those who knew of KAZA-TFCA but did not know what it was all about. Eleven of the 14 people were from Victoria Falls and the remaining three were from communal areas. However, all 14 people reported seeing the KAZA-TFCA logo while they were in Victoria Falls. Other than the tourists and local people, all the other groups surveyed knew about TFCAs and about KAZA-TFCA with the exception of the ranger mentioned above.

Although from a very small sample, the results of the survey highlight a lack of community consultation in the area. During fieldwork, local community members were also interviewed to solicit their views and knowledge regarding KAZA-TFCA. The respondents included a chief, local government official, ZPWMA officials and individuals in households. The chief, the government official and most parks officials knew about KAZA-TFCA, but the individuals did not know what KAZA-TFCA entailed. One of the objectives of KAZA-TFCA as stated in the treaty is to "implement programmes that ensure the sustainable use of natural resources in ways that improve the livelihoods of communities and reduce poverty in the region". The KAZA-TFCA stakeholder engagement strategy further claims the involvement of local communities and their participation in the planning, development, establishment and management of KAZA-TFCA as one of the key stakeholders. However, the results of the survey paint a different picture.

The responses from the local individuals indicate that like TFCAs such as Kgalagadi and GLTP local communities residing in areas within the KAZA-TFCA boundaries in the Hwange district were not consulted about the creation of KAZA-TFCA or their inclusion within the boundaries of the TFCA. As stated by one of the survey respondents:

> *I do not know anything about KAZA-TFCA, it is my first-time hearing of it. It is not surprising though, the government never tells us anything, they just do what they want* (personal communication, 09/2018).

The consultation seems to have been limited to civil servants and district authorities as indicated by their knowledge of the KAZA-TFCA concept and the proposed local projects that are meant to be funded by through KAZA-TFCA's third funding cycle. In an interview with a local government official, the official commented that:

> *We have been extensively consulted on KAZA-TFCA and have been invited to some of their meetings. We have special projects coming through soon funded by KAZA-TFCA such as the restocking of Sidinda in ward 8 and the development of an arts and craft centre in Mabale in ward 17. We have been promised that the local communities will benefit from the third funding cycle and these are the projects we have lined up* (09/2017).

As discussed in **chapter 4**, there was also an acknowledgement from KAZA-TFCA officials that not much work has been done with regards to local communities as much of the first two funding cycles went into capacity building of national infrastructure and agencies (personal communication, Dipotso, 10/2016; Mtsambiwa 09/2017). Consultation of local communities in the Zimbabwe portion of KAZA-TFCA has also been limited by a lack of resources (see also **chapter 5**):

> We wish we could consult all the communities in our region, but the truth is, we do not have the resources to undertake the consultation process. With Zimbabwe not getting funds from the donors, it is very difficult for us to obtain the resources need to conduct extensive consultation with the communities (Interview: KAZA-TFCA liaison Zimbabwe, 09/2017).

Consultation at grassroot levels seems to be limited to traditional leaders who are supposedly the local representatives. However, these are local elites who might not have the same interests as the ordinary local people. This type of consultation is also tokenistic as those affected by the decisions made are not present at the consultation. In an interview with the chief, he commented that:

> I have been invited to a few of their meetings but so far, I have not seen how this KAZA-TFCA is going to benefit our people. The people are not asked what they want, the projects in our district come through the RDC (09/2017).

The lack of community involvement in TFCAs is not unique to KAZA-TFCA. Take the Kgalagadi TFCA as an example, its lack of involvement and consultation with San Bushmen communities in and around the TFCA has been documented by Mayoral-Phillips (2000). During the planning and implementation stages, the Botswanan government made no reference to, nor did they consult with, the Bushmen. Mayoral-Phillips (2000) argues that the exclusionary manner of the process has long lasting detrimental socio-economic impact upon on the Bushmen.

When addressing issues of local participation in conservation, one of the fundamental issues raised is that of locals reaping the benefits gained from biodiversity (Kiss, 1990). In fact, the issue of benefits has been used as an incentive to get local people involved in conservation. TFCA proponents argue that the establishment of TFCAs would create job opportunities as well as livelihood opportunities for the local people (Munthali, 2007). However, the interests

of local communities appear to be poorly reflected in the regionally-driven TFCAs processes. It is difficult for local people to contribute to and accrue real benefit from TFCAs when they are not involved in the TFCA process.

It is important to note that KAZA-TFCA landscape is not all encompassing. Local communities in this region have been living with wildlife and practicing conservation with or without KAZA-TFCA. North western Zimbabwe is a multiple land use area (figure 6.1) which includes protected areas and wildlife zones.
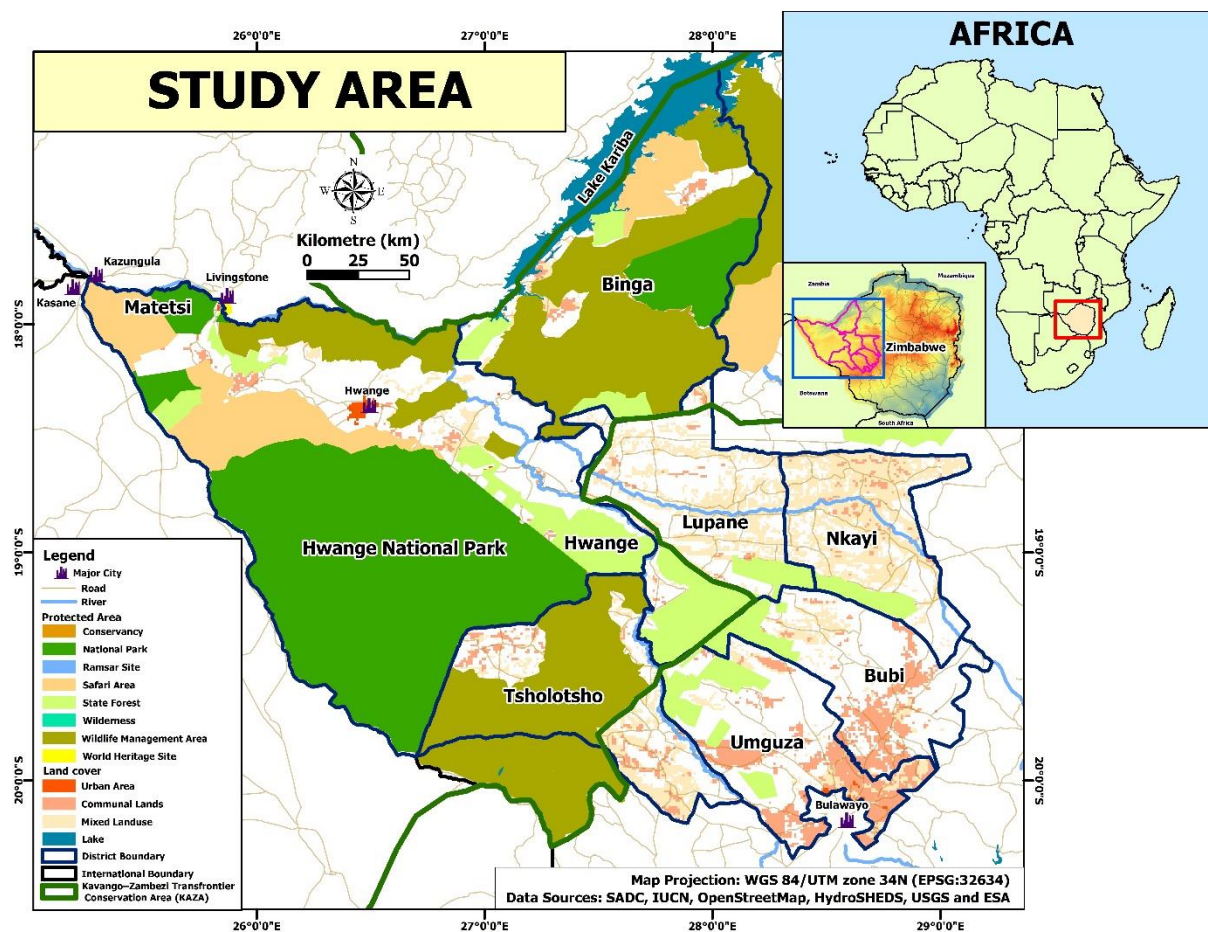
Figure 6.1: Land use in North-western Zimbabwe

The communal lands in the region are adjacent to national parks, safari areas, state forests and wildlife management areas and due to the high human/wildlife interface, these communities have long been interacting with wildlife:

I came to this region as a very young man in 1965, I was in Victoria Falls then moved here [village] in 2001. I have therefore lived with wildlife since I was a young man because this entire place is full of animals (Interview, community member A, 09/2017).

This next section therefore explores local community perceptions of wildlife and conservation. It also explores some of the conservation strategies occuring in this area outside of KAZA-TFCA.

Villages

In the context of Zimbabwe, Madzudzo (1997) uses the word community to refer to people in villages within Zimbabwe's communal lands:

Communal areas are divided up into administrative units of villages. Six or seven villages make a ward. These units have clear boundaries determined on the basis of land area or household number. The people in these units may be referred to as communities (p.147).

Working with similar units in this research, the people in the villages that I visited and interviewed for the purposes of this study are understood as local communities by many working in conservation in the area, including in KAZA-TFCA.

The villages in this study located in Hwange District are in natural region IV (**see chapter 2**) which is considered a semi-extensive region suitable for farm systems based on livestock and resistant fodder crops, as well as forestry and wildlife/tourism (FAO, 2006). The locals were from 3 villages within the Hwange RDC and from the town of Victoria Falls. The three villages are on communal land which is owned by the government and are part of the CAMPFIRE programme. As well as being part of the CAMPFIRE programme, one of the villages that participated in the study is located in a hunting zone. According to Booth *et al.* (1984), until 1973, the land on which the village sits was once occupied by cattle and game ranches which were unproductive. The land was purchased by the government and incorporated into the Parks and Wildlife Estate in 1973 (Booth *et al.* 1984). The villagers in the study were relocated to the Safari Area during the 2000 land reform program. As part of the relocation scheme, they were granted a community-based hunting concession in the area. A hunting committee comprising of the locals was established. Relocation of humans into non-human territory has

great implications on HWC as humans and non-humans compete for the same space and resources.

Village Perspectives and Concerns

> *Communities are complex entities containing individuals differentiated by status, political and economic power, religion and social prestige and intentions. Some see nature or the environment as something to be protected, others care only for nature's short-term use* (Agrawal & Gibson, 2001, p.1).

As stated in the quote above, (human) communities are made up of people with different status, powers, positions and interests. As such, individuals within a community as well as different communities will have different perspectives, indeed different perceptions towards wildlife (see box 2). Box 2 provides a summary of perceptions by local communities as well as local and traditional leaders, government officials, ZPWMA officials and KAZA-TFCA officials on conservation, wildlife and KAZA-TFCA in north west Zimbabwe. These perceptions are discussed further in this section.

Box 2: Perceptions of local communities (Field Interviews)

Some of the perceptions raise in interviews with local government, traditional leaders and villagers are:

- The Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority are useless, they never come when villagers call for their help (villagers).
- Local villagers were an important resource in combating illegal wildlife activities but some of these villagers do not care as they are not benefitting from wildlife (traditional leader, local government official).
- Human-wildlife conflict is a huge problem for local villagers and they do not have the technical know-how to deal the conflict (villagers, researcher).
- Relocated voluntarily into a wildlife zone and therefore must learn to live with the animals (villagers).
- Relocated voluntarily into a wildlife zone but realise now that they did not truly understand the implications of this move (villagers).
- The government never really tells them anything about the programmes they are implementing that is why they do not know anything about KAZA-TFCA (villagers).
- The community conservancy was beneficially to the community's development (villagers, CAMPFIRE officials).
- The conservancy is not receiving a lot of income because the current [2017] political situation in Zimbabwe is hindering hunting tourism (villagers, concession committee member).
- KAZA-TFCA will benefit the locals, there are already plans in place to restock Sidinda in ward 8 and the development of an arts and craft centre in Mabale ward 17 which will result in income generating projects for the locals (local and national government officials, KAZA-TFCA officials, ZPWMA officials).

The main narrative from the local communities about wildlife highlighted the destruction caused by wildlife, in the form of loss of livestock, injuries, loss of crops and destruction of property, the importance of wildlife over human lives and the willingness to live harmoniously with wildlife while benefitting from this close proximity. These narratives are captured in the section below.

Destruction by Wildlife

Some of the people interviewed were relocated into a wildlife zone and perceive wildlife as destructive to their livelihoods, lives and property. Some of the local people I spoke with described a high prevalence of human-wildlife and livestock-wildlife conflict occurring in the area. Villagers often lose their livestock to dangerous wildlife as expressed by several villagers interviewed:

> *I am an old retired man now and my livelihood comes from my livestock and crops. I have over 120 cattle [plate 2], 100 goats and 60 sheep and I get my income from the livestock. Unfortunately, lions are such a big problem. In 2016 I lost a total of 15 cattle to the lions. This year [2017], I have lost 8 cattle, 4 of which were eaten by the lions just last month [in August]. A few months ago, I was away in Victoria Falls for 2 days and when I came back my son told me that 10 of the goats had been killed by lions in one night. I love wildlife and I understand that we are the lions' visitors in this area, but it would be good if the experts could come and help us live harmoniously with the wildlife* (Interview, community member A, 09/2017).

Plate 2: Cattle in a kraal – a source of livelihood for local communities (Source: author).

*Our children have to herd the cattle in groups because it is very dangerous for them to be alone. At least as a group there are more eyes to spot the danger in case lions try to approach the cattle (*Interview, community member C, 09/2017).

We hear the lions at night walking around. It can be frightening to go outside at night to use the toilet as there might be lions outside. Sometimes in the morning you wake up and you can see the lions' spoors in the compound (Interview, community member D, 09/2017).

Villagers report loss of livestock as well as the presence of problem and dangerous animals to the ZPWMA. However, there is no compensation for the loss of livestock as captured in the following comment:

Yes, when your livestock is killed by wildlife, you report it to ZPWMA but nothing is done. You do not get anything from them for losing your animal to the wildlife (Interview, community member B, 2017).

The HWC reported by the villagers is not limited to livestock losses but also involves damage to crops (plate 3) and loss of human life as told by some of the villagers:

I know of three people who have died since I relocated here [2001], killed by elephants. I do not recall which years they died though (Interview: community member A, 09/2017).

During the planting and reaping season, I spend all day in the fields guarding my crops from wildlife. With the drought, food is scares in the bushes and fields are an easy source of food. Elephants are the biggest problem when it comes to crop destruction (Interview: community member G, 09/2017).

Plate 3: Crop damage by elephants in a local community member's field (Source: Community member G)

Crop damage by elephants is common in areas where elephant movement and farm land intersect. Bond & Mtuku (2018); Bond (2015); Granados & Weladji (2012); Graham *et al.* (2010) have all reported human-elephant conflict with crop damage being one of the biggest conflict. However, crop damage is not limited to elephants, it is a prevalent form of human–wildlife conflict along protected area boundaries. Damage by wildlife may result in negative attitudes towards wildlife by local communities. Naughton-Treves (1998) argues that damage by wildlife impedes local support for wildlife conservation. What conservationist might consider average losses is meaningless to a village who has lost an entire year's worth of production. It is further argued that villagers turn to both legal and illegal methods in an attempt to reduce loss to wildlife (Naughton-Treves 1998; Lee, 2000). As one of my informants put it:

Zimbabwe has no compensation scheme and villagers get frustrated by the loss of livelihood to wildlife. There is a lot of crop damage and killing of livestock by wildlife in the villages around here and without any help from the government, people resort to killing wildlife to save their livelihood. Communities that do not see the benefit of wildlife tend to retaliatory killings (Interview: Karidozo, Conservationist, 09/2017)

Illegal measures such as the killing of problem animals are counterintuitive to the preservation of wildlife.

Unfortunately, some of this HWC is due to human encroachment on wildlife habitats. As the human population grows there is a demand for new spaces to accommodate the growing population, resulting in human interference of wildlife habitats (Liu *et al.*, 2009).

Importance of Wildlife over People

Villagers expressed disappointment in how problem and dangerous animals are handled. This complaint was not unique to a single villager but was expressed by about 11 villagers in different areas as well as shown by the comment below:

Parks does not respond to issues of problem animal control on time, often with excuses like they have no fuel or cars to come out us. There was a lone male buffalo here some time ago which was terrorising our children in the morning as they walked to school and we reported the issue several times, but no one came from parks to take care of the problematic buffalo (Interview: community member K, 2017).

Parks officials were quick to defend themselves regarding not responding to problem animal control. According to a ZPWMA official who participated in the study, some of the areas where the problem animal stories are being reported fall under the RDC. The ZPWMA official argues that there are appropriate authorities within the RDC to deal with issues of problem animals and HWC, but lack of knowledge on the part of the villagers hinders their chances of getting help:

In some communal lands, the RDC handles problem animals. They have their own rangers that are supposed to attended to problems animals in those areas. So, do the villagers know the proper channels to contact, that's the question. They might not know, or they might know but have not gotten help from their proper channels and parks is their last hope (Interview: ZPWMA official, 2017).

Villagers also expressed a concern that more importance was placed on wildlife by wildlife authorities compared to their own livelihoods. They felt that their complaints fell on deaf ears and nothing was done when they sought help from ZPWMA in protecting themselves, their families and their livelihood. This is evidenced by the story I was told by community member K as she expressed disappoint in ZPWMA's handling of problem animal cases:

> *A few weeks ago, we had a problem with a lone buffalo bull. Every morning when our children were going to school in the morning, they would see this bull. It would charge at the children and with each passing day it seemed to get more and more aggressive according to the children. I do not know if it was hurt or if it was just being territorial, what I know is that lone male animals are usually dangerous and violent and more so if they are hurt. The behaviour and aggression of this buffalo was fitting a pattern of a hurt animal. We reported the buffalo to the police and to ZPWMA about 2 or 3 times and they did nothing. The police told us that we should contact ZPWMA and ZPWMA gave their usually excuses of no fuel or car. Eventually, a few of the villagers decided to take matters into their own hands and they hunted the buffalo down with dogs and killed it. They distributed the meat amongst themselves. I do not know how ZPWMA heard about the killing of the buffalo, but they showed up wanting to know who had killed the buffalo and why it had been killed. For about 2 weeks we had been asking them to come deal with the buffalo and nothing and the moment the buffalo is killed they show up. Such behaviour by ZPWMA is very saddening and unacceptable* (Interview: community member K, 09/2017).

The story of the buffalo was collaborated by the chief:

> *The headman reported to me that there was a buffalo threatening school children and other residents and I reported the issue to ZPWMA. However, they [ZPWMA] did not immediately respond to the threat and so, some community members took it upon themselves to deal with the threat and they killed the buffalo* (Interview: Chief Shana, 09/2017).

According to community member K, this placed a lot of importance on the life of the buffalo and not on the lives of their children. Bond & Mkutu (2018), reported similar perceptions by pastoral and farmer respondents in their study on the cost of HWC in Northern Kenya. They

reported that one of their respondents stated that: "when a human is killed the government do[es] nothing, but when an elephant is killed they run like a horse" (p. 41) which was a sentiment echoed by 89% of the participants who responded to their questionnaire. Community member K's story highlights the agency taken or not taken by ZPWMA when an animal is killed vs. when human life is endangered by wildlife, echoing the perceptions of community members in Kenya.

This prioritisation of wildlife over human-life is supported by policies that are put in place with regards to people and wildlife. Take for example the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975, which was amended in 2001 to, according to a ZPWMA official, mostly support wildlife with very few to no amendments beneficial to people (Interview: ZPWMA official, 2017). The Parks and Wildlife Act of Zimbabwe still takes a fortress conservation approach which is based on the principle of separating humans from PAs and putting the interests of wildlife above those of people. Referring to the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1975, a ZPWMA Area Manager had this to say:

> *Unfortunately, some of our laws are very old and taking too long to be reviewed. They do not reflect the changes that have happened over the past 30 decades or more since the laws were established ... The Acts and Policies with regards to conservation and wildlife are not friendly to local communities, stemming from colonial regimes which have failed to be corrected* (Interview: ZPWMA Area Manager, 10/2017).

Section 61 of the Act states that:

Killing or injury of animals in self-defence

(1) Notwithstanding this Act, it shall be lawful for any person to kill or injure any animal on any land in defence of himself or any other person if immediately and absolutely necessary.

(2) The burden of proving that any animal has been killed or injured in accordance with subsection (1) shall lie on the person who killed or injured such animal.

What constitutes '*immediately and absolutely necessary*'? According to subsection (2), the person who kills the animal must be able to prove that the killing was in self-defence or defence of someone else. It is easy enough to prove if there is an injured person or damage

to property. What happens when there is no clear evidence? How does one prove beyond reasonable doubt that lives were in danger without clear cut proof?

Due to the lack of support from authorities like ZPWMA and CAMPFIRE and the high prevalence of HWC without compensation, some villagers were not opposed to the presence of poachers in their area:

> *Why should I report the poachers when they are helping me? ZPWMA is not helping me but they (poachers) come in here and they kill the lions or the elephants that are killing my livestock and destroying my crops (*Interview, community member I, 09/2017*).*

Living in Harmony with Wildlife

However, not all perceptions towards wildlife are negative. Some of the villagers expressed a desire to live in harmony with wildlife but highlighted that they needed help from the government, researchers or ZPWMA to achieve this. They indicated that they have often been told that it is possible to live harmoniously with wildlife and to protect their wildlife and crops from wildlife. However, nobody ever tells them how to do this:

> *I have heard of this conservation agriculture business, but I do not really understand therefore I am unable to implement it* (Interview: community member G, 09/2017).

> *Researcher like yourself keep telling us about conservation agriculture but it is not helpful. What would be helpful is if someone, whether it is ZPWMA or the government or you people [researchers] could come to the village and gather the villagers and demonstrate using someone's kraal or field how we build wildlife proof kraals or use strategies that deter wildlife from entering our fields. If someone can do that, then I am sure we can learn to reduce this conflict that we are facing (*Interview: community member A, 09/2017)

Some of the villages expressed delight with wildlife as they realised benefits from wildlife. As a hunting concession, one of the villages collects income from the hunts as well as creating job opportunities for the local people in the area. When hunters come for a hunt, the scouts that go out hunting with the hunters are local scouts:

> *We have scouts here so when we get hunters, the scouts picked to go with the hunters are our own scouts* (Interview, concession committee member, 2017).

The income collected from the hunts is kept in a community bank account. The people of village then decided as a community how the money will be spent. For example, a secondary school was built in the area using funds obtained through the hunting concession. One villager was happy that her children did not need to travel for kilometres just to attend school:

> *The community benefits, we have built as school from the money obtained from the hunting and a lot of our children have been enrolled into the new school since 2014. They (the children) no longer need to travel to other villages to attend school because we have our own school here* (Interview, community member B, 2017).

Even though the people decide as a community how the funds are spent, not all community members feel that they have benefitted from funds. This is not surprising as communities are heterogenous groups with people with different views and needs. There are some who feel that community benefits do not benefit them as individuals as evidenced by a comment from one of the villagers:

> *It is great that they have built a school for the children, however that does not benefit me. My children are all grown up and have no use for the school. They finished school long before this school was opened. So, while other people have benefitted from the school being built, I have not* (Interview: community member F, 09/2017).

Unfortunately, over the last few years, the number of hunters coming in to hunt in this concession has dwindled. Some of the villagers attributed this to the political situation that has plagued Zimbabwe since 2000 (**see chapter 5**):

> *The government is killing our concession. People do not come to hunt as much as they used to anymore. If no one comes to hunt all season then we do not get any funds and I think it is because of this political situation that we are in* (Interview: community member B, 09/2017).

The dwindling prospects from hunting means that the village is not currently benefiting from wildlife. This has resulted in a shift of interests for some of the villagers. Villagers expressed a

need for more agricultural-based activities compared to wildlife-based activities. Their interests lay in protecting their livestock and crops which are a more dependable livelihood.

With Hwange District being in a wildlife zone, it is no surprise that communities that participated in the study within this district face a lot of human-wildlife conflict. Not only do they face human-wildlife conflict, but from their perspective, the burden of living with wildlife outweighs the benefits they currently get from wildlife. As a result, this has cultivated negative perceptions in some of the local people I interviewed. While working in Kariba with ZPWMA as an ecologist, I found that without benefits and with an increase in HWC, local people start to see wildlife as ZPWMA' property where they have no say or need for the animals. These sentiments were echoed by some of my interviewees as highlighted by the comment below:

> *Their [ZPWMA] animals are a big problem for our cattle and crops and even if we complain about the destruction to crops the elephants do or the loss of cattle to lions and hyenas, these Parks people do nothing about their animals. We are the ones who are just suffering because of their animals* (Focus group 2 participants B, 09/2017).

> *ZPWMA claims ownership of these animals and do not allow us to utilise them or kill them and yet when their animals are killing our cattle, they are nowhere to be found to control their animals or compensate us for the loss we incur due to their wildlife* (Interview, community member I, 09/2017).

> *It is a shame that our children are not being allowed to benefit from the wildlife in the area. It is hard for them to show any interest in what is happening to the wildlife so much so that they do not bother reporting wildlife crimes because they gain nothing from it. To them, wildlife is ZPWMA's problem* (Interview: community member n, 10/2017).

Most of the community members discussed wildlife perspectives with regards to human agency. However, some of my respondents showed an understanding of wildlife not just as a nuisance or a resource to humans, but as living entities with their own interests, going about their own lives long before humans settled in these areas:

Animals have lived here a lot longer than us. We moved here and started to disturb the animals that have always been here going about their business. We cannot then start blaming the animals for going about their lives. We need instead to learn to live with the wildlife remembering that we came to them first (Focus group 2 participant E, 09/2017).

I love wildlife and I understand that we are the lions' visitors in this area, but it would be good if the experts could come and help us live harmoniously with the wildlife (Interview, community member A, 09/2017).

The comments by these participants about non-humans being in the area first, humans being the visitors and non-humans going about their business even before humans arrived acknowledge and highlight the agency of non-human communities independent of human interests. This is supported by Latour (2005) who argued that agency is not just credited to humans or to non-humans because of humans, but non-humans can have agency regardless of humans.

Conservation Efforts by Locals

Wilderness Safari – School and Kids

HWC is a threat to conservation. In an effort to reduce HWC, an educator Sifiwe Ndlovu started Jabulani School in a rural area approximately 30km outside of Victoria Falls with the backing of international donors. Her aim was to reduce the distance travelled by the pupils thus reducing the probability of encountering wildlife enroute to school. Sifiwe Ndlovu has been an educator since 1972 and embarked on this project after she retired from government. When she started teaching, she taught at a government school called Mizpaa which is 10km away from Jabulani. While at Mizpaa, she realised that pupils dropped out of school because some could not afford to go on or risked their lives by walking 7-10km in areas with wildlife just to get to school. She then transferred to Victoria Falls where she spent most of her years as a government teacher. After retiring from government, she thought it necessary to go back to this area and start Jabulani School, strategically located for those students who had to walk for kilometres to get to Mizpaa School. She met with the headman of the area to discuss the establishment of the school. According to the headman, the people in that area moved there before WWII and they had been trying to get a school built there for a very long time to prevent their children from having to walk long distances to school where

they could possible run into dangerous wildlife. A primary school was opened in 2003 and the secondary school in 2007. With the help of Wilderness Safaris (discussed below) and the Ministry of Education, the school established ecology and health clubs. The children are taught to conserve trees, water and animals and, as a result, the children have shown a greater appreciation for wildlife and nature. Ms Ndlovu believes that children are important in getting communities involved in nature as reflected by her comment below:

> *We teach these children to conserve natural resource such as trees, water and animals and when they learn these things, they carry the information home to the adults and get the conversation on conservation started …. it is a start to adults learning to conserve* (Interview, 09/2017)

Wilderness Safaris is an ecotourism company founded in Botswana in 1983 and now operating across 8 countries in Southern Africa, namely, Botswana, Kenya, Namibia, Rwanda, Seychelles, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Wilderness Safaris has been working with local people in the region for years. Part of their vision is to ensure empowerment and sustainability in local villages adjacent to the wild areas in which they operate. One of their important initiatives for ensuring empowerment and sustainability is the Children in the Wilderness program which aims to get children involved in wildlife conservation from a young age. Each year, Wilderness Safaris closes down its campsites to paying customers and brings in grade 6 pupils from participating local schools where the pupils are taught about nature, the importance of conservation and the possibilities for them in conservation:

> *It is our hope that by bringing rural children in our camps and teaching them about nature and wildlife conservation, we are creating wildlife ambassadors for the future* (Interview: Simmonds, Wilderness Safaris, 08/2017)

Female Anti-poaching Unit

With widespread poaching, a very serious biodiversity crisis and severe habitat destruction, more animals are rapidly becoming endangered. No KAZA-TFCA anti-poaching unit has been established but a lot of anti-poaching work is happening in KAZA-TFCA, beyond and independent of KAZA-TFCA through Wilderness Safari and International Anti-Poaching Foundation (IAPF). The IAPF, a not-for-profit organisation that operates in Southern Africa combatting poaching, was founded in 2009 by Damien Mander (IAPF, 2018). Like Ms Ndlovu,

the women in north west Zimbabwe felt they could do more to conserve wildlife in the area. In 2017 IAPF introduced an all-female unit called the Akashinga Initiative challenging gender roles that exist in conservation spheres:

> *Mirroring Kaufman's (1996) analysis of women in U.S. national parks, we talk about the Ranger position as being constructed by, and located in, a "masculine culture." Natural resource management agencies have traditionally employed white professional males, and the traditional ranger or forester, for example, has been the bearded, rugged outdoorsman (Apple 1996). Consequently, these agencies have constructed a culture that is dominated by masculine norms* (Black, 2001 p. 650).

Black (2001) argues that women seeking jobs in these males dominated natural resource management agencies are often subjected to typecasting (distribution of tasks according to sex), discrimination and harassment. The introduction of an all-female anti-poaching unit undermines this view that males are more suited for the ranger position. According to IAPF (2018), the group of 36 women would experience harassment from men who believed that a ranger job was meant for men as indicated by this quote: "this job is not for you. It has never been. Go back home where you belong" (IAPF, 2018). However, it appears these women have not been deterred by the negativity. Barbee (2017) quotes one of the women saying: "this job is not meant just for men, but for everyone who is fit and strong". Damien Mander is quoted saying:

> *Thirty-six women started our training, modelled on our special-forces training, and we pushed them hard, much harder than any training we do with men, only three dropped out. I couldn't believe it* (60 minutes interview).

Non-human Communities

As discussed above, discourses regarding local community involvement in conservation usually assumes human communities. However, local communities do not just involve human beings. The flora and fauna, the rivers and soils, they also form part of local communities and TFCAs have important implications for non-human communities, including ecological processes that affect and influence local non-human interactions.

One of the justifications for establishing TFCAs is that it removes administrative boundaries that might fragment bioregions, hindering ecological processes and reducing migration ranges of wildlife. The removal of these boundaries allows for more connectivity within bioregions (Wolmer, 2003). As mentioned in **chapter 1**, some species have large migratory routes and ranges and where possible tend to move across national boundaries. The removal of administrative boundaries is therefore good for those animals whose migratory ranges have been limited by the presence of fences.

A Master Integrated Development Plan (MIDP) was prepared for the KAZA-TFCA based upon the development needs for the TFCA highlighted in the five National Integrated Development Plans. The Plan highlights the importance of KAZA-TFCA in its ability to promote and maintain large-scale ecological processes (KAZA-TFCA MIDP, 2014). Encompassing 20 National Parks, 85 Forest Reserves, 22 Conservancies, 11 Sanctuaries, 103 Wildlife Management Areas and 11 Game Management Areas spread across five different countries, there was a need to link these areas to help promote and maintain large-scale ecological processes. As part of the MIDP, KAZA-TFCA identified six Wildlife Dispersal Areas (WDAs) within the following parts of the KAZA-TFCA-TCFA:

- Kwando River
- Zambezi-Chobe floodplain
- Zambezi-Mosi Oa Tunya
- Hwange-Kazuma-Chobe
- Hwange-Makgadikgadi-Nxai
- Khaudum-Ngamiland

The figure 6.2 below shows the location of the WDAs in KAZA-TFCA.

Figure 6.2: Priority wildlife dispersal areas in the KAZA-TFCA (MIDP, 2014).

The primary function of these WDAs is to connect fragmented habitat areas within the landscape as supported by this statement from the MIDP (2014):

> Each of these WDAs creates essential links between adjacent land use types and across international boundaries (p. 4).

Leibold *et al.* (2004) argue that species interactions are not just localised to local non-human communities, but these interactions can occur across a network of local non-human communities that they call metacommunities:

> We define a metacommunity as a set of local communities that are linked by dispersal of multiple potentially interacting species (p. 602).

The issue of metacommunities is of importance for this study due to its idea of localities and regions. It addresses the complex interaction of species across different scales and the upscaling of small scales to form larger scales:

...localities that hold local communities similar to those in conventional species interaction models. In turn, local communities are connected to other such communities as part of a metacommunity occupying a region (p. 604).

The introduction of WDAs within the KAZA-TFCA region make it possible for these metacommunities to occur, linking a number of local communities at local scales to form interactions at larger scales (regional). KAZA-TFCA is home to a number of the wide-ranging terrestrial species, including the African elephant (*Loxodonta africana*), zebra (*Equus burchellii*), buffalo (*Syncerus cafer*), wildebeest (*Connochaetes gnou*), lion (*Panthera leo*), wild dog (*Lycaon pictus*). Scholars have observed the long-distance dispersal of these animals from one habitat patch to another within KAZA-TFCA (Munthali *et al.* 2018).

Naidoo *et al.* (2016) documented a multi-country migration of zebra, *Equus quagga*, "that is the longest of all recorded large mammal migrations in Africa" (p.138). According to Naidoo *et al.* (2016), the zebra migrated from the Chobe River to Nxai Pan National Park in Botswana then back across the Chobe River into Namibia depending on seasons. The round-trip distance of this migration was recorded as 500km which "is greater than that covered by wildebeest *Connochaetes taurinus* during their well-known seasonal journey in the Serengeti ecosystem" (p.138). The migration route is shown in figure 6.3 below:
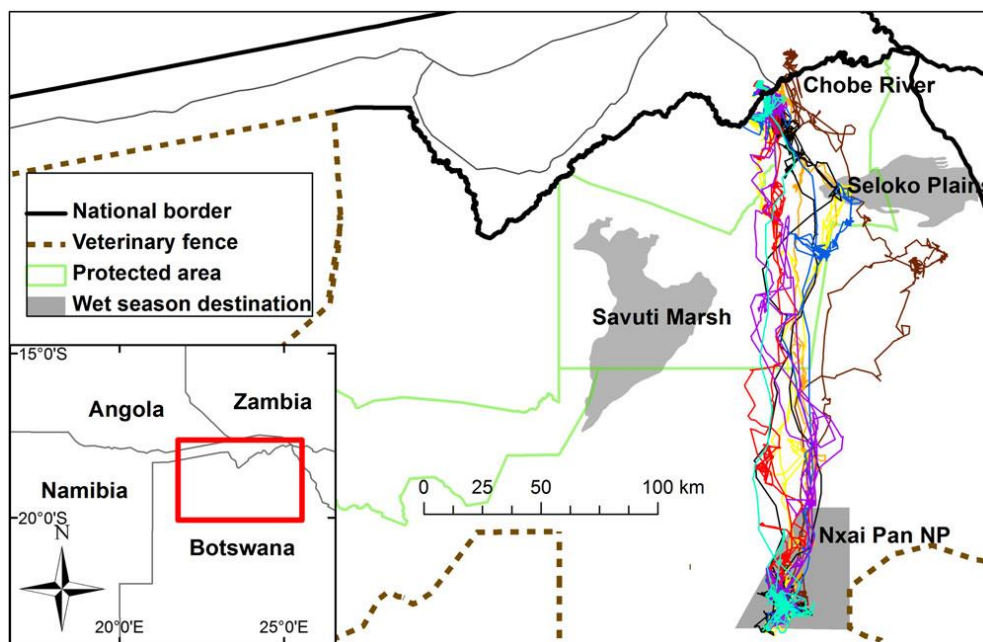
Figure 6.3: Movement trajectories of eight female zebra Equus quagga collared on the Chobe floodplains in Botswana and Namibia (Naidoo *et al.* 2016)

Naidoo *et al.* (2014) also recorded the long-range migration of buffalo, *Syncerus caffer,* across the national boundaries of Angola, Botswana and Namibia within the KAZA-TFCA landscape. The buffalo moved between the Kwando River floodplains in Angola, the Caprivi Strip in Namibia and the northern parts of Botswana into the Okavango Delta. While conducting my field studies, I observed elephants crossing the Chobe River from Botswana into Namibia. Plate 4 shows an elephant cross the Chobe River from Botswana to Namibia.

Plate 4: Elephant swimming across the Chobe River between Botswana and Namibia (source: author).

According to ZPWMA (2017), Zimbabwe has an elephant population of approximately 83000 with the highest population found in north western Zimbabwe. Table 6.1 provides a summary of elephant populations in north western Zimbabwe.

Table 6.1: Numbers and densities of elephants in North west Zimbabwe

Name of Area	Area (km²)	Estimated Number of Elephants	Density of Elephants/km²
Hwange National Park	15180	45846	3.02
Matetsi Complex	4402	4843	1.10
Forest Areas	2332	1101	0.47
Communal lands	3075	2201	0.72
Total: NW Matabeleland	24989	53991	2.16

Source: Zimbabwe elephant management plan: 2015-2020

Hwange National Park (HNP) hosts an estimated 45 000 elephants against an ecological carrying capacity of 15 000 (ZPWMA, 2015). This means that the local wildlife population in this area is already affected by the local elephant population. KAZA-TFCA is currently home to over 50% of all African savannah elephants with approximately 250 000 making it the largest contiguous population in the world and great economic value for the region (Munthali *et al.* 2018; Chase *et al.*, 2016). Establishment of WDAs in KAZA-TFCA emphasises the connectedness of the landscape and aims to promote the free movement of the large elephant populations. This means that the already stressed HNP might see an increase of elephant populations moving in from other areas or it might alleviate the overpopulation by allowing the elephants to move to other less populated areas in the TFCA. The sentiments of WDAs helping in repopulating other areas was voiced by the CEO of the Hwange RDC:

> *Opening up wildlife dispersal corridors is good for the movement of wildlife. It allows for repopulation of areas with low densities. We are hoping that by forming wildlife corridors, KAZA-TFCA will facilitate the restocking of some of the areas in our districts where wildlife populations have been decimated due to a lot of different factors which should be addressed before the restocking happens to avoid the same problem repeating itself* (Interview: CEO, Hwange RDC, 2017).

Some scholars have attributed the damage caused by the elephants to the spatial restrictions caused by fences around protected areas (Van Aarde & Jackson, 2007; Baxter & Getz, 2005; Pamo & Tchamba, 2001). Western (1989) argues that elephant populations have been compressed by human activities and national parks and argues that the ecological role of elephants is mostly positive when they can move freely. As such, opening up WDAs within the KAZA-TFCA landscape might open corridors that will facilitate the movement of elephants out of the park and thus reduce the pressure on the HNP landscape. However, there are dangers in spreading elephant impacts into sensitive habitats that are still intact – particularly riparian fringes that provide important habitat and corridors for a wide range of species in the system (Cumming, 2008).

A study conducted by Tshipa *et al.* (2017) shows that there is evidence of transboundary movement of elephants between Zimbabwe and Botswana. The absence of fences around HNP, even before the establishment of KAZA-TFCA allowed for the partial migration of

elephants across the boundaries between Zimbabwe and Botswana depending on the seasons. Figure 6.4 below shows the movement of elephants between the two countries.
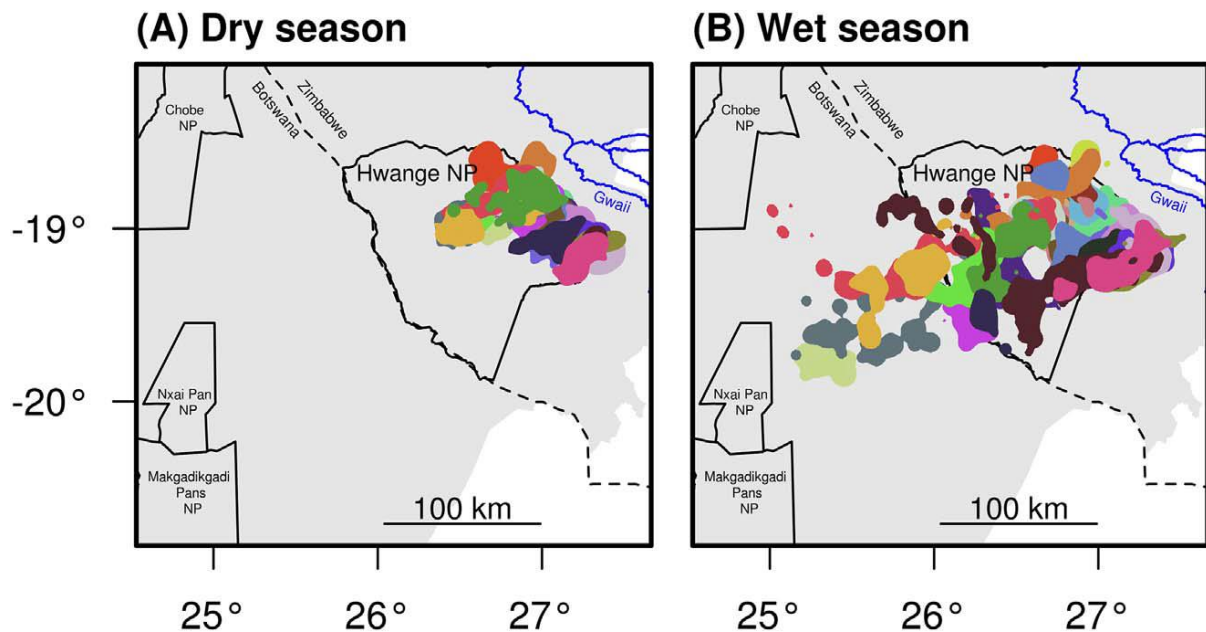
Figure 6.4: (A) Dry-season and (B) wet-season ranges of elephants collared in Hwange NP (Tshipa *et al.* 2017).

Tshipa *et al.*'s research shows that elephants within HNP move towards Botswana during the wet season and congregate on towards the eastern boundary of the park during the dry season. This behaviour was attributed to the man-made waterholes located and maintained in HNP where no permanent water sources could be found prior to human intervention. With the free movement of elephants promoted by WDAs, the presence of artificial waterholes that result in availability of water all year round might attract more elephants into an already stressed HNP landscape. This could result in negative effects on the local non-human (and human) communities in this area.

Studies show that high densities of elephants have a negative impact on vegetation dynamics as well as population dynamics of other species (Frogging, 2003; Western & Maitumo, 2004). High densities of large herbivores such as elephants result in changes in structure and composition of vegetation. Studies highlight a reduction in plant biomass in areas with elephants (Skarpe *et al.* 2004; Penzhorn *et al.* 1974). Penzhorn *et al.* (1974) reported a 55% reduction of plant biomass in the Addo Elephant National Park in South Africa. Skarpe *et al.*

(2004) described a decrease in woodlands and a corresponding increase in shrubs around the Chobe River region in Botswana.

The reduction of vegetation cover and density by elephants results in a change in potential browse availability thus affecting other herbivores in the area. Kerley *et al.* (2008) argue that the change from woodlands to shrubs and more open spaces benefits some browser species but leads to a decline in others. Ungulates like kudu (*Tragelaphus strepsiceros)* and impala (*Aepyceros melampus)* have been found to benefit from the vegetation transformation with them preferring to forage on shrubland compared to woodlands (Skarpe *et al.* 2004). According to Kerley & Landman (2006) Cape grysbok (*Raphicerus melanotis*), bushbuck (*Tragelaphus sylvaticus)* and bush pig (*Potamochoerus porcus*) numbers in the Addo Elephant National Park enclosure declined because of elephant impact. Due to their ability to open woodlands, elephants not only transform vegetation into shrubland but also increase grass cover which is beneficial to grazers including livestock (Western, 1989).

The process of habitat transformation by the elephants reveals the intrinsic value of non-humans within their own complex system. And the benefits by the ungulates from this transformation uncovers a world of interrelated species and activities operating within a vibrant ecological unit and independent of human interests. It supports the worldview by Tsing (2013); Attfield (2003); Leopold (1974) that non-humans have their own world-making projects independent of humans and that intrinsic value is not only linked to human interests but to non-human interests as well.

The impact of elephants on other species is not limited to consequences as a result of vegetation transformation. Elephants may impact biodiversity directly by killing individuals of other animal species. Slotow & Van Dyk (2001) and Slotow *et al.* (2001) both reported the killing of rhinoceros by elephants in Pilanesberg National Park and Hluhluwe–Umfolozi Park in South Africa. Slotow & Van Dyk (2001) offered three possible reasons for the conflict observed between the elephants and rhinoceros:

I. *The high densities of elephants and rhinoceros in the reserve lead to high encounter rate, and thus greater risk of escalation;*

II. *Water is a limiting resource and thus the value of fighting over it increases; and*

III. *Abnormal patterns of musth in elephant males (p. 92)*

Both studies concluded that the killing of rhinoceros by the elephants was due to abnormal behaviour brought about by unusual population structures after relocation of young male elephants.

The relationships formed by elephants are not limited to the non-human community, they also extend to the human community as well. As discussed above, they are a major source of HWC not only in the communities I visited but in literature as well. However, as indicated previously, conflict can be a result of bad behaviour from the humans as well, with wildlife trying to navigate through this bad behaviour by humans. Take the elephants in Victoria Falls for example. As you enter Victoria Falls from the south, there is a well-known (by locals) wildlife corridor used by elephants for years to travel from the bush to the Zambezi River and vice versa. According to local community member O (interview, 09/2017), who is a resident in Victoria Falls, part of the land that forms the corridor was leased to a tourism company by ZPWMA and barriers that block the corridor have since been erected. This claim was confirmed by the ZPWMA official who chose to remain anonymous with regards to this issue. This decision seems to have been made for the economic interest of humans without any regard for the interests of the wildlife using the corridor:

> *An EIA was conducted by the order came from the finance department for the leased to go through. For me, that decision was purely financial motivated because it makes no sense to lease land for other uses within a wildlife corridor* (Interview: Anonymous, 2017).

However, because elephants have the power to negotiate for their space and to resist human exertion of power exercised in this case through the erection of barriers, some of the elephants continue to use the same route despite humans' attempt to disrupt and influence their movement. Elephants have been known to follow the same trails with Haynes (2001, 2012) reporting some trails used by nomadic elephants for centuries. According to Nelson *et al*. (2003), some barriers like stone walls and unelectrified fences are not very effective barriers for elephants as elephants can easily breach said barriers. This is an example of relational power where power is not possessed by one actor but is shifting between the actors involved.

Conclusion

This chapter explored local peoples' perspectives of wildlife. It is important to understand these perspectives because people's perceptions and expectations shape their attitudes and responses to wildlife. Conservation attitudes are shaped by peoples' relationships with non-humans, including levels of conflict with wildlife and benefits from wildlife. Previous studies show that villagers have a positive attitude towards wildlife when they are benefitting from wildlife (Gillingham & Lee, 1999; Archabald & Naughton-Treves, 2001; Holmes, 2003). However, these benefits should be enough to offset the cost of conservation such as damage by wildlife and should also be equitably distributed (Kideghesho *et al.* 2007). The north-western Zimbabwe case study highlights lessons from the literature. As in other villages around wildlife areas, some of the villages in north western Zimbabwe recognise the need for wildlife and acknowledge obtaining some benefit from wildlife, but are intolerant of the risk and cost of damage which exceed the benefits (see Naughton-Treves, 1997; Naughton-Treves & Treves, 2005).

HWC is a contentious issue among conservation initiatives and local communities. Although the chapter discusses conflict from mostly a human perspective, HWC is not just bad behaviour on the part of animals but can be bad behaviour on the part of the humans. As Naughton-Treves & Treves (2005) put it, HWC can involve bad behaviour by wildlife, such as elephants raiding crops, or by humans who plant crops in wildlife habitats. Although this chapter suggests that WDAs in KAZA-TFCA might encourage HWC in the region, it is important to note that HWC is not a new problem associated with TFCAs or the spaces for wildlife movement created by the presence of TFCAs. Long before there were TFCAs, in some areas in Africa, HWC was so intense such that crop raiding by elephants resulted in "food shortages, displaced settlements or prevented agriculture altogether" (Naughton-Treves 1999, p. 253).

In this chapter I told stories of conservation efforts at the local level by local people - educators training the next generation of conservationists and the women fighting to protect their wildlife/resources to challenge assumptions about local people in conservation. In the words of Briedenhann & Wickens (2004):

> *A combination of the lack of education, which in many cases includes a deficiency in either basic literacy or numeracy, problems of access to training and, frequently, the*

inappropriateness of programmes offered, render many rural communities ill-equipped to offer a quality tourism experience or product (p.77).

Briedenhann & Wickens (2004) argue that the lack of education as well as financial resources in many of Southern Africa's rural communities have proved to be blockages to local participation in conservation. As demonstrated in this chapter, local communities are unable to participate in conservation strategies such as conservation agriculture because they lack the knowledge, support and opportunities to do so. However, the locals interviewed about this showed a willingness to be taught and to learn so they could be able live harmoniously with wildlife and be able to protect their crops and livestock from wildlife destruction. Wilderness Safaris and Sifiwe Ndlovu have recognised the barrier imposed by lack of education on local participation and have taken to introducing programmes to local children as young as primary aged pupils to prepare them for a life in wildlife zones. Jacobson & Robles (1992) argue that education helps foster more positive attitudes towards protected areas and promote natural resource conservation. Education of locals in conservation not only serves to strengthen conservation issues but is a good example of integrating conservation and economic development goals, which is a primary objective of TFCAs. Studies have shown how education can achieve both conservation and socio-economic development goals. Jiménez *et al.* (2017) show how Costa Rica has used educational initiatives to integrate conservation science and economic policies and achieve win-win conservation and development goals.

Studies also show a lack of female participation in formal conservation initiatives (Agarwal, 2000; Agarwal, 2001a; Westermann *et al.*, 2005; Agarwal, 2009; Soe & Sato, 2012). Westerman *et al.* (2005, p.1784) contend that women have a special relationship with nature "due to their responsibilities for the family and concern for the well-being of future generations" and therefore may be more likely to protect it. The Akashinga Initiative discussed in this chapter highlights the strength and willingness of women to protect nature. Agarwal (2009) argues that community conservation initiative that include women do better than those that lacked women, with community forest groups with two or more women having 57% higher probability of improvement than those without women.

The stories here demonstrated that capacities for conservation exist within local group dynamics, capacities that are often overlooked or found as lacking in local communities (as discussed in **chapter 4**). It is my hope that by challenging these assumptions and recognising

local capacities for conservation in their own spaces, we maybe able to realise the potential of valuing these capacities and using them as a foundation for TFCA conservation strategies, where local capabilities are recognised as an asset to empowering locals in TFCAs. In Durning's (1996) words, "there may not be any ways to save the world that are not, first and foremost, ways for people to save their own places."

The issue of HWC and WDAs highlights how non-humans are inserted within contemporary anthropocentric power relationships. Firstly, some of the participants in my study moved into a wildlife area knowing fully well that it was a wildlife area. Yet, perceptions of wildlife by some of these participants vilify wildlife when they are the ones that have encroached onto wildlife habitats. The encroachment of humans into wildlife habitats can be seen as an act of power from an anthropocentric view whereby humans can take and occupy whatever space they desire. Secondly, KAZA-TFCA human stakeholders have created WDAs for non-human stakeholders to create spaces for tourism investment and community-based enterprises (MIDP, 2014). This reinforces the valuing of wildlife for their usefulness to humans rather than for their intrinsic value or on their non-human terms.

The chapter showed how non-humans, like elephants, have world making projects that not only affect them but affect other non-humans and humans as well. This challenges the assumptions that agency is only ascribable to humans. Latour (2005) argues that non-humans are important not because humans have formed relationships with them that are attached to human agency, but because these non-humans have the capacity to form their own kinds of relationships with non-humans and humans alike. The elephants that are transforming woodlands into grasslands that is beneficial for ungulates are valuable to grassland ecology and are not dependent on human agency.

TFCAs acknowledge that humans and nonhumans are interconnected and that there is a need for conservation and socio-economic development. However, they do not always recognize that non-humans are agents in their own right. The following chapter discusses relational power, scale and assemblage concepts in relation to humans and non-human agency in TFCAs.

Chapter 7: Context, Scale and Power: Implications for participation, nature and people

Introduction

This chapter draws on the descriptive-interpretive data presented in the three previous empirical chapters. It brings insights from these into dialogue with the existing body of literature on TFCAs, power, participation, scale, nature and people presented in **chapters 1 and 3**. This chapter presents the thesis's key findings through the following two themes:

- Capacities for conservation across frontiers
- The rhetoric and realities of TFCAs

The themes above emerged from the interpretation of the data in **chapter 4, 5 and 6**. The thesis key findings in the empirical chapters can be categorised into one or both of these themes. The first section considers what capacities do and do not exist to support conservation across frontiers, how these capacities are unevenly distributed across space, time and species and how critical context is for understanding and addressing this unevenness. The section discusses how nation-state histories shape the abilities of the KAZA-TFCA partner countries. It addresses the unevenness of capacities between states and how this has impacted participation within KAZA-TFCA. It also highlights how some stakeholders have failed to recognise the capacities of local communities by failing to incorporate CBNRM programmes into KAZA-TFCA. It draws on the concepts of power and scalar thickening to show how scale thickening is an exercise of power that can sideline other stakeholders. The section also engages with non-human capacities and discusses how these drive conservation across frontiers. Drawing on the concept of assemblages, it argues that many human stakeholders need to better recognise and value non-human capacities and move beyond solely valuing non-humans for conservation and development purposes.

The second section discusses the rhetoric and realities of TFCAs. It revisits what KAZA-TFCA aims to achieve in terms of biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development and discusses what this study found is currently occurring. The section focuses on the relationships between humans and non-humans in conservation and socio-economic

development in KAZA-TFCA and draws on the concept of assemblages to understand how these dynamics shape a landscape where both humans and non-humans are critical agents.

Capacities for Conservation Across Frontiers

Context matters in knowing, doing and responding to social geographies, it is critical in understanding how knowledge is constructed, debated and applied (Howitt 2011, p.134). Context shapes what we know and how we represent what we know. One such important context is historical context - the past matters as it helps to explain how the present came to be. Southern Africa has been shaped by colonial histories of conflict and dispossession which have left a mark on people, landscapes, plants and animals (Rangarajan, 2003) and shaped current political dispositions that have influenced and impacted African nations' desire to undo colonial injustices (Alexender, 2006; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009; Makunike, 2017). Colonial rule repeatedly suppressed the interests of local Africans while promoting colonial interests in the economic exploitation of Africa's natural resources and concomitant protection of Africa's wildlife (Aramon & Buscher, 2005). Not only were the interests of Africans suppressed, African peoples were also displaced from their homes and lands resulting in the stripping of land rights and disruption of human-non-human relationships. This contentious history resulted in nature, conservation and land in Southern Africa bearing exclusionary connotations, both then and today.

Hence TFCAs do not arise in a vacuum. The establishment of TFCAs in the region is closely related to colonial histories that denied local communities ownership of and access to natural resources. As a way to correct these injustices, conservation strategies such as CBNRM and TFCAs were born. State-driven TFCAs and locally-driven CBNRM programmes have overlapping objectives of conservation, development and good governance. CBNRM aims to bridge the trade-offs between conservation and development by extending rights to use natural resources to communal area communities so they may get benefits. In turn the benefits act as an incentive to conserve and use resources in a sustainable way. With TFCAs aiming for greater involvement of communities in conservation, there is the potential for TFCAs to use CBNRM initiatives as a tool to achieve biodiversity conservation and economic development outcomes at more local levels.

TFCAs are an assemblage consisting of a plethora of different actors and agencies who all have different capacities and different interests in creating, maintaining, expanding and/or transforming the relations which define the assemblage. Jepson *et al.* (2011) argue that a conservation actor is any entity, human or non-human, that has the capacity to affect conservation outcomes. However, these capacities are unevenly distributed resulting in imbalances of power (**chapter 4, 5 and 6**). For example, key stakeholders are the partner countries who have the capacity to redistribute space and reorganise border landscapes and create enabling political and socio-economic environments for the establishment of TFCAs. This is evidenced in KAZA-TFCA by the negotiation of the KAZA-TFCA boundary at mostly state level with little to no involvement at local levels. In addition, donor agencies have the financial capacity to provide funds for the establishment of TFCAs and the running of projects within the TFCAs. This capacity gives donors power to determine how the funds are distributed and who gets or does not get the funds. In the case of KAZA-TFCA, KfW determined that Zimbabwe should not be allowed to benefit from the funds provided for the TFCA which has resulted in an unequal partnership between stakeholders (**chapter 5**):

> *It is hard to have a genuine partnership amongst the stakeholders where such clear inequalities of resource allocation exist* (Interview: KAZA Zimbabwe liaison, 2017).

NGOs have the capacities to facilitate negotiations between stakeholders, including between planners and implementers, and provide capacity building and solicitation of funds. PPF was instrumental in maintaining negotiations between stakeholders during the negotiation of KAZA-TFCA (**chapters 4 and 5**). The KAZA Secretariat now manages and coordinates the day-to-day operations of KAZA-TFCA. Researchers have the technical know-how and capacity to provide best practice and as such have been privileged and prioritised in KAZA-TFCA. As discussed in **chapter 4**, KAZA-TFCA encourages research within the landscape and privileges movement of researchers within the landscape as well as participation in KAZA-TFCA decision-making processes that is not offered to local communities. The ecosystems that consists of the non-human stakeholders that shaped the boundaries of KAZA-TFCA (**chapter 4**) had the power to negotiate for their spaces and movement. However, with tourism as one of KAZA-TFCA's objective (highlighted in the MoU and Treaty), this power was extended to the non-humans by the humans on the basis of economic benefit for certain humans. This anthropocentric valuing of non-humans diminishes the intrinsic value of non-humans,

favouring humans over non-humans. Lastly, an imbalance of power is shown through local human community participation, or lack thereof, in KAZA-TFCA processes. Although local communities have the power to affirm or resist TFCAs and influence the success of conservation strategies, that power is diminished by the erasures of local community participation in many TFCAs processes.

Southern African nations have shown a strong desire and capacity for conservation which moves beyond national borders. The capacity for conservation across frontiers in Southern Africa is evidenced by the 18 TFCAs which exist at different levels of implementation across Southern Africa. The question is not whether Southern Africa nations can create these spaces that allow conservation to be spread across national political boundaries, but rather if they have the capacity to implement, manage and benefit from the TFCAs in an equitable manner, and whether they have the capacity to achieve biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development that is beneficial to the alleviation of poverty for rural communities within these TFCAs.

Duffy (2001) argues that economic, political and environmental disparities between states have major implications for the balance of power and issues of equality between partner countries and that this can threaten the success of TFCAs (**chapter 5**). Issues of national sovereignty are of great importance to African countries that were denied this sovereignty by colonial paradigms. Given the colonial history of Southern African nations, the waiver of a certain level of sovereignty to establish and manage a TFCA has presented political challenges (Duffy 1997). Throughout its colonial history, colonial governments in Southern Africa excluded Africans from ownership of lands, therefore post-colonial Southern African nations place a significant emphasis on maintaining national sovereignty and nation-states are quick to protect it. None so like the Zimbabwean government under former President Mugabe. During his time as president, Mugabe was quite vocal about Zimbabwe's sovereignty and protecting it from those who would seek to threaten it as indicated by this famous quote:

> *We have fought for our land, we have fought for our sovereignty, small as we are we have won our independence and we are prepared to shed our blood ... So, Blair keep your England, and let me keep my Zimbabwe* (Earth summit, South Africa, 2002).

Danby (1997) argues that cross-border and collaborative governance of TFCAs requires states to relinquish their power to a certain extent and this, in some cases, has been perceived as a threat to national sovereignty. On the other hand, van Ameron (2002) argues that, at times, the importance placed on sovereignty is counter-intuitive to cross-border collaborative projects.

Although all the five partner countries in KAZA-TFCA have a history of colonial rule, they have also all had very different experiences with colonialism and have emerged from it with different views and responses that shape how they engage with TFCAs and pose a risk to the initiative's success. **Chapter 5** discussed Zimbabwe's colonial and post-Independence history and the influence of that history on current issues. The story of Zimbabwe's more contemporary international political conflicts, therefore, starts with the colonialization of the Zimbabwean people by the British. However, as discussed in **chapter 5**, much of the representation of the story in mainstream media and political spheres and some academic literature ignores this history and starts the story with the eviction of white farmers from "their land". This story, which ends with the breakdown of Zimbabwe's economy has implications for KAZA-TFCA and the other countries in the TFCA. As a result of its history of colonial ideologies that dispossessed local Zimbabweans from their land, unstable post-colonial land agreements, unwillingness by the former colonial power, the UK, to pay land compensation and the 'violent' response in the form of 2000 land invasion to that history (see **chapter 5**), Zimbabwe's financial capacity to implement the objectives of KAZA-TFCA has been limited by its inability to access funds from international donors that fund the KAZA-TFCA project. Although the other partner countries were adamant during the negotiations of KAZA-TFCA that they would not proceed with the project if Zimbabwe was not part of the project (personal communication, Modise 2016), none have stood up against the financial powers that have so far dictated how the finances are distributed within the landscape:

> *No one wants to go against the wishes of KfW because they are afraid of losing their funding. KAZA secretariat is the one that sources the funds and distributes them to the partner countries. I just think that if the secretariat and the other countries really wanted Zimbabwe to benefit financially, they would find a way to ensure that Zimbabwe does benefit. But in this donor dependent atmosphere no one wants to take that risk* (Interview: Anonymous, 10/2017).

Each of KAZA-TFCA's five partner countries has complex and diverse histories that shape current issues in those nations. These diverse and complex histories also result in differing state capacities. Differences in state capacities of partner countries raise challenges for TFCA implementation. Take Angola for instance. Angola was meant to be the first coordinating country for KAZA-TFCA but was unprepared and passed the coordination onto Botswana (**chapter 4**):

> *Coordination is on a 2-year rotation basis alphabetically. Angola was meant to be the first coordinator as agreed upon by the partner countries, but, coming out of a civil war, they lacked the capacity to coordinate a regional collaborative scheme and were unprepared for the responsibility* (Interview: Modise, 10/2016).

Not only was it unprepared for the coordination responsibilities, but according to Jones (2008), Angola's environmental legislations and policies are dissimilar to the policies of the other four partner countries (**chapter 4 and 5**). A former Portuguese colony, Angola still has a legacy of colonial legislation which are different from the colonial legislation of the other four countries who are all former British colonies. Angola is currently reviewing most of its legislation (Jones, 2008). This could have implications for the legal framework of the TFCA. As discussed in **chapter 4**, the TFCA scale needs to be able to function within existing scales, to function within existing sovereign, regional and international laws. A KAZA-TFCA legal framework that complements the legislation and policies of the other four countries that have similar policies could result in Angola being in contravention of its own laws were its policies to conflict with the other partner countries. For example, unlike the other four countries that have some sort of CBNRM programmes (**chapter 1** and highlighted further in this chapter), Angola has no policies for the devolution of rights to wildlife usage for local communities. A KAZA-TFCA framework that calls for the use of wildlife by local communities to achieve socio-economic development and poverty alleviation for local communities (as is part of KAZA-TFCA objectives) is in conflict with Angolan policies.

Neumann (2000) and Duffy (2006) argue that global conservation schemes such as TFCAs gloss over issues of turbulent political situations and state capacities thus resulting in fragile strategies. Current TFCA frameworks do not take into account these issues (Duffy, 2001). It is important to reflect back on the TFCAs framework and address state issues that can challenge a partner state's capacity to implement TFCA policies.

However, it is not just state capacities that threaten the success of TFCAs. TFCAs work across different local, national, regional and international scales with differing capacities to participate in transboundary collaborations. Wyborn & Bixler (2013) argue that local communities usually lack the capacity and resources to participate in large scale collaborative projects. This lack of capacity risks minimising local communities' legitimacy in these projects. Disparities also occur amongst local capacities within KAZA-TFCA. Local communities across national boundaries in KAZA-TFCA have different capacities and systems for self-organisation and resource management. Although these are local capacities, they are usually recognised and legitimated through national policies and laws that govern land distribution, access, use and benefits derived from natural resources in which these local communities are found. Land rights for local communities is one way of capacitating local communities to participate in TFCAs.

In Zimbabwe, most local communities are on communal lands which are owned by the government (Needs, n.d). Both colonial policies of land dispossession (**chapter 5**) and post-colonial (**chapter 6**) policies of communal land ownership and tenure in Zimbabwe disenfranchised local communities from owning the land which they occupy. Lack of ownership strips them of negotiating power in terms of how the land ought to be used. Most local communities on the Zambian side of KAZA-TFCA are on customary land (Metcalfe & Kepe, 2008). Mudenda (2006) argues that the problem with customary land is that it lacks title and therefore brings about insecurity because rights are not recognized and protected by law. Smith (1999) defines title as the degree of control, use and enjoyment that are recognized and protected by law. Local communities in Zambia do not have this degree of control of the land. This is evidence by the restriction of land use options placed by the Zambia Wildlife Authority (ZAWA) on Game Management Areas (GMAs) which have been designated as hunting concessions but are located on customary land. Restricted land use options limit holistic authority by local communities to manage these communal lands (Metcalfe & Kepe, 2008). **Chapter 4** discusses the invisibility and powerlessness of communal land communities in the decision-making processes of TFCAs due to lack of ownership. Noe & Kangalawe (2015) argue that the legal ownership of communal lands by governments across Africa allows these governments to control the flow of benefits from natural resources in these areas. The present land ownership and tenure does not ensure the involvement or consultation of the

local community and land reforms that equate customary and communal land tenure to statutory title could go a long way into giving a voice to local communities in KAZA-TFCAs. Examples of local community experiences in other TFCAs in Southern Africa described by Spierenburg *et al.* (2008), Ramutsindela (2007b), Dzingirai (2004) and Wolmer (2003) show land ownership is necessary for local communities to engage in a meaningful negotiation of their rights in the wake of regional projects and KAZA-TFCA needs to address this inadequacy.

The devolution of power to local communities for the management of wildlife resources through CBNRM programmes is another way for capacitating local communities to participate in TFCAs. The CBNRM programme in Namibia, which is a flagship for CBNRM programmes in Southern Africa (Styles 2011; Colby 2012; NACSO 2013; WWF 2018), has enabled local communities in Namibia "to register conservancies, through which they could take on rights, and manage and use wildlife resources with the assistance of NGOs and government" (Barnes, 2008: p. 343). CBNRM in Namibia has allowed these communities to derive positive returns and significant benefits from the use of wildlife resources (Barnes, 2008; Jones *et al.* 2015).

However, not all CBNRM programmes are the success story that CBNRM in Namibia is. Going back to the issue of context raised by Howitt (2011), Andersson & de Garine-Wichatitsky (2017) argue that the "contexts conducive to communal regimes of resource management are not always to be found" (p. xvi). They argue that:

> *The socio-economic history of some areas, with transient and mobile populations, high levels of socio-economic differentiation and poor resource to population ratios, has led to conditions inimical to local collective* (p. xvi).

Botswana has Wildlife Management Areas where communities are granted access to utilise wildlife resources and 100% of the revenue collected by the communities from wildlife projects goes back into the community. However, the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) has ownership and management rights and can revoke community access as they see fit (Nelson & Agrawal, 2008). This centralised management arrangement allows for a top-down management process that gives the government more power than the communities. This has potential implications for community participation in KAZA-TFCA as DWNP can easily sideline communities by revoking their access to wildlife resources.

CBNRM programmes are concerned with redistribution of financial benefits from wildlife (Nelson & Agrawal, 2008). Although the focus is on financial benefits for local communities, a study conducted by Bwalya (2003) showed limited success in ADMADE (one of Zambia's CBNRM programme, see **chapter 1**) in some areas, with communities in one area receiving only 6% of the total revenue generated by the CBNRM programme (cited in Nelson & Agrawal, 2008). CBNRM programmes in Zambia do not decentralise power to local communities. According Nelson & Agrawal (2008) "neither LIRDP nor ADMADE actually granted communities any statutory rights to wildlife or decision-making authority over wildlife uses" (p. 570). This kind of CBNRM does not empower local communities as there is no sense of power or ownership over wildlife resources. Without decision-making powers, these communities have no say in how the wildlife resources are utilised.

Zimbabwe has the CAMPFIRE CBNRM program which is strongly influenced by the colonial history of the country. CAMPFIRE is an attempt to undermine the colonial legacy that undermined people's control over their land and resources and criminalised their use of wildlife (Alexander & McGregor, 2000; Jones & Murphree, 2001). It was established in the 1980s and considered an innovate model on which successive CBNRM programmes in Southern Africa are based (Duffy, 2008; Frost & Bond, 2008). However, the shifting political and economic landscape in Zimbabwe since 2000 has resulted in recentralised wildlife management policies that have weakened communities' ownership and power over wildlife utilisation (Frost & Bond, 2008) as well as a decline in the tourism industry that has significantly reduced revenue for local communities in CAMPFIRE (Nelson & Agrawal, 2008).

Four of the five partner countries, discussed above, have some sort of CBNRM programme that that has the capacity to (dis)empower local communities and open/close spaces for their participation in KAZA-TFCA. TFCAs have in part been justified through a commitment to CBNRM:

> *The ways that local communities are encouraged to be involved in the governance of the TFCAs are indicative of the proliferation of forms of power and authority that lie outside the realm of the State and fit with neoliberal ideas about decentralisation and empowering non-state actors* (Duffy, 2008; p. 68).

Unlike the other partner countries, Angola has no CBNRM programme. This removes any opportunity for local communities in Angola to use CBNRM as a foundation and space for engaging with KAZA-TFCAs. In this capacity, local communities in Angola are disenfranchised compared to local communities in the other partner countries.

However, CBNRM programmes in other countries have so far failed to open spaces up for local community involvement in the TFCA. The top-down management form that has been taken by some of the CBNRM (Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe) hinders the creation of these spaces for local communities. Adding to that, the construction of TFCAs as discussed in **chapter 3** (complexities of scale) is a transformation/scalar thickening of local and national scales into a supranational scale (Ramutsindela, 2007c). The scaler arrangement of TFCAs makes them transnational in nature and this could "potentially undo the meagre gains of CBNRM and recentralise natural resource management, thus further concentrating power in the hands of the state" (Wolmer, 2003; p.277) (see **chapter 4**). The lack of KAZA-TFCA knowledge by local communities in Zimbabwe highlighted in this study (**chapter 6**) indicates a lack of decentralisation of power in the Zimbabwean side of KAZA-TFCA. The KAZA-TFCA symposium revealed that the lack of decentralisation is not unique to Zimbabwe. A decentralisation of power in CBNRM programmes allows local communities to accrue benefits from natural resources. One of the central themes at the symposium was the limited benefits to limited communities in the KAZA-TFCA landscape. Diggle *et al.* (2016) presented a paper at the symposium that showed that some of the communities within KAZA-TFCA are the most socio-economically disadvantaged people in the region, despite states continually benefitting from the natural resources in KAZA-TFCA (**chapter 4**). This illustrates the level of state control over the natural resources and benefits acquired through the KAZA-TFCA project.

TFCAs have been criticised as potentially centralising power and authority over resources and people by investing in international conservation groups and states with increased authority to monitor local communities (Duffy, 2008). This inability to recognise and utilise CBNRM programmes in facilitating participation by locals in TFCAs is by itself an incapacity by those actors implementing TFCAs. Recognising capacities in others and being able to utilise those capacities by others to achieve the desired results is an important capacity. Suchet-Pearson & Howitt (2006) argue that those who see others as lacking capacity are often lacking certain capacities themselves. As highlighted in **chapters 4 and 6**, as of mid-2018, KAZA-TFCA has

gone through two funding cycles with a third cycle still to come. Respondents indicated that the funds from the two funding cycles have gone into national institutional capacity-building (**chapter 4**) which is lagging in Zimbabwe due to financial restrictions (**chapter 5**). The capacity-building process in KAZA-TFCA has so far neglected to fund both the building of capacities in local communities and the building of capacities of other key actors, like the states and KAZA secretariat, to recognise and engage with local communities (**chapters 4 and 6**). Capacity-building in NRM should be multi-directional to develop capacities in all parties involved to enable them to:

> *deal with information and insights that challenge their assumptions and taken-for-granted responses. It is necessary to open lines of communication and debate that lead to rethinking the goals and consequences of various management systems. Yet many key stakeholders have had limited capacity and been unwilling and ill-prepared to take this on* (Suchet-Pearson & Howitt 2006, p. 118).

However, there is a chance that good governance and frameworks can still work to use CBNRM, and other non-conventional forms of government and practice, as a foundation for community participation in KAZA-TFCA. Ramutsindela argued that TFCAs could benefit from using existing CBNRM as a foundation for building TFCAs (personal communication, 09/2016).

The inability to recognise capacities is not just limited to not recognising local capacities but non-human capacities as well. A stakeholder analysis workshop conducted for the KAZA-TFCA region in 2008 failed to identify non-humans as a stakeholder (**chapter 1**, **table 2**). Jepson *et al.* (2011) argue that when referring to conservation actors, talks are generally:

> *in terms of the individuals, groups, and organisations who actively pursue conservation agendas (conservationists), the constituencies, communities, companies, and government agencies whose co-operation and support is enlisted in the pursuit of conservation goals (supporters/stakeholders), and the individuals, companies, and governments whose activities, policies, practices or inaction damage nature (opponents)* (p. 229),

which excludes the non-humans from the equation. It fails to recognise non-human interests and goals and ability to act upon the environment which affects conservation agendas and

goals. This is based on an anthropocentric view of wildlife/natural resources as a resource that humans can obtain benefits from (Williams 2006, Purser *et al.* 1995, Callicott 1984) rather than entities that have their own interests and projects (Tsing, 2015) (see **chapter 3**) and the capacity to affect conservation outcomes.

Assemblage theory recognises the capacities of both humans and non-humans in negotiating and creating world changing projects (Tsing, 2015). In fact, research continually demonstrates that non-humans often possess capacities once thought to separate them from humans (Singer, 2017). Having established that TFCAs are assemblages consisting of a plethora of different actors including non-humans, it is important to engage with non-human capacities for conservation across frontiers. As mentioned above and in **chapter 4**, non-humans such as wildlife (animals), the rivers and delta played a significant role in the construction of the KAZA-TFCA. Although they were technically not at the negotiation table, they did negotiate not only for the creation of the landscape but for the boundaries and inclusions within the landscape. This is supported by Jepson *et al.* (2011) who state that:

> *developments in post-humanistic thinking reveal that governance networks are not produced solely by something and someone, they do not arise from human autonomy or purpose or values alone, but instead are formed in relations (e.g., negotiations, alliances, engagements, and conflicts) between a much wider array of actors, both human and non-human* (p.230).

Wildlife in KAZA-TFCA have negotiations, alliances, engagements and conflict relations with humans making them part of the KAZA-TFCA network and a stakeholder and agent of said network. Take elephants for example. The KAZA-TFCA landscape is home to the largest population of elephants in the world which move across national boundaries across the KAZA-TFCA and as such, play a key role in the negotiation and creation of KAZA-TFCA. Elephants in KAZA-TFCA also negotiate and compete for space and resources with locals in the region. As has been shown above (**chapter 6)** this shaped the WDAs within KAZA-TFCA and sometimes results in conflict between the two entities (**chapter 6**). However, conflict is not always the result of elephant and local community encounters. Elephants and the local San communities in Nyae Nyae in Namibia negotiate the harvest of the marula fruit, coming to a careful sharing of this mutual food resource. It is only when the negotiation fails that a lack of collaboration

and understanding between the two can result in conflict (Suchet, 1999). Alliances have also formed between elephants and humans, with humans providing artificial waterholes for elephants to access water during the dry season in HNP (see Tshipa *et al.* 2017 discussed in **chapter 6**). The agencies of the elephants in KAZA-TFCA have clearly provided elephants with the capacity to engage in conservation across frontiers.

The Rhetoric and Realities of TFCAs

> *… engaged universals are never fully successful in being everywhere the same* (Tsing, 2005, p.10)

The development of TFCAs has generated a great deal of interest in conservation practice and academic publications, with reviews discussing in particular benefits to the conservation of biodiversity and contribution to socio-economic development and the reduction of poverty in those communities living in or adjacent to the TFCAs (Ramutsindela, 2007; Andersson *et al.* 2012). However, the realities of TFCAs seem far removed from the ideologies of conservation and development/empowerment of local communities. This section discusses some of the rhetoric and realities of KAZA-TFCA conservation and development projects

Conservation of Biodiversity

As discussed in **chapter 6**, the KAZA-TFCA Master Integrated Development Plan (MIDP) is looking to create new spaces in the form of WDAs to allow free movement of wildlife within the landscape. The creation of WDAs is an attempt to address the vulnerability of fragmented and isolated habitats. It is deeply rooted in the concept of bioregionalism. Wolmer (2003) argues that land fragmentations that hinder ecological processes and reduce migration ranges of wildlife can be done away with through the establishment of TFCAs. However, the idea of WDAs allowing for connectivity of fragmented areas is not that simple. TFCAs are not established in empty unoccupied lands or pristine wildernesses, but rather in spaces that are, or have been, inhabited by humans and that have been considerably impacted on and shaped by humans (even if by the removal or exclusion of certain humans from the spaces). Creation of WDAs need to take into account these complex human-non-human interactions, both over time and space. TFCAs create spaces like WDAs that promote the free roaming of wildlife across the boundaries, but with often unpredictable and potentially devastating effects on human and non-human lives and livelihoods (Sinthumule, 2016).

The free movement of wildlife in the KAZA-TFCA will most likely impact intra- and interspecific competition resulting in additional pressures and conflict in the HWC:

> *One has to be careful with where they create WDAs. With an area that has multiple land uses like KAZA-TFCA, WDAs would be useful for the free movement of wildlife but that free movement could also result in HWC if the corridors are too close to human activities and the wildlife stray outside of the corridor into human territory* (Interview: Ramutsindela, 10/2016).

It is apparent from the above quote that corridors are a potential source of conflict given the HWC histories of human and non-human communities and the different interest groups competing for access to resources.

Although the majority of local people in north western Zimbabwe do not know about KAZA-TFCA and what is happening in KAZA-TFCA (as discussed in **chapter 6**), this does not mean they are not affected by KAZA-TFCA. The KAZA-TFCA landscape comprises of a variety of land uses from national parks, forest land, communal lands, safari areas and private land. Covering nearly 520,000km2, KAZA-TFCA is the largest transfrontier conservation area in the world, with 371,394 km2 under some form of wildlife management, leaving 148,520 km2 for agricultural use including rangeland (KAZA-TFCA IDP, 2015).

The huge variety of land uses presents major challenges as adjacent areas often have what are seen as conflicting and incompatible uses. In addition, many of the areas suffer from outdated or non-existent information, which hampers planning and management. Figure 7.1 shows the different land uses within the KAZA-TFCA landscape and figure 7.2 shows the different land uses in the Zimbabwe part of KAZA-TFCA.
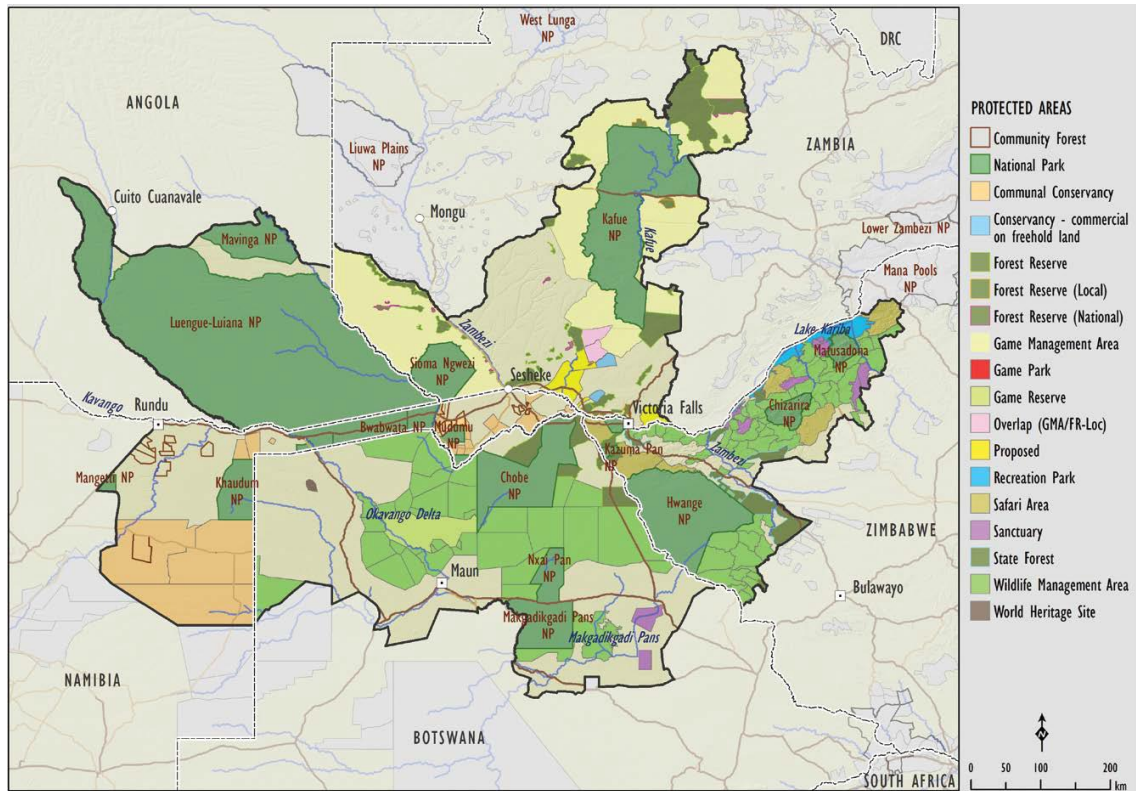
Figure 7.1: Land uses in KAZA-TFCA

Approximately 60% of the land in KAZA-TFCA is communal land (Sinthumule, 2016).
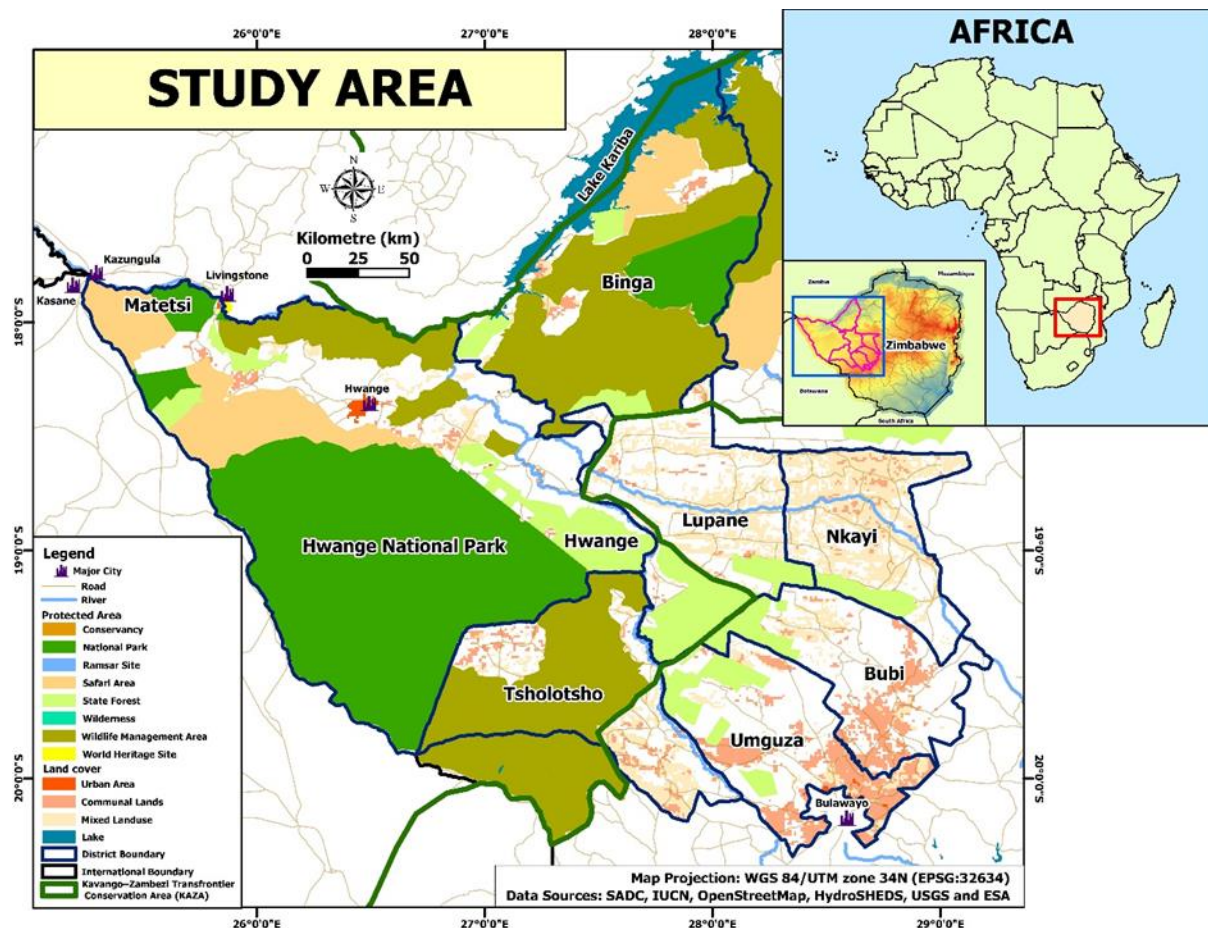
Figure 7.2: Land classification, north west Zimbabwe (produced for the purpose of this study)

TFCAs aim to increase the migration range of wildlife. With the establishment of KAZA-TFCA and the development of WDAs, there is an inevitable increase in the movement of wildlife. There are currently 6 WDAs that were identified within the KAZA-TFCA (figure 6.2).

With an increase in wildlife movement across incompatible land uses, comes the risk of increased human-wildlife conflict. For example, in Zimbabwe, within the Hwange-Kazuma-Chobe WDA lie the Matetsi Safari Area as well as parts of Hwange National Park, which are wildlife zones which lie adjacent to communal farm lands. Therefore, increased movement of wildlife in this WDA may result in an increased number of wildlife moving into communal lands. A study conducted by Sinthumule (2016) in the Greater Mapungugwe TFCA highlighted this conflict. The study showed that the multiple land use practices in the TFCA resulted in economic loses for the local communities due to the increased presence of wildlife in the communal areas that threatened their livestock and crops. Sinthumule (2016) also found that

the livestock-wildlife conflict resulted in an increased hatred of wildlife by local people because they were losing an important component of their food security to wildlife.

Another conflict that could possible arise from increased movement of wildlife is the introduction of new diseases that could potentially be harmful to both livestock and wildlife (Miguel *et al.* 2013; Gomo *et al.* 2012). The interface between wildlife and livestock presents a challenge for managing wildlife associated diseases that are of concern to livestock as well as protecting wildlife from domestic animal diseases (Bengis *et al.*2002). The movement of micro-organisms between wildlife and livestock is an example of non-human agency where non-human projects are independent of human interests. Penrith & Thomson (2012) argue that "increasing the interface between humans, domestic animals and wildlife in KAZA-TFCA may expose wildlife to increased risk from bovine brucellosis, bovine tuberculosis, rabies and canine distemper virus" (p.38) which are carried by cattle. de Garine-Wichatitksy *et al.* (2013) acknowledge that buffaloes and cattle have similar ecological niches which makes it easy for them to transmit diseases to each other and other animals. Buffalo in Kruger National Park in the GLTFCA contracted bovine tuberculosis from livestock around KNP and this had unfortunate consequences as the buffalo then infected other species, some of them rare (Penrith & Thomson 2012). Infection of livestock by zoonotic diseases could devastate livestock populations which would disadvantage local communities that are dependent on livestock for their livelihood. This study highlighted the dependence of locals in communal lands on livestock and with most rural communities in Zimbabwe on communal lands, this would be counterintuitive to the goal of poverty alleviation in rural communities.

Socio-Economic Development and Local Participation

To achieve socio-economic goals for communities in TFCA landscapes, local communities must be provided with opportunities to participate frequently in economic activities that can provide benefits associated with the daily operations of the TFCAs (Hanks & Myburgh 2015). KAZA-TFCA recognised the importance of local communities in the success of the TFCA and the principle of engaging stakeholders in the planning, development and management of the TFCA is enshrined in both the KAZA-TFCA MOU and the Treaty. In the MOU, the partner countries committed themselves to:

> *Develop mechanisms and strategies for local communities to participate meaningfully in, and tangibly benefit from the TFCA.*

The issue of participation was reaffirmed in the Treaty with article 5 on General Principles, stating that:

1. *For the execution of the objectives expressed in this Treaty, the Partner States undertake to uphold the following principles:*

   …

   g) create forums to facilitate consultations and effective participation of Stakeholders in decision making with respect to the development of policies and strategies related to the management and development of the KAZA-TFCA; and

   …

   i) make the KAZA-TFCA a programme which epitomises and showcases benefit sharing, equality, good governance, collaboration and cooperation; and

Despite the desire to work with local communities to undertake conservation across large landscapes, there is an inherent tension between these scales of operation. As stated in **chapter 4**, during the feasibility study conducted by Hanks & Cronwright (2006) various stakeholders were consulted. In Zimbabwe, a total of 62 stakeholders were consulted, 39 government organisations, 10 private sectors, eight NGOs and parastatals, three international organisations and two communities. According to the KAZA-TFCA website, the Zimbabwe component of KAZA-TFCA consists of seven districts, namely Hwange, Tsholotsho, Bulilima, Binga, Gokwe, Nyaminyami and Hurungwe. The districts each have several wards within them with each ward consisting of a few villages. This means that the Zimbabwe component of KAZA-TFCA has a large number of different communities within it. The consultation of just two communities is therefore inadequate and a misrepresentation of Zimbabwean communities in the KAZA-TFCA:

> *Participation is often employed as part of a top-down management process that includes people in passive forms of co-option and consultation, rather than as active agents. Such forms of participation do nothing to address power imbalances or underlying conflicts* (Brown, 2002 p.11).

Local people are some of the most important stakeholders and yet they are usually overlooked, or their needs are overshadowed by national or regional interests. This

exclusionary behaviour usually leads to negative perceptions by locals about conservation, wildlife and conservation authorities, which could hinder the success of conservation strategies such as the implementation of protected areas and TFCAs. People's perceptions in conservation are that important, Allendorf *et al.* (2012) argue that people's:

> *perceptions are not only foundational to park-people relationships, they are also a key indication of protected area success*.

There is a lot of rhetoric of community involvement and engagement that happens in NRM. Proponents of TFCAs argue that TFCAs have the capability to contribute to regional socio-economic development and to empower and alleviate poverty of marginalised local communities in the region (Vasilijević *et al.* 2015; Murphree, 2002; Duffy, 2001). Studies show that it is possible for TFCAs to benefit local communities (Khan, 2009; Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002; Carruthers, 2007). There have been some successes, most notably by the Makuleke community in the GLTFCA (Khan, 2009; Ramutsindela & Tsheola, 2002) and the Khomani San in the Kgalagadi TFCA (Carruthers, 2007) who gained back their land lost in the apartheid era. The land restitution programme in South Africa restored land rights to these communities prior to the formation of the TFCAs. The San successfully claimed their land in the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park, which is an important portion of the Kgalagadi TFCA, in 1999 before South Africa and Botswana signed an agreement for the establishment of the TFCA and therefore could not be ignored in the TFCA process (Ramutsindela, 2009). These communities have managed to establish collaborative management schemes with South Africa National Parks. Howitt (2011) reminds us of the importance of context and it is important to note the context that has allowed communities like the Makuleke and the Khomani San in the South African part of Kgalagadi TFCA to gain certain benefits from TFCAs. These communities are land owners and therefore managed to negotiate for collaborative management thus giving them a voice in the TFCAs[22]. These cases show that land rights provide avenues through which communities can participate in the TFCA process. Unfortunately, most local communities in KAZA-TFCA are on communal lands where they

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[22] However, even in these cases, there are restrictions to what these local communities can and cannot do. Although the land restitution programme restored their land rights, these rights are still limited. If the Makuleke community were to decide to sell their land as the rightful owners, they would be unable to do so without approval from SANParks as SANParks retained a right of first refusal should the land ever be put up for sale (Spierenburg *et al.* 2008).

have no land rights or ability to claim land rights, and thus little power or voice to negotiate for their involvement in the TFCA.

As highlighted by this thesis, the reality on the ground is that local people are usually not consulted or involved in TFCAs as evidenced by the survey and comments highlighted in **chapter 6,** and when they are consulted, it is a top-down consultation where locals do not have much say in the matter. This is evidenced by the comments from local representatives shown below:

> *I get invited to some of the KAZA-TFCA meetings as a community representative, but we are rarely given an opportunity to address issues that affect our local communities* (Interview: Chief Hwange RDC, 09/2017).

> *The locals are the ones most directly impacted by the wildlife and they (locals) are the least listened to stakeholders* (Interview: Campfire Director, 2017).

> *Local communities are the most important stakeholders but when it comes to consultation, they are at the bottom of the pile* (Interview: Hwange RDC CEO, 2017).

As discussed in **chapter 3**, Wilcox (1994) argues that information giving, and consultation are not enough to legitimise stakeholders. Legitimising stakeholders involves engaging the stakeholders in the decision-making process. The lack of significant engagement and consultation at local level with local people ensures a process whereby other stakeholders are legitimised more than the local people. The KAZA-TFCA Stakeholder Engagement Strategy (n.d) identified lack of inclusivity as a risk to stakeholder engagement in KAZA-TFCA which could lead to loss of confidence in KAZA-TFCA by some stakeholders. The strategy argues that:

> *engagement should be as inclusive as possible for all constituents of a particular stakeholder group within the KAZA-TFCA area. For instance, engagement should not be limited to only select communities or NGOs forming that particular stakeholder group as this allows the seed of discontent to mature within these groups* (p.15).

KAZA-TFCA engagement within local communities in the areas studied in this thesis seems to be limited to authority figures, such as local government employees and traditional

authorities, with little to no engagement occurring within the actual communities (**chapter 6).**

Mitchell *et al.* (1997) suggest that stakeholders can be classified based on their perceived power, legitimacy and urgency and classified into 8 different stakeholder groups (**see chapter 3**). If Mitchell *et al.'s*. (1997) definitions and classifications are applied to the KAZA-TFCA stakeholders, the local people in communal lands in Zimbabwe would be best described as dependent stakeholders. They have the legitimacy as supported by scholars who have argued for the involvement of local communities in conservation, they have the urgency as their involvement in conservation is important to them since they are directly affected by the wildlife. However, without ownership, they lack real power in the decision-making process. Mitchell *et al.* (1997) define dependent stakeholders as:

> *stakeholders who lack power but who have urgent legitimate claims. These stakeholders depend upon others for the power necessary to carry out their will. Because power in this relationship is not reciprocal, its exercise is governed either through the advocacy of guardianship of other stakeholders, or through the guidance of internal management values* (p. 877).

How then can local people gain empowerment within the TFCAs when they have no rights or power and are powerless to effect change without either?

> *Unfortunately, those who have the power to effect the changes which democratization requires have a strong interest in resisting these changes, and those who have an objective interest in the changes do not have the power resources to effect them. Power and desirable change are pulling in diametrically opposite directions*. (Ake, 2000, p. 190).

This issue of power ties back into who is visible and who is made invisible with the construction of a TFCA (**chapter 4**). Without the power to effect change, local people are made invisible and their participation erased.

Not only are local communities sidelined from the decision-making process, they are also sidelined from benefitting from the KAZA-TFCA. KAZA-TFCA has been beneficial for states and yet some of the local communities within KAZA-TFCA are some of the poorest in the region.

These sentiments were raised by CBNRM specialists at the symposium (**chapter 4**) as well as other respondents working to empower local communities:

> *Communities in natural resource areas are some of the poorest communities in Zimbabwe. There are on marginal land that is mostly remote with very few opportunities outside of natural resources, not that they actually benefit from natural resources to begin with, where national capacity is low and services filter down gradually* (Interview: Madzara, 10/2017).

> *There is a lot of wealth in natural resources, but the wealth rarely finds its way down to local communities* (Interview: Chief, 09/2017)

The Chief's sentiments are evidenced by the large profits made by ecotourism companies in the region compared to the 'benefits' that find their way down to local communities. Wilderness Safaris has been working with communities across 8 Southern African countries including communities north western Zimbabwe. They have been working to ensure empowerment and sustainability in local villages adjacent to the wild areas in which they operate and to get children involved in wildlife conservation from a young age through the Children in the Wilderness Programme (**chapter 6**). Not to minimise the work that they do to help the communities they work in, but according to their integrated annual report (2018) they made a profit in pulas of 62 751 000 (approximately US$5 965 957) in 2017 and 87 304 000 (approximately US$ 8 300 296) in 2018 (table 7.1). If local communities had the capacities to utilise natural resources in the way that private companies do, the benefits to these local communities would be substantial. Unfortunately, as Noe & Kangalawe (2015) argue, "most of the revenues do not find their way down, hence the participating communities continue to endure the costs of wildlife protection" (p. 251).

Table 7.1: Consolidated statement of comprehensive income (Wilderness holdings integrated annual report 2018)

	Notes	2018 P'ooo	2017 P'ooo
Revenue	3	1 208 912	1 107 467
Cost of sales		(372 839)	(353 447)
Gross profit		836 073	754 020
Other gains		970	16 182
Operating expenses		(599 871)	(550 018)
Net foreign exchange losses	4	(30 777)	(11 317)
Operating profit for the year before items listed below (EBITDA)		206 395	208 867
Net impairment loss	4	(9 566)	(3 165)
Depreciation and amortisation	4	(86 224)	(76 927)
Operating profit	4	110 605	128 775
Interest received		4 033	1 901
Financing costs	5	(23 202)	(11 096)
Unrealised foreign exchange gains/(losses) on loans		17 381	(20 806)
Share of earnings for equity-accounted investments, net of tax	11	6 067	2 600
Profit before taxation		114 884	101 374
Taxation	6	(27 580)	(38 623)
Profit for the year		87 304	62 751
Items that may be subsequently reclassified to profit or loss:			
Exchange differences on translating foreign operations		7 723	17 059
Total comprehensive income for the year		95 027	79 810
Profit for the year attributable to:			
Owners of the Company		76 658	55 497
Non-controlling interest		10 646	7 254
		87 304	62 751

However, it is important to note that the powerlessness of local communities in the decision-making process is not just the product of the establishment of KAZA-TFCA. There are pre-existing power structures at national and local levels that are reinforced by KAZA-TFCA. According to Needs (n.d.), 74% of communal lands in Zimbabwe are located in natural regions IV and V which is where most wildlife areas are situated. All communal land in Zimbabwe is vested in the President who has the powers to permit its occupancy and utilisation in accordance to the Land Act. This gives the State the power to change the land use of communal lands whenever they want. People in communal lands have no ownership rights to the land. This makes them powerless when it comes to the decisions of land use systems of communal lands. Without the rights to the land that come with ownership, the people in the communal lands of Zimbabwe did not have a say in the establishment of KAZA-TFCA, as evidenced by the consultation of only two communities during the feasibility study. Not only did they not have a say, they also did not have the right of refusal. Free, prior informed consent (FPIC) is based on the concepts of participation, consultation and self-determination

and provides potentially impacted communities with information about a proposed project (McGee, 2009; Goodland, 2004). This issue is not unique to Zimbabwe as captured in the comment below:

> *Most of the communities in KAZA-TFCA do not really have the right to make a choice……communities need to be given the right to make a choice whether it's right or wrong* (Interview: Programme Director SADC Region, GIZ, 10/2016).

The lack of community consultation in KAZA-TFCA as evidenced by the number of communities consulted in KAZA-TFCA prior to its establishment (**see chapter 4 and 6**) violates FPIC. Recognition and observance of the right to consent to development is critical to protect local communities' interests in development projects such as TFCAs. The World Bank recognised this and since 1992 made meaningful stakeholder consultation and participation mandatory for World Bank Group assisted projects (Goodland, 2004). However, it is interesting to note that there is currently no literature addressing FPIC by local communities in the negotiations of TFCAs. This is probably in line with the lack of community involvement in TFCAs negotiations. There is much to be said about the involvement of local communities from the onset. It ensures that communities are given the opportunity to negotiate, plan, implement, manage and benefit from TFCAs. They should also have the right to refuse TFCAs if they are not to the best of their interests.

In **chapter 3**, I discussed Lukes' (1974) three dimensions of relational power: decision-making power, non-decision making power and ideological power, and how it could be a useful tool in understanding decision-making processes and participation in KAZA-TFCA. **Chapter 4** demonstrated the power of the nation state in the negotiation and creation of TFCAs. KAZA-TFCA having been initially discussed in the early 1990s only came into fruition in early 2000s when the governments of the partner countries came on board. This is an example of governments using their decision-making power to influence the decision-making process to obtain their desired outcome. However, Allen (2004) and Foucault (1978) argue that nation states are not the centre of power, they are other players where power can be found. This is particularly true for TFCAs that have a plethora of players. The non-humans that shaped the boundaries of TFCAs, the donors that provide the finances required to implement and manage the TFCAs, the NGOs like PPF that facilitate the creation of TFCAs and provide technical

support and even the communities that can affirm or resist the creation of TFCAs all have certain level of power to influence the decision-making process and obtain their desired outcome.

Chapters 4 and 6 also highlighted non-decision-making power where the powerful can eliminate others from the decision-making process. Noe (2010) argues that the creation of new spaces in the form of TFCAs is in itself a bordering process and as discussed in **chapter 4**, within any scale creation/bordering process, there is the risk of exclusions, erasures and invisibilities. Through the thesis, I have discussed how local communities are continually sidelined from participating in the TFCA process thus eliminating them from the decision-making process. The lack of consultation, local capacity building, funding from funding cycles I and II, and land ownership by communal land dwellers in KAZA-TFCA highlighted in **chapter 4, 5 and 6,** are some of the strategies that the 'powerful' are using to eliminate others from decision-making processes and participation. However, **chapter 6** showed that the power to sideline local participation exerted in KAZA-TFCA is not all encompassing and can be resisted at local levels. As stated by Allen (2004), those who seemingly have no power can affirm, resist, shape and manipulate processes which in itself is a form of power. Although sidelined from regional participation, local communities in north-western Zimbabwe continue to participate in conservation at local levels on their own terms.

Chapter 5 demonstrated how the 'powerful' can shape people's perceptions and preferences. The story of Zimbabwe and the land invasion issues as told by the UK and her allies as well as international media shaped how Zimbabwe is perceived internationally and how donors prefer Zimbabwe not to benefit from their funds. This is an exercise of ideological power by the UK and her allies. However, it ideological power has been resisted and manipulated by the Mugabe government's own exercise of ideological power.

Nature and Society

It is crucial to acknowledge that in KAZA-TFCA nature is inherently viewed as social. Although as stated by Modise (2016) during an interview, the primary goal of TFCAs is conservation, I argue that the grounds on which this conservation occurs are very much human centred. This is evidenced by KAZA-TFCA objectives as stated in article 6 (1)(c) and article 11(4)(d) of the Treaty:

6(1)(c) provide opportunities, facilities and infrastructure that shall transform the KAZA-TFCA into a premier tourist destination in Africa made up of a range of independent yet complementary and integrated sub-regional tourism development nodes.

…

11(4)(d) ensuring that the KAZA-TFCA is developed as a Conservation and tourism development programme from which the Partner States can derive social and economic benefits while observing the principles of sustainable development, accountability, equality, equity, transparency and mutual respect.

This sentiment that conservation is human centred is supported by Duffy & Moore (2010) who argue that the rationale for ecotourism is that "nature can be conserved or saved precisely because of its market value to tourists willing to pay to see and experience it" (p. 746). Hanks & Myburgh (2015) argue that TFCAs have the potential to generate more revenue from tourism than each protected area operating in isolation.

In the words of Dasmann (1975):

I doubt that many people have an easy feeling about the future … or our ability to protect and maintain the networks of plant and animal life upon which the human future ultimately depends. Nor do I believe it likely that many of us believe that the hope for the future lies in more research, or in some technological fix for the human dilemma. The research already done has produced truths which are generally ignored. We are reaching the end of technological fixes, each of which gives rise to new, and often more severe problems. It is time to get back to looking at the land, water, and life on which our future depends, and the way in which people interact with these elements. (p.2)

An anthropocentric view of nature is almost always accompanied by concerns of how humans must benefit from it. The ecosystem services concept which focuses on the useful and essential services that nature provides to humans, and the economic dimensions of these services, has become prominent in environmental and conservation discourses resulting in the valuation of biodiversity in monetary terms (Costanza *et al*. 1997; Goldman and Tallis

2009). According to Coffey (2015), this concept is inherently based upon an anthropocentric perspective that reinforces the view that nature is important only to the extent that it provides benefits and services of value to humans.

However, as discussed in **chapter 3**, nature is much more than a product of human goals and needs. Sentientists view biodiversity as having a "consciousness and the capacity to feel and suffer" (p. 10) and therefore non-humans have a moral standing with a value that is independent of humans, thus rejecting the anthropocentric view that intrinsic value is only linked to human interests (Attfield, 2003). Taylor offers the following attributes to further explain human-non-human relationships:

> *Humans are members of Earth's community in the same sense as, and on the same terms that other living things are members of that community. Human species, along with all other species, are integral elements in a system of interdependence such that the survival of each living thing, as well as its chances of faring well or poorly, is determined not only by the physical conditions of its environment but also by its relations to other living things. All organisms are teleological centres of life in the sense that each is a unique individual pursuing its own good in its own way; Humans are not inherently superior to other living things.* (Taylor in Benson, 2000 p. 89)

As Tsing (2013) puts it, the social life of non-humans may or may not include humans, "now that humans have established themselves across the planet, it is hard to find a place where humans are not relevant" (p.33), but human involvement is not a prerequisite for the social lives of non-humans. In KAZA-TFCA, humans are relevant as they make up a significant proportion of the stakeholders. Humans are relevant as they share spaces and resources with non-humans. The KAZA-TFCA is a human construct shaped by non-human entities (**chapter 3**) and the WDAs in KAZA-TFCA are being created by humans to facilitate the movement of wildlife across the landscape (**chapter 6**). However, the movement of wildlife across landscapes is not preconditioned by human activity. From an assemblage perspective, there are other factors that drive the movement of wildlife across landscapes. Deleuze (Deleuze, 1994; Deleuze & Guattari, 2009) understands an assemblage as a confluence of forces; the meeting of different powers across a space which form robust relations, relations where no one component is dominant over others. In an assemblage, human plans are important, but other entities have plans too; humans are just one of many agents. "All the varied trajectories

that have made an impact on the landscape [are] relevant, human and otherwise" (Tsing, 2013, p.33). The changing climate and flow of the rivers, the sands of the Kalahari and the soils of the Zambezi floodplain, the movements and actions of animals, birds, fish, insects and microorganisms all shape the KAZA-TFCA landscape. Seasonal migrations, where animals move across geographically separated home ranges to exploit changes in environmental conditions, are documented throughout Africa; wildebeest in the Serengeti ecosystem (Gereta *et al.* 2004; Holdo *et al.* 2009), sardine run in KwaZulu-Natal (O'Donoghue), and in the KAZA-TFCA landscape (**chapter 6**), buffalo and zebra migrations (Naidoo *et al.* 2014; 2016). These migrations are phenomena that happen with or without human intervention. As Tsing (2013) puts it:

> *their social relations do not need to be authorized by humans to count. Human actions may be an indirect rather than a direct stimulus to the social relations … Sometimes, humans are not key players at all* (p.33).

To recognise the value of nature in its own right, humans must break away from anthropocentric thinking. Huiying (2004 p. 20) explains, "humans must take into account ecological equilibrium and the harmony between nature and human existence whilst pursuing their interests and needs". Within this context, Huiying acknowledges humans as part of ecosystems where nature's needs are considered together with human needs.

Chapter 6 discussed conflicts between local humans and non-humans; HWC, competition for space and resources. The goals of conservation and socio-economic development and projects of humans and non-humans might at times seem to contradict each other. However, these seemingly disconnected actors are joined together through the discourses of survival, livelihoods, adaptation and find themselves encountering one another and coming together around particular matters of concern. This coming together provides a platform for nurturing opportunities and spaces for human-non-human negotiation of relationships that can undermine conservation and development trade-offs.

Conclusion

This chapter drew on the descriptive-interpretive data presented in the three previous empirical chapters to draw out the thesis's key findings under 2 themes, capacities for conservation across frontiers and the rhetoric and realities of TFCAs. I argued that all KAZA-

TFCA stakeholders – human and non-human – had the capacity to affect conservation outcomes but these capacities were unevenly distributed resulting in power imbalances. I argued that the rhetoric of community involvement and engagement in TFCAs is very different from the realities on the ground, with local communities barely being consulted in KAZA-TFCA. I also argued that although conservation is considered by some as the primary role of TFCAs, it is done from a human centred approach. It conveyed insights from these into dialogue with the existing body of literature on TFCAs, power, participation, scale, nature and people presented in **chapters 1 and 3**. The next chapter provides a synopsis of the study and a summary of the main findings, highlighting their significance and contribution. The review is followed by consideration of the thesis' limitations and future research recommendations.

Chapter 8: Conclusions and Critical Reflections

Introduction

This concluding chapter revisits the research aims and discusses how each of the seven previous chapters in this thesis help it address these aims. It then summarises the research findings, presents the thesis key contributions, limitations and significance, and identifies areas for further inquiry. This thesis explored the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA-TFCA) through three scale lenses. Firstly, the creation and implementation of KAZA-TFCA itself as a new regional scale of conservation governance. Secondly, the role of the nation-state within KAZA-TFCA through the lens of one of KAZA-TFCA's key players - Zimbabwe - and how its inter-National relationships interrelate with KAZA-TFCA. Finally, the north-west region of Zimbabwe, which is located within KAZA-TFCA, and how a more nuanced understanding of power flows through and shapes human and non-human relationships from a more local perspective.

As stated in **Chapter 1**, this thesis was guided by the following three aims:

1. To identify perceptions and attitudes towards conservation and KAZA-TFCA by different human and non-human stakeholders within KAZA-TFCA.

2. To explore power dynamics influencing stakeholder participation in KAZA-TFCA, including non-human stakeholders.

3. To use a scale lens to explore how power dynamics intersect at and with various scales within the context of human-non-human relationships and agencies in the KAZA-TFCA.

Synopsis of Study

To address these aims, I began in **chapter 1** by contextualising the research, providing a history of conservation in Southern Africa and discussing how this has helped to shape the TFCA concept in Southern Africa. I provided an overview of TFCAs and I introduced the case study, KAZA-TFCA, identifying its key stakeholders and the issues at stake. I made the case for using KAZA-TFCA to examine the politics of scale and power in conservation efforts in Southern Africa.

In **chapter 2**, I described the development of this study including the predominantly qualitative methodological approach taken, research design, the research process and ethical considerations guiding the research. The data collection methods, which involved 57 individual interviews, 4 focus group discussions and a range of participant observations, were appropriate for highlighting the perspectives, attitudes and lived experiences of power, scale and human-non-human relationships of various human and non-human beings involved with and living in the context of KAZA-TFCA. In this chapter I also discussed my power as a researcher and writer, and my obligations in telling this story, and finally, reflected on the PhD process, including its limitations.

Chapter 3 discussed the theoretical foundations of the study by conceptualising scale and power. I engaged with the academic literature on relational scale and power and argued that power flows in all directions from top-down, bottom-up and sideways and is not possessed by a single entity. The relations and connections between actors in a network determine spaces through which power flows and how that power is exercised, experienced or resisted. Similarly, scale is not fixed, rather it is continually constructed, transforming and evolving. Relationships, socio-political and economic processes and power relations allow for the interactions of scales in a non-linear manner. The construction of new scales, or the rescaling of existing scales, are examples of the relational nature of scale. **Chapter 3** also discussed stakeholder classification and participation in organisations and how power influences levels of participation. I drew on Mitchell *et al*.'s (1997) stakeholder classification topologies to define the different types of stakeholders. This chapter also considered how nature and society are viewed in environmental/conservation spheres and focused on multiple perspectives of human-non-human relationships. I engaged with the concept of assemblages and how it is used to understand human-non-human relationships and discussed how it is useful in TFCAs where both humans and non-humans have a stake in the landscape.

Chapter 4 focused on the creation and implementation of KAZA-TFCA as a new regional scale of conservation governance. I explored the challenges and opportunities of embedding a 'new' scale within existing scales by examining how the KAZA-TFCA scale affects, and is affected by, existing local, national and international conservation efforts. I discussed the dynamics and inter-relationships which emerged through the formation of KAZA-TFCA, identifying key indicators including increased cooperation with co-existing national, regional

and international scales as well as the formation of new categories of inclusion and exclusion, erasures and invisibility. I explored the power dynamics influencing human and non-human stakeholder participation in KAZA-TFCA. Whilst acknowledging the benefits of a transboundary approach to addressing environmental issues and natural resource management, I argued that the interaction of multiple levels and scales can sometimes lead to the exclusion and erasure of other scales, knowledges and governance structures. I found that like most TFCAs, power dynamics in KAZA-TFCA sidelined local human communities. The creation of KAZA-TFCA privileged some stakeholders and resources users over others. The national and regional scales involved in TFCAs were afforded more power in the decision-making process compared to the local scales.

Chapter 5 focused on the historical and political-economic context of Zimbabwe as a key player in KAZA-TFCA. This chapter highlighted the agency and power of non-stakeholders, particularly international non-stakeholders, in shaping outcomes of the TFCA. I suggested that Zimbabwe offers a fascinating arena to explore these dynamics given its colonial history and politics with the UK and its allies, and looked at how these shape its current social and political-economy and influence current conservation efforts in Zimbabwe. KAZA-TFCA stakeholders have relationships and networks outside of KAZA-TFCA, and in the case of Zimbabwe, those external relationships impact KAZA-TFCA. My intention in this chapter was to situate the emergence of KAZA-TFCA in Zimbabwe's particular political and social landscapes, particularly its history of colonial legacies, and the changing paradigms of international development and conservation donors.

Chapter 6 dove more deeply into local communities in Zimbabwe's portion of KAZA-TFCA and their participation in KAZA-TFCA and conservation in general. Drawing on Tsing's assemblages work, I acknowledged the existence and importance of both human and non-human local communities. I argued that there is a lack of community participation in KAZA-TFCA and that participation seems limited to local human elites, particularly government officials and traditional leaders. I found that this was similar to what is happening in other TFCAs with regards to local participation or lack thereof. I showed how KAZA-TFCA is not all encompassing in the region and how villagers have been living and interacting with wildlife regardless of KAZA-TFCA. I also showed how NGOs have been working in the region with local communities towards conservation and development independent of KAZA-TFCA. I discussed non-human

local populations and the effects of a TFCA on these populations. I acknowledged that regional movement of wildlife would occur regardless of the KAZA-TFCA but also argued that the KAZA-TFCAs and creation of WDAs creates spaces more conducive for this movement. I showed how this would increase inter- and intraspecific competition as regional wildlife moved into local spaces, thus affecting both local non-humans and humans. I showed that non-human agencies exist outside of human interests. With or without the involvement of humans, non-humans continue to go about their projects. This supports the assemblage concept that recognises non-human value and agency beyond human economics.

Chapter 7 drew on the descriptive-interpretive data presented in the empirical chapters and brought insights from these into dialogue with the existing body of literature on TFCAs, power, participation, scale, nature and people presented in **chapters 1 and 3**. I argued that the historical contexts of the KAZA-TFCA countries mattered as they influence their contemporary power and capacities for conservation. I also argued that it is not just the partner countries that have capacities for conservation across frontiers, all KAZA-TFCA stakeholders have power and capacities to influence conservation outcomes, although the powers and capacities are unevenly recognised, valued and activated. As a result, the dominance of power by certain stakeholders tends to obscure powers by 'less powerful' players. I also argued that the rhetoric of local community involvement in KAZA-TFCA and other TFCAs is very different from the realities on the ground. The legacies of colonial exclusionary processes still linger. For example, communal land ownership policies are an echo of the past where local communities had and still have no ownership of the land. This has allowed some stakeholders such as states to exclude local communities from negotiations and decision-making processes in KAZA-TFCA. In addition to this I discussed the anthropocentric view of nature that dominates decision-making processes in KAZA-TFCA and how non-humans are valued as a resource that can benefit humans. I argued that non-humans are more than just a resource and that they have interests and agencies independent of human activities that have the ability to shape and influences KAZA-TFCA outcomes. I also argued that a recognition of the importance of both humans and non-humans as active agents could enable a rethinking of the binary that sees conservation and development goals framed in terms of a trade-off.

Significance

This thesis is significant for debates regarding the effectiveness of conservation initiatives which attempt to rescale boundaries, such as transfrontier conservation areas. Significantly, by drawing on the dynamics surrounding the KAZA-TFCA, it highlights the importance of history, context and power in determining participation of local communities. It also contributes to conversations on human-non-human relationships in the context of conservation, and highlights the importance of human and non-human agencies in sustaining these relationships.

History, Context and Power

> *I should make it clear that we do not accept that Britain has a special responsibility to meet the costs of land purchase in Zimbabwe. We are a new Government from diverse backgrounds without links to former colonial interests. My own origins are Irish and as you know we were colonised not colonisers* (Clare Short, former UK Secretary of International Development)

The quote above is an extract from a letter written in 1997 by Clare Short, former UK Secretary of International Development to Kumbirai Kangai, then Minister of Agriculture in Zimbabwe. This letter was one of the reasons why Zimbabwe took drastic measures regarding their land reform programme as was discussed in **chapter 5**. I have come back to this quote which was also presented in chapter 5 because for me, it highlights how short memories can have major consequences for current events. The quote reiterates how histories are important as they help to explain how the present came to be. The history of exclusionary conservation tactics in Southern Africa is important in understanding how local communities came to be disempowered in conservation, and how post-colonial societies are trying to find ways to minimise the exclusion of local communities. However, this thesis, as well as numerous other studies, show that practices of the past are still very much alive with local communities continuously excluded from conservation.

Colonial powers prevented Africans from participating in and benefitting from conservation. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, conservation strategies shifted to Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes that decentralised power to local communities (Hulme & Murphree 1999; Wolmer, 2003). At the same time in the 1990s,

Southern Africa sought new conservation paradigms that are more politically resilient and relevant to society (Suich *et al.* 2012) and thus the TFCA concept gained traction in Southern Africa. TFCAs were rationalised as inclusive and of benefit to local communities. However, this thesis shows that TFCAs have the potential to reshape and reinforce some of these colonial power relationships. **Chapter 4 and 6** discussed how the size of TFCAs with their multiple players with different power dynamics can sideline certain actors. The construction of any scale can result in exclusionary tactics and local communities seem to be the most excluded stakeholder. Although seen by many as one of the most important stakeholders, the thesis showed how local community participation in KAZA-TFCA remains negligible. Government ownership of communal lands is a crucial factor in this marginalisation, especially for local communities residing in KAZA-TFCAs communal lands. The thesis affirms that currently, ownership of these lands by nation-state governments reinforces state control and power over natural resources in KAZA-TFCA, further marginalising local users who, as this study shows, are mostly excluded from KAZA-TFCA initiatives.

Human-non-human Relationships and Non-human Agencies

A fundamental question that assemblage theory seeks to answer is:

> *What kind of value should be attributed to the natural environment, to the things other than human beings, living and non-living, with which we share the world? Should we value them, and be careful of our treatment because they are useful to us, or do they have value independent of human interests?* (Benson, 2000, p. 1).

The KAZA-TFCA mission:

> *To **sustainably** manage the Kavango Zambezi ecosystem, its heritage and cultural resources based on best conservation and **tourism models** for the **socio-economic** wellbeing of the communities and other stakeholders in and around the eco-region through harmonisation of policies, strategies and practices.*

indicates a valuing of KAZA-TFCA ecosystems from an anthropocentric approach that values non-humans for their usefulness to humans. The concept of sustainability further infers an anthropocentric focus, but with the realisation that humans are reliant on nature for their [socio-economic] wellbeing. It also infers human power over the non-human. As Luke (1995,

p.76) puts it, "sustainability, like sexuality, becomes a discourse about exerting power over life". Maley (1994) and Callicott (1985) raise an important question: even if non-humans are valued independent of human interests, is it not a subjective valuing as humans are the ones doing the valuing? However, this is also an anthropocentric view of valuing. Non-humans do not have value because humans put value on them, their value is independent of human valuing. As Rolston (1989) puts it:

> *In remote woods I come across a plant that can grow, repair itself, reproduces and defends its kind. I observe the plant then step around it to let it live on. This plant has intrinsic objective value, valued by me, but for what it is in itself* (p. 111).

Rolston (1989) shows how human valuing can centre human satisfaction, alternatively it can recognise the intrinsic value of nature in its own right. Either way, non-humans do not require valuing by humans for them to have value.

I argue for a relational understanding of power, scale and human-non-human relationships. Relationality requires something to relate to. If non-humans are not acknowledged as active agents with their own interests in relational power and scale analyses, then in this sense, human-non-human relationships would not be possible. Without individuals with whom to relate, relational relationships are impossible. By defining power and scale relationships in terms of a 'human subject', nature is constructed in human terms, undermining the importance of non-humans. As stated by Latour (1993, p. 138), "modern humanists are reductionist because they seek to attribute action to a small number of powers, leaving the rest of the world with nothing but simple mute forces". KAZA-TFCA, like other TFCAs, argues for the importance of non-humans through biodiversity conservation. However, this conservation approach is based on elements of ecological anthropocentrism which exhibits favouritism toward certain non-humans (e.g. charismatic wildlife that attracts tourists) and certain humans (e.g. mostly excluding local communities). The biodiversity conservation approach is often not conservation for the sake of conserving life-giving connectivities, but conservation of certain natural resources for human use, enjoyment and development.

I am certainly not advocating for a return to 'fortress conservation', as that would be on the extreme spectrum of ecocentrism and would reinforce colonising processes of human exclusion. There is agreement amongst different human-non-human theories and

philosophies - social ecology (Bookchin, 1962), deep ecology [ecocentric] (Naess, 1973), ecofeminism (D'Eaubonne, 1974), bioregionalism (Berg & Dasmann, 1977) - that humans are part of nature and they need each other. In considering human interests, TFCAs must also equally, and possibly creatively and unsettlingly, consider non-human interests. **Chapter 6** discussed a struggle to reconcile development and natural resource conservation with trade-offs occurring between the two goals (McShane *et al.* 2011). This trade-off approach ignores non-humans as active agents and is premised on non-humans being valuable only an economic resource for human benefit. As such, the significantly influential role played by non-humans in not only shaping the landscape but also shaping human practices and performances within these landscapes is missed. Whatmore (2002) argues that, to ignore the agency of the non-human is to help ensure that "the world is rendered as an exclusively human achievement in which 'nature' is swallowed up in the hubris of social construction" (p. 165). It ignores the ability of non-humans to exercise, affirm and resist power, to create new space through their movements and interactions, and to form connections and alliances with humans that go beyond non-humans as resources for human use and enjoyment. Further consideration of human and non-human agencies might help reconcile the struggle between human and non-human and to rethink the need for a trade-off between the two.

Key Contributions

In summary, the data and discussion presented in this thesis make a number of key contributions to understandings of power, scale and human-non-human relationships in KAZA-TFCA, transfrontier conservation and conservation practices:

1. The creation of new scales of conservation governance through TFCAs has the ability to sideline certain resource users, especially already marginalised local human communities, and this has been occurring not only in KAZA-TFCA but in other TFCAs as well. It is important that participating governments prioritise outreach to local communities. A framework that clearly states the role of communities in TFCAs could go a long way in ensuring community involvement. Free, prior informed consent which ensures local communities' interests in projects such as TFCAs are protected and respected should be factored into the framework.

2. Land and resource ownership affords power and voice to negotiate engagement and involvement in TFCAs. Current land tenures in Southern Africa nation-states ensure that this power is centralised with the state.

3. Histories are very powerful, and legacies of the past linger and can be re-imagined and repeated in the service of the present. The exclusionary legacies of the past can be seen in KAZA-TFCAs and other TFCAs. The lack of local community consultation and the sidelining of local communities in the decision-making processes mean that local community involvement in KAZA-TFCA and other TFCAs remains insignificant.

4. The 'pristine' African wilderness is a lie. Africans have been living and interacting with wildlife for centuries even through the exclusionary legacies of past and current conservation strategies. A re-imagining of human-non-human relationships is important for undermining the nature-society dualism perpetuated by colonial ideologies. Mapping, embracing and nurturing human and non-human relationships could produce new forms of understanding that might open up new areas of conservation research and practice.

Limitations and Opportunities for Future Research

This thesis raises some questions and issues that warrant further research. In many ways these questions and issues directly map onto weaknesses identified with the current study. Therefore, I consider the questions and issues as both limitations of the study, and opportunities for further research.

There are a number of constraints when conducting qualitative research. Looking at any case study from a landscape level across several scales provides certain advantages, but it also prohibits detailed in-depth analysis of all the different components. For example, had I looked at the local scale only, it would have allowed an in-depth analysis that showed how within local scales the exclusion of local communities is not simple or homogenous. The research did highlight how participation of locals is limited to local leaders. However, an in-depth analysis would have enabled further understandings of how participation differs within 'local communities', for example across gender, age and class etc. Due to the analysis of three different scales, this was not possible given the timeframe of the PhD. In-depth analysis would be best served by further research into specific scales.

The second scaled lens focused on the role of the nation-state within KAZA-TFCA through the lens of Zimbabwe, and how its histories and contexts interrelate with KAZA-TFCA. My interpretations and representations were based on the specific history of Zimbabwe. However, it is important to note that although all the five KAZA-TFCA partner countries have colonial histories, the specificities, context and influences on the contemporary status of the countries differ. Each of these countries have their own histories and perspective that influence/impact on KAZA-TFCA. Therefore, the representation of the role of the nation-state within KAZA-TFCA might differ. Like the local state, to understand the impacts and influences of each of the partner countries on KAZA-TFCAs an in-depth analysis of each of the countries' histories and perspectives would need to be done.

My own values and conservation biases intruded on the design of the project and interpretation of comments by interviewees. Being Zimbabwean, it was easier for me to look at local communities in Zimbabwe where language was not a barrier. However, it is important to remember that there is no universal local community. The principles, strategies and findings set out in this thesis may not be appropriate in other contexts and cultures. Even in Zimbabwe, the communities that I visited were mostly determined by accessibility, both to get to the community and to be able to access potential participants. This thesis only offers a glimpse into the issues and is by no means a comprehensive account of local community perspectives of TFCAs.

Another limitation of the study was the inability to collect data from some of the key stakeholders in KAZA-TFCA. Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) plays an important role in the establishment of TFCAs in Southern Africa, PPF is directly involved in 10 of the 18 TFCAs in Southern Africa, and was influential in the negotiations of KAZA-TFCA. Despite persistent efforts over the course of 2 years, I failed to secure an interview with PPF and this leaves certain questions unanswered. For example, how does PPF decide which TFCA to be involved in? And how does PPF intend to honour its pledge to provide funding to Zimbabwe to match funding the other KAZA-TFCA countries are receiving from KfW, when it operates on donor funding and must facilitate funding for the other 9 TFCAs?

Another stakeholder that the thesis was limited in its engagement with was non-humans. It was beyond the scope of the study to do a deep engagement with non-human methodologies. This was due to the overall scope of the thesis (considering KAZA-TFCA from 3 scale lens) but

also because of the time and engagement required to overcome the language barrier between the researcher and the non-humans. I am by no means saying animals do not have a language, research shows that many non-human species have their own complex and nuanced species-specific ways of communicating with members of their own and other species. Non-human agency is a form of language (Meijer, 2017) and by observing and understanding these acts, humans can communicate with non-humans. We can understand non-human language through observation. According to Meijer (2017, p.70), "in order to grasp the full meaning of their acts, we need to study both the structures of their languages and the broader context in which these gain meaning". Smuts (2001, p.299) argues that to understand the world as non-humans do, one must "stick with the [non-humans] and attend to what they did and notice how they responded". The time frame of the thesis, and the focus on more than the non-human stakeholders, did not allow me the capacity to 'stick' with non-humans in KAZA-TFCA enough to gain deeper understanding of their perspectives of the world.

The promise of TFCAs: a rehearsal of shared human and non-human futures.

The establishment of KAZA-TFCA, like other TFCAs, has certainly emerged with far reaching ambitions for both humans and non-humans. However, from the insights gathered through this study, to achieve a sustainable shared future for humans and non-humans, TFCAs need to address certain issues. These issues relate to, firstly, the unevenness of power, politics and economies in TFCAs. My research highlighted the disparities experienced by the different partner countries which might impact on the implementation, management, benefit sharing and success of TFCAs and result in inequalities between stakeholders. There is a need for a TFCA framework that takes into account these disparities and how partner countries can address these to reduce the gap within the TFCA. I argue that TFCAs could benefit from examining and understanding these disparities before the establishment of the TFCA to negate inequalities. An imbalance of power is also evident were local communities are concerned. Like other TFCAs, KAZA-TFCA's focus leans strongly towards biodiversity conservation and subsequently, local communities have been marginalised by various powerful actors as well as policies in pursuit of conservation.

Secondly, the way in which TFCAs are framed reinforces the duality of nature and people. People and wildlife both have their own interests that must be considered when implementing TFCAs. Mapping, embracing and nurturing human and non-human relationships could produce new forms of understanding that might open up new areas of conservation research and practice that value both human and non-human interests independent of usefulness to humans. There is a need for humans and non-humans to 'stick' together more to understand each other's perspectives and come to an agreement of how to use shared spaces while reducing conflict. The story of the elephants and the local San communities in Nyae Nyae in Namibia (**chapter 6**) show that it is possible for humans and non-humans to negotiate and reach an understanding through the appreciation of the other's perspectives and agencies. KAZA-TFCA provides a platform to open up spaces for human to stick with nonhumans. As discussed in **chapter 4**, researchers are visible and tend to be privileged through KAZA-TFCA and therefore are able to stick with certain non-humans. Some locals are also sticking with the non-humans as indicated by comments by some locals of how they have lived with wildlife for generations and know the movement patterns of these wildlife (**chapter 6**). However, this sticki-ness is either not being recognised (in terms of local knowledge not being utilised in KAZA-TFCA) or is being conducted on human terms of how humans can benefit from said non-humans. Humans and non-humans are intimately connected, Indigenous ontologies of co-becoming emphasize the role of humans and non-humans in co-creating space which is ultimately beneficial to both parties (Bawaka et al. 2013). KAZA-TFCA, and other TFCAs, could further nurture these opportunities for sticki-ness and co-creating. Reconceptualising engagement with human and non-human agencies could do more to further the understanding of each other's perspective and promote co-living within the KAZA-TFCA landscape.

Final Reflections

As a writer, I have an obligation to tell a story that does justice to my respondents' stories and as a researcher, I have an obligation to ensure that the stories I tell benefit those who are marginalised and have been gracious enough to contribute their time to making my story what it is. One of the villagers I interviewed said to me:

> *You are not the first to come and talk to/ask us questions about these issues. As researchers, you have been researching on issues affecting rural communities for years*

and writing books about it and yet nothing has changed … so what is the use of you going to school and doing all this research if it amounts to nothing in terms of changing the status quo?

This being a PhD project, time is limited and pressure to complete is intense. As discussed in **chapter 2**, ethical commitments and giving back are generally secondary to the commitment of completion in the allocated timeframe. The past three years of my PhD candidature has focused on the latter commitments. However, the highly specialised languages and forms of results such as presentations, international symposiums, journal publications and academic theses tend to exclude the 'person on the ground' from the conversation. I am therefore as guilty as those that I criticise in this thesis that use their different power dynamics to side-line and exclude local communities. Not only do TFCAs and conservation strategies in general need a way to include local communities, but as researchers working in these spaces, we need better ways disseminate information and to give back to the communities, including them in conservation outcomes and not just using them as sources of information. Research outcomes should be able to not only address the interests of the participants, which might be different from those envisaged by the researcher, but deliver research results in a form that is useful and accessible to the community.

My hope is that my on-going work in the area of conservation will learn from the shortcomings of this thesis in terms of giving back. There is a need to form meaningful partnerships with participants through participatory action research. This kind of engaged collaborative work allows the participants to get involved with the projects, initiate and design them, and for the researcher and the participants to learn from each other. One of my participants spoke about how all researchers do is tell them about conservation agriculture and wildlife-proof boomers to protect their livestock but they [the villagers] do not know how to do it. An engaged collaboration would address this issue by having the researchers and the participants build wildlife-proof together. Through collaborative work, we can open up spaces to discuss the significance of the results for the communities and allow for further research and related action to come from the local communities. This not only enables researchers to give back to communities but allows community participation in conservation initiatives which is currently problematic in TFCA settings. Conservation strategies and practices through collaborative

work enable relationships to form between researchers and participants – human and non-human - and between participants, reinforcing ontologies of co-becoming.

I end by acknowledging both human and non-human agencies and their power to create, transform, shape and reshape not only their 'worlds' but the 'worlds' of others. I recognise that, although the representations in this thesis are mine and I take responsibility for them, they could not exist in this form if not for the human and non-human agencies with whom I interacted during my research. The stories told emerged from their experiences and the spaces explored were, and continue to be, transformed, shaped and reshaped by humans and non-humans and the relationships formed between them. In concluding this thesis, I go back to the rhinos discussed in the preface. Their being shaped the mind of a small four-and-a-half-year-old. They led me through a journey of science and social science, of practice and field work, of realisation and recognition of a need to engage with both human and non-human agencies, and they led me to a hope of re-imagining the fraught development-conservation nexus.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Ethics Approval

Ethics Application Approval

Appendix 1a: Phase one ethics approval

Final Approval - Issues Addressed_5201600528

Inbox x

to Associate, Dr, me

Ethics Application Ref: (5201600528) - Final Approval

Dear Associate Professor Suchet-Pearson,

Re: ('CONNECTING PEOPLE AND NATURE: A STUDY OF TRANSFRONTIER CONSERVATION IN SOUTHERN AFRICA - Phase 1')

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee. Approval of the above application has been granted, effective (10/08/2016). This email constitutes ethical approval only.

If you intend to conduct research out of Australia you may require extra insurance and/or local ethics approval. Please contact Maggie Feng, Tax and Insurance Officer from OFS Business Services, on x1683 to advise further.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:

 http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:

Associate Professor Sandie Suchet-Pearson
Dr Greg Walkerden
Ms Ropafadzo Kelebuhile Moyo

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1.   The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2.   Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the

provision of annual reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 10th August 2017
Progress Report 2 Due: 10th August 2018
Progress Report 3 Due: 10th August 2019
Progress Report 4 Due: 10th August 2020
Final Report Due: 10th August 2021

NB: If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/current_research_staff/human_research_ethics/r esources

3.   If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4.   All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/forms

5.   Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6.   At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the Faculty of Arts Research Office at ArtsRO@mq.edu.au

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely

Dr Mianna Lotz
Chair, Faculty of Arts Human Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 1b: Phase two ethics approval

Office of the Deputy Vice-Chancellor
(Research)

Research Office
Research Hub, Building C5C East
Macquarie University
NSW 2109 Australia
T: +61 (2) 9850 4459
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/
ABN 90 952 801 237

MACQUARIE University
SYDNEY·AUSTRALIA

9 June 2017

Dear Associate Professor Suchet-Pearson,

Reference No: 5201700419

Title: *Connecting people and nature: a study of transfrontier conservation in Southern Africa - Phase 2*

Thank you for submitting the above application for ethical and scientific review. Your application was considered by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities)).

I am pleased to advise that ethical and scientific approval has been granted for this project to be conducted by:

- Macquarie University

This research meets the requirements set out in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research* (2007 – Updated May 2015) (the *National Statement*).

Standard Conditions of Approval:

1. Continuing compliance with the requirements of the *National Statement*, which is available at the following website:

http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/book/national-statement-ethical-conduct-human-research

2. This approval is valid for five (5) years, subject to the submission of annual reports. Please submit your reports on the anniversary of the approval for this protocol.

3. All adverse events, including events which might affect the continued ethical and scientific acceptability of the project, must be reported to the HREC within 72 hours.

4. Proposed changes to the protocol and associated documents must be submitted to the Committee for approval before implementation.

It is the responsibility of the Chief investigator to retain a copy of all documentation related to this project and to forward a copy of this approval letter to all personnel listed on the project.

Should you have any queries regarding your project, please contact the Ethics Secretariat on 9850 4194 or by email ethics.secretariat@mq.edu.au

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) Terms of Reference and Standard Operating Procedures are available from the Research Office website at:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/human_research_ethics

The HREC (Human Sciences and Humanities) wishes you every success in your research.

Yours sincerely

Dr Karolyn White
Director, Research Ethics & Integrity,
Chair, Human Research Ethics Committee (Human Sciences and Humanities)

This HREC is constituted and operates in accordance with the National Health and Medical Research Council's (NHMRC) *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)* and the *CPMP/ICH Note for Guidance on Good Clinical Practice.*

Details of this approval are as follows:

Approval Date: 26 May 2017

The following documentation has been reviewed and approved by the HREC (Human Sciences & Humanities):

Documents reviewed	Version no.	Date
Macquarie University Ethics Application Form		Revised Version Received 09/05/2017
Response addressing the issues raised by the HREC		Received 09/05/2017
Macquarie University Appendix B	1	09/05/2017
Participant Information and Consent Form	1	09/05/2017
Information Sheet	1	12/04/2017
Questions for Individual and Focus Group Interviews	1	12/04/2017
Questionnaire	1	09/05/2017

*If the document has no version date listed one will be created for you. Please ensure the footer of these documents are updated to include this version date to ensure ongoing version control.

Appendix 2: Field Schedule

Field Schedule for South Africa, Namibia, Botswana
Date: October 2016 – August 2018

Interviewee[23]	**Month/Year**
Position	Location

SOUTH AFRICA

Maano Ramutsindela	**October 2016**
Associate Professor	Cape Town
Department of Environment and Geography	
University of Cape Town	

NAMIBIA

Russell Taylor	**October 2016**
Transboundary Conservation Planning Advisor	Windhoek
WWF	

BOTSWANA

Reinhard Woytek	**October 2016**
Programme Director	Gaborone
Transboundary Use and Protection of NR in SADC Region	
GIZ	

Lisa Blanken	**October 2016**
Advisor	Gaborone
TFCA Network in SADC Region	
GIZ	

Sedia Modise	**October 2016**
Former KAZA Facilitator	Gaborone

Tawanda Gotosa	**October 2016**
Technical Advisor	Gaborone
SADC TFCAs Programme	

Panduleni Elago	**October 2016**

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[23] Interviewees listed here all gave consent to be identified

Programme Officer   Gaborone
Food, Agriculture & Natural Resources
SADC

Motseki Hlatshwayo   **October 2016**
Technical Advisor   Gaborone
SADC

Fredrick Dipotso   **October 2016**
Programme Manager   Kasane
KAZA Secretariat

Kelly Landen   **October 2016**
Program Manager   Kasane
Elephant Without Borders

Morris Zororai Mtsambiwa   **September 2017**
Executive Director   Kasane
KAZA Secretariat

Tichaona Chiweshe   **September 2017**
Accountant   Kasane
KAZA Secretariat

PHONE/SKYPE

Nils Meyer   **August 2018**
Principal Project Manager
KfW

SYMPOSIUMS

Name   **Month/Year**
                                                        Location

Peace Parks in Southern Africa   **February   2018**
                                                        Cape Town

Appendix 3: Field Schedule Zimbabwe

Field Schedule for Zimbabwe

Date: October – November 2016

July – November 2017

SYMPOSIUMS

Name	Month/Year
	Location

10 Year KAZA-TFCA Symposium
    November 2016
    Victoria Falls

Northwest Matabeleland Symposium   **August 2017**
                                          Victoria Falls

FOCUS GROUPS

Group	Month/Year
Affiliation	Location

8 Community Members   **September 2017**
Local Community 1   Local homestand

9 Community Members   **September 2017**
Local Community 1   Local homestand

4 Research Students   **September 2017**
University of Zimbabwe

5 Professional Guides   **September 2017**
                                          Victoria Falls

INTERVIEWS

Interviewee[24] Position	**Month/Year** Location
Alec Dangare National TFCA Coordinator ZPWMA	**Aug & Oct 2017** Harare
Charles Jonga Director Campfire Association	**August 2017** Harare
Tanyaradzwa Mundoga Director Ministry of Environment and Climate	**August 2017** Harare
Enos Shumba Country Director WWF Zimbabwe	**August 2017** Harare
Phillip Kuvawoga Wildlife Specialist WWF Zimbabwe	**August 2017** Harare
Graham Simmonds Zambezi Travel Shop Manager Wilderness Safaris	**August 2017** Victoria Falls
Susan Goatley Programme Coordinator Zambezi Region Children in the Wilderness	**August 2017** Victoria Falls
Shuvanai Children in the Wilderness	**August 2017** Victoria Falls
Phindile Ncube Chief Executive Officer Hwange Rural District Council	**August 2017** Hwange
July Moyo Former Min of Environment Perm Sec	**Aug & Nov 2017** Kwekwe
Samson Chibaya Regional Manager	**August 2017** Bulawayo

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[24] Interviewees listed here all gave consent to be identified. Only three villagers are included in the list as they are the only local residents that gave consent to be identified by name.

ZPWMA

Godfrey Mtare   **September 2017**
Country Liaison   Victoria Falls
KAZA Zimbabwe

Gregory Rasmussen   **September 2017**
Founder and Researcher   Sizinda
Painted Dogs

Chief Shana   **September 2017**
Chief   Victoria Falls
Jambezi chiefdom

Sifiwe Ndlovu   **September 2017**
Founder, Principal, Teacher   Jabulani
Jabulani Primary School

Marlon Dube   **September 2017**
Subsistence Farmer   local community

Mr Sibindi   **September 2017**
Subsistence Farmer   local community

Mr Tshuma   **September 2017**
Subsistence Farmer   local community

Arnold Winston Tshipa   **September 2017**
Ecologist   Victoria Falls
Wilderness Safaris

Mr Pusumani   **September 2017**
Regional Immigration Officer   Victoria Falls
Chobe Region, Botswana

Malvern Karidozo   **September 2017**
Conservationist   Victoria Falls

Charles Ndlovu   **September 2017**
Professional Guide   Victoria Falls

Fainos Chuma   **October 2017**
Legal Officer   Harare
ZPWMA

Fanuel Chikande   **October 2017**
Director Finance   Harare
ZPWMA

Anne Chishawa-Madzara   **October 2017**

Assistant Resident Representative   Harare
UNDP

Rose Mandisodza-Chikerema   **October 2017**
Chief Scientific Officer   Harare
ZPWMA

Taurai Mpofu   **October 2017**
Ecologist   Matopos
ZPWMA

Power Mupunga   **October 2017**
Area Manager   Victoria Falls
ZPWMA

Lynette Mwashita   **October 2017**
Ranger   Matopos
ZPWMA

Appendix 4: Information and Consent Form

Information and Consent form

Connecting People and Nature in the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area:
A study of power, scale and multiple perspectives in Southern Africa

Part I: Information Sheet

My name is Ropafadzo Kelebuhile Moyo and I am doing a study examining transfrontier conservation efforts in Southern Africa. The data collected from this interview will help me fulfil the requirements of a PhD in Geography and Planning at Macquarie University, Australia. My research project is being supervised by principal supervisor Dr Sandra Suchet-Pearson [sandie.suchet@mq.edu.au; +61 (0)2 9850 8393] and associate supervisor Dr Greg Walkerden [greg.walkerden@mq.edu.au; +61 (0)2 9850 7991] of the Department of Geography and Planning at Macquarie University. I am going to give you information on the research and invite you to be part of the study. Before you decide, you can talk to anyone you feel comfortable with about the research. This consent form may contain words that you do not understand. Please ask me to stop as we go through the information and I will take time to explain. If you have questions later, you can ask them of me.

My research seeks to engage issues of scale and power in natural resource management and nature conservation. The thesis explores how scale and power shape and influence conservation efforts in Southern Africa. To explore these dynamics, I will examine the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation (KAZA-TFCA) to see how the different scales of governance (local, national, regional and international) come together and interact with each

other for the successful governance of the TFCA. I will also examine how the different interests and power dynamics of the various players within and outside of the TFCAs are negotiated, exercised and experienced by the TFCA stakeholders. This will be done within a broader consideration of ecological, social and economic integrity and how a more holistic approach to conservation and development can contribute to the rethinking of human and nature relationships.

Participation:

a. Your participation in this research is entirely voluntary. It is your choice whether to participate or not. If you choose to participate, you are free to pull out of the study and withdraw consent at any time and are not obliged to offer a reason.

b. If you decide to participate I would like you to participate in an interview (conducted by Ropafadzo Moyo) with the possibility of a follow up interview at a later date. If you do not wish to answer any of the questions asked, you may say so and I will move on to the next question.

c. There will be no compensation or direct benefits to you, but your participation is likely to help us find out more about people-nature relationships within KAZA-TFCA.

d. With your consent, I would like to audio record the interview. If you choose not to consent to this, I will take notes only during the interview.

e. If you wish to remain anonymous, you may do so and still participate in the research.

f. A summary report of the information that we get from this research will be made available to you at your request.

Privacy Policy:

The recordings done during the interviews will be used for further qualitative data analysis, for my PhD and associated publications on the KAZA-TFCA. However, nothing you tell me today will be shared with anyone outside the research team and nothing will be attributed to you by name without your consent.

Anonymity:

I wish to be identified by a pseudonym   ☐

I wish to be de-identified ☐

Recording of the interview:

I consent to an audio recording ☐

Summary report:

I would like the summary report ☐

Please provide email address……………………………………………………….

I do not want the summary report ☐

This proposal has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics Review Committee of Macquarie University.

Part II: Acknowledgement

I have read the information or it has been read to me. I acknowledge that the researcher has explained to me my rights and the requirements of this study. I understand that there is no compensation or direct benefit to me for participating in this study. I am at least 18 years old and qualify to be part of the study. By signing this document, I acknowledge that I have not been coerced and I consent to participate in the study freely. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Name of participant…………………………………………………………………………….

Signed………………………………….. Date……………………………..

I have to the best of my ability made sure the participant understands their rights and requirements for this research. I confirm that the participant was given the opportunity to ask questions and all the questions have been answered correctly and to the best of my abilities.

Name of researcher/person taking consent………………………………………………

Signed………………………………….. Date……………………………..

Complaint procedures:

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone +61 (0)2 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 5: Proforma of Individual Interviews with Participants

Proforma for individual interviews with participants

Before interview starts

- Introduce myself and give brief overview of my research.
- Ask potential participant if they are willing to take up in the study.
- If yes, go through the information and consent form (appendix 4) with the participant and officially obtain consent.

Interview questions

General questions

- What does your organisation do?
- What is your role within the organisation?
- How is your organisation involved with KAZA-TFCA?

Specific questions relating to interviewee

- Ask any specific questions related to issues the interviewee has raised

Other issues

- Are there any other issues you would like to talk about in relation to the topic that we've not covered?
- Do you have anything you would like to ask me about?

Thank you very much for taking part in this interview.

Appendix 7: Ministry of Rural Development Approval Letter

Ministry of Rural Development approval letter

All communication should be addressed to
"The Secretary"
Telephone: 783488, 797078-9

MINISTRY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT,
PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION OF
NATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE
Cnr. S Muzenda/Livingstone
15TH Floor, Mukwati Building
P. O. Box HR480
Harare

ZIMBABWE

Ref: P/ RDM/23/8.

23 August 2017

Ms Ropafadzo Kelebuhile Moyo
8/6th Avenue
Gwanda

**REQUEST FOR AUTHORITY TO CARRY OUT FIELD RESEARCH: MS ROPAFADZO
KELEBUHILE MOYO: UNIVERSITY OF MACQUAIRE: AUSTRALIA**

The above stated matter refers.

It is my pleasure to inform you that the Head of Ministry has authorised your field research
on "**Trans-Frontier Conservation in Northern-Western parts of Zimbabwe**", a case
study of Hwange, Victoria Falls, Dete and Matopo area, Matabeleland North Province.

Please note that you are to sign Official Secrecy at Matabeleland North Provincial
Administrator's Office before you commence your research. Information gathered is
confidential and should not be divulged to any un-authorized members of the public.

The Ministry would be grateful to receive a copy of the **end product**.

M. Dube
Director Human Resources
FOR: SECRETARY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT, PROMOTION AND
PRESERVATION OF NATIONAL CULTURE AND HERITAGE

CC: Provincial Administrator- Matabeleland North

MINISTRY OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT
PROMOTION AND PRESERVATION
OF NATIONAL CULTURE & HERITAGE

2017 -08- 2 5

HUMAN RESOURCES

Appendix 6: ZPWMA Research Permit

ZPWMA Research Permit

REF: DM/Gen/ (T)

PERMIT NO.:23(1) (C) (II) 32/2017

PERMIT TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH IN PARKS ESTATE

Permission is hereby granted on the authority of the Minister of Environment, Water and Climate in terms of section 23(1) (c) (ii) of the Parks and Wildlife Act, Chapter 20:14 to:

Ropafadzo Moyo
Macquareie University
Depart Geography and Planning
NSW, 2017
Australia

Field Assistant: Mr. Tamuka Moyo, Mr Munyaradzi Ndlovu, Mr Simba Furusa and Miss Felicity Sibanda

-To study on sustainably manage the Kavango Zambezi ecosystem, its heritage and cultural resourses based on the best conservation and tourism models for the socio- economic wellbeing of the communities and other stakeholders in and around the eco-region through harmonization of policies, strategies and practices, (KAZA,and), in Matopo National Park, Hwange National Park and Victoria Fall National Park, as well as do the following:

1. Undertake fieldwork and collect data.
2. To interview people working in protected areas and tourism sector within and outside the boundaries, KAZA.

Unless sooner cancelled, amended or modified in terms of Section 123(4) (b) of the Parks and wildlife Act, this permit is valid until **31st December, 2017** is issued subject to the following terms and conditions being strictly adhered to:

S.W.O- Permits
For and on behalf of the Director General of Parks and Wildlife Management Authority

2 JUN 2017

TERMS AND CONDITIONS

1. This permit is not transferable.
2. To report to the Area Manager before and after entering the protected area.
3. To liaise closely with Ecologists of the respective protected area.
4. To be allowed to do night drives and to travel off road, subject to notifying Area Manager in advance of the specific planned activities. **PTO**

Please do not fold this document

5. To set up a temporary camp, when necessary with the permission of the Area Manager who specifies the camping terms and conditions.

6. To submit monthly progress reports to the Area Ecologist, Area Manager and Chief Ecologist.

7. Recognition of the participation of the Area Ecologists is emphasized in the publication under co-authorship.

8. To submit a final report to the Director General of Parks and Wildlife Management Authority after the research completion.

9. To submit a bound copy of thesis/dissertation to the Chief Ecologist for the ZPWMA library.

10. Not to interfere with any animals and not to disturb the habitat e.g. destroying trees and no collection of samples without prior authorization.

11. For any wildlife immobilization for purposes of collaring, micro chipping including collection of any biological material such as blood, semen etc. Report each case to the Provincial Veterinary Officer.

12. No samples including genetic material can be exported from Zimbabwe without signing a Biological Transfer Agreement with the Research Council of Zimbabwe.

13. No one is allowed to make Press statement on behalf of the Authority. If there is any need to make any statement, the ZPWMA Public Relations Manager must be informed beforehand.

14. Foreign Researchers to obtain a Research Council of Zimbabwe permit and meet appropriate Immigration requirements.

15. No person is allowed to make press statement or publish any information on the exercise on behalf of the Authority. If there is any need to make any statement, the **ZPWMA** Director General/ Public Relations Manager must be informed beforehand.

16. **The permit is to be renewed annually if there is need to continue.**

17. **Administration fee: Three hundred United States dollars (US$300-00), receipt number: H10RO69433. (HQ)**

Please do not fold this document