

CONFLICT AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: THE
CASE OF THE GREAT LIMPOPO TRANSFRONTIER
PARK (GLTP); SOUTHERN AFRICA.

By

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DECLARATION

I, Muboko Never; *student number 208094556*, hereby declare that the *thesis for “my qualification”* is my own work and that it has not previously been submitted for assessment to another University or for another qualification.

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Abbreviations and Acronyms

ADR	Alternative Dispute Resolution
AGRITEX	Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services
BDWNP	Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks
CAF	Conflict Analysis Framework
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resources Management
CCP	Community to Community Partnership
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CESVI	Cooperazione e Sviluppo; 'Cooperation and Development'
CGP	Community to Government Partnership
CIRAD	International Centre for Research, Development and Agronomy
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CLA	Combined Local Authority
CO	Community Ownership
CPACs	Community Protected Area Committees
CPGP	Community to Private to Government Partnership
CPP	Community to Private Partnership
CRDC	Chiredzi Rural District Council
CTF	Chitsa Task Force
DA	District Administrator
DDC	District Development Committee
DDF	District Development Fund
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DFID	Department for International Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
EC	Executive Committee
ECR	Environmental Conflict Resolution
EMA	Environmental Management Agency
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FoM	Friends of Makuleke
GEM	Group for Environmental Monitoring
GLTFCA	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area
GLTP	Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park
GNP	Gonarezhou National Park
GO	Government Ownership
GPP	Government to Private Partnership
HDI	Human Development Index
HWC	Human-Wildlife Conflict
IDS	Institute for Development Studies
IGF	International Foundation for the Conservation of Wildlife
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development

IMSSA	Independent Mediation Service of South Africa
Interpol NCBs	Interpol National Central Bureaus
IPCM	Institute of Peace and Conflict Management
IUCN	World Conservation Union
IUCN-ROSA	World Conservation Union Regional Office for Southern Africa
JMB	Joint Management Board
JMC	Joint Management Committee
KNP	Kruger National Park
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LCC	Land Claims Court
LEAP	Lowveld Environment Awareness Programme
LRC	Legal Resources Centre
MCOPA	Makuleke Community Property Association
MDF	Makuleke Development Forum
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MDT	Makuleke Development Trust
MoALDM	Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Marketing
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
NEPAD	New Partnership for African Development
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
NLRMAP	National Land Reform Mediation and Arbitration Panel
NPB	National Parks Board
NRC	National Research Council
PA	Provincial Administrator
PCIAAs	Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments
PO	Private Ownership
PPCP	Public-Private-Community Partnership
PPF	Peace Parks Foundation
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
PRAP	Participatory Rural Appraisal and Planning
RDC	Rural District Council
RRP	Refugee Research Programme
SA	South Africa
SACWM	Southern African Convention for Wildlife Management
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAFIRE	Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources
SANP	South African National Park
SANParks	South African National Parks
SBR	Scientifically Based Research
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SIDA	Swedish International Development Co-operation Authority
SLSA	Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa
TBCA	Transborder Conservation Area
TBCA	Transboundary Conservation Area
TBDA	Transboundary Development Area
TBNRM	Transboundary Natural Resources Management
TBPA	Transboundary Protected Area

TFCA	Transfrontier Conservation Area
TFPs	Transfrontier Parks
TMC	Trilateral Ministerial Committee
ToR	Terms of Reference
UIA	Uganda Investment Authority
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
USA	United States of America
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VIDCO	Village Development Committee
WADCO	Ward Development Committee
WAG	Wilderness Action Group
WC	Wild Coast
WCED	The World Commission on Environment and Development
WSTCU	Wildlife Sector Technical Coordinating Unit
WWF-SAPRO	World Wildlife Fund Southern Africa Regional Office
ZIMOZA	Zimbabwe-Mozambique-Zambia
ZIMParks	Zimbabwe Parks
ZPWMA	Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Management Authority

ABSTRACT

Conflict is inevitable but sustainable development is achievable. An analysis of the mix between development and conflict in two communities revealed the imperatives needed to strike a balance between conflict and sustainable development.

While conflicts over natural resources are neither a new phenomenon nor are they inevitable, it is the approaches adopted to manage them that generate interests and makes a difference between peace and violence. Thus, conflicts associated with wilderness or TFCA development initiatives such as the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) have attracted significant interest from various stakeholders. While the GLTP is a flagship conservation initiative in Southern Africa designed to integrate different land uses for socio-economic development, it is littered with conflicts. Through documenting the experiences of two communities involved in development conflicts, a determination was sought to understand the efficacy of approaches used to manage the conflict.

Using mainly questionnaires and personal interviews, perceptions and attitudes of key informants were solicited. Unresolved historical problems reincarnated to haunt current conservation projects as memories of unresolved past events reflected negatively on new related initiatives. Different approaches adopted in managing these conflicts resulted in significantly different outcomes. Local stakeholder involvements were inadequate, but were identified as pertinent to successful sustainable conservation and development. Unless local communities are assured of real benefits from new conservation initiatives it became evident that recurrent conflicts would be inevitable.

The findings reveal that current conservation initiatives should be underpinned by emerging inclusivity theories in the conservation discourse. A broad range of stakeholders should embrace this new paradigm based on the philosophy that conservation efforts that exclude local communities are bound to be unsustainable. We found out that it is in the interests of all for policy makers to come up with policies that recognise the critical role local communities play, while subscribing to the regional and international standards for best practices in the conservation business.

Key words: *TFCA; wilderness; conflict; stakeholders, perceptions, attitudes, poverty, sustainable development.*

PART 1: INTRODUCTION

Part 1 introduces the background to the study. It includes the research problem, objectives and significance of the study.

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

The study examines the relationship between sustainable development and conflict within the transfrontier conservation area (TFCA) development framework. It focuses on the perceptions of local stakeholders on sustainable development conflicts and their resolution. Taking the great Limpopo transfrontier park (GLTP) as a point of reference, it focuses on the interplay between the sustainable development agenda and local key stakeholder interests and perceptions, particularly on conservation projects. It is driven by the debate that the promotion of development, particularly through wilderness conservation, has overlooked social-ecological conflicts that may be created by the transformations needed for successful sustainable development. Warburton (1998) argues that addressing issues under the banner of sustainable development may not work unless those issues are rooted in and permanently nurtured by their host communities. The argument that these conflicts hinder successful development is difficult to refute, thus the recognition of and attention to these conflicts is important if sustainable development is to succeed.

Petitpierre (2002) attempted to link conflict to sustainable development by stating that conflict is the opposite of sustainable development because it is inherently destructive. Principle 24 of the Rio Declaration on environment and development states that, 'warfare is inherently destructive of sustainable development' (Johnson, 1992:121). Hence, Petitpierre concedes that the promotion of peaceful settlement of disputes is therefore an important contribution to sustainable development.

The GLTP is a multipronged project designed to, *inter alia*, expand wilderness areas, promote tourism and facilitate regional economic integration and development for the

benefit of all involved. However, there are developmental problems which require attention in order for the set development objectives to be fully realised. There is need not only to balance conservation and development, but policy makers should realise that gone are the days when it was affordable to exclude local communities from natural resource management and wildlife conservation projects in their areas. This leads us to the problem statement.

1.2. Problem Statement

Chadwick *et al* (1984:29) argues that in order to justify a problem as needing scientific research, the researcher should know what is to be studied before attempting to explain why it occurs or exists.

The following question sums up the problem; 'Why have the GLTP stakeholders so far failed to make an appreciable impact to resolve the conflict in the Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) case, involving the Chitsa community, as seemed to have happened in the Kruger National Park (KNP) case, involving the Makuleke community, under similar circumstances?' The following is an attempt to unbundle the contextual setting upon which the question arises.

The establishment of the transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) in Southern Africa raised hopes of promoting integrated improvement of wilderness conservation and regional economic development across international political boundaries. However, its development has been a mixed bag of fortunes and misfortunes, perceived successes in some areas and perceived problems in others. Some question the value of TFCAs, arguing that instead of expanding conservation areas, the land should be put to other uses. There is therefore need not only to convince players that wilderness conservation is a valuable land use and sometimes the most viable option in arid and semi-arid areas, but to strike a balance between development and community needs. How you meet the two needs is the crux of the problem as the imbalance created by advancing one aspect at the expense of the other breeds conflicts. The study therefore attempts to document interests from all actors to find a breaking point and come up with possible models that address the problem.

In addition, although conflict is inherent in any development, it is its magnitude or extent that needs to be understood, particularly its impact on the sustainable development process.

In this case conflict was observed soon after the treaty establishing the conservation area was signed by the three heads of states from Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe in 2002 (<http://www.greatlimpopopark.com/>), with some local communities in both South Africa and Zimbabwe registering their concerns. In the case of the Chitsa community in Zimbabwe, they occupied the contested area which is inside the park [northern part of Gonarezhou National Park (GNP)] while the Makuleke community in South Africa, reclaimed rights to their ancestral land, but did not occupy the contested area which forms part of the protected land [northern part of Kruger National Park (KNP)] of about 24 000ha of prime wildlife land, included in the GLTP initiative (Makuleke_pilot doc, n.d; Spenceley, 2006:656).

This resulted in a conflict of interests between and among stakeholders involved. However, there is no consensus as to the extent to which a given cause impacts on efforts to find a lasting resolution to this conflict. Conflict causes have been well documented (Mombeshora and Mtisi, 2001; Wolmer, *et al*, 2003; Katerere, 2003; Chaumba *et al*, 2003; Mombeshora and le Bel, 2009). However, some sources project chieftainship power struggles (Bio-Hub, 2005), others historical circumstances (Wolmer *et al*, 2003) and still others land shortage (Murombedzi, 2003) as major factors that need to be given priority in finding a resolution. To that end an opinion is needed to measure the extent to which these factors are perceived among various key stakeholders. Further, efforts to settle these conflicts continue to face a number of undefined challenges probably due to perception difference. Perception difference can be managed in various ways, one of which is by sharing ideas as Mudacumara *et al* (2006:299) asserts that 'communities cannot build consensus around an idea without communicating with citizens about the impact'.

Of interest is that although there are similarities between the two cases, the researcher is of the view that there are similarly stark differences. What is the difference in the level of community participation? Does that difference indicate

corresponding differences in community perceptions? These and other questions have no simple answers, hence, creating problems which need to be probed deeper.

1.2.1. Sub-Problem(s)

In order to develop a research strategy that tackles the main problem, a number of sub-problems were identified as stated below:

- What is the difference between conflict resolution processes in the Makuleke and Chitsa cases, given that the settings under which the conflict phenomena arose look similar?
- How does historical analysis or literature review assist in comprehending and managing the current development conflict?
- What are the experiences and perceptions of stakeholders about wilderness conservation and how do these perceptions influence attitudes towards TFCA development conflict?

1.3. Research Questions

In order to develop a research strategy that guides the study, efforts were directed to focus on addressing the following questions;

- What are the key source(s) of the conflict in this case?
- What processes have occurred to resolve this conflict and how successful have they been?
- How does historical analysis or literature review assist in comprehending and managing the current conflict?
- What does the empirical study reveal about the perceptions of stakeholders in wilderness conservation and how do these perceptions influence attitudes towards the conflict resolution?
- What has been the impact of this conflict to the overall management of natural resources and the development of the project in general?
- What strategic insights can be inferred from a comparison of the literature study and the empirical study?

1.4. Research Objectives

Although this study seeks answers to broad questions like, what factors drive this conflict? How has it been dealt with in the past? And how could it be dealt with in the future? The study intends to achieve four main objectives which are listed below.

- (i) To determine whether there is perception difference within and between local stakeholder subgroups (policy and non-policy makers at district level) about conflicts associated with TFCA development)
- (ii) To measure the level of local stakeholder involvement and participation in TFCA development and describe how such involvement shape their perceptions about sustainable development.
- (iii) To explore and assess the effectiveness of conflict resolution and management processes in the GLTP.
- (iv) To propose ways for effective local community participation in conservation projects

1.5. Propositions

The problem is premised on the following propositions:

- In case one, pertaining to the land conflict between the Chitsa community and Gonarezhou National Park (GNP), the public scoping exercise was not carried out well, hence, local stakeholders were not effectively involved in the initial phases of project design, implementation and conflict resolution. There is therefore ground to suspect that no collective *problem-identification and solving techniques were employed*, thus, the difficulty in finding a common solution to this conflict.
- In case two, pertaining to the land conflict between the Makuleke community and Kruger National Park (KNP), the public scoping/consultation was carried out well, hence, there is ground to suspect that conflict settlement was made possible through the employment of collective problem-solving techniques.

1.6. Study area & Background

As indicated in figure 1.1, the GLTP is situated at the boundaries of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe.

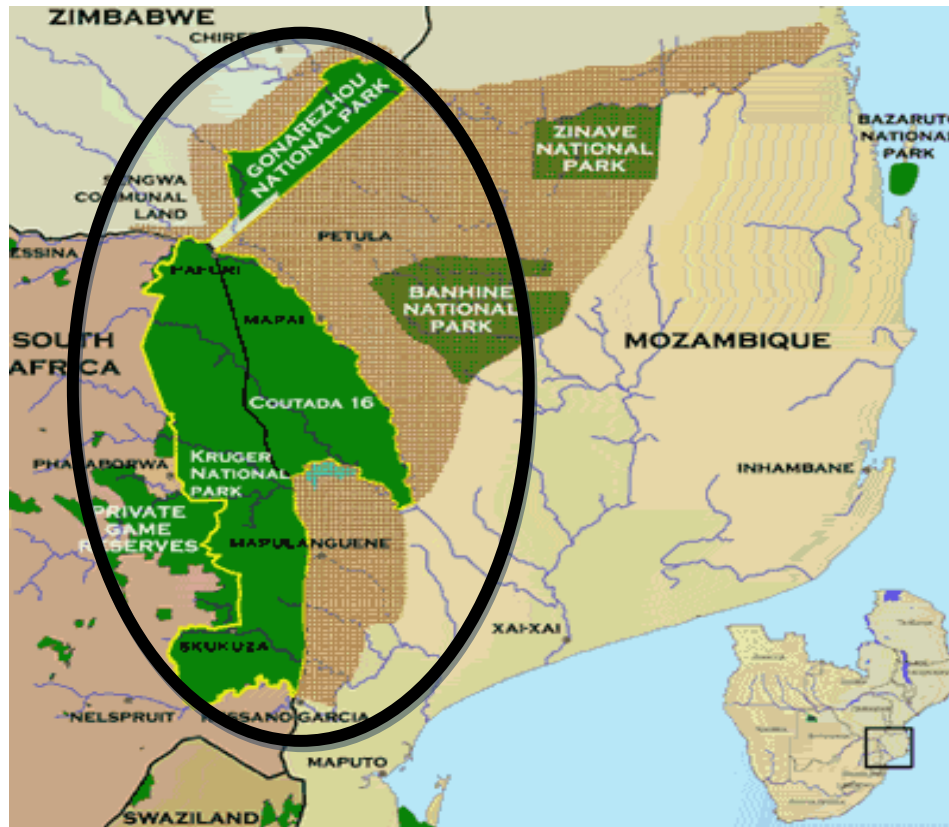


Figure 1.1: Location of KNP & GNP in the context of the GLTP.

Source: Adapted and Modified from Dr. Christoph K, C. (2007)

The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) is a three country project involving Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe and currently is composed of three protected areas namely Limpopo National Park (Mozambique), Kruger National Park (South Africa) and Gonarezhou National Park (Zimbabwe) (Soto, 2007:5). The intention is to incorporate surrounding communities and other areas, thus forming a bigger area, which is normally referred to as the transfrontier conservation area (TFCA), hence, the term GLTFCA refers to the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area.

Countries that came together to sign the treaty ushering the establishment of this mega-park had aspirations and interests. Some of the collective interests were to promote co-operation in the management of biological natural resources by encouraging social, economic and other partnerships among government, private sector, local communities and non-governmental organizations, secondly, to improve/enhance ecosystem integrity and natural ecological processes by harmonizing wildlife management procedures across international boundaries and striving to remove artificial barriers impeding natural movement of animals and thirdly, to develop frameworks and strategies whereby local communities can effectively participate and tangibly benefit from the management and sustainable use of natural resources that occur in the TFCAs. Like other TFCAs, this initiative as a strategy is basically designed to promote three principal goals, which include improved conservation of natural resources on a bilateral or multi-lateral scale, socio-economic and tourism development.

Although all stakeholders in a TFCA are expected to engage as equal partners, the establishment of the GLTP occurred amidst deep rooted tension among key stakeholders involved based mainly on past events. To mitigate against this tension key stakeholders who include local communities are expected to participate fully. In order to realise meaningful participation and contribution, knowledge becomes an important element and this entails information exchange. However, in a study carried out by the University of Witwatersrand Refugee Research Programme (RRP) titled "A Park for the People" (2002) serious concerns about the aggressive acceleration of the Great Limpopo TFCA implementation phase were raised. The RRP, which focused on local communities in Mozambique's Coutada 16, found out that there was lack of information about the GLTP at the grassroots level. It emerged that 40% of those interviewed had never heard about it and even among those who had heard about it, confusion was rampant. Of the 60% who had heard about it most stayed in Massingir District, which is more accessible. Further probing of the 60% on how informed they felt about the park, 71% indicated that they had almost no information while 83% mentioned that they had never been consulted about the park. In addition, most respondents were suspicious about the project having received different signals from officials (Mayoral-Phillips, 2000).

This contradicts one of the expectations of creating TFCAs, which is to attain landscape-level conservation of healthy ecosystems through information sharing and improvement of the quality of life for communities living within and around a particular TFCA (Mayoral-Phillips, 2000). It is envisaged that the political and societal benefits of collaboratively working together with neighbouring countries and communities should lead to better regional economic integration.

In that context, questions still remain unanswered as to how best to economically empower and make remote rural communities meaningfully participate in sound resource management. Solutions have to be found to probing questions like, “How do we react to the paradox that very poor communities live within an environment with very rich or abundant natural resources?”

It really remains to be seen whether these expectations will be translated into reality, as RRP (2002) noted that the main problem lies in the fact that all actors responsible for formulating a truly community-sensitive development plan have interests that potentially conflict with their ability to work without bias in the interest of local communities.”

The following is a closer look at the Chitsa/GNP and Makuleke/KNP cases.

1.7. Chitsa/GNP Historical Conservation Problems

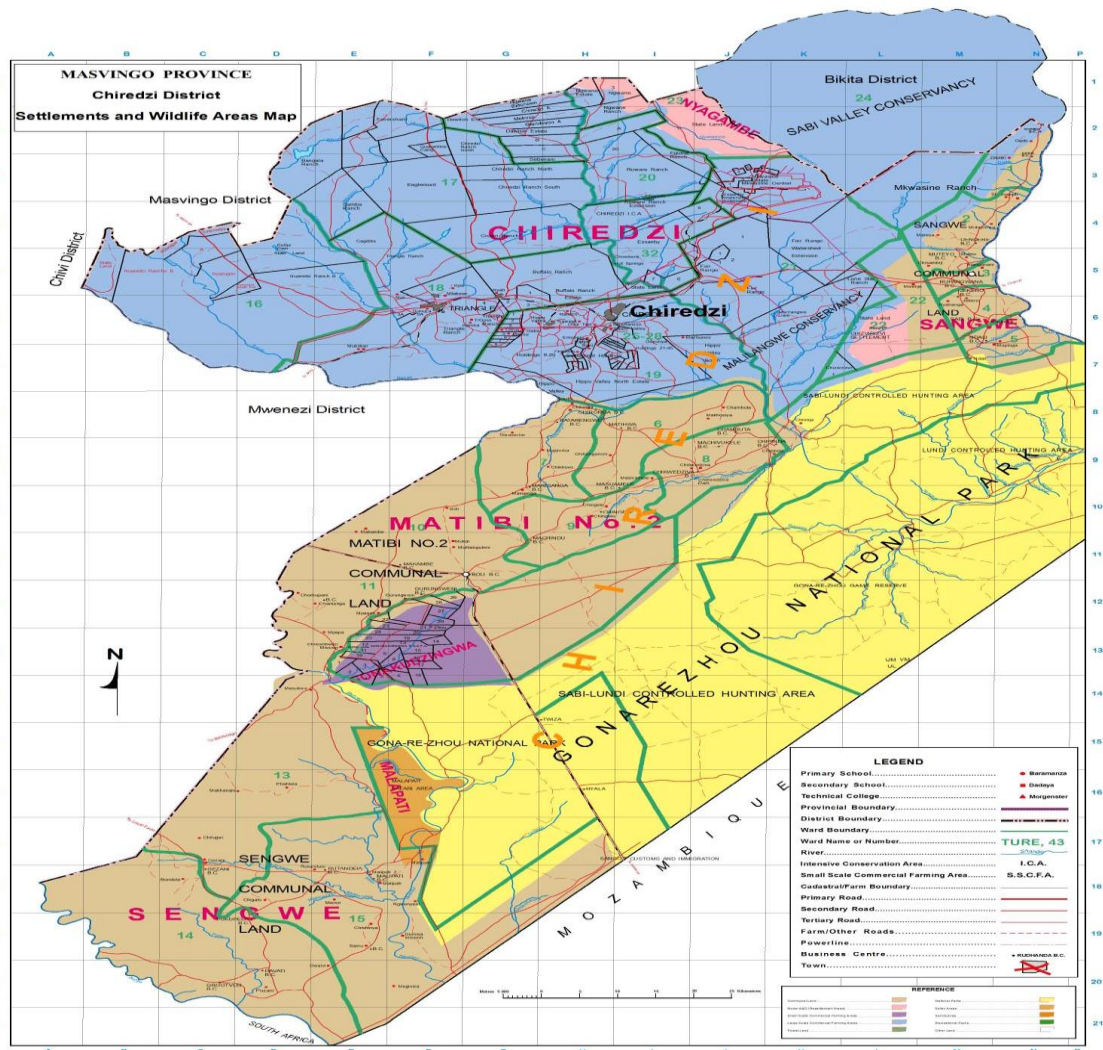


Figure 1.2: Chiredzi District indicating GNP and its Environs

Source: Mukarati (2008:14)

The GNP, under Chiredzi District, situated in the south-eastern corner of Zimbabwe was first proclaimed a game reserve around 1934 and later declared a national park in 1975 (Wolmer, 2003:10; Ferreira, 2004:307). There is however, confusion surrounding the actual period when people living in this region of the Save-Runde confluence were evicted. Ferreira (2004:307) wrote that in the year (1975) when the park was declared, the people, who are referred to as the Shangaan, were forcibly removed and settled at the fringes of the park boundary, but Wolmer *et al* (2003:15) wrote that the evictions took place in 1962 for the purposes of tsetse control and the people settled in Sangwe communal area with the understanding that after tsetse control they would be allowed to return. Nevertheless, this eviction is said to have

generated tension that has existed to date. Ferreira observes that the park itself has been littered with conflict and has been rarely at peace ever since its formation. Poaching and maiming of animals like the elephant has remained prevalent. The situation was worsened by landmines planted in the GNP during the Zimbabwe war of liberation in the 70's to prevent liberation war fighters from penetrating further inland, while the civil war in Mozambique in the 1980-90s saw an increase in the poaching of animals (Ferreira, 2004:307).

Ferreira (2004:307), citing Sharman, claims that this tension, based on historical circumstances experienced by the previously evicted people led to the unceremonious occupation of part of the GNP, indicated in figure 7.1, by November 2000.

The occupation even caused confusion and complications with some government departments such as Agricultural, Technical and Extension Services (Agritex)¹ pegging plots within the park. As mentioned earlier, this action seemed to formalise a situation which appeared to have been executed without permission from the then responsible Ministry of Environment and Tourism (Ferreira, 2004:308). The Ministry of Environment and Tourism administers the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Act 20:14 of 1996, which prohibits human settlements in a designated national park, in the same manner as the South Africa Biodiversity Act, 2004 operates.

In terms of policy requirements; the Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Act 20:14 (Chapter 20:14) section 117 requires that any person with an interest in a national parks land and who is duly authorised in terms of any law should consult the Minister responsible and lodge a notice of intention to do so not less than 30 days before the exercise of those rights. However, this seems not to have been followed in the first place.

¹ The Department of Agriculture, Technical and Extension Services (Agritex) operates under the Zimbabwe Ministry of Agriculture, Mechanization and Irrigation Development. Its mandate is to implement government agricultural policy through the provision of technical and extension services to all categories of farmers.

In the following we look at another case with similar historical circumstances, but different approaches to the handling of problems.

1.8 The Makuleke/KNP Historical Conservation Problems



Figure 1.3: The Limpopo Province and Location of Makuleke Villages

Source: Modified from Collins, S. (n.d.)

The Makuleke region and villages are situated in the Limpopo Province in the far north-eastern corner of South Africa, a remote triangle of lush land situated between the Limpopo and Luvuvhu rivers. According to literature it was formerly under the Malamulele District, but is now currently under the Vhembe District following the change of status of Malamulele to an administrative area within the Vhembe District (Mayoral-Phillips, 2000; Solomon 2010: personal comms).

In 1969, under the separatist legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 (Spierenburg *et al*, 2008:90), it was annexed to the Kruger National Park (KNP), forcibly removing the Makuleke community, who at the time approximated 3 000, off their ancestral land (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2001:28). They were resettled in an area known as Ntlaveni, adjacent to the Punda Maria gate to the KNP, where problems of malnutrition were experienced due to changes in sources of livelihoods coupled with limited alternative coping strategies. They were not used to the characteristic new dry savannah conditions that did not match the rich biologically diverse land they previously occupied. However, despite the Makuleke region's rich natural resource base, it was never prioritised for development as a tourist destination by the Kruger authorities (F:\Wilderness Trust-makuleke.htm).

The birth of a democratically elected South African government in 1994 witnessed a number of policy transformations including land based policies. Communities dispossessed of land under previous discriminatory laws could claim their land back through the Land Claims Commission (Spierenburg *et al*, 2008:90) that had been established under the provisions of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994. Empowered with this enactment, the Makulekes in the late 1990s advanced their land claim. They became one of the communities that started the battle to regain their once expropriated land legally. This culminated in a landmark agreement, where the South African National Parks (SANParks) announced a negotiated settlement with the community in 1998. The Makuleke were awarded their land back after a long battle with authorities and as a result of this settlement, the land, approximating 24 000 hectares, was de-proclaimed, and subsequently re-proclaimed as a Contractual Park in 1999.

The Makuleke now have full land ownership, but as part of the agreement, the KNP continues to manage the area while the Makuleke have rights to engage and enter into partnership with the private sector to develop ecotourism projects. This marriage, of a joint SANParks/Makuleke management control will last for a period of 50 years from inception. Of interest is that the Makuleke community committed themselves to maintain the land for conservation purposes and not to use it for either residential or agricultural purposes (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2001; wilderness trust).

The issues raised above revolve around wilderness or wildlife conservation versus human needs, particularly with regard to those communities living with and dependent on the resource. In the following an attempt is made to discuss wilderness conservation and its linkage with socio-economic development in general and community livelihood improvement efforts in particular.

1.9. Wilderness conservation: An overview

'The remaining wilderness of Africa may be its only hope for overcoming its poverty and competition in the global economy; probably the safest prediction that one can make is that shortly the world's fastest growing market, tourism, will be chasing the world's fastest shrinking product: wilderness' (Ferreirra, 2004:309).

Wilderness or rather protected conservation areas in the form of transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) or transfrontier parks (TFPs) are being created throughout the world to conserve biological diversity, protect critical watersheds, prevent overexploitation of forest resources and wilderness values (Moeliono and Fisher, 2000; SANParks Management Plan Policy Framework, 2006). These are grand initiatives designed to conserve and preserve remnants of the disappearing true wild areas. Notwithstanding the nobility of the concept, the establishment of these protected areas that transcend international political boundaries, has often overlooked the perceptions of local people and their interests. In some cases their establishment has been viewed as directly conflicting with local people's livelihoods. The resultant conflicts have challenged practitioners to seek new methods for reconciling the trade-offs between conservation and community livelihoods.

The following text attempts to offer a brief description of the wildernesses as they relate to TFPs and TFCAs in the context of development.

1.9.1. Wilderness

“In wilderness is the preservation of the world”, Henry David Thoreau quoted by Harding and Meyer (1980).

The concept of wilderness conservation has aroused debate throughout human history, especially as it relates to development, but what is wilderness? Experts do not seem to agree on a single definition. It would seem that wilderness means different things to different people in space and time and mostly dependent on the angle at which one perceives the state of environmental management. However, there are certain terms that cut across most definitions, such as wildness, pristine, original and natural.

Some authors indicate that the word wilderness was derived from the notion of “wildness”, in other words that which is not controllable by humans (Collins English Dictionary, 2000). In this context, it is the wildness of a place that makes it a wilderness.

The IUCN (1999) defined wilderness as “a large area of unmodified or slightly modified land, and/or sea...which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural condition.” These areas are protected for their values and functions that are essential to the well-being of the human race and all other living organisms, as all live in an interconnected system.

The geography dictionary defines wilderness as an area which has generally been affected more by natural forces than by human agency, a region little affected by people (a Dictionary of Geography, 2006). The geographical definition allows us to incorporate most protected areas such as game reserves (whether public or private) and the emergent global or regional conservation initiatives such as the transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs), hence, in general, it is in this context that wilderness is defined in this thesis without precluding or disregarding other meanings.

Some proponents argue that the idea of wilderness is a social construct, where to some nature is regarded as wilderness, a land infested with 'wild' animals and 'savage' people, but to some it is tame. It is further noted that because of these variations, to some constructions of wilderness omit the works of people, and this has led to the expulsion of indigenous people from designated wilderness areas (Cronon, 1995), while others see humans as part of nature.

The motivation for establishing such areas encompasses a broad range or scope including scientific arguments for the preservation rather than conservation, the ethical view and consideration for intergenerational equity in that not all nature should be exploited, as there is need to conserve resources for future generations including the appreciation of the spiritual quality of wilderness. For instance, according to Hendee and Chad (2002) in Wilderness Action Group (WAG) (2006), wilderness uses can be categorised into direct and indirect uses. Indirect uses include the knowledge available for its cultural and historical values to society. The mere knowledge that wilderness areas exist makes some people contend that they can visit them anytime, for spiritual renewal, solitude, scientific studies and development. In terms of health, Hendee asserts that it has a therapeutic effect in that it can alleviate abnormal behaviour and psychological problems in people put into structured programmes. Within the same context, wilderness is being used as a vehicle for socio-economic development and regional integration. Now, if wilderness areas hold such value, then why talk about conflicts? This leads us to the subject of conflict, particularly with regard to developing countries, as they pursue and strive to balance wilderness conservation and sustainable development goals.

1.9.10. Linking Natural Resource Conflicts to Livelihoods Security Needs

A conflict not settled usually does not die down on its own but tends to escalate. Carpenter and Kennedy (2001:11) talked of conflict spiralling, given a factor of time against intensity. From the time the problem emerges, if not managed it ends up being a crisis. In such a case simple solutions that might have worked out at the start could become ineffective and even cause more problems themselves.

The recent past has seen the growth of social activism and the increasing demand for stakeholder participation in the management of natural resources, an area that was previously the domain of governments, donors and a privileged few. This has given rise to the need for new dimensions to management and governance that are more inclusive and transparent, but such changes do not come on a silver platter, conflicts have emerged as result.

The abundance or scarcity of resources, including wilderness resources, decides the direction a society will take in development. Imbalances, not only of scarcity but also of abundance, may distort environmental and socio-economic policies, leading to social friction. The current problems that proponents of intergenerational equity seek to address are two-fold. First, is the perceived serious socio-economic asymmetry in resource access and use within and between societies and nations. Second, the concerns that present resource consumption and production patterns by certain nations or social strata within nations are prejudicing environmental quality and socio-economic development prospects, hence, narrowing options available to future generations that will require substantial environmental resources to meet their basic needs.

Previous studies have found that most of these conflicts centre on access to and benefits sharing of wilderness products (natural resources) and have gone further to link poverty with environmental degradation. The causes of environmental degradation disproportionately affect the poor, while poverty also accelerates environmental destruction, thus subjecting communities to a cycle of ever-deepening poverty (Duraiappah, 1998; Nayak, 2004:7). Nevertheless, it is not easy to identify the factors that lead to a spiral of environmental degradation.

Murombedzi (1990:5) citing Bromley and Cernea (1988) argues that in terms of resource degradation, the dissolution of common property management institutions at local level through the imposition of state ownership is to blame for the degradation of most common property resources. Quoting Bromley and Cernea (1988), Murombedzi (1990:5) cites that, 'resource degradation in developing countries, while incorrectly attributed to 'common property resources', actually

originates in the dissolution of local institutional arrangements whose very purpose was to give rise to resource use patterns that were sustainable. The dissolution of local institutional arrangements arose from a combination of powerful rulers at some remove from the village, colonial administration, and the rise of the nation state. National governments have not replaced these former resource management regimes.'

Nevertheless, in the context of Southern Africa's efforts to devolve the management of natural resources to the local level, a number of international and regional conventions, protocols, agreements and arrangements giving rise to various initiatives like TFCAs to promote conservation and sustainable development have been signed and ratified by most countries. However, despite these initiatives, areas set aside as wild areas or wildernesses continue to face unprecedented threats. In fact, more than ever before, these areas face the very question of their existence or rather, the justification for their existence. The questions almost always revolve around socio-economic versus environmental issues. In certain circumstances whole communities demand changes in the land use patterns. This is to do with the question, "What is in it for us?" and the context in which they perceive them and the benefits flowing from such developments.

This notion can be reinforced by stories published by the South African Mail & Guardian of 7 August 2008 and the Zimbabwean Financial Gazette of the same date. In the Mail & Guardian under the story headlined "Government Plan May Rescue Threatened Ndumo", a Game Reserve in KwaZulu-Natal. Poor communities who live in the precincts of the reserve (the Bhekabantu and Embangweni communities), who have limited arable land, cut the park's fence and occupied land demanding that they be allowed to farm inside the park (<http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-08-07>). This has the potential of threatening the integrity of the Lubombo TFCA between Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland. Not all stakeholders are in agreement with this move as perceptions differ, so a conflict situation emerged. In another different situation, the Zimbabwean Financial Gazette reported that communities surrounding a private game park (Mbizi), near Harare, were encroaching into the private game park to illegally harvest trees on a

large scale resulting in serious deforestation and land degradation (<http://www.fg.co.zw/article/2008-08-07>).

These are just but a few stories currently unfolding and directly affecting wilderness areas and TFCAs. At the rate at which such activities are occurring, one wonders whether these areas, which took a lot of time, effort and investments to maintain, will survive the next fifty years or so, if no action is taken now. The interest then lies in whether different players see through the same “lenses”. What are their rallying and departure points? Why are there such differences and how can these be narrowed for the sake of conservation and human survival?

The fear is whether different human communities and other stakeholders including organisations would be willing to change and commit themselves to the necessary adjustments in time. Omara-Ojungu (1992) observed that even Christian experience indicates that a threat of human extinction is often not an adequate guarantee for human reformation. He notes that, paradoxically there is a sense of social relativity in which the individual’s fear for death is vindicated by the reality that others are not dying rather than by the fact of one’s own imminent death. As such the threat of human extinction often sounded by environmentalists and other specialists may not necessarily trigger the release of the ultimate panic needed for real action for transformation of perceptions and attitudes in conserving natural areas and other resources. This leads us to another question, “If conflict becomes dysfunctional, how can it be resolved?”

Chapter two looks further at dysfunctional conflict and some conflict resolution mechanisms. It is imperative to look for solutions from within, or adapt foreign models to local conditions. All societies do have some sort of conflict management mechanisms and though the prescription of foreign developed mechanisms can increase avenues available for recourse, the complete suffocation of local measures may create a real vacuum which then breeds what Deutsch (1973) refers to as destructive conflict.

In general, in a haste to solve these problems, stakeholders and authorities tend to be anxious to deal with the behavioural aspects of the situation, which is one aspect of the equation as indicated by the conflict triangle presented in chapter two. In fact behaviour is a conflict in manifestation, the salient factors such as attitudes and circumstances run deep and need to be investigated, if one is to address or understand a conflict in its totality (Bradshaw, 2006 Seminar notes).

For better appreciation of the root causes of conflict, an integration of the conflict triangle and conflict cube as analytical tools would produce better results. The conflict cube which analyses the common basis on which conflicts are generated is discussed in chapter two.

1.9.11. Delimitation of Research

The study is limited to key stakeholders in two targeted communities within the GLTP initiative, that is, the Makuleke in South Africa and Chitsa in Zimbabwe. It is focused on evaluating the conflict; particularly perceptions and attitudes forming processes and their impact on conflict resolution. The research was limited to the two district councils, Chiredzi and Vhembe that demarcated the physical geographical space in which the two communities are found.

1.10. Significance of Study

Although some studies have been carried out on conflicts within the Southern African TFCA framework (Metcalfe, 1999; Mayoral-Phillips; 2000; Khorommbi, 2001; Peddle *et al*, 2004; Munthali, 2007), they tend to generalise on conflicts and conflict resolution processes. Jennifer observed that specific research results relating to impacts on social, economic and biodiversity goals are lacking (Jones, 2003:3).

The result is a dearth of information for problem solving in certain critical areas requiring attention, especially in the context of the GLTP at micro-level. Thus, by documenting stakeholder perceptions and attitudes and gathering baseline information about the nature and context of the conflict, the information would be useful for problem-solving and planning processes. Hence, by focusing on the

specific impact of conflict on local socio-economic and ecological processes, the research could also be viewed as a means for determining the common position of local stakeholders on the nature of the conflict and potential paths to be followed towards its resolution. Therefore, information generated is essential for the development of socio-environmentally sensitive policies and approaches which are people-oriented and driven, simple and amenable to local communities and conditions. Further, the researcher hopes the results would significantly help break down barriers and reduce tensions that characteristically exist between development partners and other stakeholders.

In addition to influencing the development of socio-ecologically sensitive policies and approaches, the results would not only significantly help shape the development agenda and reduce tensions among contesting stakeholders, but would also contribute towards countering pessimism about development in Africa. For instance, while the GLTP is a flagship of success on the integration of conservation and economic development in Africa, if not the world, Colin (1996:188) points out that in terms of development there is little optimism in existing literature, as very few people believe that things in Africa are going to get better. Such pessimistic tendencies can also be addressed through research that will be used as a tool for problem solving and aid in development.

1.11. Definition of Concepts

TFCA -'relatively large areas that straddle frontiers between two or more countries and cover large-scale natural systems encompassing one or more protected areas' (World Bank, 1996)

Wilderness - an area which has generally been affected more by natural forces than by human agency, a region little affected by people (WAG, 2006).

Conflict -a state of discord caused by the actual or perceived opposition of needs, values and interests and can be internal (within oneself) or external (between two or more individuals) (Bradshaw 2008 Lecture Notes).

Stakeholders -“Stakeholders are natural resource users and managers.”
(Röling and Wagemakers, 1998. in Bradshaw lecture notes, 2008)

1.12. Assumptions

The study results will aid in the improvement of natural resource conflict resolution mechanisms and promote local community empowerment policies and programmes.

1.13. Conclusion

The study revealed that for effective conflict resolution in contested resources, there is need for legislation and institutional arrangements to deal with matters arising. Issues of resource access are critical to rural populations who are heavily dependent on them, hence, in some very poor communities their very survival hinges on access to these natural resources. This means that issues of access and benefits are often sources of conflict as competition for scarce resources increase due to many factors including high population growth and negative or zero economic growth, the commoditisation of resources and unfair resource distribution.

Conflict generated can be addressed through problem analysis using tested tools such as the conflict analysis framework (CAF) and the peace and conflict impact assessments (PCIA). Also the establishment of local level institutions, stakeholder participation and collective problem solving were found to be critical if conflicts caused by access to natural resources are to be settled. In the final analysis, if such conflicts are not resolved for the benefit of all concerned or for at least the majority, the consequences are dire for both community livelihoods and conservation. It also becomes costly for administrators to make good the detriments caused by unsettled conflicts.

The thesis begins by looking at theories underpinning conflicts in general and dovetails into natural resources conflicts. It also reviews the philosophy behind wilderness conservation and the development of transfrontier conservation areas.

PART 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Part 2 consists of two chapters. Chapter two discusses relevant conflict theories and chapter three focuses on the development of TFCAs and conflicts associated with it.

CHAPTER TWO

CONFLICT THEORY

2.1 Introduction

This literature review focused on two major relevant areas to quench the theoretical thirst in this study by interrogating the huge work already done in this area, that is, conflict theory (chapter two) and transfrontier conservation development theory (chapter three) and its practical implications. This provided a basis upon which a framework of inquiry was established to address the main problem. This chapter therefore looks at conflict in a broad way, but simultaneously attempts to search for linkages between conflict and environmental conservation. At the close of the chapter, literature on conflict resolution was consulted to inform the study on some aspects to focus on as one of the objectives of this study.

According to Burns (1978) in DiPaola and Hoy (2001) Conflict has an inherent potential force for health and growth as well as for destruction and barbarism and since it is common and inevitable, it will neither disappear nor should it be ignored. However, many administrators would seek to eliminate conflict because it has been branded with a bad reputation, associating it with psycho-pathology, social disorder, and war. Nevertheless, Deutsch (1991); DiPaola and Hoy (2001) argue that it is the root of personal and social change and presents a medium through which problems can be discussed and solutions mooted.

Having said that, there is a need to appreciate the theoretical aspects underpinning conflict, hence, a look at conflict definitions follows in the text below.

2.2 What is Conflict?

The word “Conflict” is derived from the Latin word “Confligere” which means, “to strike together” (Wright, 1951: 16. and Tillet, 1991: 3 cited in Petronio, 2007:29). When one hears the word ‘conflict’, the mind quickly races on to issues like “war, dissension, strife, friction, disagreement, dispute, argument, quarrel, cultural differences, unfair distribution of resources and fight.” (Bradshaw, 2008 Seminar Notes) Burton (1990) in Anstey (1991) made a distinction between conflict and disputes, arguing that whereas disputes are endemic in all social relationships and a normal feature of often collaborative interactive networks, conflicts are a deeper phenomenon, and rooted in the frustration of basic human needs. He further argues that disputes are open to negotiation and settlement through compromise or arbitration, but in conflicts tensions cannot be dealt with in the same manner as they centre on threats to fundamental human needs which are neither open to compromise nor bargaining.

In this case, resolution requires major environmental and policy restructuring to facilitate transformation of relationships. Galtung (1996) advocates the restructuring of social structures that deprive fundamental human needs and perpetuate structural conflict or violence. He is concerned about structures that allow other sections of the society to be denied their rights through an oppressive system itself. Consistent with Galtung, Lederach (1997) proposed a conceptual framework ‘with comprehensive approaches to the transformation of conflict that addresses structural issues, social dynamics of relationship building and the development of a supportive infrastructure for peace’ (Lederach, 1997:21). In such a case one of the most effective conflict resolution strategies is to overhaul the structures and improve on relationships.

However, as demonstrated by Burton’s line of thought, a number of versions to the definition of conflict abound and there is no one definition where all practitioners converge and agree to its adequacy (Tillet, 1991 and Bradshaw, 2007). In order to adequately address such a complex concept as conflict Tillet (1991) and Bradshaw (2007) suggest that a number of definitions assist to capture the diversity existent in this field. An attempt has been made, in the following text, to look into some of these definitions.

Vecchio (1995) cited by Lourens (2000:4) defined conflict as a process that emanates when one person or a group of people perceives that another person or group is frustrating or about to frustrate an issue they consider important.

Siders (1999) defines it as an interaction between interdependent people who perceive incompatible goals and interference from each other to achieve the desired goals.

Related to Siders is one which defines it as 'the pursuit of incompatible goals by different groups' (Ramsbotham *et al*, 2005:27).

Tillet (1991:7) cited in Petronio (2007:29) defined conflict as that it "exists when two or more parties perceive that their values or needs are incompatible."

Sullivan (2003:11) suggests that conflict is a struggle between different groups in society to gain control of, and have access to scarce societal resources that are considered valuable.

Harper (1995:6) defines conflict as the "result of a process whereby the "haves" have striven, often successfully, to enhance their favoured position in society at the expense of the "have-nots."

Burton (1988), cited by Tillet (1991:7), defines conflict as "a relationship in which each party perceives the other's goals, values, interests or behaviour as antithetical to its own."

Webne-Behrman (1998) defines conflict as a disagreement through which the parties involved perceive a threat to their needs, interests or concerns.

Almost similar to Vecchio's definition, Robbins (1998) defines conflict as the process beginning with the perception by one party that another party has negatively affected, or is about to negatively affect, something that the first party cares about. He further postulates that the parties to the conflict should perceive the conflict involved and that whether or not conflict exists, is a matter of perception. This concurs with Stuart, Klein and Ritti (1984) whose views were corroborated by Bradshaw (2007), who in support of Galtung and Mitchell, stated that conflict is

characterized by situations, attitudes, perceptions and behaviour(see figure 2.3).

The definitions cited above, address conflict in general terms and in that context it is commonly referred to as social conflict. Since the primary focus of this study is on environmental and developmental conflict, it is appropriate to look at some definitions relating to environment and development conflict and see how they match with the definitions of conflict in general.

Most literature available on environment and development conflicts reveal that there is no consensus as to what it actually entails because of its complexity, multidimensional aspects and its multidisciplinary nature, leading to some authors calling it political ecology (Hasler, 1995:10-11; Gossing, 2003:11; Swatuk, 2005:4; Adams and Hutton, 2007). However, despite a number of definitions, one striking feature common to most of them is the human factor characterizing the interplay between or among people, opposing interests and limited resources. The researcher prefers to call it social, ecological conflict, which is further explained in chapter five. This indicates that environmental conflicts are inherently social as indicated in the definitions below.

‘Conflict resources are natural resources whose systematic exploitation and trade in a context of conflict contribute, benefit, results in the commission of serious violations of human rights, violations of international humanitarian law or violations amounting to crimes under international law’ (Global Witness, n.d).

Sanginga *et al* (2007:4) defines conflict in natural resources as ‘situations involving people or social groups with different interests and mutually antagonistic tendencies and opposing influences competing for the use of limited resources to ensure or enhance their livelihoods’

It follows that in the perceived definitional congruency between social and environmental and developmental conflicts, the general understanding that conflicts involve differences, goal incompatibility, and a situation where two or more parties strive to acquire the same scarce resource at the same time, prevails. It is not competition, but competition can create conflict. In this context, the term resources is not confined to its strict economics definition, for to do so would inadvertently exclude

conflicts involving matters related to human security, environment, and historical issues, to mention but a few.

However, in most of the definitions, the word perception is rarely omitted, making it necessary to briefly look at it as this was one of the elements tested in this study. Perception is said to be nothing but interpretation of reality. Perception develops because of an individual's need to create some kind of perceptives for him/her. Perceptions are attitude forming processes; attitudes are also a basis upon which perceptions are formed. It is a cyclical and multidimensional process.

Attitudes have been described as how various groups view each other. In psychological terms, attitudes represent an individual's degree of dislike or like of a thing. They are generally categorized as positive or negative views of a place, thing, person or event. Attitudes are expected to change as a function of experience and persuasion. (Rubin, *et al*, 1994:84)

Winston Churchill once said "Attitude is a little thing that makes a big difference." (Winston Churchill, n.d).

Today attitudes and perceptions have assumed a higher profile in conflict definitions, to the extent that Mitchell came up with a conflict triangle developed from Galtung (1990)'s ideas, placing attitudes as one of the triangle's pillar as indicated in figure 2.3 (ibid).

So, the nature of perception is unique for every individual as indicated by the following figure.

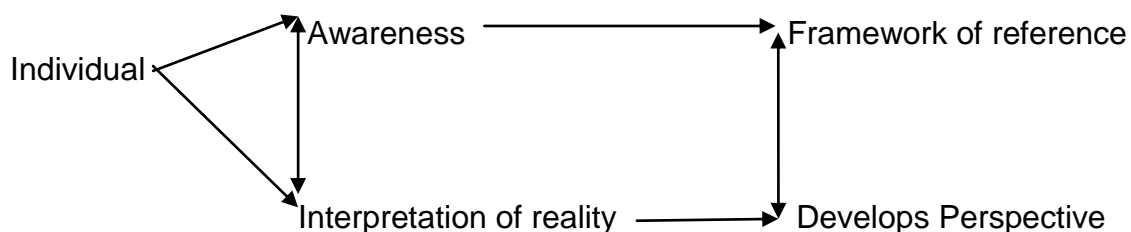


Figure 2.1: Individual Perception Forming Process

Source: Adapted and modified from <http://www.emeraldinsight.com>

It follows that comprehension of a situation is based on perception and since every individual has got that comprehension, it differs from person to person and from group to group simply because personality and perception are dictated by society and social values that play an important part. In that context, perception is apparent or induced knowledge. If perceptions are negative they lead to distortions of the reality or the situation being perceived.

It is also noted that since comprehension of a situation is based on perception, people tend to respond to the perceived threat rather than the true threat itself. It means that while perception doesn't become reality per se, people's behaviour, feeling and ongoing responses become modified by that evolving sense of the threat they confront.

In any conflict case, people think and feel differently from one another. The real issue isn't whose perceptions are true and whose are false, but how to deal with the way people think and feel about the conflict. Hence, understanding the true threat assist in developing strategies or solutions to manage it (DiPaola and Hoy, 2001).

2.3 Conflict Sources

The conflict definitions in the above text inform us about the sources of conflict. Some models have been developed to illustrate conflict sources , however, for the purpose of this study the 'Conflict Cube' developed by Bradshaw (2006) proved to be a useful model. As echoed by Kirkwood (2000), Bradshaw's conflict cube moved a step further by packaging the suggested six basic sources of conflict as illustrated by figure 2.2 below.

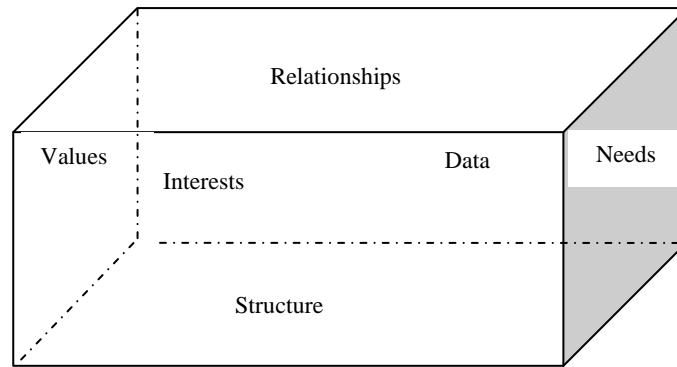


Figure 2.2: Conflict Cube

Source: Adapted from Bradshaw Seminar Notes (2008).

Research has indicated that though origins of conflicts are various and situational, most conflicts can be traced to be based on interests, values, needs, relationships, structural or data (Bradshaw, 2007).

Bradshaw (2007) cited by Petronio (2007) claims that, the multifaceted and complex phenomena that characterise conflict means that each conflict can be as a result of more than one of these sources. Below is an explanation of the six conflict sources, all according to Bradshaw (2007).

Data based conflict revolves around misinterpretation, lack of or inadequate communication with the potential to cause conflict. Bradshaw (2007:29) advances the fact that, 'because our social reality is so complex, our brains are continually attempting to sift important facts from the unimportant. Generally, we try to make the information we receive "fit" into the pictures of reality that we already accept.' Socialisation and culture plays an important role in shaping the way people perceive or interpret data and their reactions. The differences in interpretation create conflict, for instance, in a study of the Western-Japanese inter-organisational conflict, Goldman (1994:7) found out that conflicts abound when Western corporates engaged in direct contact with their Japanese counterparts due to a variety of communication and culturally related disturbances. In most cases, misconception, misunderstanding and miscommunication end up causing conflict (Bradshaw and Seretse, 2010:5).

Structurally-based conflict emanates from structures and institutions, be they social, political or economic, that are in place (Bradshaw, 2007:290). These structures and institutions impinge upon the relationships of individuals, groups or even nations and create negative perceptions that breed conflicts; Galtung (1996) refers to structural violence in the context of societal structures that allow violence to occur vertically. Verticality in these structures implies inequality and exploitation administered from the top downwards resulting in needs of the persons at the bottom being deprived either through marginalisation or segregation. Structural violence can be caused by cultural aggression, human rights abuses and imperialism (Galtung, 2002). Bradshaw and Seretse (2010:5) talk of obsolete and inappropriate structures in the contemporary world, which simply cannot respond to current needs, such as colonial systems and outdated workplace models. These can become a potential basis for conflict.

Value-based conflict is anchored on individual, group or community values such as political, economic, religious, cultural or ideological, which may be significantly different among various groups (Bradshaw, 2007:28). For example, Andrew-Essien and Bisong (2009:122) observed that different cultural value systems between protected area managers and their surrounding communities resulted in conflicts particularly as local communities believe the natural environment within protected areas are sacred habitats which connects them to their religious inclinations. Within that context, the existence of conflicts in protected areas is therefore based on differing use value attached to the resources of the environment.

Relationship-based conflict hinges on the type of relationships between individuals, and groups that can foment conflict. Development conflict can be generated by past circumstances where memories of the past lead to poor human relationships. The past circumstances can create serious levels of tensions, animosity and mistrust between and among different individuals or groups (Bradshaw, 2007:298).

Interest-based conflict is manifested where different groups scramble for scarce resources that may be in great demand to the extent that the scramble has detrimental effects or hinders others (Bradshaw, 2007:28). People are in constant

competition over the same resources such as water and land and their interests over such resources may actually differ, particularly on issues of benefits and access. The questions; who benefits? and who benefits first? often become critical in either causing conflict or aiding in conflict resolution. For example, pastoralists versus agriculturalists' interest over the same piece of land can create protracted conflicts if it is not properly handled. For instance, Abdulla (2006:86) pointed out that incompatible interests between those of pastoralists who practice nomadic life styles and those of sedentary population that practice crop production in Darfur result in protracted conflict over pastures and other resources as nomads' livestock trespass into farmlands during their seasonal migrations.

Needs-based conflict is underpinned by the denial and frustration of both physical and psychological basic human needs as defined by Maslow, such as food, shelter, security, social acceptance, identity, and control (Bradshaw 2007:18). The denial of these needs whether physiological or psychological is a basis of conflict. In fact most persistent conflicts in the developing countries are needs-based and according to Burton (1990a), 'no threat can deter when there are human behavioural needs at stake', hence, the association of poverty with conflict. In expanding the needs-based conflict debate, Bhusan (n.d) adds that needs-based conflicts arise due to three principle factors; the multiplicity of needs, in congruency of needs and need dissatisfaction. In multiplicity of needs, one wishes to satisfy several needs that are incompatible, while incongruency of needs refers to a situation where needs can be conflicting, that is, the satisfaction of one need means foregoing the satisfaction of another. On need dissatisfaction, if needs remain dissatisfied, affected individuals became frustrated and this generates conflict.

Having discussed sources of conflict, the following subject focuses on conflict structure, that is, the constituents and levels of conflict.

2.4 Conflict Structure and Models

Thomas (1976) cited by Anstey (1991) attempts to distinguish between a structural and a process model of conflict. While basically the structural model attempts to understand conflict phenomena by studying how underlying conditions shape events,

identify parameters that influence conflict behaviour and specify the form of that influence, the process model focuses on the internal dynamics of conflict episodes, studying events and effects on succeeding events in conflict episodes. Thomas further argues that while the two approaches may be conceptually separate, they are strongly interrelated in reality. Thus the full understanding of any conflict must give attention to both structural and process aspects of a relationship and how they influence each other. It therefore follows that sources of conflict, conflict behaviour, circumstances, perceptions and feelings of the parties involved require attention to assist researchers to have an in-depth understanding of the holistic context of any conflict. This understanding has a bearing on the nature and response approaches that can be adopted to redress such conflict as advanced by Burton (1984) when he argued that long-term conflict resolution rests on distinguishing between interest and needs and creating institutions and practices that serve the needs of individuals and legitimate authority.

Mitchell (1981) cited in Swanstrom and Weissmann (2005) and corroborated by Bradshaw (2007), came up with a model of conflict structure consisting of three identifiable parts, that is, attitudes, behaviour and situations. When Mitchell developed this simplified model borrowing from Galtung's concept, its focus was on political and military conflicts, but it has since been found to be cross-cutting in most conflict situations that characterise the international community's experience in other sectors such as economic, environment and human security. Such sectors have become critical in shaping international and regional interaction (Swanstrom and Weissmann, 2005). Below is an illustration of Mitchell's conflict model.

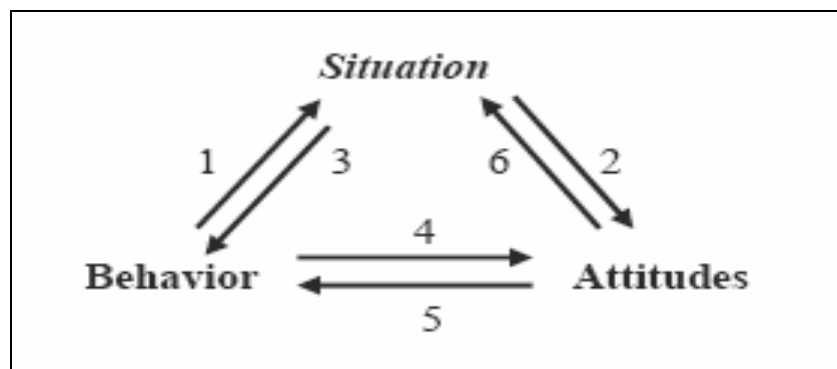


Figure 2.3: Mitchell's Conflict Model

Source: Swanstrom and Weissmann (2005:8)

The model reflects that each factor fuelling conflict from any angle of the structure is bi-directional. As can be seen, the situation impacts on both the behaviour and the attitude, the behaviour impacts on both the situation and attitudes and attitudes impacts on both the behaviour and situation, thus creating a complex web of interaction. However, this way of looking at conflict has been criticised as too simplistic.

Galtung is credited with coming up with the original idea of a conflict triangle which many other authors such as Bradshaw and Mitchell make reference to. Johan Galtung (1960) claims that all conflicts have three major aspects; attitudes, behaviour and contradictions. Attitudes are what we feel and have in mind; behaviour reflects manifested attitudes, while contradictions or causes refer to the context of the situation. Without tackling the causes, changes in attitudes and behaviour may be temporary. The tackling of the actual causes of the conflict is what Galtung referred to as peace building (Füeg and Bernhard, 2007:4). In that respect Galtung preferred to use the term conflict transformation, which means, 'exerting influence on the conflicting parties' attitude, behaviour or contradictions in such a way that the destructive dynamics of the conflict are reversed and proceed in a positive direction' (Füeg, and Bernhard, 2007:4).

However, as indicated by the triangle, there is no one conflict starting point, conflict can be generated from any point on the triangle. That is, conflict can start from a situation where incompatible goals lead to or promote attitudes, where suspicions and mistrust between actors increase.

Bradshaw talks about latent and manifest conflicts as components of the conflict triangle, arguing that manifested behaviour only indicates that conflict has assumed another level, otherwise in its latent form, conflict is very much alive.

After discussing conflict structure and some models, the next discussion attempts to look at conflict types.

2.5 Types of Conflict

Literature is awash with explanations of various types of conflicts and it appears each author's description of a conflict type is dependent on the subject under discussion or the problem to be addressed.

Some authors go to the finer details and attempt to distinguish conflicts from disputes. Burton (1990) cited by Anstey (2006:10) made such a distinction as mentioned earlier in this volume. Burton's line of argument is premised on human needs, which are usually ignored or suppressed in the current conflict management systems, as largely constituting the root cause of conflict and in that context points out negotiation and settlement as tools that can be problematic in conflict resolution.

However, whatever the type of a conflict, each has the potential to bring unique problems and choices that may not have been previously confronted. Below are some of the types of conflicts that could be relevant to themes covered so far and could be in line with the subject of this study in general. These are "the what"; "the how" and interpersonal style; cognitive and affective; destructive and productive and symmetric and asymmetric conflicts.

2.5.1 "The What"; "the How" and Interpersonal Style

Bergeron (2004) recognizes three most prevalent types of conflict which are "the what"; "the how" and interpersonal style. The 'what' conflict arises as a result of disagreements mostly based on content, such as those based on problem definition, its root causes or even the best resolution. Although generally in disagreements there is some level of difference in the positions of the two or more parties to a conflict, true disagreement versus the perceived disagreement may be quite different from one another. Usually, conflict tends to be associated with significant levels of misunderstandings that exaggerate the perceived disagreement considerably. Hence, understanding the true areas of disagreement assists in solving the right problems and managing the true needs of the parties (Webne-Behrman, 1998).

The 'how' conflict arises from differences in the process used to achieve an outcome, for instance, a development team may agree on the problem and its root causes but

disagree on how to decide on the best of the several alternative solutions. Alternatively, the development team may agree on the best alternative solution but may disagree on the key stakeholders involved. More often than not, there are disparities in the sense of who is involved in the conflict. Sometimes, people are surprised to learn they are a party to the conflict, while at other times they are shocked to learn they are not included in the disagreement. In several instances, people who are seen as part of the social system are influenced to participate in the dispute, whether they would personally define the situation in that way or not. Thus, defining the actual parties involved in a conflict can be an elusive exercise.

To mitigate this kind of a problem, Carpenter and Kennedy (2001:231) advocated for what they referred to as 'preliminary conflict assessment' whose principle purpose is to ensure that the right parties are involved. However, despite a careful assessment of the parties to a conflict, a new party may emerge as the process unfolds, particularly when issues that seemed unimportant at the beginning become a significant part of the deliberations. This may call for new participants whose interests may not be adequately represented by the initially identified parties; consequently, incorporation of such new participants in the discussions becomes crucial. Excluding or ignoring them may be detrimental to the agreements reached as their implementation may be sabotaged. However, Carpenter and Kennedy (2001:231) caution that care should be taken when incorporating new parties, especially to a negotiation that is already underway, as it may slow down the process or increase points of disagreements.

Interpersonal style has to do with people communicating with each other. Poor communication leads to interpersonal conflicts. For example, in organisations, workplace conflicts tend to go beyond tasks and protracted resource competition, to involve ongoing relationships with complex and at times emotional components. Simply stated, there are always procedural as well as psychological needs to be addressed within such a conflict, in addition to the substantive needs that are generally presented (Academic Leadership Support, n.d). In an attempt to understand and address interpersonal conflicts Thomas (1976) reinterpreted the conceptual scheme for classifying conflict styles previously introduced by Blake and Mouton (1964). Blake and Mouton presented five types; problem-solving, smoothing,

forcing, withdrawal and sharing (Rahim, 1983:369). This concept was developed further into what is now known as the Thomas-Kilmann conflict mode instrument, which is discussed under item 2.8.3 on conflict resolution (this volume, pg 45).

2.5.2 Cognitive and Affective

Other authors like DiPaola and Hoy (2001) categorised conflict types into cognitive and affective. They state that cognitive is task-related and affective is socio-emotionally related. They further state that the ability to distinguish between the two is important in the understanding of productive conflict. It is argued that affective conflict has a tendency to lower decision quality, reduces performance and satisfaction, while on the other hand cognitive conflict promotes decision quality and overall group performance (Amason, 1996; Jehn, 1994; Turner and Pratkanis, 1994 in Diapola and Hoy, 2001:240).

2.5.3. Destructive and Productive Conflict

Conflict is a word related to bi-polar views and if one defines conflict according to its effect, one comes up with productive conflict, which is positive and characterized by being depersonalized and co-operative or it can be destructive or a dysfunctional conflict, which is negative and characterized by being personalized and competitive (Deutsch, 1973).

Deutsch (1973) distinguishes between destructive and productive conflict and Bergeron (2004) argues that productive conflict can be useful to people and organizations. Productive conflict can lead to productive resolutions where two or more people focus on a common goal and openly share ideas, identifying areas of common ground and areas of divergence. They work through their differences until amicable solutions are found and will support them. Bergeron further argues that highly effective people and organizations welcome and regularly engage in the practice of healthy conflict resolution. In contrast, dysfunctional or unproductive conflict stalls progress or may result in solutions lacking the genuine commitment of individuals.

Bergeron made a distinction between two types of dysfunctional conflict. One is observable or has such intensity that it stalls progress, while the other one termed 'underground conflict' is characterized by a situation where people withhold their ideas and concerns resulting in a solution that is 'half-baked' or hurriedly arrived at but lacking total commitment of the parties involved. Her conclusion was that in general, dysfunctional conflict causes people and organizations to be less effective (<http://www.bergeronassociates.com>).

2.5.4. Symmetric and Asymmetric Conflicts

Symmetric conflicts refer to conflicts of interest between relatively similar parties, while asymmetric conflicts may arise between dissimilar parties such as between a majority and a minority or an established government and a group of rebels and even between an employer and employees. In asymmetric conflicts the root of the conflict does not lie in a particular issue(s) or interests, but in the very structure of who they are and the relationship between them, such that this structure cannot be changed without experiencing conflict. The approaches to such type of conflict may differ from the classical conflict resolution appropriate for symmetric conflicts. In asymmetric conflicts the structure is such that the most powerful is almost guaranteed of a win and the weak always loses. In such a scenario, the best possible way to resolve such type of a conflict is to deal with the structure.

However, such a move cannot be in the interests of the powerful. The solace comes in the form that even asymmetric conflicts have costs on both parties, to the extent that they become very severe and unbearable for both sides. At such a point all see a possibility for conflict resolution through a shift from the existing structure of relationships to another and hence, open up a window of negotiation (Ramsbotham *et al*, 2005:21).

2.6 Conflict Perspectives

The variety of definitions attempting to explain conflict indicates that it is not only a wide ranging subject with unquestionable popularity, but that it has been viewed through different windows by different proponents. What is clear though is that the way conflict is viewed today is a reflection of how it evolved over time. In an attempt

to explain the spatial change in conflict thought, two perspectives, the so called traditional view and the contemporary view, are subjected to discussion in the following text.

2.6.1. Conflict as Destructive Force

The traditional view categorized conflict as evil, a curse that needs to be exorcised if present or avoided at all costs.

In that context, rational systems theorists view conflict as a destructive force. In an organisational setting, they view it as a problem that interferes with achieving organizational goals as it threatens hierarchical authority. Gardner (1990) cited in DiPaola and Hoy (2001) agrees that most leaders seek to eliminate conflict because social functioning demands some cohesion and mutual tolerance. Most of the early scholars' attention to conflict stemmed from a desire to resolve it and minimize its negative effects on organizational as well as individual effectiveness. Its total elimination appeared to be the primary driving motive for administrators (Getzels and Guba, 1957). With such an understanding, organizational conflict is treated as a dreaded disease or as a disruptive activity. Putnam (1997:147) captures the dilemma of conflict, under such a perception, when he observed that, 'Although conflict theorists argue that disagreements are essential to the formation and maintenance of organizational life, managers and scholars continue to highlight the detriments of disputes.'

2.6.2. Conflict as Constructive Force

The contemporary view takes conflict as both constructive and destructive. It is based on the argument that much emphasis on the potential negative consequences of conflict distracts attention from its potential benefits. The argument is that if conflict is handled in an appropriate manner it can generate many positives (Barge, 1994), to the extent that Dewey called it the "gadfly of thought ... a *sine qua non* of reflection and ingenuity" (Johnson *et al.*, 1996:45).

It is in the same breath that a Deweyian perspective (DiPaola and Hoy, 2001) sees conflict as an inevitable force which is a healthy force of change and which should

result in efforts to resolve disruption and be used as a creative force for positive change.

Tjosvold (1997:23) asserts that, "Conflict is necessary for true involvement, empowerment and democracy. Positive conflict develops our individuality so we feel more fulfilled and capable". In that context conflict is as critical and useful just as consensus is. This is so as conflict brings issues to the fore and stimulates critical thoughts that can sharpen insights into interests and goals (Burns, 1978). With that contextual understanding, conflict should then play the role of a catalyst in the development process. Janis (1985) argues that suppressing conflict can result in "groupthink", a situation that breeds uncritical like-mindedness. Within the same breath DeDreu (1997) cited in DiPaola and Hoy (2001) asserts that administrators who seek to create homogeneity by suppressing minority dissent reduce creativity and innovation.

2.7 Conflict Prevention, Management and Resolution

Having looked at the theoretical aspects of conflict in terms of its definition, types and perspectives, the next probable question will be 'so what?' In chapter one we learnt that unresolved conflict usually grows and becomes more complex. In this section we will look at some strategies used to prevent, resolve and manage conflict. These strategies informed this study on what to look at when assessing conflicts and conflict resolution processes to address one of its sub-problems.

The area of conflict prevention, management and resolution has been exhausted by conflict experts like Burton (1960), Mitchell (1981) and Bradshaw (2006), but as all can acknowledge, conflict prevention, management and resolution is a dynamic process. Hence new theories and models are required to address new and emerging challenges in this dynamic field. The terms prevention, management and resolution are fundamentally different but more often than not they are used interchangeably, thereby diluting their real meanings. These three terms will further be explained in this volume, namely prevention, resolution and management. Though there might appear to be a thin line dividing them, each approach determines how conflict is handled. Much discussion will however be biased towards conflict resolution since

most authorities in the field (e.g. Duke, 1996; Galtung,; Burton, Ramsbotham *et al*) prefer to use it as the generic term because firstly, it was the earliest term used to define this new field (the 1957 *Journal of Conflict Resolution*), secondly, it is the most widely used term among analysts and practitioners and thirdly, it is the term most familiar to the media and the general public.

In order to find appropriate strategies to a conflict, be they preventive, management or resolution orientated, parties involved should not only be able to anticipate possible problem areas, but should also clearly identify and understand the type and nature of the conflict itself. Several approaches or models have been devised to identify and assess these conflicts, but for the purposes of this study, which revolves around conflict surrounding environment and development projects, a few such as, the conflict analysis framework (CAF), and the peace and conflict impact assessment (PCIA) tools are discussed in the next text.

2.8. Peace and Conflict Impact Assessments (PCIA)

Peace and conflict impact assessments (PCIA) are planning and management tools for evaluating how an intervention can increase or diminish the prospects for long-term peace. They have been designed and driven by donors and NGOs, such as the Department for International Development (DFID), and used to anticipate, monitor and evaluate projects in order that they do not increase the chances of violent conflict and at most, contribute to peace building. Although debate among development practitioners is raging on about the structure and use of PCIA, they are an important move towards systematically considering an intervention's impact on the broader socio-political setting (Gaigals and Manuela, 2001).

The PCIA assessment tools include conflict mapping or analysis, where detailing an area's conflict risks is done. This entails issues such as the legacy of conflict and forces which turns latent conflict into open conflict, through a root cause analysis. In that regard, DFID provided a useful framework whereby the analysis is divided into 3 key areas, these being structures, actors and dynamics as further illustrated in the table below.

Table 2.1: Conflict Analysis Framework’s Three Steps

DFID CONFLICT ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK		
DFID(i) Structures CONFLICT ANALYSIS FRAMEWORK	(ii) Actors	(iii) Dynamics
Analysis of long term factors underlying conflict: - Security - Political - Economic - Social	Analysis of actors who influence or are affected by conflict: - Interests - Relations - Capacities - Peace agendas - Incentives	Analysis of: - Longer term trends - Shorter term triggers - Capacities for mitigating conflict - Future scenarios

Source: Hammill and Besancon (2003):12

Another tool used to analyse conflict is the Conflict Analysis Framework (CAF). It uses six categories of variables related to conflict and these are indicated in the table below.

Table 2.2: Conflict Analysis Framework (CAF)

Categories of Variables					
Social and Ethnic Relations	Governance and Political institutions	Human Rights and Security	Economic Structure and Performance	Environment and Natural Resources	External Forces
Social and economic cleavages	Governance and political institutions	Role of media and freedom of expression	Economic growth	Availability of natural resources	Regional conflicts
Ethnic cleavages	Stability of political institutions	Human rights status	Income disparities	Access to natural resources (including land)	Role of kindred groups outside country
Regional imbalances	Equity of law/judicial system	Militarization of society	Per capita income changes	In-country and cross-border competition over natural resources	Role of diasporas
Differential social opportunities	Links between government and citizens	Security of Civilians	Inflationary trends		
Bridging social capital			External debt management		
Group identity-building			Reliance on high-value primary commodities		
Myth-making			Employment and access to productive resources		
Culture or tradition of Violence			Conflict-induced poverty		

Source: Adopted from Conflict Prevention and Reconstruction Unit (2002): Dissemination notes Number 5

Each variable in this table is analysed using seven dimensions to ascertain its relation to conflict and to poverty. These dimensions are history/changes,

dynamics/trends, public perceptions, politicization, organization, link to conflict and intensity and link to poverty.

This strategy has been mostly adopted by donors and NGOs to assess conflict and the impact of development in conflict prone countries. This requires extensive analysis and demands time and resources to carry out all the desirable steps, but all the same these tools have proved useful in predicting conflict and finding appropriate conflict interventions.

2.8.1 Conflict Prevention and Provention

It is important to note that the mechanisms discussed above are both reactive and proactive. They are appropriate in dealing with a conflict that has already emerged and can be effective in conflict prevention. However, conflict prevention is better than conflict resolution. Conflicts can be anticipated in advance and proactive measures adopted to at least prevent it from occurring and at most to reduce its effects. These measures may incorporate a broad range of strategies such as policy reforms, interventions development, training in conflict management techniques and establishment of appropriate governance systems. Buckles and Rusnak (1999) reports that experiences from Indonesia, India, the Philippines and Costa Rica indicate that governing structures and processes that bring previously excluded groups into decision-making offer new opportunities for improving natural resource management decisions and finding better ways to avoid, resolve, or manage conflict.

At a higher level, some authors, particularly Burton (1990a) coined the concept of conflict provention. Others after him (Chadwick, 1989; Sondale, 2001; Bradshaw, 2008) subscribe to the same notion of conflict provention. The concept of conflict provention focuses on pro-active strategies designed to prevent conflict by actively creating systems and processes that address the root causes of conflict. According to Burton (1990a) provention consists of "steps to remove sources of conflict, and more positively to promote conditions in which collaborative and valued relationships control behaviours." He projects decision-making as critical in proventing conflict. Miall *et al* (1999:100) liken provention to an early warning system by making reference to Kenneth Boulding's (1956) proposal of 'social data stations', analogous

to weather stations in the identification of 'social temperature and pressure' and the prediction of 'cold or warm fronts.' Such a system would assist in monitoring particular areas of potential conflicts where possible and make appropriate decisions and strategies to prevent conflict. Burton argues that prevention is possible as there is greater scope for cooperative behaviour than confrontational behaviour in all segments of society due to growing inter-dependence.

2.8.2 Conflict Management

Conflict management has been understood to mean the settlement and containment of violent conflict.

One of the first steps in managing conflict effectively is to develop a constructive context, one that determines whether the conflict is managed constructively or destructively (Johnson *et al*, 1996). Conflict management styles are dependent on the amount and nature of conflict. One of the most proven and constructive conflict strategies is problem solving, and its aim is to integrate interests of disputants to achieve mutually satisfying outcomes.

In conflict management, the strategy of contending, where one party just considers its own interests, produces dominant assertive behaviour in which one party is coerced into accepting the opposing position. This strategy results in the consideration of fewer alternatives, rigidity, and an increased tendency to perceive threat and use power. Research has shown that cognitive issues produce more problem solving and less contending behaviours than affective issues do (DeDreu, 1997). It also reveals that contending behaviours produce more affective issues, while problem-solving behaviours produce fewer of them (DeDreu, 1997).

Other avenues for conflict management may be through legal channels. Legal orders differ in their capacities to handle conflicts, including ones involving multiple stakeholders from diverse social backgrounds. A practical example is that of national court systems that are often inaccessible to people because of cost, location, social distance and an inability to consider local knowledge. Even customary conflict management practices may exclude some people on the basis of gender, class or other factors.

Alternatively, Castro and Engel (2007) are of the view that consensual negotiations and mediation (an approach that derives from alternative dispute resolution, but is also similar to indigenous practices) offers a potentially significant means to overcome obstacles to participatory conflict management that are inherent in legislative, administrative, judicial and customary approaches. This approach, they argue, can help strengthen the capacity of Africa's different legal orders, and can be effective in enhancing collaborative working relationships among diverse stakeholders in natural resource management.

Some encouraging examples of working collaborative mechanisms have been reported in a number of cases. Buckles and Rusnak (1999) asserts that one of the requirements for effective collaboration among different stakeholders over natural resource management and conflicts is the establishment of new structures and processes for governing natural resources management decisions (Agarwal 1997; Kothari *et al.* 1998 cited in Buckles and Rusnak, 1999).

In Cahuita, Costa Rica, Buckles and Rusnak (1999:10) observed that some local structures become effective in dealing with conflicts. A local committee set up to handle a specific dispute over services to visitors to Cahuita National Park later evolved into a management committee involving local people and government officials, which managed to resolve conflicts and make management decisions to the satisfaction of government officials. Such successes are paving a new discourse to the development of co-management regimes in protected areas management in Costa Rica.

In the African context, collaborative working relationships have also proved to be useful in natural resource conflict management. In a case study by Bromley and Kubagenda (2001) cited in Castro and Nielsen (2003) in Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks, South-western Uganda, it was found that establishing local community structures is effective in both conflict management and resolution. In an effort to increase local community participation as a way of not only finding solutions to current problems, but finding lasting peace between forest users

and local government structures, local community associations known as Community Protected Area Committees (CPAC), were established and given a mandate to resolve issues with the park management. This arrangement was found to be effective in articulating and representing the interests of local stakeholders, especially marginalized communities.

However, establishing collaborative working relationships has its own challenges, Hafner; Schlarb and Pinili (1998) in a case study focusing on resource and policy conflicts over the management of watersheds and water supply in metropolitan Cebu, the Philippines, observed that the primary obstacle to the participatory rural appraisal and planning (PRAP)'s implementation was a lack of consensus on the need for greater participation by key stakeholders involved. He noticed that some stakeholders with community organizing backgrounds favoured greater stakeholder participation, while others remained unconvinced of the value, validity and accuracy of participatory tools. Scepticism towards participatory planning and conflict resolution arose mainly from concern that the average citizen lacked the expertise to participate effectively in decision-making, while budgetary constraints and political considerations also had a bearing on limited stakeholder participation.

Buckles and Rusnak however argue that even where collaborative working relationships have been established, considering the multi-dimensional aspects of natural resource management, negotiating in such established structures and processes can be difficult if policy, administrative, and financial factors at higher levels block or contradict the decisions made at the 'grassroots' level. It is therefore suggested that these changes should precede transformations to national policies and legal frameworks to accommodate the development of relations between formal and informal institutions at various levels. As noted by Ashby (1999:4) cited in Buckles and Rusnak (1999), "The critical problem is not so much capacity at the micro level, but the incapacity of governments to provide effective public sector counterparts to community-based organizations."

Other challenges to be considered in the establishment of these local structures and processes include defining the new and multiple roles for local and external

stakeholders in view of changes to the existing status quo. In addition to developing new communication systems and community capacity building to enhance such changes, Seligman (1997) cited in Shrestha (2006) advocates for the development of social relations based on trust, which become a necessary factor if such arrangements are to succeed.

However, lessons from literature are that though consensus is not always a given, natural resource governance that is more inclusive, transparent, and efficient can assist groups in a conflict situation to appreciate some differences, together find some common ground, and improve on key decisions affecting their livelihoods.

2.8.3 Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution refers to the situation where the deep-rooted sources of conflict are addressed and transformed, leading to conflict de-escalation and changes in behaviour, attitudes and structural changes. However, the term is said to be riddled with ambiguity since it is used to refer both to the process of bringing about these changes, as well to the product of this process. Further, it refers to a specialist field and simultaneously to a set of activities engaged by people who may neither use this term nor be aware of it (Ramsbotham *et al*, 2005:29).

The US Environmental Conflict Resolution (ECR) Policy defined conflict resolution as 'third-party assisted conflict resolution and collaborative problem solving in the context of environmental, public lands, or natural resources issues or conflicts, including matters related to energy, transportation, and land use.' This indicates that ECR involves a range of assisted negotiation processes and applications. These processes should directly engage affected interests and agency decision makers in conflict resolution and collaborative problem solving. In a situation where environmental disputes or controversies take place and there is low trust among disputants, assistance of impartial facilitators or mediators can be essential to reach agreement and resolution (Bolten and Connaughton, 2005).

After conflict analysis and the conflict causes are laid bare, Lincoln (1990) in Trout (2001:45) argues that all conflicting parties are likely to attempt to deal with conflict in manners that suit to balance a dispute in their favour. This observed habit in

approaching conflict is meant to put one's own interests on the defensive at all costs. A typical example pities the Biblical brothers, Cain against Abel. If Cain's interests were to clash with Abel's, Cain was most likely to relegate Abel's interests to the periphery or even actively aim to damage them (Ramsbotham *et al*, n.d:13). As such, it is argued that in general, national leaders are expected to defend national interests if they clash with those of others and even aim to defeat them.

However, this is not the only possible option under any given situation. As initially introduced in section 2.5.1 (this volume), five approaches or behaviours to conflict were identified and these are withdrawal, contending, compromising, yielding and problem-solving. Others, such as Thomas and Kilmann refer to these behaviours as competing, accommodating, avoiding, collaborating and compromising (Thomas and Kilmann, 1974). In the early 1970s Thomas and Kilmann came up with what is now termed the Thomas-Kilmann Model of conflict resolution, designed to measure a person's behaviour in conflict situations along two basic dimensions, assertiveness and cooperativeness (Lee, 2010). Assertiveness measures self centeredness, while cooperativeness measures the extent to which a person attempts to satisfy the other individuals concerns. These two basic dimensions of behaviour define the five styles for responding to conflict situations mentioned above. If we still make reference to the Cain and Abel example, if one like Cain has high concern for self and low concern for others, it is categorized as a contending style or the competing mode according to Thomas-Kilmann theory. Alternatively one can yield or accommodate and this implies more concern for the interests of others than self. To avoid conflict and withdraw suggests low concern for both self and others. Compromise is characterized by a balancing act between the interests of self and others (Lee, 2010).

Traditionally the task of conflict resolution has been viewed as assisting parties who perceive their situation as zero-sum game, that is, gain should translate to other's loss, like in the case of Cain, to have a paradigm shift and perceive conflict resolution as a non-zero-sum outcome. In considering a non-zero-sum game various possible outcomes exists. In the case of conflict between Cain and Abel, the point of interest to conflict resolution, is the situation demonstrating non-zero-sum outcomes,

depicting the mutual loss that actually occurred when Abel was slain and Cain lost the Lord's favour, and the mutual gain that they missed if each had been his brother's keeper (Ramsbotham *et al*, 2005:15).

To assist parties to view their situation as zero and non-zero-sum outcomes, the UN paper for the session on natural resources governance and conflict prevention (2004) identified the following conflict resolution strategies; avoidance, coercion, mediation, arbitration, adjudication and negotiation, as strategies that can be effectively deployed to deal with natural resource induced conflicts. However, Lincoln adds another dimension, stating that conflict resolution follows a continuum, or phases. The timing and intensity of the process or the interval between phases vary according to the intensity of the conflict. In their order from lowest to highest intensity, the strategies include inaction, negotiation, facilitation, mediation, arbitration, administrative appeal, judicial appeal, legislative appeal, non-violent civil disobedience, and violence. Again, Castro and Nielsen (2003) agree with Lincoln, but suggest that coercion should be factored into the continuum. Another author, Kirkwood (2000), an advocate of the alternative dispute resolution (ADR) strategy consolidates some of these strategies and streamlines them into three basic approaches to conflict resolution, these being:

- The rights based, which mostly lean on adjudication
- Interest based, mostly entails negotiation and mediation. The process of mediation is often referred to as the alternative dispute resolution initiative, and is characterized by being informal, fast and inexpensive.
- Power based, mostly involve acts of aggression, for example, imposing sanctions or embargos, thus withholding the benefits of a relationship.

The following is the unbundling of Kirkwood's (2000) ADR and the six actions or procedures as identified by the UN paper as conflict resolution strategies.

In avoidance, one or more parties involved in the conflict may want to keep a conflict from becoming publicly acknowledged. Avoidance has its versions such as avoidance-avoidance. One of the versions relates to a situation where a dispute is hot and all the parties to a conflict are angry with each other to the extent that they

are all not prepared to dialogue, hence; avoid each other at that moment. This is the case especially if the parties have attacked each other in public (Carpenter and Kennedy, 2001: 225). Another version is one mostly used by the Chinese in running their businesses, where instead of waiting for a conflict to arise they actively seek to avoid the conflict by examining and assessing the possibility of conflict in order to stop it before it festers and causes a problem in the workplace (Ma, 2006:270). Bradshaw and Seretse (2010:1) talk of social peace which implies more than just simple avoidance of violence in a given society, but, ‘...entails a degree of agreement over the direction of the state’s policies, the inclusiveness of dominant elites towards others and the inculcation of tolerance towards minorities and their cultures.’ This also implies structural changes that promote peace building.

In coercion, one party to the conflict may try to impose its will through the threat or use of force, including threats, protests, and exertion of economic dominance or sanctions to coerce the other party to comply. This is different from negotiation, which is a voluntary process where parties to the conflict reach agreement through consensus. However, consensual negotiation is not an unquestionable panacea; it has its own limitations just like other forms of conflict management and resolution. For instance, it may not be appropriate in dealing with violent conflicts involving high levels of insecurity among stakeholder groups and in cases where enormous power disparities exist among separate stakeholders, making the negotiating field and process highly uneven.

Another approach is through mediation, which involves a process where a third party, who is usually neutral, facilitates the negotiation process. Mediation is a dispute resolution process that is voluntary and less costly in time and money than litigation (ADR: A Resource Guide, 1996:5; O’Laughlin and Schumaker, 1998:16; Kirkwood, 2000). In mediation, a third party acts as a neutral intervener who assists disputants to reach a mutually acceptable solution. The mediator does not decide the outcome of the issues, s/he is not a judge or arbitrator, but only facilitates the outcome(s). Mediation is a cooperative win/win process and a confidential process.

In arbitration a conflict is submitted to a mutually agreeable third party, who makes a decision, while in adjudication a case is brought before a judge or administrator to make a binding decision.

In addition to the above, facilitation, research and conciliation can be employed to further the process of negotiation, mediation, arbitration or adjudication. Conciliation or facilitation is closely related to mediation, and refers to such efforts meant to encourage the actors to gravitate towards negotiations, for example, by providing conducive environment such as congenial offices. Research, on the other hand, is used to gather credible information to aid in negotiation and planning, prepare parties for negotiation and finally bring parties together to search for mutual and acceptable settlements. Moeliono and Fisher (2000:209) points out that participatory action research techniques are essential in empowering local communities to participate more meaningfully in the identification of problem causes and negotiating key positions.

For instance, in the case of Riung Conservation Area in Indonesia, Moeliono and Fisher found that participatory action research was useful in empowering communities to participate in the negotiation process by facilitating information gathering and analysis. Stakeholders in Riung were in conflict over land use. Local communities residing in the uplands had been forcibly evicted by the government, settled in the coastal plains and later denied access to natural resources in the uplands (Moeliono and Fisher, 2000:212) that had already been turned into a protected area. Communities' resistance to this action resulted in conflicts with other stakeholders. In the process of finding a solution to this conflict, participatory action research was found to be useful in empowering local communities for effective participation and involvement.

The above conflict resolution mechanisms can be used either in isolation or as a combination by the involved actors. The practicality of combining most of the resolution mechanisms as presented above was demonstrated in a case researched by Kazoora cited in Castro and Nielsen (2003), on the Namanve Peri-Urban Reforestation Project in Uganda involving eucalyptus farmers and the Uganda

Investment Authority (UIA). It was observed that a number of processes took place leading to the final conflict resolution, these being avoidance, negotiation, mediation and adjudication, in that order (Castro and Nielsen, 2003:56).

In addition other processes included consultations between and among parties involved. Also within each phase of the conflict resolution new lessons were learned as the process moved from one level to another. For example, one of the lessons was the coming together of the affected farmers, that is, forming a cohesive group. When the farmers were faced with a threat of eviction they rallied together, formed an association and registered it. They then used this association to leverage their negotiating power. When negotiations proved to be a futile exercise, they solicited the services of a lawyer and after the court ruled in their favour they threatened UIA by attaching its property for auction as a strategy to pile pressure so that it would quickly compensate them, as had been ruled by the court.

Again, it can be concluded that had these farmers been poor and not enlightened in terms of the law, they would have lacked either the confidence to pursue the case or the financial clout to hire the services of a lawyer, thus they would most likely have failed to move up to the adjudication level, and consequently would not have received their full compensation. The implications are that a lot of poor and marginalised communities get prejudiced or 'short changed' because of lack of capacity to advance their legitimate interests.

Another lesson is that of property rights and property rules. If the farmers were not in legal possession of the forest permits allowing them to have plantations in the forest area, no one would have listened to their case and in any case they would have been classified as illegal encroachers according to the Ugandan Forest Act of 1994 and to think of negotiation would have been a dream under such circumstances.

2.9 Conclusion

Through observations and findings by many researchers, it can be concluded that non-violent techniques such as negotiation and mediation for natural resources management can be effective tools in conflict resolution, especially today as

environmental conflicts are likely to increase due to factors like human population growth. In addition, it has been observed that managing and resolving conflict in a participatory, consensual and peaceful manner can strengthen civil society, while land and resource conflicts that are ignored or unjustly handled always have the potential to become intractable and violent, resulting in environmental degradation, diminished livelihoods, human rights abuses, fanning distrust and promoting divisions. In the initial stages of such conflicts, the livelihoods of poor households are more vulnerable to disruption, but eventually everyone is at risk when conflict escalates.

In this study, the resolution process was tracked and evaluated against the non-violent strategies of the ADR model as supported by the 2004 UN paper on natural resources governance and conflict prevention and this conforms to the social, ecological approach that emphasizes integration of approaches in pursuit of conflict resolution.

“I know of no political movement, no philosophy, no ideology, which 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 (2001).

CHAPTER THREE

TFCA DEVELOPMENT

3.1 Introduction

As a relatively new concept, transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs) development has not only generated high hopes of alleviating environmental problems and pushing back the frontiers of poverty, but simultaneously increased concerns of a national interests and security nature. A look at this concept and the resultant debate will assist in contextualising the situating upon which the argument and concerns arise.

This chapter seeks to orient the focus of this debate to its rightful place in order to understand and appreciate the intricacies of conflicts involved. The interplay between environmental concerns and development in Southern Africa are caught up in an endless ‘trap’ of conflict, a vicious cycle of war and decline (Collier, 2004:5). Collier adds that the only way out of this dangerous trap is a concerted global effort to reverse marginalisation; otherwise a significant part of the world will become a ‘social wasteland’. With this background in mind, the following debate focuses on areas of contention of this noble TFCA development, which is designed to co-opt marginal areas and make them more productive. The idea of looking at contentious issues is to identify, increase inquiry and sharpen the understanding of those faulty areas. By doing so it is hoped to assist in shutting the doors of marginalisation for the betterment of all stakeholders.

As indicated above, the TFCA concept is not new, hence this researcher referred to it as ‘relatively’ new, because it is dependent on the angle at which one views it. This concept has incrementally graduated from its humble beginnings to what it is today. Some refer to the agreement between USA and Canada on the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park as providing the first practical signs that the idea had finally

graduated into the public domain. The agreement between the USA and Canada, achieved in 1932 gave birth to the Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park, a union between Waterton Lakes National Park in Canada and the Glacier National Park in the USA, making it the World's first international peace park. Unlike later TFCAs, as peace parks are often called, which are based on conservation and development, this one was made as a symbol of peace and friendship between the two countries (Mihalic, 2007:2; www.pc.gc.ca/pn_np/ab/waterton/index.aspx).

Most recently, during its (TFCA) evolutionary trail it assumed and at times shed names such as spatial development initiative (SDI), transborder conservation areas (TBCA) and Heartlands, some of which are still being used today alongside the current TFCA concept as it is known. The issue of names will be debated later in this chapter, but an attempt has been made in the following content to discuss TFCA development using both the global and regional lenses and interrogate some ideas and theories about this development.

3.2 TFCA: A Theoretical Discourse

Historically, steps to conserve the environment began a long way back once humans began to realise that resources are not infinite. However, efforts to conserve the environment were not accompanied by the pomp and fanfare associated with today's launching of a grand plan, because originally these acts not only occurred in isolation but in diverse areas as well. Nevertheless, the accumulative awareness of environmental issues increased momentum eventually culminating in the birth of environmental movements, which were powerful forces. This led to the hosting in 1968 and 1972 of international conferences dedicated to assess the global environmental problems and to suggest corrective strategies. The first was the Biosphere Conference held in Paris in 1968 followed by the 1972 Stockholm Conference on human environment. It was this later conference that resulted in the formation of the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP) (McCormick, 1995). These conferences created and provided a forum for engagement in the debate between poor and rich countries on their priorities and perceptions towards environmental problems, which is still live today. However, at the end of the Stockholm Conference, it was remarkable that many countries, despite their disparity

in political, economic and social systems, agreed to a broad-ranging and philosophical exercise. Twenty-six principles were agreed upon and a summary of one of them, which relates to the current conservation and development discourse, states that:

‘Each State should establish its own standards of environmental management and exploit resources as it wished, but should not endanger other states. There should be international cooperation aimed at improving the state of environment’ (McCormick, 1995).

Against this background, the traditional forms of national sovereignty are increasingly challenged by the realities of ecological and economic interdependence, hence, a point of entry for national interests and security concerns. More often than not the ‘national interests’ phraseology has become rampant as efforts for macro-level integrated development at regional level increase, but the question arises as to who or what defines these national or regional interests? This scenario is more pronounced in shared ecosystems and in the global ‘commons’, where it has raised the need to secure international cooperation for the surveillance, development and management in the common interest. Thus, environmental security becomes a rallying point. However, today TFCA development is seen as a vehicle that can drive both environmental protection and economic development at the national, regional and international level.

But what are these TFCAs? Because there is a lot of enthusiasm about the concept, debate on the subject is wide and far reaching to the extent that it even touches on terminology. However before being bogged down with terminological issues let us put TFCAs into perspective.

3.2.1. What constitutes a Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA)?

TFCA is defined by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement of 1999 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 resource use areas" (Hall-Martin and Modise, 2002:9).

Thus, the concept of a TFCA as practiced today in Southern Africa is rooted in that definition, where spatial land areas shared by two or more countries under an ecosystem-based management regime, incorporating both sustainable use zones and core areas of globally or regionally significant biodiversity value are incorporated. Through a process of collaboration among neighbouring states, ecosystems shared across boundaries, such as the savannah of South-Eastern Africa, are managed under a harmonized planning effort that recognizes the sovereignty of each country while acknowledging their mutual interests in conservation of their common natural heritage (Swatuk, 2004:20).

One of the expectations of creating TFCAs is to attain landscape-level conservation of healthy ecosystems while capitalizing on those shared assets to improve the quality of life for communities living within and around a particular TFCA. The political and societal benefits of collaboratively working together with neighbouring countries are anticipated to lead to better regional economic integration.

In that context, there is need to demystify and offer practical solutions to counter pessimistic concepts and beliefs about the development of remote areas detached from cities and towns. Solutions have to be found to probing questions such as:

1. Can traditionally low productive subsistence societies be transformed into modern high productive or high-income generating nationals by utilising the resources within their environments?
2. By what process and under what conditions do rural subsistence farmers in the remote regions of Southern Africa evolve into successful farmers or business entrepreneurs who can contribute meaningfully to the growth of their national economies?
3. How do we react to the paradox that very poor communities live within an environment with very rich or abundant natural resources?

Thus, one of the goals is to streamline previously marginalized groups into the mainstream economic development sector. This is believed to significantly assist in

poverty alleviation and catalyse economic recovery and growth through sustainable natural resource conservation.

However, even as TFCA development is now a widely acceptable concept in Southern Africa as a viable development alternative to meet geospatial and socio-economic needs of the region, debate still rages on, shaking the very foundation of this concept. Conservationists are concerned about the terminology and the wording that accompany developments, arguing that they create confusion and raise unnecessary arguments that overshadow the real agenda. Some even argue that the proliferation of confusing terminology is not by default but intentionally crafted to attract funding which ultimately will not benefit the intended beneficiaries; the most vulnerable and the wilderness areas. The current debate relevant to this study is on conflicting views centred on whether the TFCAs and the transboundary natural resources management (TBNRM) are separate concepts. Sandwith and Besançon (2005) argues that while some may dismiss this debate as an unnecessary and futile exercise designed to “split hairs,” the continued use of a range of terms could jeopardise the valued cooperation needed for the success of transboundary conservation. Hence, they advocate for terminology standardization as means of aiding comparative analysis and the application of innovative methods to assess impacts of different types.

Literature has indicated that there are two main points of departure, but even these points are diluted and shrouded in mystery as to the basis of their very origin. Are TFCAs related to but only different forms of TBNRM? The dividing line is thin due to a number of intersections and overlapping within the two concepts. Authors have tried to wedge a difference by coming up with a number of arguments. Jones (2003:3) believes that the TBNRM is larger, both spatially and activity wise, but is worried that the term ‘transboundary’ is receiving unnecessary attention and is being ‘shaped to become all things to all people’. Griffin *et al* (1999); Katerere *et al* (2001) and Mayoral-Phillips (2002) admit that a variety of names such as transboundary protected areas (TBPA), transboundary conservation areas (TBCA), transfrontier conservation areas (TFCA) and transboundary development areas (TBDA) exist.

According to Swatuk (2005) one of the most notable differences is found in the proposed primary beneficiaries of the initiatives. He argues that in TFCAs it is the environment, with biodiversity conservation as the driving force, while in TBNRM it is sustainable use for sustainable livelihoods, with people, particularly rural people and those living in remote areas being the main beneficiaries. Though other authors like Katerere *et al* (2001) agree, this argument is debatable. Jones joins the debate by arguing that although the various terms exist and may have some perceived differences, all acknowledge and promote sustainable use of natural resources as a vehicle for increased economic development through the incorporation of various economic and environmental actors.

However, analysis of the debate seems to indicate that the fundamental difference between the two concepts is simply based on definition. While TFCA initiatives are primarily based on and incorporate some form of protected area(s), TBNRM may not be based on any protected area, otherwise the objectives of the two are significantly similar to the extent that many stakeholders do not see any differences.

Even some researchers like Wolmer (2003) see no significant difference at all arguing that it is a matter of semantics only, where others prefer such areas as spatial development initiatives (SDI), TBNRM, transborder parks and now TFCAs. To him such terms depend on who is behind the initiative and what they represent. He fell short of dismissing the whole name game arguing that some terms are just used as marketing gimmicks. This researcher, having gone through literature both published and unpublished, concurs with Wolmer's sentiments that there is no significant difference among these initiatives. I would rather add that different names may only depict the preference name of the project sponsors or developers; otherwise our interests should be to understand how these projects incorporate local community concerns and enhance their livelihoods.

However, when it comes to TFCAs, the advocates of such projects argue that there are primarily two ideas to the initiatives; one is termed the transfrontier park (TFP) which mainly refers to the core areas around which a TFCA revolves. Those core areas are made up of one or more protected areas. In this case the primary focus is

indeed biodiversity conservation. The second part is the larger area known as the TFCA which incorporates areas surrounding the core area(s) and this may entail any forms of land use from communal areas to commercial farms and even towns in certain situations. Here the primary focus is community economic development through conservation. Thus one of the objectives of incorporating these larger areas is to spread economic benefits as widely as is possible.

Having discussed the TFCA concept and the various perceptions to it, we need to establish where its entry point into the current debate on globalisation and its implications for the environment and development conflict debate are.

3.2.2. Globalization of the Commons vs. TFCA Development Debate

In this section the author didn't concentrate much on the TFCAs background and evolutionary history as justice seems to have already been done on that subject by numerous researchers such as Mayoral-Phillips (2001); Katerere *et al* (2001); Jones (2007) and Munthali (2007) to mention a few. The focus will be on an overview of globalization of natural resources as this hinges on current critical theories and academic debate around TFCA development in Southern Africa and indeed in the developing world. The argument looks at both the international and Southern African views. Various perceptions on globalization of natural resources have created uneasiness and anxiety within the developing world, with some even calling it another face of neo-colonialism and an international elite conspiracy to maximize resource 'capture' in the developing world.

The current theories that are driving the natural resource conservation agenda, including the resurgent TFCA concept, are rooted in western epistemologies encapsulated in theories such as those advanced by Hardin (1968) on the 'tragedy of the commons'. This theory holds that 'resources such as rivers, oceans, and grazing lands that are neither privately owned nor controlled are prone to overexploitation as individual resource users gain the full benefits of using the resource but bear only a portion of the costs of overuse' (Katerere *et al*, 2001:7).

Some argue that these theories are fomented and perpetuated by greediness on the part of wealthy nations that are keen to sap the vast natural resources of Africa for their own interests. Some authors even liken it to the scramble for Africa, but lament the paradox of underdevelopment amidst plenty of natural resources, which some authors call the resource curse (Swatuk, 2005; Jones, 2008). Still others argue further that the world's big powers, when they talk about their foreign policy and interests in Africa are only concerned about getting Africa's resources and not about the welfare of its citizens. For example, it is said that the USA's foreign policy is hinged on the principle that it 'does not have permanent friends but only permanent interests.'

However, despite these myriad concerns, globalisation is a reality and the concept of living in a global village is fast becoming a reality to the extent that various geographical regions are grouping together to form blocks based on diverse and mutual interests which include economic integration, trade and defence. This, catalysed by technological advancement especially in the area of strategic information exchange, where physical barriers and distance are no longer hindrances, is affecting every sphere of human influence and natural resource conservation has not been spared either. In fact globalization in the area of natural resources is much simpler to understand because ecological systems respect no political or artificial boundaries. What is important however, is the extent to which globalisation of natural ecosystems is felt at local landscape level. How does it deal with issues of conflict and the satisfaction of the needs of the communities, especially the vulnerable and marginalized?

Nevertheless, how do natural resources or environmental issues and associated conflicts really fit into this globalization debate? Goldman (1998) cited in Katerere *et al* (2001:8) observed that in the contemporary world there is a new thinking emerging, that is embodied in the old concept of environmentalism, as mentioned before, which is underpinned by the perspective that because of the technological advancement, the world is becoming smaller resulting in complex interconnectedness, thus enhancing and promoting global responses to what is termed 'the global commons' (Goldman 1998).

The advocates of the global commons school of thought argue that local environmental problems have global effects and therefore are regarded as transboundary in nature, hence justifying the need to have global institutions to influence their management. One of the reactions to such thinking has been manifested as a behavioural shift of environmental responsibility from local to external institutions such as international conventions, donors and experts, particularly at the international level. In such a scenario, locals perceive natural resources as belonging to some distant 'person' or entity and not them. This thinking and its associated negative attitudes are hardened and amplified by historical reflections of past circumstances, such as forced removals of communities experienced before in the process of establishing protected areas (Mayoral-Phillips, 2002; Katerere *et al*, 2001).

Katerere *et al* (2001:8) further postulate that this growing cultural shift of responsibilities from the local landscape level to the global commons agenda is a major driver in the escalated development of TBNRM including TFCA programmes and projects in the Southern African region. The leading role of international and western institutions and organizations only serves to confirm this assertion.

The argument by the global commoners that because there is already widespread land degradation leading to such ills as deforestation, reduced wildlife habitats, threatened biodiversity, increasing air and water pollution and climate change affecting everyone globally, there has never been a more opportune time than now for assembling a global response in the form of a global body to oversee and regulate the exploitation of and access to global resources. All in an effort to reduce inter and intra-state conflicts, interest group conflict and to promote equity and sustainable development. Such thinking has significant implications on the majority of the population of Southern Africa whose livelihoods are heavily dependent on natural resources.

However, Katerere *et al* (2001:8) question the passivity with which these theories have been accepted and warn that the risk of not questioning the global commons

model is that initiatives born out of such thinking may fail to respond to regional and local level realities.

Instead, there is a proposal that in response to this, the region should map out its own vision for resource management grounded on local and regional realities based on the aspirations of its people and not just be passive recipients of the common property theory developed externally. Fakir (2000) proposes that regional resources should be looked at regionally and perhaps terms like “regional commons” rather than global commons should be adopted to bolster not only a sense of responsibility and ownership but stimulate new thinking and responsible ways of managing natural resources. However, the debate does not end there as the issue of natural resource ownership and management amidst poverty is problematic.

Nevertheless, despite Fakir (2000) and Katerere *et al* (2001)’s arguments, others such as Sandwith and Besançon (2005) have no doubt that transboundary conservation initiatives have captured the imagination of many, to the extent that they have been elevated into a conservation ideology as they represent an ideal whereby conservation can deliver more than simply biodiversity conservation, but can also peddle sustainable development and promote a culture of peace and cooperation. Questions should instead focus on whether this assertion is valid, whether the methods currently being employed are optimal in relation to the investment and transaction costs of such initiatives, and whether the enthusiasm for implementation overlooks the emergent and unforeseen consequences. Thus, they advocate for a deliberate and objective process of reflection and analysis that disaggregates objectives, methods, and impacts.

In the mean time, the commitment at the Southern African Development Community (SADC) regional level to establish TFCAs has been institutionalized and formalized in its regional treaties and underpinned by the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) as a tool for promoting conservation of shared biodiversity and promoting tourism development for the benefit of rural development (Natural Resources Forum 31, 2007: 51–60). Thus, the TFCA development debate gathered momentum and excitement as SADC came up with the Declaration Treaty and

Protocol of the Southern African Development Community of 1992, which calls for inter-sector co-operation and economic integration between member countries. The Treaty also forms the policy framework that has been the legal basis for the development of protocols highlighted under item 3.3.1 (ibid).

Such protocols and policies were not only meant to commit SADC Member States to promote the conservation of shared wildlife resources but also to regionalise and institutionalize international conventions and agreements such as the Ramsar Agreement, CITES and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) which most SADC countries are already signatory to. Further, though many countries at the SADC regional level are already signatory to the Regional declarations, protocols and policies indicated above, what is critical is to what extent are these protocols and policies unbundled, domesticated into national laws and translated to visible development or programmes on the ground.

3.3. Why TFCAs in Southern Africa?

The bigger picture is that as momentum increased in the recent past, 59 TFCAs were established by 1998 worldwide involving 136 countries and by 2001 the number had increased dramatically to about 169 initiatives involving 666 individual conservation zones (Hammill and Besançon, 2003; Ali, 2007:7).

Southern Africa was not spared by the winds of change and notwithstanding anything, TFCA development in this part of the world has been made relatively easy due to many factors such as the relative stability of the region following the independence of Namibia in 1990 and South Africa in 1994 (Swatuk, 2005), after apartheid, the last colonial tentacles in Africa were uprooted. Because of the conducive socio-political environment it became a fertile ground for environmental protection at macro-level based on ecosystems (IUCN) or ecological 'hotspots' (Conservation International cited by Swatuk, 2005). Southern Africa looks particularly poised for such an approach due to a variety of reasons, among them the long history of commitment to regional peace through the Frontline States alliance and economic development through SADC (Swatuk 2005:3).

According to the figure below, there are currently fifteen active TFCAs in Southern Africa. On the figure, the circular marks simply indicate their geographical location and not their actual spatial extent.



Figure 3.1: TFCAs in Southern Africa: **Source:** <http://maps.ppf.org.za/>.

Although one cannot discern from the above figure, it is a reality that SADC’s geopolitical landscape and socio-economic systems are coupled not only by virtue of their geographical location but also by their historical and cultural background. Hence, the interrelations among these countries are a result of a host of factors, ranging from anything like shared cultures and traditions to trade and shared natural resources. Connected as they are, one emerging and worrying trend is an open contest among many SADC countries for shared natural resources (Katerere, *et al*, 2001:10). International boundary disputes, especially over assets in shared waters have been witnessed in the recent past, for example, the boundary dispute involving the Sedudu/Kasikili island between Botswana and Namibia which was later found to legally belong to Botswana by the International Court of Justice in December 1999.

Hangula (1993) mentions other border disputes in the Caprivi, again, between Namibia and Botswana. In another case, South Africa and Namibia agreed to shift their international boundary along the lower Orange river to the deepest channel of the river (Ashton, 2000), after a dispute. These and other disputes highlight the need for the region to gravitate towards integrated management of natural resources, perhaps through initiatives such as the transfrontier conservation areas which are proving popular.

3.3.1. The TFCA Strategy

The TFCA strategy in Southern Africa is anchored to the philosophy of extending biodiversity beyond the traditional buffer zones. As Schroeder (1999:265) citing Biodiversity Support Program (1993:29) puts it, '*.....It is crucial.... that biodiversity conservation be extended even further, beyond buffer zones and protected areas, to include all elements of the African landscape and all ecosystems.*'

de Villiers (1999) interpreted this philosophy to mean that Africa should join all its protected areas contiguously from Cape to Cairo. In that case, coordination and collaboration between internal and external players become prerequisites and cornerstones of the strategy, but obviously backed by a regional legal framework such as the SADC treaties and protocols. In that respect, through the Declaration Treaty and Protocol of the Southern African Development Community of 1992, signatories committed themselves to work together in transboundary natural resource management. Through this treaty, the following protocols and policies were developed;

- (i) The SADC Policy and Strategy for Environmentally Sustainable Development (SADC, 1996);
- (ii) The SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement (SADC, 1999), which under Article 4(f) commits members to '*promote the conservation of shared wildlife resources through the establishment of transfrontier conservation areas*' (Hall-Martin and Modise, 2002);
- (iii) SADC Wildlife Policy (1997);
- (iv) SADC Protocol on tourism (1998)

Being signatories to the above declaration, SADC governments, including the governments of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe entered into a number of bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements (e.g. see *appendix 8*), and these include the following related to TFCA development;

- Forestry Sector Policy and Development Strategy for the SADC (1997)
- Treaty on the Establishment of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park between the Governments of the Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of South Africa and the Republic of Zimbabwe which was signed on 9 December 2002.
- The Chimanimani TFCA MoU (2001), a memorandum of understanding between Mozambique and Zimbabwe on the Chimanimani TFCA.

On the basis of these protocols, treaties and agreements, SADC countries are participating in various TFCAs as indicated in figure 3.1 which include six TFCAs where at least one of the signatories to the GLTP treaty is involved and these are:

1. The Great Limpopo Trans-frontier Park (GLTFP) (Mozambique-South Africa-Zimbabwe)
2. Limpopo-Shashe TFCA (Botswana-South Africa-Zimbabwe)
3. Chimanimani TFCA (Mozambique-Zimbabwe)
4. Kavango-Zambezi TFCA (Angola-Botswana-Namibia-Zambia-Zimbabwe)
5. ZIMOZA TFCA (Mozambique-Zambia-Zimbabwe)
6. Mana-Lower Zambezi TFCA (Zambia-Zimbabwe)

Although some of these TFCAs are in their formative stages, it is encouraging to note that in Southern Africa the management of transboundary natural resources is resulting in the formation of interesting partnerships or alliances between a broad range of stakeholders that include among others, governments, the private sector, conservationists, rural communities, donors and/or NGOs. These partnerships largely centre on the potential of nature based tourism, conservation and protected areas to stimulate economic growth, and contribute to conservation and the alleviation of extreme poverty and hunger in marginalized communities.

One of the rationales behind TFCA formation is to promote peace building initiatives in conflict situations; actually the other name given to TFCAs is peace parks. Although Ali (2007:12) observed that up to the recent past most peace parks were between friendly countries with no active conflicts, the trend today indicates a movement towards the application of TFCAs as conflict resolution strategies between countries in conflict. This is the case between India and Pakistan, the Koreans and Central Asia where peace parks have the potential to defuse conflicts and foster lasting peace.

However, in order for conservation efforts to succeed as peace building strategies, the TFCA strategy advocates for their institutionalisation and recognition right from national to international levels. The advocacy aims for policies that promote conservation and sustainable socio-economic development and addresses the complex mix of conservation and development, and the implementation of sustainable natural resource use as a viable land use option. Thus, the TFCA programme is designed not to look at piecemeal benefits to communities, but to adopt wholesale initiatives that encompass the involvement of local communities in management, decision-making, direct participation in conservation and economic ventures, empowering the local communities and other stakeholders. Although Cerna (1985)'s concerns that despite their popularity, community participation and empowerment are contested concepts as perceptions differ as to what they entail, are addressed by the strategy, it is the implementation part of it that seems problematic.

Nevertheless, in a quest to meet overall expectations, efforts have been made to guard against promoting one sector, such as tourism and wildlife use to the detriment of other diverse livelihood strategies of local people such as fishing, farming, cross-border trade, labour migration, to mention a few, by incorporating them in a holistic and harmonised fashion. Hence, the emphasis on stakeholder cooperation and coordination across the social, ecological and political divide in all developmental activities.

3.3.2. Background to the Strategy

The shift in the management of natural resources and biological diversity from site level focus to broad landscape approaches is designed to unlock a number of advantages that accrue from bilateral and regional collaboration across political boundaries. A Transfrontier conservation area (TFCA) framework will give an opportunity for communities who have been divided and isolated for a long time by political boundaries and the institution of different policies to work together on conservation and address their needs. This is expected to provide opportunities for:

- Social and cultural renewal and cooperation.
- Legalised movement between neighbouring communities across borders and enhanced contact and collaboration. Promoting development as a result of economic cooperation on a larger scale across the borders e.g. by increasing multi-country destinations in tourism and expand/increase the variety of attractions.
- Promoting linkages in ecological landscapes that cross borders and enhance ecological processes and functions on a larger scale by reducing ecological distortions brought about by different policies and management approaches.
- Collaborating in increasing land under sustainable management.
- Developing institutions and structures that can effectively plan and guide holistic biodiversity management approaches.

These opportunities if well exploited and developed will increase the effectiveness of attaining biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development goals both nationally and internationally.

3.3.3. Basis of the Strategy

The TFCA strategy is derived from a pallet of wilderness and conservation issues underpinned by the concept that to achieve sustainable development goals many conservation concerns today require a holistic approach from all. Some of the concerns include those to do with migratory wildlife species or those animals and birds whose territories span over political boundaries. The strategy is a culmination

of the realisation that political boundaries are not contiguous with ecological boundaries, hence, opening up these areas across international boundaries enables animals to access vital or critical resources, increase their spatial distribution and hence, decrease or decongest highly populated areas. For example, regular and seasonal migrations of larger mammals between Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe concentrating along the Limpopo River during the dry season were curtailed by game-proof fences erected along the South African borders in 1974 and later in Zimbabwe².

However, a case to remember is that animals can no longer enjoy total natural environments due to man's influence in all areas and with the threat of ever expanding human population, animals and vegetation are constantly being pushed to the brink of extinction. Thus this strategy is a deliberate move to save animals and plants, and avoid human induced extinctions that would leave the world a poorer place to live in. Unfortunately, natural resource conservation efforts are increasingly being exposed to the whims of international opportunists and threats, for example, international poaching, illegal international trafficking in wildlife products and over utilisation of shared resources by one country at the expense of the other(s), which often degenerates into conflicts.

An analysis of the natural environment reinforces the fact that ecological systems permeate across man-made national boundaries, hence, the TFCA strategy centres on integrated and collaborative management of such natural ecosystems. Wolmer (2003:7) expands it by pointing out that 'it enables more biodiversity to be conserved by maintaining diverse and large gene pools and encompassing the migratory ranges necessary for large mammals. By this logic, interventions aimed at managing wilderness and conserving biodiversity are best implemented over a greater ecological scale, bigger is better.' It is therefore, designed to harmonise conservation strategies in willing partner countries without compromising national interests, sovereignty and ideology, as has been stated before.

² GEF Transfrontier conservation areas and institution strengthening project; preparation studies; draft final report, 1994, oxford, UK.

The strategy seeks not only to harmonise those areas representing high regional biological diversity but also those that harbour the potential for conflict if left unattended. For example, it is known that no one ecosystem exists in isolation, but is coupled to another, thus resulting in all ecosystems being interlinked. It then follows that disturbances or adverse impacts in one defined ecosystem can ricochet into other ecosystems. Take for instance, the release of pollutants like toxic chemicals into an international river like the Limpopo. It leads to water pollution with dire consequences for aquatic life and downstream activities in all the countries sharing the river. Thus, such pollutants do not respect boundaries but can even affect unsuspecting people or animals in diverse areas apart from the source point. So with a harmonised pollution control and monitoring mechanism such problems can be greatly minimised.

The development and implementation of this strategy is expected to be stakeholder driven, a process that establishes intra and inter-state alliances and linkages that promote natural resource conservation for the benefit of both animals and the communities that live with these animals. Through such linkages it is also expected that the living standards of involved communities would improve through active participation and benefits accruing from such initiatives. The successful conservation of wildlife and their habitat is expected to revamp or promote eco-tourism, as wildlife and other natural resources form the bedrock of most tourism activities in Southern Africa.

Thus, the TFCA strategy is basically designed to promote three principal goals; improved conservation of natural resources on a bilateral or multi-lateral scale, socio-economic and tourism development. It takes into account the current regional expertise as well as the capacity building needs in order to deliver set objectives.

3.3.4. The General Objectives of the TFCA Strategy

The general objectives of the TFCA strategy are outlined below;

1. To foster trans-national collaboration and cooperation between and among states through the establishment, development and management of TFCAs.

2. To promote co-operation in the management of biological natural resources by encouraging social, economic and other partnerships among Government, Private Sector, local communities and non-governmental organizations.
3. To improve and enhance ecosystem integrity and natural ecological processes by harmonizing wildlife management procedures across international boundaries and striving to remove artificial barriers impeding natural movement of animals.
4. To develop frameworks and strategies whereby local communities can effectively participate and tangibly benefit from the management and sustainable use of natural resources that occur in the TFCAs.
5. To promote trans-border eco-tourism development as a means for fostering regional socio-economic development.

These objectives are based on the strategy which has been crafted by a combination of three approaches to strategic planning namely entrepreneurial, adaptive and the planning mode. It is adaptive in that we are reacting to the demands of the environment (both internal and external) and it also fits the planning mode in that it follows systematic methods starting with goals right through to implementation, control and evaluation.

Having stated the mission, goals and objectives, the tactical planning phase that involves deciding on the resources to be mobilised to achieve strategic plans has also been looked at and an analysis indicates that resource limitations are one of the major stumbling blocks to the achievement of the plans within a specified timeframe. Structures such as the Joint Management Board and several TFCA steering committees were established to plan, organise, direct and control programme activities. However, currently these committees have been incapacitated by lack of support aggravated by donor fatigue in terms of capital injection to implement and market the programme, particularly in Zimbabwe whose image has been tarnished by incessant negative media publicity.

3.3.5. Potential Benefits of TFCAs to SADC Countries

Potential benefits that can be taken advantage of include:

1. Provision of mechanisms for increasing the amount of land under sound ecological management across international boundaries whilst providing opportunities for Regional policies on economic and cultural co-operation.
2. Re-establishing key ecological functions previously disrupted by artificial limitation imposed by political borders.
3. Improving the protection of internationally shared resources such as watersheds.
4. Increasing the area available for wildlife and plant populations, thereby reducing the extinction risks due to stochastic events.
5. Re-establishing seasonal wildlife migration routes.
6. Improving regional ecological management by providing mechanisms for co-operation and collaboration in ecosystems management.
7. Increasing economic opportunities through promotion of sustainable use of natural resources including joint eco-tourism development and marketing.
8. Fostering of unity of cultures and traditions divided by international borders. This enhances the understanding of scientific and indigenous knowledge systems valuable in managing trans-border ecosystems.
9. Politically, TFCAs promote friendly relations and peace amongst member states.
10. TFCAs provide opportunities to lure Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) through collective lobbying from countries involved

3.3.6. Comments

This strategy, noble as it is, requires a wide range of stakeholder support to meet the following critical areas:

1. Lack of resources to develop and implement TFCA programmes or projects
2. The need to strengthen the Institutional and Legal frameworks
3. The need to harmonise rules and regulations governing access and use of natural resources
4. The need to develop joint tourism and marketing strategies
5. The need to develop appropriate tourism and rural infrastructure
6. The need to capacity-build the TFCA coordinating institutions and local communities.

Having gone through some of the theoretical debates, in the following, attention is on practical conflict issues that could have been directly or indirectly affected by terminology, attitudes, circumstances and perceptions about TFCA development.

3.4 TFCA Development Challenges: An Overview of Common Conflict Areas

The themes discussed under this sub-topic were identified through a literature review of common TFCA or natural resources and development conflict areas. The list of issues is not exhausted but these were constantly brought up by a number of researchers (Mayoral-Phillips, 2002; Jones, 2003; Swatuk, 2005), hence, were found to be suitable candidates for further testing at a localised case level. This also formed the basis upon which further questions arose to investigate the main research problem of this study.

3.4.1. Policies

A lot has been written on policies as conflict entry points. It is not the subject of this thesis to regurgitate that literature, but it is of interest to note that some authors like Amy (1987) described three general sources of conflict common in policies, programmes and projects. These are firstly misunderstandings, which usually emanate when separate parties or groups are differently informed about an issue or policy, secondly interests, usually exposed where people want to use the same resource for different things and policy states otherwise, and thirdly values, where in most cases disputants differ in deeply-rooted beliefs about what is ethically “right”, or morally correct and especially where policy is unable to address that.

It is observed that policies even where they are well meaning, can unintentionally become an axis upon which conflicts spin off. The paradox that the same policies, programmes and projects whose primary objectives were to mitigate conflicts can become a fertile source upon which conflicts can thrive, is interesting from a development point of view. In most cases, such situations can be activated when a factor such as inadequate local participation in all phases of interventions is present, and/or when insufficient time and effort is given to plan in advance for anticipated conflicts that could sprout as a result of a development policy or initiative.

Inadequate participation can be in the form of either non-participation or limited participation or both by local communities and natural resource users in the formulation of management policies, programmes and projects. For instance, some governments and donors have been known for their reliance on centralized management policies based on centralized control by administrative units and technical experts housed in distant, magnificent offices detached from realities on the ground. Because these policies and programmes are designed by armchair architects who are not in touch with stakeholders on the ground, they often fail to put into consideration issues to do with local rights, interests and practices regarding natural resources management (Engel and Korf, 2005:24).

Apart from making these policy decisions without adequate inputs from local resource users and stakeholders, such policies are usually prescribed on the local communities. This prescription of ideas and policies manufactured elsewhere has been observed as stimulating conflicts usually stemming from suspicions, misconceptions and mistrusts among stakeholders at the policy, programme or project implementation phases.

Certain policies have played a critical role in shaping and influencing local people's access to and use of land, water and wild products. The following text looks at a few examples to support this point of view. Mombeshora and Mtisi (2001:2) observed that between 1985 and 1997 the Zimbabwe government adopted two seemingly contradictory policies on land. One was the Land Acquisition Act of 1992 which was meant to enable government to acquire land to resettle and economically empower

the majority of landless people, but on the other hand it adopted the World Bank and IMF sponsored economic reforms, such as the infamous economic structural adjustment programme (ESAP)³ introduced between 1991 to 1995, meant to buttress the role of market forces and to streamline government operations. Though this Act and policy seemed distantly detached, they had both synergistic and contradictory characteristics and effects. The market reforms were not meant to address fundamental needs of the poor rural communities such as inequitable land, water rights and meaningful access to the lucrative wildlife resources in their area.

Although these policies were unrelated introducing them almost during the same period contributed to opinion construction among the rural poor that land and market reforms were related and meant to benefit a privileged few citizens (Mayo 1995:8 in SLSA, 2001). Such an opinion construct could have been as a result of policy misunderstanding, or envisaged infringement by policy on community interests or both. The opinions and attitudes of the communities involved were worsened by historical inequalities especially on land and other natural resources. The resultant impact was that some community members ended up engaging in what SLSA termed 'self-provisioning', whereby some occupied a part of Gonarezhou National Park that borders Sangwe Communal lands, as a method of transferring land to themselves in what could be referred to as 'redistributive' justice.

Apart from external forces, internal and institutional structures can ferment and nurture conflict. Bragdon (1990:12) cited by Pander (1995) offers a typical example of conflicts originating from internal organizational structures. Taking a leaf from Kenya, Bragdon talks of primary and contextual limitations which he argues have to be taken into consideration in order to understand the weak performance of the

³ Economic Structural Adjustment Programme (ESAP) was an International Monetary Fund and World Bank initiated economic reform introduced in Zimbabwe between 1991 and 1995. They were meant to streamline government and private sector expenditure as a condition for extending development aid to the government. The idea was to reduce government and public sector expenditure such as labour costs. This meant retrenchments with the aim of redirecting investments to more production underpinned by a highly motivated lean workforce. However, this did not work as per theory as the economy did not grow as expected and people remained retrenched. This made the government to abandon ESAP and the International Monetary Fund and World Bank withdrew their support. Lessons learnt were that prescriptive economic reforms do not work and the fact that a certain programme worked in a certain economic environment, particularly a developed economy does not automatically imply that it can be successfully applied in a developing economy.

environmental legislative-institutional structure. The primary limitations include conflicts arising from implementing national policies, fragmentation of environmental responsibility combined with a lack of coordination, and legislative deficiencies. Worse still, these factors do not operate in isolation, but are closely interrelated.

Conflicts often arise if different government agencies try to implement their policies concerning the environment without consulting with other ministries. The policies of two major sectors of Kenya's economy, namely agriculture and tourism, help to illustrate the nature of such conflicts. According to Bragdon, the Kenyan Sessional Paper of 1986 emphasized increased agriculture production from 1986 and beyond and on the other hand the 1989-1993 Development Plan also recognized the importance of wildlife and tourism as major sources of income. The Sessional Paper of 1986 recommended that agriculture remain the leading sector in increasing economic growth and job creation. However, despite the important intentions of these policy pronouncements, Bragdon argues that the main goal of agricultural expansion discussed in the National Development Policy posed one of the greatest threats to wildlife, the other area of priority. Unfortunately, representatives from the two institutions involved in legislation and implementation of policies concerning the two sectors, that is, the Ministry of Agriculture, Livestock Development and Marketing (MoALDM) and the Kenya Wildlife Service (KWS) showed little cooperation in so far as this important issue was concerned.

However, despite the controversies surrounding policy and institutional arrangements as possible harbingers of conflicts, a study by Blomley (2001) in community forestry management revealed that appropriate natural resource policies, programmes and projects can be an effective strategy offering significant opportunities for addressing many of the needs and concerns that nurture and propel resource-related conflicts.

3.4.2. Poverty

Though there is clarity regarding the difference between absolute and relative poverty, the meaning of poverty itself is elusive. It is not a homogenous phenomenon that can be accurately measured along one dimension alone. This makes it difficult to come up with a universally acceptable definition as it means different things to

different world communities at different time scales. However, without getting bogged down with the controversial definitions of poverty, some clarity was attempted by defining it 'as the failure of an individual to achieve a relevant set of elementary capabilities as a result of inadequate application of resources' (Renner *et al*, 2004). For the purpose of this study this definition and the criterion commonly used and known as the human development index (HDI) will suffice.

Despite the definitional problems, poverty is a 'disease' that permeates across most developing countries. Munthali (2007:51) decries it as a common feature in Southern Africa where it is experienced in various forms such as the denial of opportunities, choices to basic human needs and the enjoyment of a better living standard. As stated under population growth theme in this study, it is alarming that the trend of people who survive on less than US\$2 per day and categorized as living in abject poverty, is not showing any signs of decreasing in the near future. Of the estimated 790 million people in Sub-Saharan Africa (Financial Times,2008), UNDP (2003) estimated that 313 million earn less than US\$1 per day and by 2015 that figure would have risen by about 9%. This statistic contradicts sharply the United Nation's Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) that proposes to halve poverty levels within the same time-frame. The gloomy picture is that poverty is expected to flourish as a result of economic underperformance caused by factors too numerous to mention here, but of interest, they include international power relations and natural resource access, especially for communities in developing countries whose very livelihoods are heavily dependent on natural resources.

While there is competition for access to resources by global, regional and other powerful actors, on a local level, most authors seem to agree that environmental degradation, including wilderness problems and poverty are correlated. Omara-Ojungu (1992:40) observed that absolute poverty is found in developing countries and characterised by inadequate provision of basic human needs as defined by Maslow (Huitt, 2004). These, Omara-Ojungu noted are most prevalent in countries that experience frequent conflicts and usually associated with lack of freedom to participate in decision-making processes and the enjoyment of human rights.

Unfortunately, such a scenario tends to weaken the physical and mental well-being of the poverty stricken people, the corrosion of individual interests and initiative in community affairs to the extent that the affected individual feels isolated and powerless. The emergence of such situations elicits responses that may come in different and sometimes complex ways. In most circumstances, it creates insecure and unstable relationships between people and their national governments, between sound resource conservation practices and environmental institutional capacity and even among neighbours, in search of survival. This poses a threat to natural resource management, because in resource management innovative and well-motivated individuals are needed to adopt, sustain and or initiate the required management techniques. This unfortunately becomes absent among poor communities as the issue of basic survival becomes so consuming that there is little time left for other activities.

The results of research conducted by Omara-Ojunga (1992:65) to assess how poverty conditions affect efforts to manage resources and to understand its nature and magnitude in Uganda concluded that the 'effects of deteriorating resources seem to hit the rural communities most and reinforce poverty' and that rural poverty is caused largely by low productivity of resources and 'unless the effects of low productivity are addressed, proper management of resources will remain low keyed' and look unjustifiable. It may even be regarded as a conspiracy by the rich against the liberation of the rural poor from the yoke of grinding poverty.

Adding to this argument, Hart (1968) notes that although the basic fundamental issue of resource management in developing countries is to eradicate poverty through increased growth and sustainable development, Omara-Ojunga (1992:178) concedes that this demands careful balancing and integration of ecological, economic, social and technological aspects by all stakeholders to realise regional integration and sustainable development. How to go about the integration process is a subject for further debate, but may not be covered in-depth in this study.

Following this argument, can it be concluded that the prospects for wilderness survival and other natural resources management in general, in developing countries

rests on efforts at reducing poverty through increased growth, sustainable and integrated development? This is consistent with Max-Neef's (1991) human needs approach to human scale development which recognises that any successful management of conflict should address abject poverty.

The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in its examination of development styles and their consequences on natural systems' function, confirmed that the problems of the environment are correlated to those of poverty, the satisfaction of basic nutritional, health and housing needs, renewable energy sources and the process of technological innovation. It suggested and defined three main axes of development, these being economic growth, poverty reduction and ecological sustainability (Rico, 1998:9).

However this criterion of defining development faced criticism, with critics arguing that its scientific validity is questionable, as well as what it means for political and economic programmes already on-going and those emerging. Moreover, the correlation between environmental problems and poverty are currently facing increasing international debate. Some argue that environmental degradation causes poverty and conflicts, while others are of the view that it is poverty that causes environmental degradation and development is the solution (de Almeida *et al*, 1972). It's the chicken and egg issue, but what is clear is that these two arguments have implications on policy and programme interventions. It is further argued that the concept of linking environmental degradation to poverty is too broad and is therefore subject to very different interpretations, which often led to confusion.

Jahan (2005:1) joins this environment-poverty debate by stating that environment, human security and peace are not only closely inter-linked, but have a cyclical relationship. He postulates that resource scarcity, environmental degradation and change can result in conflicts, which lead to human insecurity and in a reverse relationship, human conflicts and human insecurity can also adversely affect environmental sustainability. The environment-poverty nexus is a critical block in the puzzle. The paradox being that the same poor people who have little access to natural resources are the same who bear the major burden of environmental

damages. Whichever starts first, environmental degradation or poverty, the result is the same; it is a zero sum game, a lose-lose situation. It is peace and human well-being which are at stake. However, Jahan (2005) has faced criticism for being too anthropocentric for he said that 'we forgot that development is all about people; their well-being, security and peace', but later seemed to backtrack when he agreed that a sound physical environment, peace and security are mutually reinforcing, thus subscribing to the notion of sustainable development. This can be debatable as voices arguing not only for sustainability, but also for inclusive and holistic type of development that should not be for human beings alone, but cater for non-human beings as well, are growing. Any development that disregards the existence of life forms other than those of human beings is dangerous and doomed, for it is that very disregard for the existence of other organisms and the importance of the environment that creates and perpetuates poverty and conflict.

The cycle of poverty and conflict can be agonizingly endless. Perpetual conflicts contribute to the destruction and loss of valuable economic and natural assets such as forest and wildlife, upon which the poor, mostly living in marginal areas heavily depend on. Jones (2003) in her study in the Lubombo TFCA observed that most members of the communities under her study depended on natural products for their survival. In terms of protein nutrition, the study noted that the three communities under study, Bhekabantu, Sibonisweni and Mbangweni, with an aggregate of over 500 households, living close to Ndumo National Park in South Africa, rely heavily on fish, wild birds and other wild animals to supplement beef and chicken. Though their consumption rates differed, it was clear from the study that forest products were an important constituent of these communities' diet (Jones, 2003:18). The removal of this dietary requirement without any viable alternatives obviously creates unforeseen and unwanted problems for both the communities involved and other stakeholders, hence aggravating the poverty situation.

3.4.3. Population Growth

Human population growth is cited as one of the causes of environmental conflicts as well as one of the greatest threats to wildernesses survival. According to a human development report 2002(UNDP, 2002) cited by Common and Sagl (2005:169), by

2050 it is projected that almost 90% of the world's population, which would by then have increased by 70%, will live in developing countries. The catch is that in the years 2000-2015, human population growth rate in Sub-Saharan Africa is predicted to be on average 2.4% (Common and Sagl, 2005:169), while economic growth could be stagnant or even register negative growth. It is predicted that per capita national income will drop with more people living on less than one US dollar per day. According to the Human Development Index, people surviving on less than two US dollars per day are categorised as living in poverty (Common and Sagl, 2005:171). The implication of human population growth under a labouring economic regime in natural resources management is almost predictable. There is bound to be serious pressure and conflict over natural resources. Rights of access to a dwindling or scare resource will become prominent and a contentious issue. On another front, human and wildlife conflict will also become prevalent and Newmark *et al* (1994) concluded that with increase in human population, people living in high density areas will continue to experience problems with wildlife at high human densities even if the protected areas were to be abolished. This debate on poverty and population leads us to the concept of sustainable development as a strategy of creating a balancing act among competing forces.

3.4.4. Sustainable Development Challenges

The challenges facing developing countries are fundamentally different to those of the developed countries. de Almeida *et al* (1972) observed that the problems of developing countries reflect the poverty and very lack of development of their societies. They observed that while it was evident that the type of environmental problems that are of importance in developing countries can be overcome by the process of development itself, in developed countries it was appropriate to view development as a cause of environmental problems. However, any development requires good planning. Badly planned and unregulated development such as those witnessed in developed countries in the recent past have all been accompanied by damage and disruption to the environment directly or indirectly and Almeida *et al* (1972) warns that this can be detrimental to developing countries as well if caution is not taken.

As a result of such concerns as those raised above, an escalation of debates about the justification of a sustainable mode of development has been witnessed as a balancing mechanism that meets the objectives of creating harmony between environment and development and even among stakeholders to a conservation development project. This witnessed a worldwide proliferation of conferences, seminars, reports, books, journals, conventions, protocols and institutions as mentioned earlier on. Since then the idea of sustainable development has been uplifted almost into an ideology in both developed and developing countries (Crabble, 1997 cited by Mudocumura *at el*, 2006:4). Today most international institutions such as the IUCN (1988), national governments and local communities tend to base their development policies, programmes and decisions on environmental protection capability as one of the major conditions for approving development project proposals. However, despite the wide acceptance of this sustainable development concept, there appears to be no consensus on its exact meaning as the term 'sustainable development' means various things to different people.

According to Lafferty (2004:1) 'governments are never established in a theoretical vacuum, but reflect the exigencies of their time and place, as well as the conflicting interests and power bases of their major actors'. In addition, Gezon (2006:19) points out that 'in a model that deconstructs the distinction between the local and the global, power appears as continuously performed. Hierarchies are not static; they come into being and are reinforced and changed, through social interaction.' In that perspective, sustainable development is defined by the major actors at a given time, but in some instances these actors tend to conflict because of the inherent differences of those defining it.

The question is 'in the face of economic challenges facing developing countries, is sustainable development "sustainable" in natural resource management? This is difficult to answer as sustainability is based on various factors including key stakeholders who include communities. There appears to be a general belief that a trade-off exists between economic advancement and environmental conservation

and the validity of this belief is yet to be proved. Bradshaw (2007) notes that since development implies change, it is always synonymous with conflict and David (1998) admits that the real challenge in change is changing the mindset of people.

However, Brezovic (1994) observed that the absence of genuine development in the face of a human growing population would inevitably lead to even more severe environmental degradation. He noted that for rural development to be sustainable in Southern Africa, it has to go hand in glove with environmental conservation which has been neglected or is facing increasing pressure. Nevertheless, in certain circumstances, the good maintenance of certain types of resources such as wildernesses has up to now proceeded hand in hand with serious mismanagement and neglect of others, especially in communal lands. This apparent contradiction is attributed to previous pre-independence or apartheid development policies that promoted elitist conservation in the midst of mass deprivation generated and recycled by the system itself.

‘Development must be based on reality...reality tends to be set aside as soon as formal theory is adopted’ Chambers (1997) in Marais *et al* (2001) believes that theory grounded in local area needs and undertaken with local consent and participation has a chance of being relevant and sustainable. But what happens if there is a contradiction between local area needs and national needs? Chambers does not attempt to delve into ways of tackling such a scenario, but most authors like Mayoral-Phillips (2002) and Jones (2003) talk of participatory approaches in decision-making. On the contrary, Ashcroft and Masilela (1994:268) state that, “The participatory strategy has not paid off so far for the simple reason that, all the promotional verbiage notwithstanding, it has still to be systematically tried in development projects”. This apparently refers to the translation of rhetoric into action. In addition, though bottom-up approaches are widely recognised (Cohen, 1996) as best practices, little is seen of such practice. Marais *et al* (2001:108) concede that one of the approaches to solve this problem is to derive theory from practice.

Concern for people in the whole environment and development equation attracts Rico (1998) to join the debate by adding a human factor onto it. He expresses that

considering the close relationship existing between environmental problems and those of economic and social origin, it is almost impossible to separate the human and environmental dimensions of development. The result of this inter-linkage is that the effect of social relations and actions influence the natural ecology and vice versa.

As alluded to above, the thrust towards sustainable development has been underpinned by the global perception that in the past development styles have been largely harmful to natural systems and created inequalities among the people. It is therefore increasingly becoming clear that humanity should embrace a new era and manoeuvre towards new development styles and concepts anchored to the three pillars of sustainable development; efficient, equitable and sustainable use of the World's natural resources (Metcalf, 2003:5).

This thesis will however examine a few of the discrepancies between the views of different social actors and interest groups in respect to decisions that should be taken to achieve sustainable development in the context of the TFCAs, to reduce conflicts.

In an effort to develop sustainably, governments the world over, inclusive of those of Southern Africa, sought a number of avenues to realize these developmental goals. One of the avenues identified as a viable option to realize these efforts was through conservation development. Consequently, the area of natural resources conservation and management has become a destination of choice, with the TFCA concept topping the list as a favourable horse that could pull and drive socio-economic development. However, such developments come amidst a number of challenges inherent even in the development process itself, especially in the field of natural resources.

It is noted that there are twin forces underpinning development in Southern Africa, peace and conflict. Many parts of Africa, and indeed Southern Africa, are experiencing increased conflicts over natural resources (Blench, 1996; Collier and Hoeffler, 2002; Addison, Le Billon and Murshed, 2003 and Castro and Engel, 2007). Unfortunately, these twin forces cut across all social levels, from families, nation-

states to global institutions such as donor agencies and conservation groups. Castro and Engel (2007) note that conflict erupts from a variety of reasons and in Africa they are deeply anchored to its historical-political economy, notably colonialism. One of the impacts of colonialism was to reorganise rights and access to natural resources which shifted in complex ways the relationships across and within social groups.

However, in post-colonial Africa, initiatives such as the community-based natural resources management (CBNRM) have sought to restore rights and improve community involvement in natural resource management, but have not addressed some fundamental aspects such as those relating to land and tenure systems despite some governments incorporating CBNRM into their socio-ecological policies and programmes. For instance, by 2002 more than 30 African nations had launched community participatory forestry initiatives and similar reforms were under way regarding wildlife and other resources, including access to land (Wily, 2002).

Nonetheless, it was observed that these changes in natural resource access and use patterns affect stakeholders in diverse and unexpected ways as mentioned before, if not handled carefully. Moreover, not all people necessarily gain from these programmes and therefore these changes sometimes breed new tensions, or serve to revive or refuel long-standing or latent conflicts (Warner, 2000: 13; Castro and Nielsen, 2001; Peluso and Watts, 2001)⁴.

However, Castro and Engel (2007) add another dimension by arguing that the emergence of non-violent conflict is not necessarily negative in natural resources management and conservation development projects, for public disagreements and

⁴ Warner (2000:13) in his study of the natural resource conflicts in Fiji and Papua New Guinea experienced a dispute between two community groups whose resolution impressed one group at the expense of the other. A land title dispute between two community groups arose because an area of communal forest previously used for subsistence acquired a significant economic value. The increased value resulted in the two groups competing with each other over the resource for six months, both engaging in unsustainable resource extraction. However, one of the groups decided to seek resolution of the conflict through the legal system. The resolution of this conflict through the legal system awakened issues, such as the ambiguity of land ownership, which had not been viewed as a significant obstacle to development prior to the commercialisation of the resource. It was observed that the prevailing land tenure legislation, which was a remnant from the colonial system, did not recognise the strength of historic claims to land. Hence, this structural conflict was activated when the local court afforded legal ownership of a large portion of the contested communal forest area to one of the two groups.

disputes may reflect that society is getting more open, participatory and becoming conscious of its rights. It can also be used as an indicator of the fact that people are giving voice to their perceived priorities, interests and needs, and in that context, conflict can work as a stimulant for progressive societal change. Local communities may bring to the attention of the wider stakeholders their exclusion, marginality or insecurity regarding resources, livelihoods and new developments. The important question is how such disagreements, conflicts and disputes are handled.

In the following theme, stakeholder identification is discussed as an area with potential to cause conflict if mishandled.

3.4.5. Stakeholder Identification or Analysis

Inadequate local stakeholder participation can be as a result of a sum of many factors or just a single factor such as poor stakeholder identification. If stakeholders perceive that they are not being recognised where they believe they deserve such recognition or feel that they are being sidelined in certain processes, they tend to form groups to foster identity and belongingness. This tendency to form interest groups can be a recipe for conflict generation. In one typical scenario, demonstrating shortfalls and risks of poor stakeholder analysis to a conflict, Hart and Castro gave a scenario where conflict arose at different levels after an attempt was made to resolve it.

A 'conservation warden negotiated a memorandum of understanding with two local groups to provide their livestock with seasonal access to water sources within a national park. The memorandum specified who received access, the number of cattle allowed and the responsibilities of community members. However, this agreement has been unsuccessful for several reasons. Outsiders migrated into the area to gain access to the water sources, and residents listed in the memorandum brought in cattle belonging to other communities. In addition, some community members and park staff allowed people who were not part of the agreement to use the corridor for access to grazing areas. Conflicts arose at different levels. Households that upheld the agreement resented those who broke it. Park officials committed to the project's success were pitted against park officials who colluded with local

community members to break the rules. The difficulty of defining “community” in this instance, coupled with the inability of park officials to regulate resource access, contributed to the failure of this innovative project’ (Hart and Castro, 2000:9).

The programme was really innovative and well intentioned to alleviate the plight of communities, but its well intentioned objectives were undermined by poor recognition of what and who constituted ‘the community’, that is, the stakeholders involved. In the end, the situation became even more complex than its genesis. The problem in the above scenario rested in limited recognition of key stakeholders or interest groups. Certain matters appear simple, but could be complicated if not given due consideration. For instance, it is difficult to define who constitutes a ‘community’ and what defines the boundaries in a given setting. Unless all variables and interests are taken into account, this area remains elusive.

This argument links us to the following debate on local stakeholder participation as a challenge in sustainable development.

3.4.6. Local Stakeholder Participation

As a direct or indirect result of inadequate stakeholder analysis, local or any other stakeholder participation in community development, policy formulation and the design and implementation of projects may be compromised. Despite the acknowledgement that participation is re-emerging as a solution to many social ills (Kotler, 1969; Hallman, 1974; Langton, 1978; Peolman, 1978) and others such as Mayoral-Phillips (2000), argue that stakeholder participatory theory has not been part of project design in the first place, especially with respect to development and conservation projects.

Mayoral-Phillips (2000) argues that it has not been traditional or a regular part of project design and implementation for governments and donor agencies in the past 40 years of development efforts and still largely remains so today, to consult local communities on developments in their areas. Southern Africa and other developing countries in general are not an exception. In a typical case, Mayoral-Phillips (2000)

advances that TFCA rhetoric is removed from reality as TFCA objectives in Kgalagadi demonstrate a protectionist conservation ideology. He further observed that there was lack of involvement and consultation with the 'Bushman' communities who live within and around the project during the planning and implementation process by the Botswana Government. An attempt to redress this anomaly by both the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks (BDWNP) and the South African National Parks (SANParks) by including community empowerment within their economic and tourism management plan faced another hitch. Mayoral-Phillips (2000) observed that despite such an inclusion, BDWNP preferred terms such as 'Community Relations' than 'Community Economic Empowerment'. Although the reason for this attitude was not documented, it could probably have been inherited from the former colonialist policies that were not only inherently oppressive and offensive, but also double-barrelled, one advocating for fortress conservation⁵ and the other one viewed local communities, often called 'natives' as primitive and lacking the capacity to meaningfully participate in decision-making processes, hence, the alienation.

Given the above scenario, one can be excused for arguing that efforts to engage local communities in meaningful participation in environment and development programmes can actually be frustrated by the very same structures that are seen as championing that cause. It then confirms that some of the real challenges to true and meaningful community involvement are structural and institutionalised. Policies that promote community empowerment are good, but they are not complete, there should be a complete paradigm shift of attitudes towards community involvement, otherwise the risk of having very pleasing but just paper policies is very high. As mentioned elsewhere in this volume (pg. 26), Churchill was also concerned about the impact of attitudes to the extent that his quote, 'Attitude is a little thing that makes a big difference' (Winston Churchill, n.d), became a point of reference.

⁵ Fortress conservation refers to a conservation policy and practice that strictly restricts human access to natural resources. It is based on the philosophy that nature should be separated from human culture. In the fortress mode of conservation, policies that promote the separation of humans from nature are strengthened through the development of protected areas devoid of or with minimal human influence. These are characteristically associated with highly restrictive access to resources and deprivation of people's previous existing rights. This is opposed to community-based conservation policies and practices that foster unity between nature and society.

However, today, because of changing times it could be argued that attitude is not a little thing as it has the potential not only to cause conflict, but violent conflict for that matter. This is confirmed by Galtung's conflict triangle as it forms one of its three fundamental bases upon which conflicts often arise.

Further, in spite of the need for a complete attitudinal transformation at every level, today governments in developing countries face another challenge. It is difficult to adopt full participatory methodologies not only due to the hierarchical structure of government implementing agencies, but also because their policies are shaped by the hierarchical manner principal donor organisations conduct their business and how they relate to recipient agencies through their funding programmes. In addition, the attitude by most donors that they are 'delivering' development solutions, leads to this 'centre-periphery' approach, where all critical project decisions emanate from the donor and then filter to the communities.

With this ideology of 'delivering' development solutions to recipient countries, development practitioners and theorists in the multilateral lending institutions must be wondering what happened to all the development aid delivered to developing countries as most of the people remain trapped in cycles of poverty and statistics indicate that such a trend is likely to escalate and to double by 2015 (World Development Report 2002). Is it because the targeted communities did not participate? Is it that development aid was received by a mysterious hand, to the extent that it could not achieve what it was initially intended for? Or is it that development goals were high-jacked by a 'demon' of underdevelopment? There is no simple answer, but real development should be defined and championed by all the stakeholders especially the intended beneficiaries, otherwise if it is not recognised as such it ceases to be 'development'. Many voices are now calling for aid recipient governments to embrace reforms that promote meaningful public engagement in projects designed to improve their livelihoods.

This leads us to the debate that if development aid recipient governments in developing countries are expected to have significant institutional and behavioural

changes towards meaningful stakeholder participation, then donor agencies need to change their own systems and practices used in their engagement with such governments. Some donor agencies have already recognised that need. The Swedish International Development Co-operation Authority (SIDA) is credited as being one of the early organisations to embrace such reforms through its strategy for rural development (Long, 2001). This was in acknowledgement of the fact that it is the intended target population itself that understands its economic and social conditions and problems, hence, they have better insights that can shape appropriate interventions. Other NGOs and international institutions followed suit, notably the World Bank in the 1990s by creating a Learning Group on popular participation and the USAID in 1993 by launching reforms to re-orient itself towards its customers (LaVoy and Charles, 1998, cited by Long, 2001).

Internal and external forces were among the drivers promoting the need for participation in donor agencies, for example, workshops held by the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) and the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) as from the late 1980s exerted immense pressure for such changes. The two organizations and others, rallied behind their vast collective experiences in participatory rural appraisal (PRA) approaches to influence such a shift. This could also have led to the birth of the African Charter on Popular Participation (African Charter, 1990). However, despite all these efforts and reforms, most researchers (Borda, 1998; Freedman, 1998; Long, 2001 and Armah, 2008) are in unison as to their concerns that full community participation is yet to be realized and NGOs and donors themselves need further reforms. The following text is focused on discussing some of the challenges to effective community participation.

3.4.7. Community Participation: Challenges

Local communities face a number of challenges when it comes to full and meaningful participation. Some of the most critical challenges hinge on land tenure systems.

In a study by Ashley and Ntshona (2003) on community involvement in tourism on the Wild Coast (WC), SA, they observed that when it comes to land claims, which are rife in the Eastern Cape on nature reserves and tourism sites, WC tourism

development plans face a problem as they attempt to define ownership of core tourism assets. Where ownership is in dispute and is contested by more than one group, entering into contractual negotiations is difficult, thus posing a major obstacle to efforts to engage communities as partners in market-oriented developments.

The bargaining power of local communities is also weakened by the inherited pre-independence legacy on land tenure systems, which unfortunately have remained up to this day in most post-colonial countries. The system rendered local communities powerless as they were put in 'reserves', which meant state areas reserved for something else should it become necessary. That system meant local communities were not legally entitled to the land they occupied and consequently could not have a right to air their views on issues pertaining to land and land-based developments. Hence, within that context, it is rather not very surprising when rural communities are left out in major conservation developments, because either the mechanisms to engage them are not in place or are very weak.

In apparent consensus to Jones's assertion that the role of local communities was not originally defined in TFCA development plans, Katerere *et al* (2001) and Hughes (2003) concede that western epistemologies of natural resources management and community theory proliferates in transboundary conservation paradigms, where projects and programmes are often driven by agendas of international donors, where the western institutions are the principal financiers. Duffy in Jones (2003:5) warns that conservation interventions in Southern Africa rely heavily on western assumptions about the 'primitiveness or backwardness of non-western people', and that local people are viewed as a problem as they encroach on biodiversity conservation efforts. However, a close analysis of this mentality contradicts the local view that perceives global interventions on conservation management as encroaching on the domains of local resources and communities (Jones, 2003:5). This later view is important as it embodies the potential to lay the foundations for an effective engagement of local communities in conservation and development programmes.

Chambers (1983) cited by Hlambela and Kozanayi (2005) argues that although the call to put people first in environment and development projects has been advocated for some time now and is appreciated and understood, in practice community empowerment has largely remained rhetorical. If it is practiced, then there is a dearth of documented experiences in which communities effectively expressed their own views and aspirations and more still through their own voices. This poses a challenge in rural development and conflict research.

Freedman (1998) stated that 'knowledge for and about development has, for the past fifty years, been so shrouded in economic ideology and burdened with the accoutrements of proof imposed by auditors and academics that it was nearly unthinkable that it could come from poor people or that it could be created or used by them.'

However, though participation, in its varied forms, is believed to improve environmentally related developments and assist in the conflict resolution processes (Prager and Nagel, 2008), debate about what is really meant by community participation rages on. Some authors, including Rowe and Frewer (2004) and Lizarralde and Massyn (2008) argue that participation is not necessarily an improvement on the original top-down approach to development as all the elements in participation such as consultations, negotiation, consensus building and holistic congruence are expensive and time consuming, to the extent that costs may outweigh benefits. Castro and Nielsen (2003:268) even went further to say that participation is a double edged sword. Their argument is that generally participation, if it is a well managed process can reduce conflict, but on the other hand increasing participation may actually increase points of conflict and if not well managed participation may actually lead to further conflicts.

The above argument throws another dimension into this debate, indicating that a mere reversal of the old approaches do not necessarily bring the relief so much needed. Suggestions of hybridization by marrying these approaches to produce a 'hybrid' that is amenable for use in an adaptive style is not out of this world. More

often it has been proved that blending various approaches can produce not only better results, but can also promote a flexible and adaptive system.

3.4.8. Community Perceptions of Protected Areas (incl. TFCAs)

Community perceptions and attitudes towards protected areas has been another challenge to conservation. Jones (2003) and Munthali (2007) observed that communities associate the establishment of parks with forced evictions from their land or being denied access to the land, most probably due to past experience. The historical past is littered with bad memories which had negative psychological effects as communities' concerns and interests were not taken aboard during the establishment of wilderness areas. In some cases their establishment has been viewed as directly conflicting with local people's livelihoods and development interests (Ghimire and Pimbert, 1997). Mac Ginty and Williams (2009:5) even goes further to point out that 'development is not necessarily a good thing' as some developments may threaten other people's interests.

This has led to widespread suspicion among communities that the new TFCA initiatives will not only cartel agricultural and grazing land, but will be for the rich and powerful to exploit at their expense. In the past and especially in the African context, the establishment of protected areas was viewed with suspicion and seen as symbols of domination (Wilshusin *et al*, 2002) and colonialism or power by the rich as they tended to be strictly protected with benefits flowing to a privileged few. They were seen as hunting grounds or recreational areas for the rich and ruling classes. To reinforce this attitude, some animals were even termed royal game, meaning that they were set aside for the enjoyment of royal families. These pockets of protected areas were out of bounds for the ordinary person as they were strictly protected with no community access allowed, hence, this brewed conflict.

Again, in the process of establishing protected areas, people were often forcibly moved out of their traditional lands and settled at the fringes of the protected areas without any form of consultation. They were impoverished as they were cut off from their normal way of life and could not get access to the ecosystem services they used to benefit from (Brockington and Igoe, 2006). Hence, even today, when one

talks of global efforts about the conservation of wilderness or the establishment of TFCAs, these perceptions come into the memory of ordinary community members. Unfortunately, this suspicion seemed to present itself when Jones (2003) observed that local communities bear most of the costs associated with such developments, while benefits accrue globally. The notion of globalization of conservation and the impact of the Western-driven transboundary conservation concepts on local communities is reinforced.

Cernea (1997) cited by Munthali (2007) warns of a number of risk scenarios should local communities be forcibly displaced from their ancestral land to make way for new developments in conservation. Some of the scenarios are that development goals may not be met as conflict will arise and the conflict might actually turn violent.

3.4.9. Resource Ownership/Rights

Some static economic models suggested that individual property rights, in the form of private ownership of resources would automatically ensure both resource conservation and economic efficiency (Scott, 1955; Crutchfield and Zellner, 1962) cited in Braat and Van Lierop (1987:73), or alternatively, the state could ensure conservation and efficiency by assuming ownership and charging a reasonable user fee. However, through an experiment on a fishery, neither of these policy recommendations proved to be feasible in practice. The belief that private resource owners would rationally conserve their resource base conflicts with the often observed behaviour of farmers, fishermen, and other resource owners who opt to deplete those resources if revenues cover costs and if the private discount rate exceeds the biological growth rate of the resource. Braat and Van Lierop (1987:74) concludes that Government intervention or assistance may be necessary to ensure resource conservation even among private owners and that Government intervention is even critical especially in the case of common-property resources.

3.4.10. Scarce Resources Competition

Most conflicts emanate from competition for scarce resources, for example, it was observed that in the near future wars will not be fought over oil, but over water, giving an impression that water will be added to the list of resources that have a

potential to cause conflict (www.bluegold-worldwaterwars.com). Recently, the Institute of Peace and Conflict Management (IPCM) stated that Southern Africa is the richest part of the world in terms of natural resources and is set to become as important as the Middle East as far as the fight for natural resources is concerned. This was in apparent response to reports that the USA plans to establish a full military base in Botswana, which was seen as both a sign of aggression towards the region and competition for resources with other emerging powers like China, Russia, India and Brazil (<http://www.herald.co.zw/inside.aspx?sectid=709&cat=1>). It further claimed that SADC is one of the most peaceful regions in the world today and that it has demonstrated its ability to manage serious conflicts without any external assistance, hence, justifying the UN's objective of relegating peacemaking to regional bodies.

3.4.11. Resource Scarcity and Resource 'Capture'

Hauge and Ellingsen (1998) stated that environmental scarcity leads to a host of ills. However, extensive research to determine direct correlation between environmental scarcity and widespread conflict is limited. Actually current evidence suggests a fairly strong link between environmental scarcity and low levels of violence (Hauge and Ellingsen, 1998). Though there is no denial that resource scarcity is at times linked to widespread conflict, generally it is said to be a function of the state capacity to respond effectively and efficiently to environmental crisis that is crucial (Hauge, and Ellingsen, 1998).

Dixon and Heffernan (1991) argue that conditions of scarcity lead to valuable resource 'capture' by elites and the marginalization of powerless groups becomes a by-product of such a process. The effect is that groups denied access to the resources they desperately need are forced to migrate to other ecologically sensitive areas. Homer-Dixon (1994) disagrees with Dixon and Heffernan, arguing that more often than not, it is greed that leads to resource 'capture' and in turn resource 'capture' causes artificial scarcity. In an attempt to justify his argument, he gives an example of land grabbing in Mauritania, where in the 1970s the prospect of chronic food shortages and a serious drought prompted the region's governments to solicit funding for the Manantali Dam on the Bafing River tributary in Mali, and the Diama

salt-intrusion barrage near the mouth of the Senegal River between Senegal and Mauritania. However, the plan had unfortunate and unforeseen consequences. As the anticipation of the new dams sharply increased land values along the river in areas where high-intensity agriculture would become feasible, the elite in Mauritania, consisting mainly of white Moors, rewrote legislation governing land ownership, effectively abrogating the rights of black Africans who had long been farming, herding and fishing along the Mauritanian riverbank.'

In another case in the Sangwe Communal Land in the Chiredzi District located in the south-eastern part of Zimbabwe, Mombeshora and Mtisi (2001:4) lamented that the local Campfire programme, designed to generate revenue through wildlife conservation for the benefit of the community, was hijacked by a few wealthy individuals who happened to be leaders of the programme at local level. This coupled by local micro-political dynamics excluded some households from receiving any dividends (Mombeshora and Mtisi,2001:4) and generally the poor in Sangwe who are said to be heavily reliant on wild resources were relegated to engaging in illegal wildlife harvesting in areas like GNP, Malilangwe and Save Conservancy. This further created conflicts with other stakeholders like government conservation agencies and private property owners.

3.5. Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature on wilderness conservation and TFCA development initiatives and the origins of conflict generated and associated with such developments within the African context. Most conflicts in natural resources are generated by competition through pressure exerted by widespread poverty. They are also historically based. Changes in natural resource management and policies introduced by colonial governments stifled local community access and restricted the benefits communities used to enjoy from natural resources surrounding them, through for example the fortress conservation policy which was strictly enforced. Further, long standing traditional institutions that used to manage the natural resources were rendered useless and powerless through these new policies and management regimes. Unfortunately this imprinted negative attitudes towards natural resources conservation to the extent that it has spilled over to post-

independence times. Although the mindset is slowly changing, there is a need to review the approaches used in conservation and sustainable development projects particularly with regard to community empowerment policies and stakeholder participation. Development projects should be tailor made to economically empower local communities bearing the brunt of living with the natural resources such as wildlife.

Tandifa (2001:1) concedes that while sustainable development projects should encompass proposals that are economically and ecologically sustainable, equally important is the social side and here reference is made to equity, social mobility, social cohesion, participation, empowerment, cultural identity and institutional development. To continue neglecting local communities in conservation development projects and programmes is tantamount to prolonging the colonial's exclusion policy tradition which has proved to be detrimental to both natural resource conservation and community livelihood security.

Therefore good governance plays a critical role if natural resource management is to become effective in addressing stakeholder interests particularly powerless local rural communities and complement in efforts to eradicate or reduce the levels of poverty which is a real threat to natural resource management efforts.

Part 3: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

An Overview

This part comprises two chapters (chapters four and five) on research design and methodology. Chapter four introduces how the methodology and the research design employed in this study evolved. It introduces the two main approaches; quantitative and qualitative, the philosophical assumptions underpinning them and how they can be combined to produce a third approach, mixed methods research. Chapter five introduces the mixed methods research designs and the actual data collection process adopted by the researcher. The two chapters are 'one in two', they have been split into two to strike a balance between clarity, precision and comprehensiveness. The researcher attempted to link the progression from single method to mixed methods research paradigms.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY: AN OVERVIEW

4.1. Introduction

To address the research problem in this study, which can be summarised into one question as, 'why has sustainable development conflict in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP), particularly in Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) persisted despite concerted efforts to resolve it?' The researcher adopted the mixed method approach as a methodology. A mixed methods research is the paradigm of 'research in which the researcher or team of researchers combines elements of qualitative and quantitative research approaches....' (Johnson *et al*, 2007 quoted by Maphosa, 2009:22).

Although some researchers prefer either the philosophical approach or a pragmatic approach to research methodology and design, the inclusion of both schools of studies by contemporary social scientists is increasingly becoming common (Leedy,

1993 and Neuman ,1994 cited by Conybeare, 2008:39; Yin, 1994). Whatever approach, the methodology is supposed to be probing enough to determine the significance of the problem. According to Horton and Leslie (1981) no condition, no matter how it may appear to an observer, is a social problem, unless the values of a considerable number of people in a given society define it as such. When the problem is defined, it is argued that social research serves many purposes with the most common being exploration, description and explanation (Marshall and Rossman, 1989:15; Creswell, 1994:88; Babbie and Mouton, 2001:79).

Thus, this study seeks to describe and explain a conflict phenomenon from the experiences and perceptions of the people involved at local project site level.

4.2. Defining Research

A number of variations exists, for instance, Neuman (2006:2) states that research 'is simply a way of going about finding answers to questions', while Bargar and Duncan (1982) cited by Marshall and Rossman (1999:32) defines research as a process "that religiously uses logical analysis as a critical tool in the refinement of ideas, but which often begins at a very different place, where imagery, metaphor and analogy, intuitive hunches, kinesthetic feeling states and even dreams and dream-like states are prepotent ". However, all definitions seem to point out that research is a process designed to gather, analyse and report information that may be useful in resolving a specific problem and this is the understanding this study adopts.

4.3. Research Purpose

The purpose is not only to understand the dynamics between conflict and the development of TFCAs, but also to find best practices for conflict resolution, community involvement, as well as exploring the value brought by TFCA development from a local stakeholder's perspective. This entails an historical analysis of the situation and establishment of trends that could explain the relationships among variables. It is hoped that through sharing of ideas, concerns and desires among local stakeholders, policy interventions promoting sound socio-ecological integration and empowerment through local community participation in conservation programmes, especially in marginal areas may be influenced.

4.4. Research Design

Methodology and design researchers offer many versions in defining these terms, but of interest in this study are the perspectives offered by Borg and Gall (1989); Smith (1997) and Denzin and Lincoln(2005) which are stated below.

‘A research design describes a flexible set of guidelines that connect theoretical paradigms first to strategies of inquiry and second to methods for collecting empirical materials. A research design situates the researcher in the empirical world and connects him/her to specific sites, persons, groups, institutions and bodies of relevant interpretive material including documents and archives ’(Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:25).

Research design is a planned procedure chosen to study an identified problem. For instance, Smith (1997) cited by Muboko (2006:29) stated that research design is the actualisation of logic in a set of procedures that optimises the validity of data on a given research problem. Cooper and Schindler (2010:138) concedes that there is no single definition that imparts the full range of important aspects in research design to the extent that they offer several definitions including one such, ‘research design constitutes the blueprint for the collection, measurement and analysis of data.’ Borg and Gall (1989) defined it as all those procedures that are chosen by the researcher to study a particular set of questions or hypotheses.

However, research designs are informed by the research purpose which has different implications for some aspects of research design. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001:205) the main types of research design are experiments, surveys, qualitative designs and evaluation research. Two types of research designs; experiments and surveys form part of the more generic quantitative methodology, while ethnographic studies, case studies and life histories are qualitative designs (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270).

As used in this study methodology refers to the approach employed to examine the problem. McNabb (2004) in Maphosa (2009:18) says methodology embodies the philosophical paradigm as well as the set of procedures that comprise the process of systematically gathering data to examine the problem.

This study adopted the mixed methods research design, (explained in detail in chapter five), where literature review, surveys and interviews were employed within a case framework. Although Babbie (2004) points out that there is little consensus on what may constitute a 'case', Jankowicz (2000:210) advances its suitability where the meaning and significance of issues under study are largely determined by the situation and there is need to explore issues both in the present and in the past and look to the future. In this mixed methods approach, where the purpose was both descriptive and explanatory, the general design included contextual detail, where multiple data sources obtained through more than one method were used. The rationale for using multiple sources of evidence is based on the ideas of replication and convergence (Cook and Campbell, 1979 cited by Babbie and Mouton, 2001:282).

4.5 Philosophical/Epistemological Perspectives of Methodology

Epistemology is derived from the Greek word 'episteme' which means knowledge (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008), it is therefore the philosophy of knowledge. In the philosophy of science, epistemology and methodology are cousins, the former involving the philosophy of how to know the world while the latter involving the practice, that is, the specific methods used to gather knowledge. In epistemological tradition beliefs such as positivism and post-positivism are in contest. Positivism is underpinned by the belief that the purpose of science is to stick to what can be measured or observed, and knowledge beyond that is impossible (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004). Most quantitative research relies on positivism as an approach in social science where deductive reasoning is used to postulate testable theories (Neuman, 2006:151).

Positivism was dominant up until World War 11. Its fall in popularity at the end of the Second World War saw the emergence of the post positivist paradigm. Proponents

of post-positivism, notably Sir Karl Popper, John Dewey and Nicholas Rescher, rejected positivism. Critics argue that it restricts the range of 'permissible claims' (Smith *et al*, 1996:17). One of the most common forms of post-positivism is a philosophy termed critical realism, based on the idea that there is a reality independent of our thinking that science can study. It recognises that all observation is fallible, error bound and that all theory is revisable. Hence, post positivists emphasise the importance of using multiple measures and observations to close the gap brought by different types of error and the need to use triangulation across these multiple errorful sources (Trochim, 2006). It is the post-positivist philosophy; particularly the critical realism philosophy that this study tends to follow as it is flexible in borrowing from both the quantitative and qualitative approaches, hence, supporting the mixed methods approach to data acquisition and knowledge construction.

In addition to these beliefs, the acquisition or actualisation of knowledge by researchers is based on the way they view the world. These views have been synthesised into three major philosophical approaches or reasoning; deductive, inductive and abductive, further explained below.

4.5.1 Inductive Reasoning

Inductive research moves from the specific to the more general (Collis and Hussey, 2003:15 cited by Petronio, 2007:74). It starts with an observation rather than a pre-established general assumption and more general inferences are drawn from these particular observations. Haralambos and Holborn (2004) suggested that inductive reasoning is more useful in quantitative methodology.

4.5.2 Deductive Reasoning

Deductive research based on deductive logic moves from the general to the specific (Collis and Hussey, 2003:15 cited by Petronio, 2007:74). Deductive logic is where one is able to draw logical conclusions from one or more premises using the 'if-this-then that' type of logic. The premises should be sound since basing on false premises leads to false conclusions.

4.5.3 Abductive Reasoning

It is an alternative process to induction and deduction that is more appropriate to the qualitative research approach. According to Peirce (1903) cited by Bradshaw (2007:14), the abductive process can be explained by the following, 'The surprising fact C is observed, but if A were true, C would be self-evident, consequently there is ground to suspect that A is true'.

In this study, the same principle was followed in two similar scenarios. In the first scenario involving the Chitsa Community, the surprising fact that the problem in the GNP remains unresolved is observed, if and only if, according to ADR joint decisions were made by all key stakeholders through effective consultations and participation in the GLTP project, the resolution would be self-evident. Consequently there is ground to suspect that no effective consultations and participation for joint decision making by all key stakeholders were made in the initial project design and implementation phases.

The second scenario involved the Makuleke Community where the surprising fact of ceding part of an established national park through the signing of a contractual park agreement between powerful actors and a poor, marginalised community is observed. However, if everything is held constant, according to the alternative dispute resolution (ADR) theory, joint decisions were made through integrative problem solving, the resolution would be self-evident. Consequently there is ground to suspect that joint decisions were made through integrative problem-solving initiatives.

4.5.3.1 Strength of the Abductive Process

The abductive process stresses the need to track a process or conduct what is called process-tracking and probe how decisions have been arrived at or not, which is fitting to the ADR since it is problem oriented and introspective.

4.5.3.2 Limitations

One of the abductive process's weaknesses is its underlying assumptions that all factors to a conflict can be held constant with one factor determining an outcome. This is possible in a controlled environment like a laboratory, but is normally difficult to sustain in a natural or social setting.

4.6 Methodological Approaches

The two broad approaches to data collection; quantitative and qualitative that have been mixed in this study are discussed by highlighting some of the features raising deep rooted debate among scholars.

4.6.1 Quantitative Approach

Quantitative research is mainly the collection of numerical data through objective and measurable variables or particular aspects of a problem. It is the systematic inquiry of quantitative properties and phenomena and their relationships (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004). The objective is to develop and use mathematical models, theories and/or hypotheses relating to the natural phenomena. It is widely used in both the natural and social sciences.

Though the quantitative approach has existed since humans first started to record events, the modern idea of quantitative processes is rooted in Auguste Comte's 19th century positivist framework. Hewett (2008) credits Auguste Comte as the father of positivism who played a key role in the development of social sciences. Comte believed that the progress of the human mind had followed a historical sequence characterised by three stages he termed 'the law of three stages'; theological, metaphysical and positive. The first two stages saw humans attempting to understand the nature of things through supernatural and metaphysical explanations. In the positive stage, humans began to rely on observation and experiments as the main means of finding the truth, hence, the birth of positivism and the strengthening of the quantitative approach (Hewett, 2008).

Data obtained through the quantitative approach is better analysed through statistical tests (Collis and Hussey, 2003:13 in Petronio, 2007:72) and tables and graphs are usually employed in the presentation of results. This approach is also referred to as the 'traditional', 'experiential' or 'positivist' approach (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005:94).

4.6.1.1. Limitations

In subjects involving human behaviour, quantitative methods face limitations especially where social action is better understood by interpreting the meanings and motives on which it is based. There is little chance of discovering these parameters from quantitative data (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004).

4.6.2 Qualitative Approach

This approach is more subjective and appropriate in describing, examining and reflecting on perceptions about the nature of phenomena or gaining insight into social and human activities from the participant's view point (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004; Collis and Hussey, 2003:13 in Petronio, 2007:73). For instance, Attcus (2001) advising Scout states that 'You never really understand a person until you consider things from his point of view.....until you climb inside of his skin and walk around in it.' The purpose is therefore to discover underlying meanings and patterns of relationships from the participant's point of view, including classification of types of phenomena and entities in a way that excludes mathematical models. Neuman (2006:157) and James (2007) add that it involves the analysis of data such as words, ideas, pictures or objects. Leedy and Ormrod (2005:94) say qualitative research can also be referred to as the 'interpretive', 'constructivist' or 'post-positivist' approach.

In the past the qualitative approach was viewed as inferior to the quantitative approach mostly by the positivists because of its subjectivity. Qualitative researchers were termed journalists or 'soft scientists' and their work called unscientific or full of bias (Denzin and Lincoln 1998:7; 2005:8). Denzin and Lincoln (2005:8) explain that these arguments reflect an uneasy awareness that interpretive traditions of qualitative research commit the researcher to a critique of the positivist or post-

positivist project. Although this approach has since gained wide acceptance as a legitimate method of inquiry for the social sciences (Marshall and Rossman, 1989:9), the debate between these two major approaches seems to be perpetual and it is further looked at under 4.6.3, this volume, and again in chapter five under item 5.1.1.

4.6.2.1 Limitations

One of the limitations of the approach is that researchers are left with different accounts of the social world and no particular account can be singled out as being better than another (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004). An attempt to draw comparisons and contrasts between the two approaches has been made below.

4.6.3 Quantitative versus Qualitative Research

Quantitative and qualitative approaches have historically been mired in controversies and counter criticisms. To quote Denzin and Lincoln (2005:2);

‘by the 1960’s battle lines had been drawn within the quantitative and qualitative camps. Quantitative scholars relegated qualitative research to a subordinate status in the scientific arena. In response, qualitative researchers extolled the humanistic virtues of their subjective, interpretive approach to the study of human groups.’

The National Research Council (NRC) of the United States of America (USA) through its scientifically based research (SBR) movement aggravated the situation by creating a hostile political environment for qualitative research. The movement encourages researchers to employ what they term ‘rigorous, systematic and objective methodology to obtain reliable and valid knowledge’ (Denzin and Lincoln (2005:9). However, critics of the SBR movement are united and argue that qualitative researchers must not relent and should resist efforts to discredit qualitative inquiry by relegating it back inside the box of positivism (pg 9).

Despite arguments to wedge a clear distinction between qualitative and quantitative approaches it is observed that the two are complementary. Another school of

thought settles on the mixed method experimentalism, where paradoxically the SBR movement finds a soft landing for qualitative methods (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005:9). To further buttress this position, Kuhn (1961:162) through the analysis of science history concludes that 'large amounts of qualitative work have usually been prerequisite to fruitful quantification in the physical sciences'. The same could be said of the social and biological sciences, as it is observed that in most physical and biological sciences the appropriate use of either qualitative or quantitative methods generate no controversy, but in the social sciences especially in sociology, social anthropology and psychology, the use of one or the other type of method generates controversy(Kuhn, 1961:162) However, the recognition of both advantages and disadvantages to qualitative and quantitative data saw many evaluations now relying on a mix of the two. Table 1 below presents some common features of these methods.

Table 4.1: Qualitative; Quantitative and Mixed Methods Research

Approach	Definition	Considerations
Quantitative	-Uses numerical data to make sense of information. - Examples: Scores on a test or survey answers on a five-point scale.	-Allows collection and analysis of large amounts of data relatively quickly. -Analysis perceived to be less open to interpretation and typically considered more objective.
Qualitative	-Uses narrative forms, such as thoughts or feelings to describe what is being evaluated. - Examples: observations, interviews, focus groups, photographs or videotapes.	-Can provide rich context for examining participants' experiences and how a program operates. -Allows in-depth investigation of questions.
Mixed Methods	-Uses a combination of both quantitative and qualitative data. - Example: a combination of surveys and interviews.	-Allows quantitative data to be collected from a large number of participants. -Allows in-depth qualitative investigation of evaluation questions with a smaller number of participants. -Requires an evaluator capable of collecting data using a variety of methods and analysis.

Source: Adapted from <http://cc.bingji.com/cache.aspx?q>

The contemporary tendency in the social sciences is to employ eclectic strategies, where quantitative methods could be used with a global qualitative frame and qualitative methods may be applied to appreciate the meaning of numerical variables generated by quantitative methods. Such an integrated use of quantitative and qualitative data collection methods is usually referred to as mixed-methods research, as indicated in figure 4.1 below and useful for triangulation (Denzin and Lincoln, 2008).

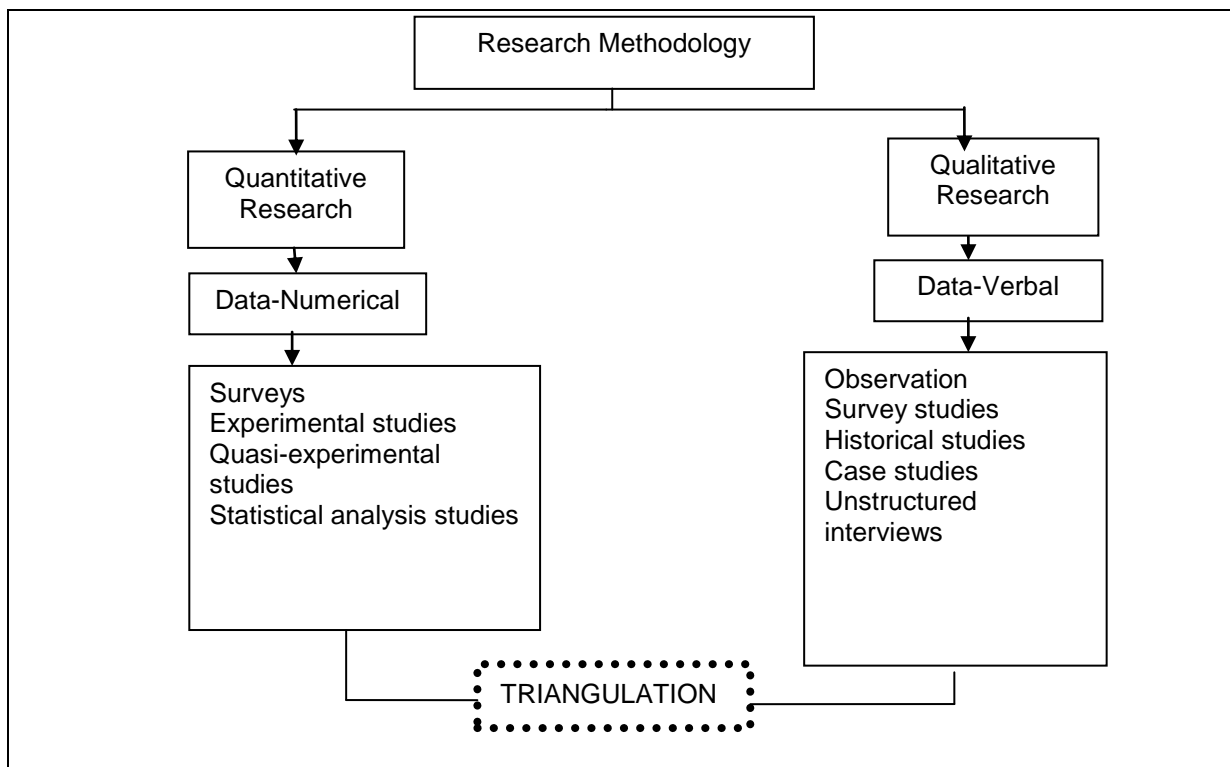


Figure 4.1: The mixed method research and its triangulation linkage.

Source: Leedy (1993) cited by Conybeare (2008:48)

The mixed methods approach combines the two major methodologies through a compatibility procedure using eclectic elements from each methodology. This procedure is underpinned by the pragmatist philosophy which aims to keep the researcher away from pointless philosophical arguments and capacitate them to mix research components in a manner they believe to work for the given research and context. This is consistent with the fundamental principle of mixed methods research which states that ‘methods should be mixed in a way that has complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses’ (Johnson and Turner, 2003; Creswell

and Clark, 2006 cited by Akilli ,n.d:4).This also supports triangulation as advocated by Denzin in Bradshaw (2007), who observed that triangulation is a technique that enhances research reliability by combining methods and investigators in the same study, thus mitigating the deficiencies associated with one investigator or method.

Thus the ideal research project should always bring more than a single research method to deal with a topic in order to produce high quality results (Chadwick *et al*, 1984:33 and Babbie, 2002 in Bradshaw, 2007). Johnson *et al* (2007) in Maphosa (2009:23) argue that ‘there is no reason for researchers to be constrained to either one of the traditional, though largely arbitrary, paradigms when they can have the best from both.’ In this study the use of the mixed-methods research and techniques provide for the needed triangulation. Below is a simple diagrammatic representation of the researcher’s mixed methods research concept and its linkages with data collection designs and analysis.

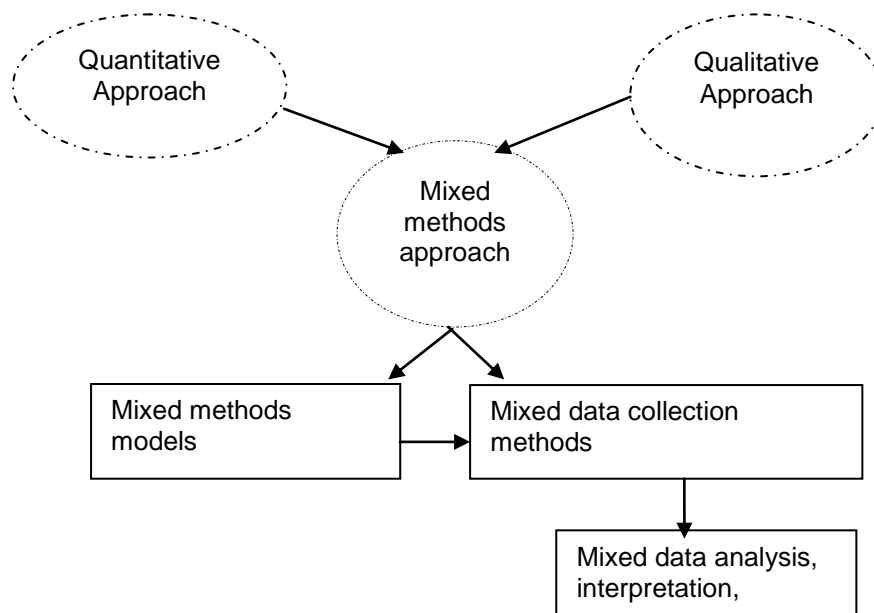


Figure 4.2: Mixed methods research conceptualised

As for the mixed methods research and an explanation on what has been mixed and how, is detailed in Chapter five.

4.7. Research Method Selection

Selecting a suitable research method is complex. However, the mixed methods approach underpinned by abductive reasoning was used to address the main and sub-problems. The multidisciplinary nature of the study, the data required and the research purpose were determinant factors. Filstead (1970) proposed that researchers should use methods appropriate to the topic at hand arguing that instead of enhancing understanding; unnecessarily complex measuring instruments may become ends in themselves and impede accrual of knowledge.

4.8. Research Tools

These are specific mechanisms or strategies the researcher uses to collect, manipulate or interpret data. According to Leedy & Ormrod (2005:12) research tools are used to facilitate the ultimate goal of research, to derive conclusions from the body of data and discover what was unknown. Basically six general research tools; the library and its resources, the computer and its software, techniques of measurement, statistics, the human mind and language are used by researchers to systematically acquire data to address the problem. This study involved a rigorous library and desk-top research, review of literature and visits to the project site for questionnaire distribution and to conduct personal interviews.

4.9. Data sources and Data Collection

Both secondary and primary data sources were consulted. Primary data consisted of data collected for the study while secondary data was obtained from existing sources. Leedy & Ormrod (2005) assert that it is necessary to use both to provide adequate information and the comparability required. Further data was classified into two main categories; numeric data (numbers and statistics) and textual data (documents, texts, conversations and interview transcripts).

Secondary data collection was through a literature review where available secondary data sources such as written records, including policy documents, published and

unpublished literature, were consulted to gather historical information on the background to the case and the development challenges.

Primary data collection in the field was built upon key informant interviews and surveys across the two communities using mainly formal questionnaires and personal interviews. These data collection instruments and techniques are explained in detail in chapter five of this thesis. However, my research design for data collection had three phases leading to conclusions and figure 4.3 below illustrates these phases.

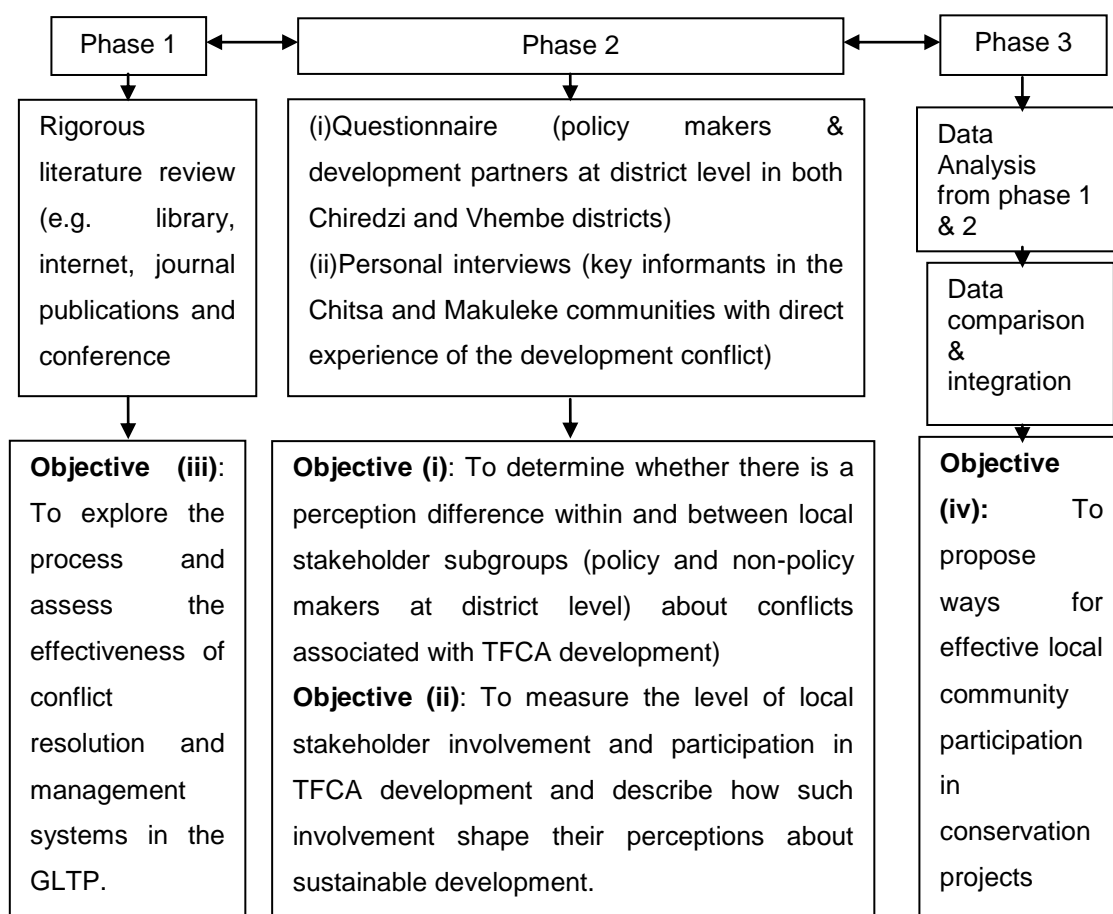


Figure 4.3: The research design illustrating the three study phases.

4.10. Sample Size Considerations

The actual sample size used for this study is mentioned in chapter five under item 5.2.13 and the paragraphs below explain the reasoning behind sampling.

In terms of sample size, Neuman (2000:209) argued that the smaller the population, the bigger the sampling ratio has to be for an accurate sample. Larger populations allow smaller sampling ratios for equally good samples due to diminishing of returns in accuracy as the population size grows. Neuman (2000:209) further states that for smaller populations (under 1000), a researcher would need a large sampling ratio of about 30% and for a moderately large population (about 10 000), a smaller sampling ratio of about 10% is required to be equally accurate. These approximate sizes are based on past experience with samples that have met the requirements of statistical methods (Neuman, 2000:209).

Although it is desirable to involve every community member in a survey, it is generally not feasible with a huge population. In this study the most limiting factors were time and mobility, given the spatial extent of the area and population size, it could have been difficult to cover a sample that would represent such a huge target population. Some of the costs include the training of language interpreters, for Babbie (1998) in Khorommbi (2001:29); Nabasa *et al* (1995) and Opoku (1995) stressed the importance of speaking the same language between the researcher and the respondent. Besides, results from a previous study by Jones (2006:11) in the Lubombo TFCA indicated that traditional leaders mostly influence people on land and conservation issues. Again, the researcher assumed that since councillors are elected representatives of their constituencies and traditional leaders are custodians of culture, the articulation of community concerns, interests and aspirations at that level should suffice for the purpose of this study, although this is debatable. For the purpose of this study, the actual sample and who was targeted is detailed in chapter five under section 5.2.13.

4.11. Measurement Instrument/ Questionnaire Format

The researcher should be clear about what is to be measured. In this study the following attributes or factors were measured, through questionnaires and interviews.

1. The perceptions within and between local stakeholder subgroups (policy and non-policy makers at district level) about conflicts associated with TFCA development.
2. The extent of local stakeholder participation in GLTP project design and implementation.
3. The extent of local stakeholder public participation in the conflict resolution process.
4. The perceptions and attitudes of stakeholders on wilderness/TFCA conservation and development.

4.12. Questionnaire Piloting

Bell(1998) cited by Muboko (2006:37) and Welman and Kruger(2001) strongly recommended that a survey questionnaire first be put to test on a small group of individuals who are representatives of the same population for which it is intended for the purpose of detecting possible flaws in the measurement procedures, identifying unclear or ambiguous items and general response. Between five to ten individuals were targeted for the pilot study. The results of the pilot survey were excluded from the survey results as they were used to authenticate the questions that represented the final review.

4.13. Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the theoretical and philosophical assumptions underlying the two major research approaches, quantitative and qualitative, and their weaknesses. It additionally introduced the concept of mixed methods research which is further discussed in chapter five. Drawing from this background, the next chapter (five) discusses the mixed methods design in detail, including data collection procedures and analysis methods.

CHAPTER FIVE

MIXED METHODS RESEARCH

5.1. Introduction

This chapter consist of two sections. Section one is an overview of mixed methods research designs, including the conceptual framework and types of mixed methods designs. Section two covers data collection methods and the actual data collection instruments used in this study.

Although this chapter is heavily inclined towards the description of primary data collection methods used, the secondary data collection methods used in this study are equally important as information obtained assist in process tracking where one will have an insight into what processes occurred in each case in order to make informed comparisons and analysis.

5.2. Section One: Mixed Methods Studies

Although mixed methods studies have once again become trendy after a period of disrepute, the very issues that initially caused that disrepute such as definitional, paradigmatic and methodological arguments remain outstanding and continue to hound researchers whenever they write about mixed methods (Smith, 1983; Johnson *et al*, 2007; <http://www.researchsupport.com/au.>). Regarding definitions, variations exist, but of interest to this study include the following cited by Creswell (2008) from Creswell & Plano Clark(2007) which appear to incorporate most components found in other definitions.

‘Mixed methods research is a research methodology with philosophical assumptions as well as methods of inquiry. As a methodology, it involves philosophical assumptions that guide the direction of the collection and analysis of data and the mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches in many phases in the research process. As a method, it focuses on collecting, analyzing, and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data in a single study

or series of studies. Its central premise is that the use of quantitative and qualitative approaches, in combination, provides a better understanding of research problems than either approach alone.'

Another definition also echoes the same concept enshrined in the definition cited by Creswell (2008) outlined above,

'Mixed methods research means adopting a research strategy using more than one type of research method. The methods may be a mix of qualitative and quantitative methods, a mix of quantitative methods, or a mix of qualitative methods. A mixed method strategy may stand out on its own or may be subsumed within another research strategy, such as, case study design. Mixed methods research may also mean working with different data' (Brannen, 2005:4).

From the above definitions it can be deduced that mixed methods research primarily entails mixing of qualitative and quantitative approaches at either one or all the stages of a research process to enrich it irrespective of the paradigmatic and philosophical differences underpinning each approach.

However, these and many other definitional variants of mixed methods research stimulate a number of paradigmatic and philosophical debates, some of which are further explained below.

5.2.1. Paradigmatic Issues

Approaches used to define quantitative and qualitative research have long been associated with different paradigmatic approaches to research. Guba and Lincoln's (1985) work on naturalistic inquiry had a significant contribution to the 'paradigmatic wars' of the 1980s. Their concerns were attacked by many writing about approaches to social science mainly as a response to the earlier dominance of the positivist worldview that prioritised objective observation over interpretation of subjective experience and constructed social realities. Bazeley (2002:3) cites Howe and Eisenhardt (1990) who complained that the positivist approach did not only serve social science badly, but has largely been ignored as a basis for natural sciences.

They further argued that all scientific arguments and analysis involve acts of interpretation. Greene *et al* (1989) concluded after a review of 56 mixed methods studies that 'Our own thinking to date suggests that the notion of mixing paradigms is problematic for designs with triangulation or complementary purposes, acceptable but still problematic for designs with a development or expansion intent, and actively encouraged for designs with an initiation intent' (Greene *et al*, 1989 in Bazeley, 2002:3). Following this line of thought one can conclude that in the main paradigmatic issues raised by mixed methods research remain unresolved. In the same breath Greene *et al* (1989) subscribed to the notion that one cannot research or prove paradigms, therefore paradigmatic debates will remain unresolved.

In an attempt to strike a balance between these two paradigmatic approaches (quantitative and qualitative) Miles and Huberman (1994) invoked the concept of pragmatism introduced earlier on by Howe (1988). Moon and Moon (2004:8) cites Nielson (1991) who described pragmatism as a 'reactive, debunking philosophy'. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) in Maphosa (2009:127) postulates that the pragmatic theory states that any suitable method will do to address any specific aims or research questions irrespective of any philosophical or paradigmatic assumptions. Within the same confines, Maphosa (2009:128) citing Johnson and Turner (2003) says that mixed methods research advocates employ what is termed the fundamental principle of mixed research which states that researchers should use multiple methods that have 'complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses'.

Miles and Huberman (1994) cited by Bazeley (2002:3) argued that pragmatism increasingly overruled purity as the perceived benefits of mixing methods came to be seen as outweighing the importance of the philosophical difficulties in their use. Again, paradigms are rarely referred to when it comes to reporting as the actual methods used and the outcomes obtained will be of focus. Howe (1988) cited by Moon and Moon (2004:6) is of the view that currently the 'paradigm wars' are over and the terminology used by pragmatists now is of 'mixed methodologies'.

Below is an attempt to unpack this 'mixed methodologies' concept by discussing some of the design typologies consistent with the mixed methods research.

5.2.2. Types of Mixed Methods Research

As indicated in the foregoing, there are basically three types of mixed methods studies whose mixing is influenced by how methods are combined.

Firstly, mixed methods studies where the quantitative component of the study is more dominant and researchers are known as quantitative researchers. This can be symbolised as $QUAN > qual$. Where *QUAN* represents quantitative dominance and *qual* represents qualitative non-dominance.

Secondly, mixed methods studies where the qualitative component has priority and researchers identify themselves primarily as qualitative researchers. It is symbolised as $Quan > QUAL$, and this study follows this type more than the other two. This was adopted due to the need to better interpret and understand the attitudes and perceptions of respondents which are expressed more in qualitative terms than in quantitative terms. Thirdly, are mixed methods studies in which the quan component comes last and where neither approach appears to dominate. This is symbolised as $QUAL > QUAN$. This criterion is further elaborated under types of mixed methods research designs under item 5.1.3.

A milieu of versions then arises from these three basic types. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004), identifies a number of issues determining the type of mixed methods research. One of the issues is about method application, where for example, one collects information by using each method concurrently or sequentially, particularly where one wants to use one method to inform another. Another aspect is the extent of mixture observed along a continuum from single to fully mixed methods. Other aspects have to do with where the mixing actually takes place, such as in the objective(s), research design, data collection methods or data analysis phase and whether one takes a critical theory or a transformative-empowerment approach to a study. According to Mertens (2003) cited by Maphosa (2009:131) transformative-empowerment is an assumption that knowledge is not

neutral but influenced by human interests and that the purpose of knowledge construction is to assist in the improvement of society.

Below is an illustration of the different types of mixed methods research along a qualitative-quantitative continuum displaying a number of common characteristics that ultimately produces the basic three types and other versions of mixed methods studies.

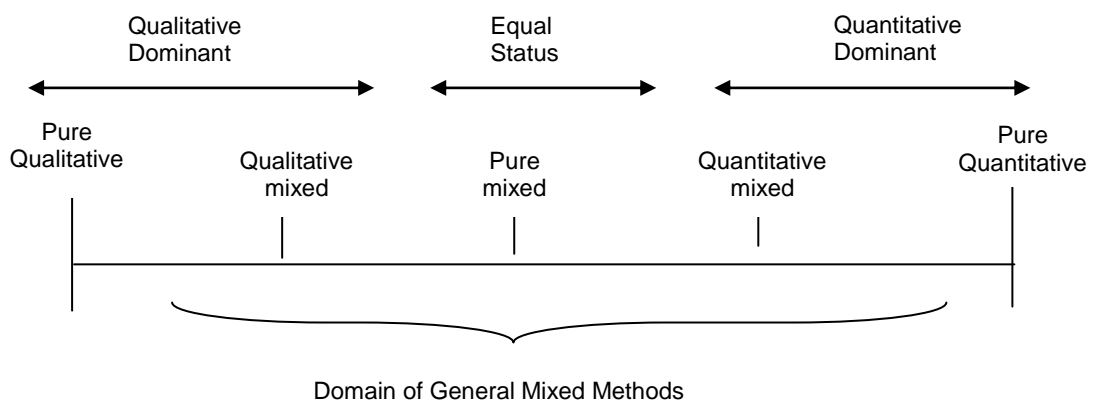


Figure 5.1: Mixed methods research continuum

Source: Adapted and modified from Maphosa (2009:132)

In figure 5.1 above, the central point depicts an area of a wholesome type of mixed methods referred to as pure mixed and any outward movement along the continuum increasingly diminishes the degree of wholesomeness. An outward movement to the right of the central point encroaches into the domain of quantitative dominant mixed methods sphere where one depends on a quantitative, post-positivist approach of the research process, while incorporating the benefit of qualitative data approaches. A movement to the left lands one in the qualitative dominant mixed methods arena, where the researcher is dependent on a qualitative, constructivist, interpretive view of the research process while incorporating aspects of quantitative data and approaches.

This study followed the mixed method studies where the qualitative component is dominant. The researcher applied the methods concurrently as a way of allowing

one method to inform another. The mixing occurred in the research design, data collection and analysis stages.

Further, a number of mixed methods designs or 'recipes' are explained in the ensuing section.

5.2.3. Types of Mixed Method Designs

Basically, there are two common mixed methods research designs; the mixed model designs and the mixed method designs. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) attempted to classify these terms, arguing that the term 'mixed model' is more appropriate than 'mixed method' for research in which different approaches are used at any or all research stages. Although their classification is complex (Spratt *et al*, 2004:7), their basic categories are useful for the purpose of this study as the majority of mixed methods research designs spin off from these two major types.

As mentioned earlier, mixed methods designs are influenced by what is being mixed, where and how. For instance, one may collect information by using each method concurrently (*Concurrent/Simultaneous designs*) like two parallel studies that only come together once data are being analysed, or sequentially (*Sequential designs*) if the aim is to use one method to inform another in a more integrated manner. The actual methods used may be the same, but the manner in which they are sequenced and combined can make a difference in the process of conducting the study and in the results (Spratt *et al*, 2004:7).

Brannen (2005:14) attempted to elaborate this mixing of research designs by reinforcing the point that this may be shown in terms of both the sequencing and dominance of qualitative and quantitative methods. In Brannen's illustration below, (2005:14), the arrows indicate sequencing of methods and the plus signs indicate simultaneity. Dominance of a method is indicated in capital letters. For example, QUAL stands for qualitative dominance, QUAN stands for quantitative dominance, qual stands for qualitative non-dominance, and quan stands for quantitative non-dominance.

Concurrent/Simultaneous designs

- | | | |
|----------------|----|----------------|
| 1. QUAL + quan | or | 2. QUAL + QUAN |
| 3. QUAN + quan | or | 4. QUAN + QUAN |
| 5. QUAL + qual | or | 6. QUAL + QUAL |

Sequential designs

- | | | | | |
|-----------------|----|---------------------------|----|-----------------|
| 1. QUAL > qual | or | 2. qual > QUAL | or | 3. QUAL > QUAL |
| 4. QUAN > quan | or | 5. quan > QUAN | or | 6. QUAN > QUAN |
| 7. QUAL > quan | or | 8. qual > QUAN | or | 9. QUAL > QUAN |
| 10. QUAN > qual | or | 11. quan > QUAL | or | 12. QUAN > QUAL |

Source: Derived from Brannen (2005:14)

In this illustration, for example, quan>QUAL in number 11 marked in bold above, indicates a design where more highly resourced qualitative research follows lesser resourced quantitative work and Brannen(2005:15) argues that this design is more common.

Following Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003), this study preferred to use the term mixed model designs. These model designs offer a framework upon which a researcher can find the appropriate mix to obtain better results for a given study. It is emphasised that although the qualitative and quantitative approaches and different mixing styles were used concurrently in most stages of the research, the qualitative approach is more dominant.

In the following an attempt has been made to look at the two mixed methods research designs (mixed model and mixed methods designs) that arise as a result of these combinations.

5.2.4. The Mixed Model Designs

Mixed model designs are established as a result of mixing qualitative and quantitative approaches within or across the stages of the research process. Variations of mixed model designs abound, but six common models have been identified. These are termed across-stage mixed-model designs because the mixing occurs across the stages of the research process as illustrated in the figure below.

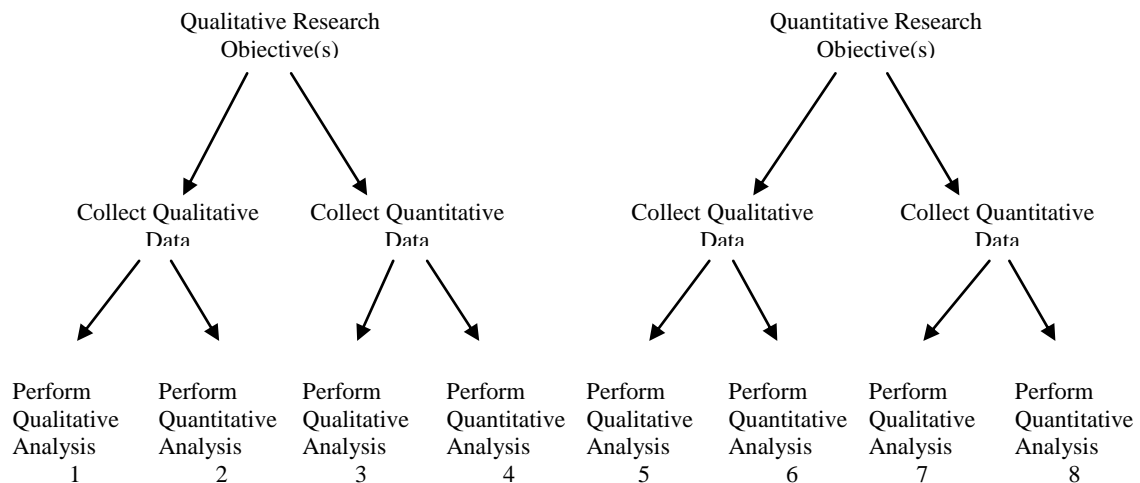


Figure 5.2: Figure: The mixed model designs (Monomethod and mixed-model designs).

Source: Adopted and modified from Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004:21)

Note. Designs 1 and 8 on the outer edges are the monomethod or single designs, that is, either pure qualitative or pure quantitative. Those representing the mixed-model designs are designs number 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7.

The other version is termed within-stage mixed-model design, for example, where the use of a questionnaire that includes a summated rating scale (quantitative data collection), and one or more open-ended questions (qualitative data collection).

All designs 2-7 and the within-stage mixed model design were adopted in this study. The purpose was to qualify quantitative data as well as quantifying qualitative data. Qualitative interpretation of quantitative data enriches information and enhances comprehension of a situation under study.

5.2.5. The Mixed Methods Designs

Mixed methods designs generally refer to the mixed methods resulting from the inclusion of a quantitative phase and a qualitative phase in an overall research study. The procedures can be described as mixed methods designs where data are collected concurrently, sequentially or both and in which emphasis given to quantitative and qualitative data varies (Creswell, 2008). Concurrent methods have

variations, for example, the common two of interest and applied in this study are the concurrent nested strategy and the concurrent triangulation strategy, illustrated by figures 5.3 and 5.4 respectively.

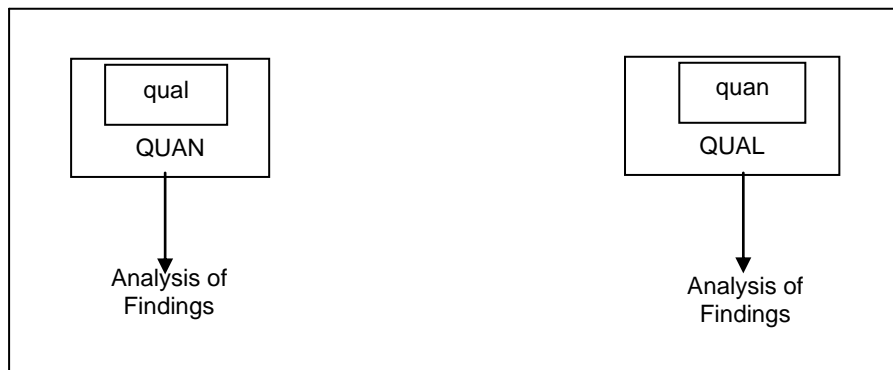


Figure 5.3: Concurrent nested strategy

Source: Adapted and modified from Katsulis. (2003) (presentation slide no.16)

The primary purpose is to gain broader insights than would not be possible using the predominant method alone. It can also be used to address a different question than the dominant method, termed embedded method, or seek information from different groups or level, hence, Tashakkori and Teddlie (1998) described this strategy as a multilevel design. An example of a multilevel design is where employees could be studied quantitatively while managers could be interviewed qualitatively in an organisation under scrutiny.

5.2.5.1 Strengths and Weaknesses: Concurrent nested strategy.

Some of the strengths of the concurrent nested strategy are that it can be done simultaneously, provides advantages of both methods and can be used to gain perspectives from different types of data or different levels within the study. Some of its weaknesses are that data should be transformed in order to be integrated and it can be unclear how to resolve discrepancies occurring between two data types. Also differing levels of priority within the research design results in unequal evidence which may prejudice results (Katsulis, 2003). Figure 5.4 below presents the other strategy, the concurrent triangulation strategy.

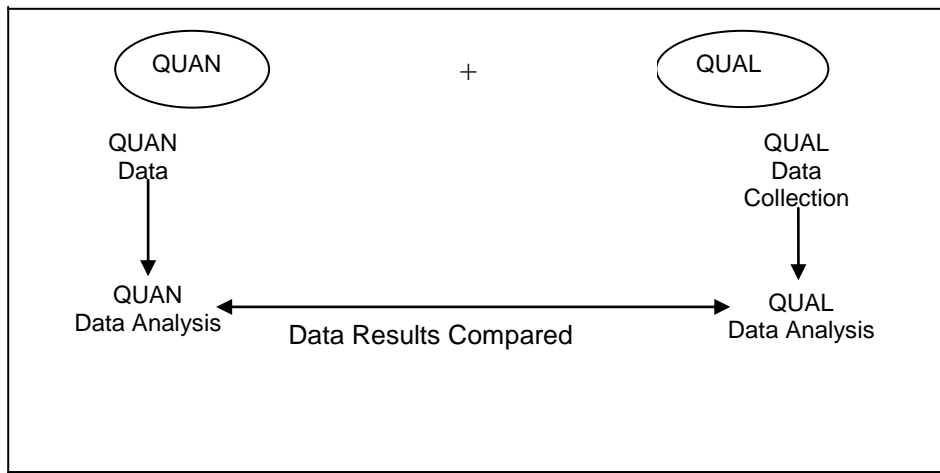


Figure 5.4: Concurrent triangulation strategy

Source: Adapted and modified from Katsulis (2003) (presentation slide no.13)

The purpose of the concurrent triangulation strategy is to confirm, cross-validate or corroborate findings within a single study. Yu (2004) explains that the two goals of triangulation are convergence and completeness. These goals stem from the ideas and work of Peirce (1934/1960) cited by Moon and Moon (2004:10) on convergence, which is linking arguments and evidence. This view was attacked by Jick (1985) who thought that data from different methods should be used to add completeness rather than as a form of cross-validation. However, the strategy uses separate methods as ways of offsetting inherent weaknesses within one method and interpretation should note convergence or explain any lack of it. The findings can also be used as a way to strengthen knowledge claims. With respect to specific methods, methodological triangulation has been successfully used across quantitative and qualitative methods and data (Patton, 1990).

5.2.5.2. Strengths and Weaknesses: Concurrent triangulation strategy

Some of the strengths of the concurrent triangulation strategy are that this strategy is more familiar and has a shorter data collection period as compared to sequencing. Some of its weaknesses are that great experience and expertise is required of the researcher, it can be difficult to compare the results of two analysis methods using data of different formats and may be unclear as to how to resolve discrepancies that could arise in the results.

However, one is tempted to ask the question 'why mixing?' In the following text an attempt has been made to provide some answers to this question.

This study borrowed from both the concurrent nested strategy and the concurrent triangulation strategy, in order to neutralise the weaknesses of each strategy and capitalise on their strengths.

5.2.6. Why Mixed Methods Research?

Mixed methods research was chosen and applied in this study because it is process-oriented and facilitates equal participation of all key stakeholders. While it can be complementary, it also provides an element of triangulation, and meets the need for multiple sources of evidence when judging social programmes (Johnson, 2007 cited by Maphosa, 2009:23).

In presenting a case for mixing quantitative and qualitative research methods Jones (2004) argued that the difference between the quantitative and qualitative sides of the argument has been based on an over theoretical approach to research in social sciences. Yu (2004) tackles the debate from the angle that there is a misunderstanding of philosophy that aligns quantitative research with empiricism and logical positivism. He argues that quantitative research is not always objective and therefore advocates for the use of a variety of methods including triangulation, defined as 'largely a vehicle for cross validation when two or more distinct methods are found to be congruent and yield comparable data' (Moebius, 2002).

Joining the debate, Howe (1988) introduces the concept of pragmatism, (mentioned under item 5.1.1, this volume) which focuses on the compatibility of quantitative and qualitative methods. The pragmatist philosophy is rooted in the work of Wittgenstein (1958); Davidson (1973) and Rorty (1982) as cited by Moon and Moon (2004:7). Tashakkori and Teddle (1998) conclude that pragmatism allows the use of quantitative and qualitative methods in social and behavioural research.

Brannen (2004, 2005) adds that there are two contexts in the research process in which methodological considerations concerning the application of a mixed methods research strategy come to the fore. First, is the context of inquiry or research design phase, where framing of questions takes place, for example, the question, 'Do we want to use one field method to find a particular group and to use another field method to study a subset of that group?' determines the choice of method. The second context is known as the 'context of justification', where data are analysed and interpreted. However, data sets cannot be linked together unproblematically as ontological (the nature of knowledge), epistemological and theoretical issues rear their heads in the researcher's encounter with data (Smith and Heshusius, 1986 in Brannen, 2004:11).

However, a research strategy is devised as best suited to a particular purpose instead of just being yoked to a philosophical standpoint. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) in Maphosa (2009:137) recommends that 'it is important to understand that one can easily create more user specific and more complex designs.....the researcher must be creative and not be limited (by these major research designs)...and should mindfully create designs that effectively answer their research questions.'

Conscious of the above, a review of literature on mixed methods research identifies a range of functions which mixed methods are employed for. Maphosa (2009:133) citing several authors including Collins *et al* (2006); Creswell (2009); Denscombe (2008) and Greene (2008) concurs with Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006:480) who pointed out five important reasons or purposes for adopting mixed methods research. The five purposes are triangulation(that is, looking for convergence, corroboration and correspondence of results from different sources or methods); complementarity (that is, seeking elaboration, enhancement and clarification of results from one method with results from another method); development (that is, using results from one method to help inform the other method); initiation (that is, discovering paradoxes and contradictions that lead to a recasting of research question(s) and expansion(that is, seeking to expand the breadth and range of investigation by using different methods for different inquiry) . As such, any mixed

methods research can be classified as having one or more of these purposes (Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2006:480).

5.2.7 Strengths and Limitations of Mixed Methods Research

Some of the strengths of mixed methods research are:

1. Words, pictures and narratives can be used to add meaning to numbers.
2. Numbers can be used to add precision to words, pictures and narratives.
3. The strength of one method can be used to overcome the weaknesses of another by using both in a single study. This is the principle of complementarity.
4. It can provide stronger evidence for conclusion through convergence and corroboration of findings, thus satisfying the principle of triangulation.
5. It can produce more complete knowledge necessary to inform theory and practice.
6. It can be used to increase the generalizability of results.

Some of the mixed methods research weaknesses are:

1. If two approaches are used concurrently, it could be difficult for one researcher to carryout both qualitative and quantitative research.
2. One has to learn about multiple methods and approaches and have an appreciation of how to appropriately mix them.
3. It is expensive and time consuming.
4. Some of the details of mixed research remain to be fully explored by research methodologists.
5. 'Paradigmatic wars' are problematic as methodological purists maintain that one should always work within either a qualitative or quantitative paradigm.

The strengths and weaknesses, outlined above justified the rationale behind the researcher's adoption of the mixed methods research. It also satisfies the principles of convergence and complementarity mentioned before.

5.2.8. Conclusion

Using several methods and approaches to define complex phenomenon like the link between conflict and sustainable development, as is the case in this study, is appropriate if a holistic and inclusive insight is sought to understand the nature of the conflict and to address critical research questions requiring perspectives from different sources. A mixed methods research can increase the scope and validity of data gathered from different sources and provides the ingredient needed to compare and triangulate data especially from different subgroups or subsamples in a single study. Following this discussion, the next section (section two) provides a review of the main data collection instruments that will be used in this study, that is, questionnaire and personal interviews. To a lesser extent focus groups and personal communication will be used.

5.3. Section Two: Data Collection Methods

5.3.1. Introduction

Consistent with the mixed methods research design, which promotes multiple use of techniques, a questionnaire and personal interviews are used in this study as data collection instruments.

As pointed out in chapter four (this paper), data gathered through surveys, particularly questionnaires, generates mostly quantitative data and personal interviews mainly generates qualitative data. According to Babbie (1973:45) survey research is one among many research tools available to researchers which can be used to examine many social topics but can be effective when combined with other methods. Surveys are roughly divided into two broad areas; questionnaires and interviews (Trochim, 2006). The following is a detailed explanation of questionnaires and interviews particularly personal interviews.

5.3.2. Questionnaires

A questionnaire can be defined as a list of written questions that can be completed in the following one of two basic ways. Firstly, respondents may be requested to complete the questionnaire in the absence of the researcher, normally referred to as postal or mail questionnaire. Secondly, respondents may be requested to complete the questionnaire by verbally responding to questions in a face-to-face encounter with the researcher or interviewer and this variation is called a structured interview (<http://www.sociology.org.uk/methodq.pdf>).

Another similar definition states that 'a questionnaire is a research instrument made up of a series of questions and other prompts designed for information gathering from respondents (<http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/>)

From the above it can be deduced that questionnaire is a general term used to describe all techniques of data collection in which each person is asked to respond to the same set of questions in a predetermined order (Weijun, 2008). The questionnaire was invented by Sir Francis Galton and was associated with census (Lancaster, 2006:11). In the United States of America (USA)'s census in 1790, data was collected from households using a 'schedule' or questionnaire. Since then the form of the questionnaire continued to be improved and its application widened. Today the questionnaire is one of the most popular instruments used for data collection in survey research. Walonick (1993) strongly recommends questionnaires arguing that they are one of the most popular methods of conducting scholarly work and provide a convenient way of information gathering from a target population.

Although the greatest use of questionnaires is made by the survey strategy, it is not confined to it as both experiment and case study research strategies can make use of questionnaires.

In the following, various types or forms of questionnaires in use to suit different situations and purposes are reviewed.

5.3.3. Types of Questionnaires/Questions

Welman and Kruger (2001) considered a number of techniques and hints for developing and constructing questionnaires, like the use of good judgement when formulating the questions, varying it between open-ended and closed-ended questions, consider the respondents level of literacy, not to ask offensive questions, conciseness but still preventing ambiguity, maintaining neutrality and use of a justified sequence. This may mean probably starting from the less sensitive and moving on to the more sensitive questions.

It can then be acknowledged that questionnaire types are determined by the format of questions which are restricted to two basic types; closed-ended and open-ended questions. In a closed ended question a researcher provides an appropriate list of answers or responses, such as, yes/no from which the respondent makes choices. The response option for closed-ended questions should be exhaustive and mutually exclusive. Four types of response scales for closed-ended questions have been identified as follows:

1. Dichotomous: where respondent has two answers to choose from.
2. Nominal-polytomous: where respondent has more than two unordered options.
3. Ordinal-polytomous: where respondent has more than two ordered options.
4. Continuous: where respondent is presented with a continuous scale.

According to Strydom (2004) these types of questions mainly produce quantitative data.

In open-ended questions the researcher does not provide the respondent with any predetermined list of possible answers to select from and the respondents are expected to answer in their own words. This produces mainly qualitative data.

These two types of questionnaires are adopted in this study to satisfy the dominant qualitative research framework as well as satisfying the mixed method approach. Question mixing can occur in three fashions, firstly a researcher can write qualitative

research questions and quantitative research questions within one questionnaire, or secondly, write a mixed methods research question or thirdly, write these questions separately in separate questionnaires (<http://www.edstudies.ukzn.ac.za/>. Accessed 23/02/10). Below is table 5.1 summarising questionnaire advantages and disadvantages.

Table 5.1: Advantages and disadvantages of questionnaires

Strengths / Uses of Method	Weaknesses / Limitations of Method
<p>1. The researcher is able to contact large numbers of people quickly, easily and efficiently using a postal questionnaire (since all he / she has to do is identify the group that will be targeted and post them the list of questions).</p>	<p>1. The format of questionnaire design makes it difficult for the researcher to examine complex issues and opinions. Even where open-ended questions are used, the depth of answers that the respondent can provide tend to be more-limited than with almost any other method of research. This makes it difficult for a researcher to gather information that is rich in depth and detail.</p>
<p>2. Questionnaires are relatively quick and easy to create, code and interpret (especially if closed questions are used). In addition, the respondent, not the researcher, does the time-consuming part of completing the questionnaire.</p>	<p>2. With a postal questionnaire, the researcher can never be certain the person to whom the questionnaire is sent actually fills it in. For example, if your research is concerned with finding-out the opinions of women on a range of issues, it would be less than useful if an unknown number of the questionnaires sent by the researcher were filled-in by men.</p>
<p>3. A questionnaire is easy to standardise. E.g., every respondent is asked the same question in the same way. The researcher, thus, can be sure that everyone in the sample answers exactly the same questions, which makes this a very reliable method of research.</p>	<p>3. Where the researcher is not present, it's always difficult to know whether or not a respondent has understood a question properly.</p>
<p>4. Questionnaires can be used to explore potentially embarrassing areas (such as sexual and criminal matters) more easily than other methods. The questionnaire can, for example, be both anonymous and completed in privacy. This increases the chances of people answering questions honestly because they are not intimidated by the presence of a researcher.</p>	<p>4. The researcher has to hope the questions asked mean the same to all the respondents as they do to the researcher. This is a problem that can to some extent be avoided by conducting a Pilot Study prior to conducting the real survey</p>

	<p>5. The response rate (that is, the number of questionnaires that are actually returned to the researcher) tends to be very low for postal questionnaires. A 20 - 25% return of questionnaires is probably something that most researchers would happily settle for and this may mean that a carefully-designed sample becomes unrepresentative of a target population.</p>
	<p>6. The problem of the self-selecting sample is particularly apparent in relation to questionnaires. When a response rate is very low the responses received may only be the opinions of a very highly motivated section of the sample (that is, people with strong opinions who take the time and trouble to complete and return a questionnaire).</p>

Source: Adapted from Sociological Research Skills Research Methods, (<http://www.sociology.org.uk/methodq.pdf>. Accessed 18-02-10).

5.3.4. Data Collection Process Using Questionnaires

Questionnaires will be introduced carefully to the respondent to ensure a high response rate. For self-administered questionnaires this will incorporate a covering letter briefly introducing the subject matter, objectives and the researcher's background. In accordance with Welman and Kruger (2001), the questionnaire will be pilot tested prior to data collection to assess the validity and likely reliability of the questions. Following piloting the questionnaire will be administered to the target population in the two communities. The self-administered survey technique shall be used and in some situations will incorporate group self-administered surveys, where a questionnaire is administered to a responsible authority or decision-making persona representing a group or institution, as in the case of Rural District Councils and Government Departments.

Although it is an effective data collection technique and widely used by researchers, its limitations are that it is confined to the data which people are able and willing to report in the first place. Hence, the observations and conclusions are limited and dependent upon the quality of information divulged.

5.3.4.1. Mode of Questionnaire Delivery

The most applicable ways of questionnaire delivering are mail or postal delivery, drop-off, computer-based and email. All these delivery methods can be situational as one may carry advantages over another in any given situation.

In this study questionnaires will mostly be hand delivered or dropped-off to the respondents who had been selected through purposive sampling in both Chiredzi and Vhembe (formally Malamulele) Districts. The delivery happens either at respective work offices, at home or through e-mail facility for those connected to the internet. The respondents to be covered are the key stakeholders in decision/policy making positions across the divide at the district level relevant to this study as mentioned in chapter four of this volume.

The drop-off questionnaire delivery mode is effective but expensive particularly if the researcher and the respondents do not reside in the same area. The e-mail delivery mode is fast, less expensive and effective, but its main disadvantage is that it may not be applicable where respondents are not connected to the internet. Although internet survey methodology and techniques are still in their infancy, the response rate has been found to be high where respondents are connected (Jacobs, 2007:6)

5.3.4.2. Questionnaire Delivery Problems

Although this researcher largely avoids the postal questionnaire because of the inherent low response rate problems, the other delivery methods suffer the same fate albeit on a smaller scale. The response rate ranges from slow responders through fast responders to non-responders. In this study, anticipated problems include even non-response. A 20-25% return of questionnaires is probably something that most researchers would happily settle for and this may mean that a carefully-designed sample becomes unrepresentative of a target population (<http://www.sociology.org.uk/methodq.pdf>; accessed 18-02-10).

To enhance frequency of questionnaire returns, the researcher will make telephone follow-ups where appropriate or physical follow-ups on slow responders where

feasible. To facilitate effective tracking each questionnaire is marked with a number or code before delivery and when returned it will be noted.

5.3.5. Personal Interviews

The second method is personal interviews. These fall under the ambit of interviews that Strydom (2004) termed 'qualitative interviews. Quoting Oakley (1981), Gubrium and Holstein (2001:635) asserts that 'interviewing is like a marriage, everyone knows what it is, an awful lot of people do it, and yet behind each closed door there is a world of secrets.'

Kvale (1996) says 'interviews are conversations where the outcome is a co-production of the interviewer and the interviewee.'

Gubrium and Holstein (2002:50) defines interviewing as a 'conversation with a purpose.'

Interviewing is probably the most widely used method in qualitative research. Despite the apparent proliferation of a pallet of terminology describing interviews in qualitative research, the two main types are the unstructured and semi-structured interviews, hence, researchers often utilise the term qualitative research to encapsulate these two types of interviews (Bryman and Bell, 2007:472).

Qualitative interviewing is usually different from interviewing in quantitative research in a number of ways particularly as it relates to personal interviews, which are characterised by the following traits. The approach tends to be less structured, thus it tends to be flexible. Interviewers can depart significantly from any schedule or guide being used and can ask new questions as follow-up to interviewee's responses. Again, there is greater interest in the interviewee's point of view, hence going off point is often encouraged as it indicates what the respondent sees as relevant and important (Bryman and Bell, 2007).

5.3.6. Purpose of Interviews

Patton (1990:278) quoting Halcolm's epistemological parables, says 'each person you question can take you into a new part of the world. For the person who is willing

to ask and listen the world will always be new. The skilled questioner and attentive listener knows how to enter into another's experience'

Therefore the purpose of interviewing is primarily to get what is on someone's mind (Attcus, 2001, this volume pg 104) as it allows for flexibility and even the expression of contradictory views and feelings. Qualitative interviewing is premised on the assumption that the perspective of others is meaningful, knowable and able to be made explicit (Patton, 1990:278). In order to understand such perspectives personal interview questions are flexible to suit the information needs and research purpose, some of which are explained below.

5.3.7. Types/Variations of Interview Questions

Although an interview guide or schedule can be made up of some fairly specific closed questions each of which may be probed, there are a lot more questions which are completely open-ended (Patton, 1990). Open-ended interviewing is intended to access the perspective of a person, particularly on non-observable things such as feelings, thoughts and intentions, behaviours or actions that occurred at some point in time. The most effective way to get an insight into those things is by asking people questions. However, in order to come up with a relevant interview guide one has to follow a certain process in the formulation of questions as demonstrated in figure 5 below.

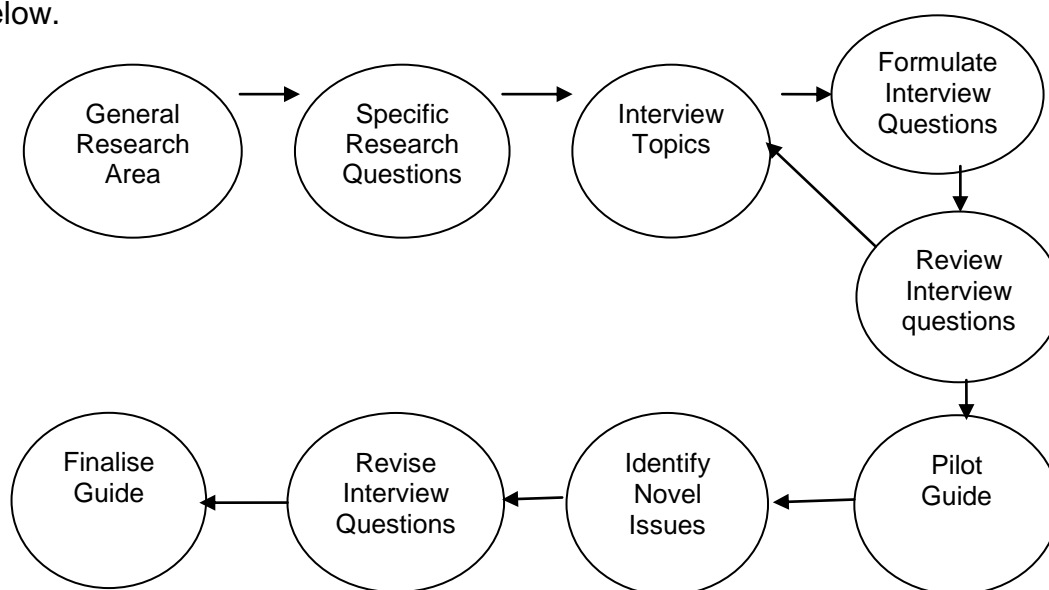


Figure 5.5: Interview guide formulation process

Source: Adapted and modified from <http://fds.oup.com/> pg 319

Although the process depicted in this figure looks unidirectional, the actual process is multidirectional, iterative and cyclic. At times whole questions have to be revised and a whole set of new questions formulated as new issues emerge.

5.3.8. Why Personal Interviews for this Target Population?

Personal interviews will be conducted with key informants from the Chitsa community selected through the purposive/convenience sampling method. Key informants are defined in this study as individuals who either have been involved in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) development process in one way or the other or have knowledge of processes that have occurred already. Key informants also include community leaders at any level and across all social divides such as traditional leaders, political representatives and religious leaders who have firsthand experience of the issues being sought.

The need for complementarity, cross referencing and clarification on contradicting areas necessitates the use personal interviews. Unlike in survey questionnaire, the researcher is afforded the opportunity to ask probing questions or make follow-up on questions posed (Trochim, 2006). Personal interviews provide greater scope for discussion and learning about the problem, opinions and views of the respondent.

Again, the flexibility of personal interviews greatly outweighed the limitations on statistical analysis that would result from quantitative analysis (Horton *et al*, 2004), .hence satisfy the principle of complementarity Thus the personal interviews are adopted as another data collection instrument to afford interviewees a degree of latitude.

5.3.9. Advantages and Disadvantages of Personal Interviews

Personal interviews are effective in probing underlying reactions, attitudes and behaviour, but some of their limitations are that they are expensive, deal with small samples and require highly trained interviewers (Wisker, 2001:165). In this study they were confined to key informants from the community where more probing was needed.

5.3.10. Ethical Issues

The researcher has to be conscious about ethical issues in surveys. The regulation of interview research involving human subjects seeks to protect respondents from such things as invasion of privacy, breaches of confidentiality and distress caused by issues raised in the interview process itself.

Gubrium and Holstein (2002:89) states that 'some of the dangers in interviewing research are the act of listening itself'. Karner and Warren (1995) quoted by Gubrium and Holstein (2002:89) observed that,

'the interviewer becomes dangerous by the simple act of listening, when the speaker has put on the mantle of a new self seeking to bury the old in an unmarked grave, yet must confront the presence of an interviewer who has knowledge of the past itself. The listener is also dangerous as a participant in the retelling of the past by a respondent who feels unable to escape from that past and the self constituted by it'.

In order to protect and allay these fears a consent form is recommended which assures the respondent of confidentiality. However, some respondents may feel uncomfortable signing written consent forms. In a study conducted by a University of Southern California graduate student, respondents expressed exasperation with consent forms. Even after the researcher's assurances of confidentiality respondents were still not comfortable with signing written consent forms. In the end the researcher succumbed and resorted to oral, tape-recorded consent (Gubrium and Holstein, 2002:89).

To allay such fears which could even compromise effective participation by respondents, the researcher in this study follows the use of letters of consent, were all respondents will be assisted to understand that their involvement is voluntary, and therefore may be ended, or withdrawn at any time. To further make respondents understand the nature of this study the use of the language comfortable to the respondents will be adopted. An interpreter would be engaged where needed. The respondents will be protected from any harm or embarrassment should that arise, as

a result of this study by adhering to the principles of confidentiality and non-disclosure of identity as outlined in the letters of consent (*see appendix 5*).

5.3.11. Sampling/Sample Selection

Scientific sampling makes it possible for the researcher to describe a population or test a proposition using relatively few subjects and yet generalise the findings to the larger population. In that context, basing on previous studies the targeted population consisted of an estimated 50 decision/policy-makers within the two Districts cutting across relevant government departments, development partners, political and traditional leadership operating at the district level.

Following Mahony and Van Zyl (2001) in their studies for pro-poor tourism strategies in Makuleke and Manyeleti, five officials from Makuleke Community Property Association (CPA) and the same number of policy makers/implementers from Chiredzi Rural District Council (CRDC) are targeted for a questionnaire survey, where purposive sampling is used to capture specific and focused knowledge areas where representation is needed.

Another set of questionnaires will be administered to the remaining relevant respondents who include government departments, safari operators, private organisations and NGOs, again using purposive sampling to ensure that each relevant organisation or group is represented.

Consistent with the above, personal interviews will be conducted with key informants from the Chitsa community selected through purposive sampling to determine the extent of perception and attitude difference among stakeholders regarding the GNP-Chitsa land dispute. The ABC conflict triangle will be referred to, to determine whether perception difference could be a significant factor in the settlement of the conflict. Although the researcher compared attitudes/perceptions of policy makers and conflict resolution strategies across the two Districts, attitudes/perceptions of policy makers and the public within Vhembe District regarding the KNP-Makuleke conflict were not compared, the assumption being that key parties had consensus of

issues affecting them and with the volume of available literature, further primary data collection would not add any significant value to the research outcomes.

Purposive sampling was largely employed in this study due to the following reasons. Some categories of key respondents were either very few in number or specific, such as the Village Head or Chief, to the extent that employing simple random sampling or other sampling method would result in the same outcome. Also, key stakeholders who participated or are participating in the process are already known through previous studies and it is these key individuals or organisations the researcher targeted for this study.

Nevertheless, Chadwick *et al* (1984:65) are concerned about the limitation of purposive sampling arguing that there is no way to ascertain whether the opinion of those selected elements represents that of the general population, unless a representative sample of that population is studied and its characteristics compared with those of the purposive sample. In an effort to defuse some of these limitations triangulation is used on data from different sources, as is one of the major purposes of this study.

In terms of the sampling frame, the telephone directories and District Office registers contributed to coming up with a sampling frame where the sample above was drawn from.

5.3.12. The Principle of Data Saturation

In addition to the use of the purposive sampling, the principle of 'data saturation' was adopted to determine the actual number of interviewees. Data saturation is a scientifically acceptable concept in which further inquiry may be discontinued if a point is reached where further interviewing yields no new information or no new themes are observed in the data. This underpins sample sizes for non-probabilistic sampling (Guest, *et al*, 2006). For example, using data from a study involving sixty (60) in-depth interviews with women in two West African countries, Guest, *et al* (2006) observed that saturation occurred within the first twelve (12) interviews.

5.3.13. Data Analysis

Jick (1979) cited by Bazeley (2002:8) says that ‘mixed methods analysis is a process of piecing together bits of a puzzle to find answers to questions.’ In that perspective numbers are used where they helped to answer questions and verbal communication noted. Bazeley (2002:8) adds that;

“from data in the form of numbers, one makes inferences in the same way as with data in the form of words, not by virtue of probabilistic algorithms. Statistics are not privileged. Inference is not mechanised. With this way of viewing knowledge, ‘mixed’ methods may even be a misnomer, as both surveys and participant observation yield equivalent data. Inferences are based on the inquirer’s coordinating multiple lines of evidence to gain an overall understanding of the phenomenon ... Yet, because the inquirer is the instrument, all information flows through a single perspective”.

Bazeley (2002)’s experience is that rules are often broken, but the mixed methods researcher should know the assumptions underpinning methods of analysis in use and appreciates the consequences of not fully meeting those assumptions and takes that into account when drawing conclusions. To know these underlying assumptions one has to know what qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods data analysis entails. The ensuing brief discussion attempts to focus on that.

5.3.14. Qualitative Data Analysis

Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006:490) described several qualitative data analysis techniques including the method of constant comparison, keywords-in-context, word count, classical content analysis, domain analysis, taxonomic analysis, componential analysis and cross-case analysis. However, Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006:490) concedes that it is impossible to match every qualitative research question to its most appropriate data analysis tool, because the same qualitative research question can be analysed in multiple ways. Hence, they recommended researchers to analyse their data using at least two procedures in order to triangulate findings and interpretations.

5.3.15. Quantitative Data Analysis

Quantitative research generates numeric data usually analysed statistically. Data can also be presented visually in graphs and charts. Quantitative data defines while qualitative data describes. In the social sciences quantitative research is contrasted with qualitative research for examining, analysing and interpreting observations to discover underlying meanings and patterns of relationships, including classification of types of phenomena and entities in a manner that excludes mathematical models (Kuhn, 1961).

5.3.16. Mixed Data Analysis

In mixed data analysis, Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006:490) citing Onwuegbuzie and Teddlie (2003) points out that when analysing quantitative and qualitative data within a mixed methods framework, researchers go through at least some of these seven stages; (i) data reduction, (ii) data display, (iii) data transformation, (iv) data correlation, (v) data consolidation, (vi) data comparison and (vii) data integration.

Data reduction involves reducing the dimensionality of qualitative data, for example, via exploratory thematic analysis and quantitative data through for example, descriptive statistics. Data display involves the pictorial description of qualitative data, for example matrices, networks, Venn diagrams and charts, and the display of quantitative data through tables and graphs as examples. This can be followed by data transformation (optional) where either quantitative data are qualitisied, that is, converted into narrative data that can be analysed qualitatively or qualitative data are quantitised, that is, converted into codes that can be represented statistically or both (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 1998 in Onwuegbuzie and Leech, 2006:490). Data correlation is where quantitative data are correlated with qualitative data or vice versa. Data consolidation is the stage where both qualitative and quantitative data are combined to form new or consolidated variables or data sets. In comparison stage data from the qualitative and quantitative sources are compared and in the final stage, both quantitative and qualitative data are integrated into either a systematic whole or two separate sets of coherent wholes. This process is further illustrated by figure 5.6 below.

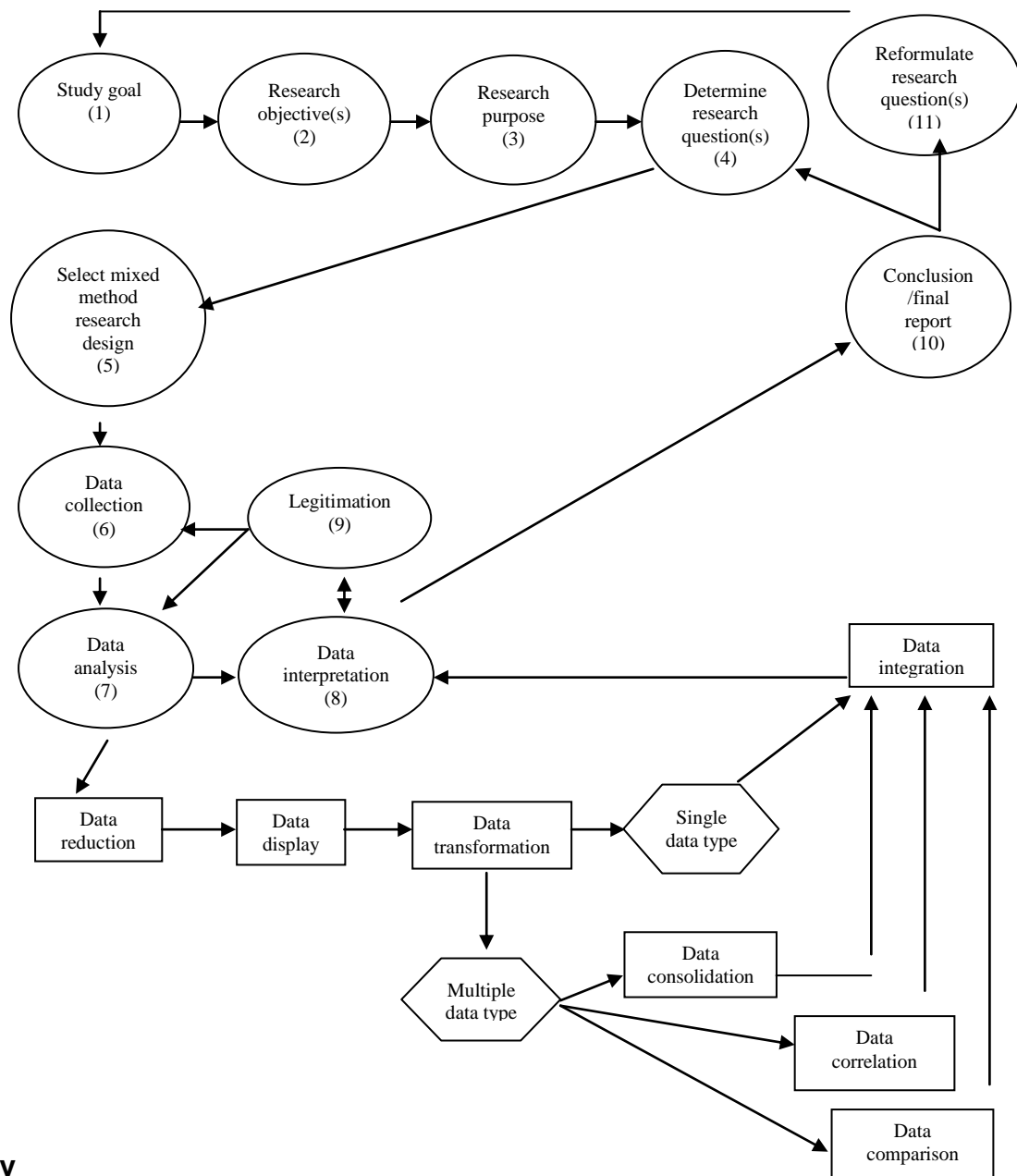


Figure 5.6: Mixed methods research and data analysis process

Source: Adapted and modified from Onwuegbuzie and Leech (2006:492)

Although activities are numbered in figure 5.6, implying a unidirectional process progression, the practical process is multidirectional, interactive, iterative and cyclic. Several arrows coming from later stages and directed to earlier stages illustrate that

mixed methods research permits a cyclical, iterative and interactional process (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004 cited by Maphosa, 2009:135). Therefore, researchers have the flexibility to move in different directions and steps depending on particular needs and emerging issues during the study.

5.3.17. The Analysis Process Adopted in this Study

Clarke (1999) observes that in the analysis of data, the validity of research can be enhanced through actively searching for evidence that contradicts, as well as confirms the explanations being developed. In search of that evidence, analysis is done separately, but to answer the question, 'what is being mixed?' the concurrent strategies were to be employed and sets of similar key questions posed cross-checked and compared, hence, mixing occurred in two stages, that is, the data collection process phase and the analysis phase. Points of convergence or divergence were identified and interpretations made. This is the eclectic part referred to in chapter four of this volume, where similar measurements are tested across subgroups.

The main approaches for data analysis are the content analysis method and the comparative method. Data collected through personal interviews (PI) will be subjected to content analysis. Kajembe (1994) cited by Shackleton and Campbell (2000:160) stipulates that content analysis is used for detailed analysis of the components of a discussion in an objective and systematic manner. In this way, the recorded dialogue with the respondent is broken down into the smallest meaningful units of information or themes. This assists in determining the attitudes and values from the respondent's view point. The content analysis methods connected directly with the overall research question 'why has development conflict in the GLTP, particularly in the GNP persisted despite concerted efforts to resolve it?'

Quantitative data from closed questions were subjected to quantitative analysis techniques. Tashakkori and Teddlie (2003) cited by Tashakkori and Leech (2006:493) used the term data comparison to compare emerging themes from two study levels. In this study data comparison is used to compare emerging themes from respondents under study and examine how the emerging themes compare with

those of the conflict cube mentioned in chapter four of this volume. Thus, data obtained from secondary sources were compared to, and evaluated against data from primary sources in order to support the arguments presented in the thesis. The analysis of secondary data resumed before and while the primary data collection process was taking place. This preliminary analysis assisted in redesigning the questionnaire and the interview guide to focus on the emerging central themes. After data collection a more detailed analysis was done. This enabled the researcher to discover additional themes and concepts that built towards an overall explanation.

The comparative analysis method is appropriate for both the concurrent strategies (nested and triangulation) used in this study and addresses objective (i) 'to determine whether there is a perception difference within and between local stakeholder subgroups (policy and non-policy makers) about the conflict phenomenon'

To finalise data analysis, the researcher put into one category all the material from all the questionnaires, personal interviews and focus group discussions that addressed one theme or concept. The material was compared within the categories to establish possible correlations and variations in meaning. Finally the researcher compared the data across the categories to discover connections between themes with a view to provide an explanation that offers an accurate and detailed interpretation of the research 'Conflict and sustainable development; the case of the GLTP; Southern Africa.'

Figure 5.7 below summarises the phases in the data analysis process as adopted in this study.

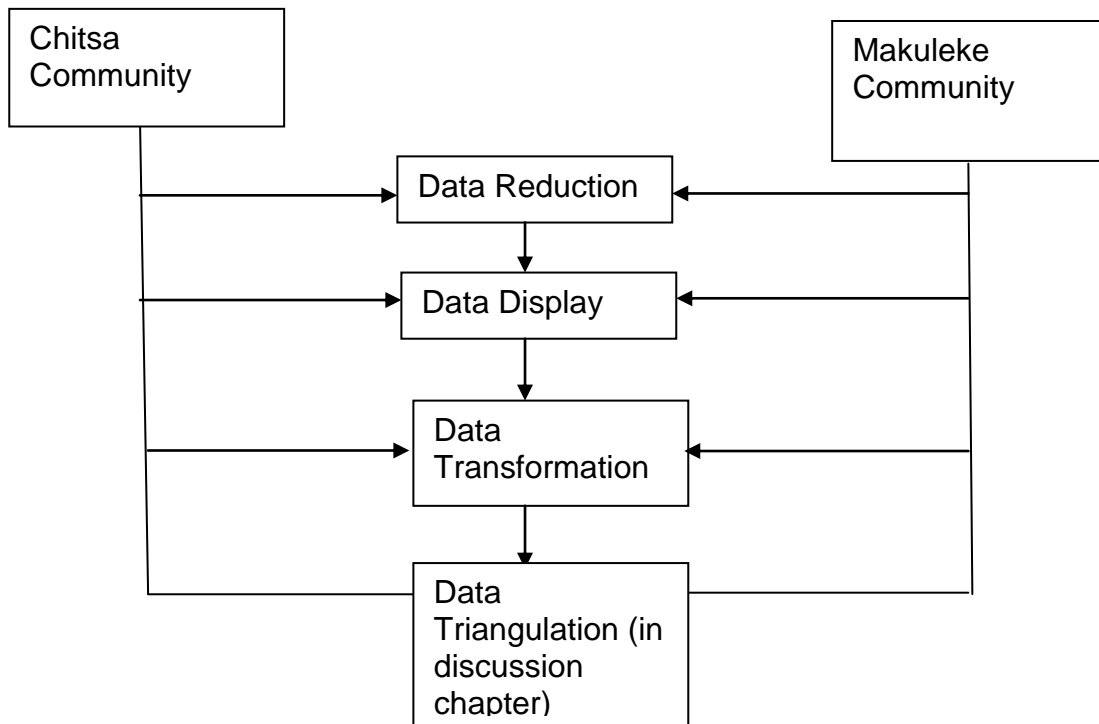


Figure 5.7: Data analysis phases

In line with Onwuegbuzie and Leech (ibid)'s seven stages used in the analysis of quantitative and qualitative data within a mixed methods framework(ibid), the processes indicated in figure 5.7 occurred case by case, but in the final analysis data triangulation took place as mentioned in methodology chapter 4. Although data analysis followed through stages from reduction to triangulation, the researcher would often move forwards and backwards to verify data.

Qualitative analysis emphasises how data fits together as a whole, bringing together context and meaning. Among various approaches is simply to group data and then look for similarities (Ulin *et al*, 2000 cited by Bongani, 2009:173). They suggest that this approach may be appropriate if one is limited by time and resources for a more in-depth analysis or when qualitative research is a smaller component of a larger quantitative study.

The analysis takes this approach, but attempts to follow the step-by-step model, which is more comprehensive and identifies a sequence of interrelated steps in data analysis. Five steps are involved in this model and these include reading, coding, displaying, reducing and interpreting as shown in figure 5.8.

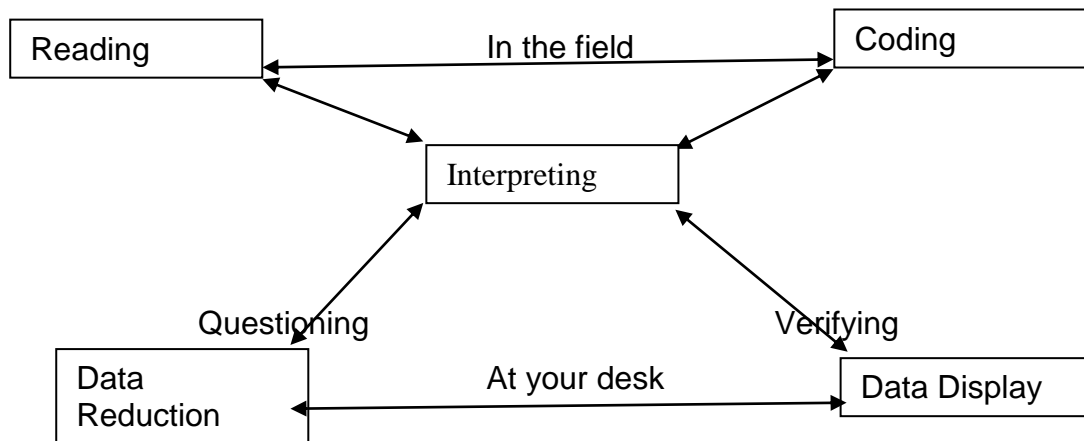


Figure 5.8: The step-by-step model

Source: Adapted and modified from Miles and Huberman (1994) cited by Bongani (2009:176)

In line with this step-by-step model the analysis and interpretation process is indicated in table 5.2 below:

Table 5.2: Data analysis and interpretation stages

Stage 1: Data Reduction	Stage 2: Data Display	Stage 3: Interpretation & Verification
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Condensing of field notes • Going over text and do content analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Coding data and organise into identified categories 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Develop a list of key points • Infer meanings
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reviewing the study and its expected outcomes • Identifying a few key questions I need the analysis to address. • Focusing the analysis by question, topic or event to identify consistencies and differences • Focusing the analysis by case, individual or group. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify relationships and other contributing factors. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Verifying the data interpretations • Conclusions

Presentation includes the use of tables, figures and charts, with the main points of each table or figure being stated in words immediately after it. A connected account will be used to summarise the information from a group of tables or diagrams presented on a particular issue or theme. Interpretation is through a process of abductive reasoning (*reference, item.4.5.3 in chapter 4 this thesis*).

5.3.18. Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the concept of mixed methods designs and strategies, focusing mainly on concurrent strategies relevant to this study. It also outlined data collection techniques in a mixed methods research framework and analysis thereof to derive meaningful conclusions.

The researcher used the questionnaire conscious of its strengths and limitations. The need to standardise responses particularly in one subgroup at policy making level outweighed its limitations. However, using the same argument, the need to probe further and create an environment where respondents could wonder about and bring forth what is in their minds necessitated the use of personal interviews on the other subgroup. The questions used in both the questionnaire and personal interviews were similar, particularly key questions. This was done so that triangulation becomes possible and justifiable. The next chapter (six) presents data collection experience.

This study's research approach can be summarised in a table as below;

Table 5.3: Summarised research approach

Component	Method/Approach	Justification
Type of mix	Qual-quant. (Mixed model design is dominant, particularly within-stage design.)	Perceptions and attitudes are better explained qualitatively, but numeric data assists in clarifying and supporting observed behaviour.
Type of sample	Purposive	Targeted population of key informants and policy-makers are few and already known in both the Makuleke and Chitsa Cases
Data type	Mixed data (non-numeric & numeric.)	Appropriate for the presentation of perceptions and attitudes. The use of closed questions with a range of choices generated quantitative data that aided in understanding the situation holistically.
Data sources	Documentary review Empirical data	Both secondary and primary data are useful for the purpose of tracking the conflict resolution process and assessing the current trends
Data collection instruments	Questionnaire survey: Open and closed ended Questionnaire Personal interviews (incl. personal communication) and focus group discussions	Questionnaire is comprehensive, cheaper and is appropriate in the two cases as respondents are scattered. Also there was need for standardisation in order to aid in data comparison. Interviews and focus group discussions were useful for in-depth probing, follow-ups and group discussions to questions posed. Their flexibility and placing of greater interest on the interviewee's point of view, was appropriate to allow interviewees and discussants to bring out what they considered important.
Data collection process	Concurrent nested & Concurrent triangulation strategies	These complemented each other and are useful in this study where questionnaires, personal interviews and focus group discussions were conducted almost during the same period.
Data presentation	Narrative-tables, figures and charts	Tables and charts assisted in portraying observations and aided in analysis
Analysis methods	Mixed data (content & comparative methods)	Qualitative analysis and interpretation of quantitative data enriches comprehension.

PART 4: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROCESSES AND STRATEGIES.

Part 4: An Overview.

Part four (4) consists of three chapters, chapter 6 focuses on literature findings where a comparative analysis of the conflict resolution processes in Makuleke-Kruger National Park (KNP) case versus Chitsa-Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) case is done. Chapters seven and eight present primary findings mainly from questionnaires administered and personal interviews. Cross data analysis takes place between similar questions addressing one variable or theme and cross referenced with secondary data.

6.1. Introduction

As literature review is one of the research methods adopted in this study; this chapter tracks available literature on the conflict resolution process leading to the Makuleke contractual park agreement as well as the conflict situation and resolution process in the Chitsa/GNP case. The purpose is to follow the conflict and conflict resolution processes, assess the extent of local stakeholder participation, particularly local communities and to draw comparisons between the two processes. In so doing the researcher attempts to address two sub problems (i). How does historical analysis or literature review assist in comprehending and managing the development conflict? and (ii). What is the difference between conflict resolution processes in Makuleke and Chitsa cases, given that the settings under which the conflict phenomena arose look similar?

In addressing sub problems (i) and (ii), and objective (iii) as set out in chapter one which states: 'to explore and assess the effectiveness of conflict resolution and management processes in the GLTP.' is therefore effectively dealt with. To address objective (iii), the researcher established six themes and reviewed available literature

seeking supporting and/or contradicting evidence to strengthen the themes. The six themes focused on are (i) governance issues, (ii) institutional framework (iii) institutions for community participation, (iv) conflict resolution process, (v) challenges and (vi) lessons learnt.

A huge body of knowledge on the Makuleke case has been accumulated and built around the works of many researchers such as those of Harries (1987); Steenkamp (1998); Tapela and Omara-Ojungu (1999); de Villiers (1999); Steenkamp and Urh (2000); Steenkamp and Grossman (2001); Ramutsindela (2001); Moon (2001); Reid (2001); Mahony and van Zyl (2002); Turner (2004); Friedman (2005); Thornhill and Mello (2007) and Fabricius and Collins (2007). One can therefore dig and find answers to probing questions particularly where one intends to track the effectiveness of past processes as is the aim of this chapter.

In an effort to track the conflict resolution processes, this chapter has been divided into three sections. Section 1 deals with the Makuleke case, section 2 deals with the Chitsa case and section 3 focuses on lessons learnt, discussion and conclusion.

6.2. SECTION 1

6.2.1. Background: Makuleke Case

The background to Makuleke case is explained in chapter one, but we may recall that the Makuleke were forcibly removed from their traditional land in 1969 to pave way for the expansion of the Kruger National Park (KNP). What however, made their removal inhuman and morally bankrupt was that they were never compensated (de Villiers, 1999:4; Ramutsindela, 2001). However, in 1996, almost 27 years later a process leading to them reclaiming their land started. This process culminated in the signing of the historic agreement in May 1998 (Steenkamp and Uhr, 2000:20), hence, resulting in the contractual park agreement.

In the following passage, the process leading to this agreement is reviewed by looking at governance issues, institutional framework, institutions for community participation, conflict resolution process and challenges. Evidence supporting these themes was sought after and later compared and contrasted with what occurred in

the Chitsa case to draw lessons that could be of use to stakeholders facing similar scenarios in Southern Africa and elsewhere.

6.2.2. Governance Issues

6.2.2.1. Legislation

In order for any processes to occur within a sovereign state, the government should create an enabling environment for such processes to take place. In that regard, determined to redress imbalances brought about by the previous government's repressive laws, the first democratically elected government of South Africa in 1994 enacted several acts to empower the previously disadvantaged groups (Spierenburg *et al*, 2008:90). Hence, under the post-apartheid policies and land tenure reform legislation, communities are able to reclaim the land they previously lost (Steenkamp and Uhr, 2000:2; Spierenburg *et al*, 2008:90).). Some of these legislative instruments and acts relevant to this discussion include, but are not confined to the following:

- I. Provision of Land and Assistance Act, 126 of 1993.
- II. The Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994.
- III. Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act, 3 of 1996.
- IV. Community Property Association Act, 28 of 1996.

Analyses of these Acts reveal the following;

The Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994 makes provision for the establishment of the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights and the Land Claims Court to assist claimants in the process of proving a right to restitution (Ramutsindela, 2001:107; de Villiers, 1999:1).

The Community Property Association Act, 28 of 1996 was promulgated to enable communities benefiting from the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994; Provision of Land and Assistance Act, 126 of 1993 and the Land Reform (Labour Tenants) Act, 3 of 1996 to establish juristic persons in the form of Community Property Associations (CPAs). The CPAs have the mandate or legal authority to acquire, hold and manage property on a basis agreed to by members in terms of their written

constitution (www.ruraldevelopment.gov.za/publications/annual_1998/chapter2.html). accessed 10/03/10.

Preferring to call it the Makuleke Communal Property Association, Thornhill and Mello (2007:294) observe that the association is registered in terms of section 18 of the Community Property Association Act, 28 of 1996. It is the establishment of the Makuleke Community Property Association that signalled the beginning of a protracted negotiation process (Makuleke, n.d: 1).

Apart from the Makuleke Community, the above acts have empowered a number of other previously evicted and disgruntled communities to legally reclaim their land. However, of the 63 455 claims lodged since 1994 only 4 925 have been settled, the majority of them being cash settlements with only 162 involving land restoration (Mngxitama, n.d). In the following the institutional arrangements facilitating such claims are looked at more closely.

6.2.3. Institutional Framework

6.2.3.1. The Land Claims Court

According to de Villiers (1999:12) the Land Claims Court (LCC) was established by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) to decide on land claims. Although it is a fully fledged court of law, one outstanding characteristic is that it is also a court of equity, meaning it is not bound by the strict evidence on legal rules normally applicable in civil courts, hence, evidence not normally admissible in civil courts may be considered. One of the responsibilities of the LCC is to assess the validity of a claim brought to its attention and once it confirms that validity it can order that the rights of the claimant(s) be restored.

6.2.3.2. The Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights

In addition to the LCC, a commission on the restitution of land rights was established to administer the whole restitution process. One of its terms of reference is to seek to settle claims by affording parties to negotiate and if necessary by appointing a mediator. Hence, it assists parties to reach an out of court settlement, which in any

case should be submitted to the court for a final decision (de Villiers, 1999:13). Negotiations can be mediated under the auspices of the National Land Reform Mediation and Arbitration Panel which is further explained below.

6.2.3.3. The National Land Reform Mediation and Arbitration Panel (NLRMAP)

In order to assist in the implementation of the provisions of these acts, and in particular the management of conflicts likely to arise as a result of the exercise of the rights conferred by these acts, a number of institutions were established in accordance with legislated provisions to mediate in land dispute. One of the prominent structures was the National Land Reform Mediation and Arbitration Panel (NLRMAP) or the Land Panel established by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA). Its establishment was a key strategy to manage conflict arising from the land reform programme and processes. Its terms of reference were to, and I quote, 'establish a national panel of mediators.....trained and accredited...as a resource in preventing and resolving land disputes...Interventions should aim to promote consensus, facilitate fair community participation and ensure efficient use of financial and human resources' (Bosch, 1999) Its objectives included the provision of arbitration and balloting services on behalf of the DLA.

6.2.3.4. The Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (IMSSA)

According to Bosch (1999) who himself is an independent land and labour dispute mediator and arbitrator, IMSSA is a mediation and arbitration body with extensive experience in managing labour and community disputes and on that basis was appointed as the service providing agency through a public tender process. Thus IMSSA provides the negotiation and mediation process guidelines and direction that can be useful in arriving at a negotiated settlement among contesting parties.

6.2.3.5. Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs)

Several NGOs played and are still playing a critical role in the land reform and land mediation process. They are involved in four main areas;

- i. Provision of legal services and representation regarding land disputes with others, such as landowners and within communities.

- ii. Facilitating community processes and providing training and advice.
- iii. Mediating disputes with other interested parties usually informally and
- iv. Engaging in broader policy formulation, including lobbying government (Bosch, 1999).

Some of these organisations included; Group for Environmental Monitoring (GEM), Legal Resources Centre (LRC) and Friends of Makuleke (FoM).

However, these institutions and organisations operated within set procedures which the researcher attempted to outline below.

6.2.3.6. Processes and Procedures

According to de Villiers (1999:13), the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994 contains three settlement options;

- (i). Restoration of the actual title to land through transferring the land to the claimant's name;
- (ii). Provision of alternative land for the claimant or
- (iii). Offer financial compensation to the claimant.

Options (ii) and (iii) can be considered in cases where full restoration of rights is not feasible. Where state land is involved, restoration occurs only if the Minister of Land Affairs agrees that it is possible, but in the event that the Minister does not concur, alternative state land may be used in settlement. If a claim involves private land and its acquisition is not feasible, the state may purchase it and opt for options (ii) or (iii) (de Villiers, 1999:13). In this case, option (i) was applicable and the Makulekes got title to their land albeit under agreed conditions as outlined under the Makuleke conflict resolution process (ibid).

6.2.4. Institutions for Community Participation

From a governance point of view, the emergence of joint management agreements, such as the Makuleke Contractual Park Agreement, translate to decentralisation of

authority, decision-making and the empowerment of local communities involved (Thornhill and Mello, 2007:288). This entails a shift in ideology from the traditional western fortress conservation style to a new paradigm that embraces community participation. In reality, decentralisation of authority entails the creation of structures or institutions that enables communities to participate effectively. In the case of Makuleke, the contractual park agreement provided for the establishment of different levels of management structures for transparency and democratic system of local governance to manage its land successfully. The following structures were established;

6.2.4.1. Joint Management Board (JMB)

This structure, a creation of SANParks and Makuleke Community is meant to assist the community to manage their land. It is tasked with preparing the community for the eventual management of the land under their control, possibly after 50 years from the conception of the Agreement as stipulated by the same Agreement. The JMB is made up of six people, three are representatives of SANParks and three are Makuleke Community representatives. It meets every three months and its chair rotates, but in between JMB meetings, the Joint Management Committee (JMC), attends to issues on a monthly basis (Thornhill and Mello, 2007:294). The JMB ensures that the interests and concerns of the community are catered for in park management plans pertaining to the contractual park and that the concerns of the KNP are also known by the community. Apart from the day to day management responsibility of the JMB, this structure affords a two way communication system which is vital in efforts aimed at reducing suspicions among key stakeholders.

6.2.4.2. Makuleke Community Property Association (MCPA)

According to Maluleke (n.d.), the Makuleke CPA created in 1996 has about 15,000 members. These members include people who were forcibly moved from the Makuleke Region and those who are either the descendents of the original Makuleke community or have naturally been assimilated into the community by virtue of living together as one community in their villages. The CPA established management structures tasked with running the business of the association on a daily basis and these structures are discussed below.

6.2.4.3. The Executive Committee (EC)

For effective administration and management of its activities, the CPA established an Executive Committee (EC) whose mandate is to run the day to day activities of the CPA. Maluleke (n.d: 4) states that the EC consists of fifteen (15) members while Thornhill and Mello (2007:295) states that the same committee consists of nine (9) members. Some of these members are village representatives while others are general representatives (Thornhill and Mello, 2007:295). Irrespective of the numbers, what is of substance is that this committee is elected democratically after every four to five years (Maluleke, n.d: 4; Thornhill and Mello, 295), with the exception of the Chief who doubles as an ex-officio member as well as its chairperson. The EC, which may be referred to as the implementing agency is housed at the Makuleke Tribal Office and has employed two full time staff, who man the office and serve as the main link to all partners and stakeholders. The EC reports to the CPA at an annual general meeting.

6.2.4.4. The Makuleke Development Forum (MDF)

Apart from the EC there is also the Makuleke Development Forum, a group of community leaders from all the three Makuleke villages. Its mandate is to act as an advisory body for the EC, particularly when it comes to availing benefits at a village level (Maluleke, undated: 4). Inclusion of village leaders from the three villages ensures that their respective interests are catered for.

6.2.4.5. The Makuleke Development Trust (MDT)

The Development Trust holds and administers the main bank account, into which funds received from grants, through concessions and hunting in the Makuleke Region is deposited. It is managed by Community representatives and the Department of Land Affairs. The community trustees are elected from the EC and their main responsibility is to ensure that the community's money is well invested and spent wisely (Maluleke, n.d: 4; Thornhill and Mello, 2007:295).

However, for all these community structures to be established a conducive operating environment had been created through the agreement. The following is a review of the conflict resolution process that led to the contractual park agreement, which gave rise to all the developments mentioned above.

6.2.5. Makuleke Conflict Resolution Process

The Makuleke conflict resolution process was basically hinged on negotiations and mediation. However, it was not without difficulties, Ramutsindela (2001) claims that it was highly contentious and involved more than twenty stakeholders, including government departments, local communities and their chiefs, NGOs, mining companies, commissions, task teams and individuals, all pursuing vested and conflicting interests. Bosch (1999) concurs saying the negotiation involving about thirteen parties lasted from December 1996 until May 1998 when a written agreement was signed.

At the start of the negotiations, the community was livid with deep rooted resentment and suspicions about the whole process. Their resentment was based on past injustices. For instance, Maluleke (n.d:1) states that they resented the manner in which they were forced out of their ancestral land which was later incorporated into the park, pointing particularly to the actions of Kruger National Park's first game warden. de Villiers (1999:4) points out that members of the community alleged that they were deprived of their land rights in the pursuit of discriminatory policies and practices and that they were removed from their land forcefully with no adequate compensation. Citing Levin et al (1997:97), Ramutsindela (2001) quotes a victim of forced removal as having said,

'We were removed to give space to the wild animals. We should be using the land to grow maize and to sell bags of mealie-meal. This will enable us to establish co-operatives and export our products to other countries...We are living in poverty because we were dispossessed of our land...On our eviction, no compensation was paid for all the improvements that we had made.'

In spite of these complaints and valid claims, there were efforts to discredit the Makuleke claim as the rightful owners of the land in question (Pafuri area). These efforts were based on the argument that the Makuleke people had scattered following their removal, thus making it difficult to identify them since some had even emigrated to Zimbabwe and Mozambique, hence, making them ineligible as they were no longer bona fide South African citizens. Ramutsindela (2001) observed that this was further complicated by Chief Mhinga (a brother to the late chief Makuleke) who lodged an alternative claim to the same land (Pafuri), on the basis that since the Makulekes were his 'subjects', he could claim the Pafuri. However, Chief Mhinga's claim was unsuccessful on the grounds that the victims of forced removals were the Makuleke and not Chief Mhinga. In any case land claims were supposed to be collective and not individualised as Chief Mhinga wanted it to be re-registered in his personal name.

As if this was not enough, after identification of the rightful claimants, another question arose, this time based on whether the community had land rights. Ramutsindela (2001) points out that one Mouton (1996), a researcher with the DLA, opposed the land rights claim of the Makuleke on the strength that they had no title to the land and theirs was just a 'historical claim.' At the same time SANParks was concerned that the restoration of Makuleke's rights would reduce their control and power over the contested piece of land to the extent that they could be powerless to act against activities that negatively impact on conservation such as mining. During the same period another stakeholder, the anti-mining lobby, advocated for the restoration of mineral rights to the Makuleke provided they undertook not to allow mining as part of the agreement. However, this advocacy was not in conformity with government thinking that aimed to develop a long-term strategy through which mineral rights would be vested in the state. Actually, Bosch (1999) cited by Ramutsindela (2001) observed that the mineral rights issue threatened to derail the whole land claim issue, despite the gains that had been achieved, as it became the epicentre of debates surrounding this land claim.

However, despite all these arguments, in the final stages, and in conformity with the requirements of the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights, which states that any settlement should be submitted to the court for a final decision (de Villiers,

1999:13), minutes of a meeting held on February 17 1999 indicates that the matter was referred to the Land Claims Court (LCC). This followed what the minutes termed intensive and constructive negotiations involving many interested parties starting from 1996 and culminating in the settlement on 30 May 1998. Steenkamp and Uhr (2000:2) concur stating that towards the end of 1996, the Makuleke were locked in tough negotiations with the National Parks Board (NPB).

On 15 December 1998 the LCC ordered the transfer to Makuleke community their ancestral land subject to conditions that both the conservation status and community benefits are protected (minutes of report dated 17 February 1999). This heralded the birth of the Makuleke Contractual Park Agreement.

Apart from providing the day to day guidance in the execution of the agreement, in terms of conflict management and resolution, this historic Contractual Park Agreement, provides the following;

Clauses 37 and 38 deal with issues of a breach to any of the provisions of the agreement as explained under chapter 2 of the agreement. Here provision is made for decisions to be made through consensus, but after due processes have been followed and the breach is unlikely to be resolved the matter shall be referred to mediation as provided for in clause 43. In the event that parties to a dispute fail to resolve it, clause 43.1 and its sub clauses 43.1.1 and 43.1.2 states, 'in the event of (43.1.1) a dispute between SANP and the CPA, which the SANP and the CPA fail to resolve in terms of clauses 37 or 38, or 43.1.2, any other dispute between any of the other parties to this agreement; any party to the dispute may refer the matter to mediation.' In such a case the mediator shall be appointed by the National Director of the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa (IMSSA) and mediated according to IMSSA mediation procedures. If mediation fails then the parties may proceed to the arbitration stage (clause 44). The arbitrator shall be independent and agreed upon by the parties involved (de Villiers, 1999:184).

According to Bosch (1999), the mediation process operated at various levels, such as one level where joint sessions were conducted with key parties and later with all

parties. It also included sessions with each of the key parties, community hearings and rights inquiries.

6.2.6. Challenges

There are a number of challenges faced by the SANParks and Makuleke contractual park agreement, just like in any other joint management agreements. Some of these challenges include power relations, benefits sharing and conflict of interests as further expanded below.

6.2.6.1. Power Relations

Steenkamp and Uhr(2000) observed that despite the magnificence of this contractual park agreement leading to joint management between SANParks and Makulekes, described as 'groundbreaking' [since it marries conservation with community development (Thornhill and Mello,2007:288)], power relations had a role in shaping it. SANParks had expert power in as far as negotiating development technicalities are concerned due to the dominant 'technicist's approach to development planning in the negotiating process, hence, weakening the bargaining power of the community. In fact it is claimed that although all actors appeared to sympathise with the Makuleke community, what actually transpired was 'conservation participation in community development' (Steenkamp and Uhr,2000:25) and community based natural resource management (CBNRM) principles only served to mask aggressive National Parks Board (NPB) interests. The guiding principle under CBNRM being one of sustainable rural development that promotes rural communities to manage and benefit directly from natural resources (Ferreira, 2004:307). de Villiers (1999:4) advances that from SANParks and others, the concern was to convince the community to enter into a form of joint management of the land to protect it for posterity while simultaneously permitting its members to reap some benefits. Steenkamp and Uhr (2000:25) argue that it was policy level role-players that often facilitated the community level process in Makuleke thereby defining the engagement process, hence, entrenching the top-down approach.

Nevertheless, Steenkamp and Uhr (2000:24) concede that one of the clear outcomes of the negotiation process was the explicit re-organisation of power relations between the park and the people. SANParks has been restricted to biodiversity conservation with no jurisdiction over community development processes except for specific conservation related tasks such as ranger training given to young community members. This balance of power makes it possible for both parties to negotiate the implementation of the agreement as equal partners.

In spite of this clarity on the roles of each party, Steenkamp and Grossman (2001:3) observed that disgruntlement about the extent of powers and rights granted to the Makuleke resonate in much of the SANParks organisation structures. Despite a strong commitment on the part of senior SANParks officials to see the agreement work, powerful role players within the organisation retain the basic imperative of maximising control over the conservation estate, and this is particularly clear at the park level where resistance to the implementation of the agreement is evident.

6.2.6.2. Conflict of Interests

Although the Makuleke contractual park agreement provides clear role distinctions between SANParks and Makuleke community regarding the Pafuri region, the interplay between conservation and tourism may become a source of conflict. The agreement stipulates that conservation activities in the Makuleke region are to be undertaken by SANParks, while tourism activities should be for the benefit and at the discretion of the community (de Villiers, 1999:76). However, as noted by de Villiers (pg 76) it is difficult to wedge a clear distinction between the two, because there are few conservation functions that do not impact on tourism activities just as there are few tourism activities that do not impact on conservation activities. Already there is conflict between conservation and development issues within conservation agencies and this calls for a different management style that facilitates consultation and inclusivity rather than exclusivity and segmental thinking (de Villiers, 1999:76).

6.2.7. Conclusion

However, in terms of community economic empowerment in natural resource management, the Makuleke case sets a typical example symbolising a practical attempt to move towards true economic empowerment. What empowerment lessons can be drawn from this case that are worth noting? Below, in section 2, are some of the observations which can assist communities in similar predicaments.

6.3. SECTION 2

6.3.1. Background: Chitsa Case

Just as in the Makuleke case, the background to the Chitsa-Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) case is discussed in chapter one, but similarly to the Makulekes, we may recall that the Chitsa people were forcibly removed from their ancestral land in 1962 (Wolmer *et al*, 2003:15) to pave the way for the eradication of tsetse fly with the understanding that they would be allowed to return to their land after the tsetse control exercise. Once they had been moved, their area was later incorporated into the GNP when it was declared a national park in 1975 (Wolmer, 2003; Ferreira, 2004 this volume). What however, incensed them was the forced removal which stripped them of not only their livelihoods but also their identity and traditional power as they were placed under the authority of Chief Tshovani (personal communication) However, in the year 2000, taking advantage of the land reform programme, the Chitsa reoccupied their former ancestral land. What made this reoccupation contentious is that it was done outside the land reform policy provisions as this state land was not designated for compulsory acquisition as is required under the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 20:10) of 1992. What is of interest to this researcher is the rationale behind the reoccupation and the subsequent processes that followed to redress this action, particularly the extent of their success.

Although such claims on state land are not necessarily covered by the land reform policy, in the following an attempt has been made to look at acts and policies that address land issues in general and the processes of land conflict resolution processes particularly in contested areas such as this. In the conclusion lessons that may be of use to both policy and non-policy makers alike will be drawn.

6.3.2. Governance Issues

6.3.2.1. Legislation

Land issues have always been contentious the world over. Unfortunately, the land reform in Zimbabwe has been drowned by negative media publicity overshadowing the real situation, hence, obscuring the important and deep rooted grievances, such as the structural inequalities characteristic of the country which are underpinned by unresolved land issues. To redress imbalances brought about by previous segregationist legislation like the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 that alienated indigenous people from their original land and placed them in poor and marginal lands in terms of agricultural production, the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 20:10) of 1992 was enacted to enable government to acquire prime land for resettlement purposes, particularly for the previously disadvantaged groups.

This Act supports government policies such as the agrarian land reform and the wildlife-based land reform policies. However, as mentioned above the Chitsa-GNP case presents a challenge as the contested land has not been designated for compulsory acquisition by government for resettlement purposes. Nevertheless, in any case a legitimate and aggrieved party can approach a competent court of law for recourse. A legitimate party in this case is a party legally recognised as being the rightful owner, whether new or old owner of the land in question.

However, it may not be complete to mention the Land Acquisition Act (Chapter 20:10) of 1992 without looking further at the background that gave rise to it. As mentioned above, the land question in Zimbabwe, like in most Southern African countries is rooted in imbalances created by colonial repressive, separatists and alienating policies and laws based on an imported ideology that Africans had no concept of land ownership and that the Crown owned all unalienated land in British colonies and protectorates. This ideological standpoint informed the creation of the Land Commission Act of 1894 and later the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which subdivided the country's land into three human settlement zones. Firstly there were zones strictly reserved for whites where only whites could own property, secondly there were zones where only blacks could own property and thirdly there were zones

held in trust for indigenous peoples on a collective basis termed 'tribal trust lands' as per 1965 statute and later 'communal areas' as per 1981 statute.

However, a significant impact of this Land Apportionment Act was that some black communities were forcibly removed from their ancestral land to pave way for settlers and in other places for fortress conservation of the Crown's game (or royal game) as some wildlife species were called. It is the Land Apportionment Act that formed the foundation for subsequent repressive land based laws such as the African Native Land Husbandry Act (1951) and the Tribal Trust Lands Act (1965). These were some of the pieces of legislation that pushed Africans into marginal and unproductive lands where they did not even have legal rights to it as ownership was vested in the state (Mombeshora *et al*, 2001:27). These laws continued in effect until independence in 1980 and since that status quo could not remain forever, these laws needed to be revisited to redress these imbalances, hence, the enactment of such laws as the Land Acquisition Act, 1992.

Having mentioned the background to the issues surrounding the enactment of land reform laws, the following looks at the institutional framework established to execute these new laws particularly in the case under discussion.

6.3.3. Institutional Framework

While the general institutional framework for land dispute resolution process at national level, in terms of the legal framework, is debatable it is clear. In case of disputes over land to be acquired or compensation thereof, section 7 of the Land Acquisition Act, 1992 provides for recourse through the Administrative Court. In such a case, the Administrative Court may give an order authorising, confirming or refusing the acquisition. In terms of the Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 20:14) of 1996, section 117, on compulsory acquisition of land in national parks, etc, the Act states that;

'Where any person who is authorised in terms of any law to acquire compulsorily any land, interest in land or materials from any land intends to exercise such rights in respect of land within a national park, botanical

reserve, botanical garden, sanctuary, safari area or recreational park, he shall give the Minister not less than thirty days' notice of the intention to exercise those rights and shall specify the date on which he proposes to exercise those rights.'

However, such legal procedures appear not to have been followed in the Chitsa-GNP land contest case. This may explain the lack of a clear cut framework of engagement for conflict resolution through existing administrative structures in available literature. As will be shown in the following observations, there are various institutions and structures that deal with conflict like the traditional leadership structure, land committees, district offices and political structures. All these deal with the same issues. In addition, the GLTP has its own institutional framework, as illustrated by figure 6.1 below, designed to drive the transfrontier initiative forward.

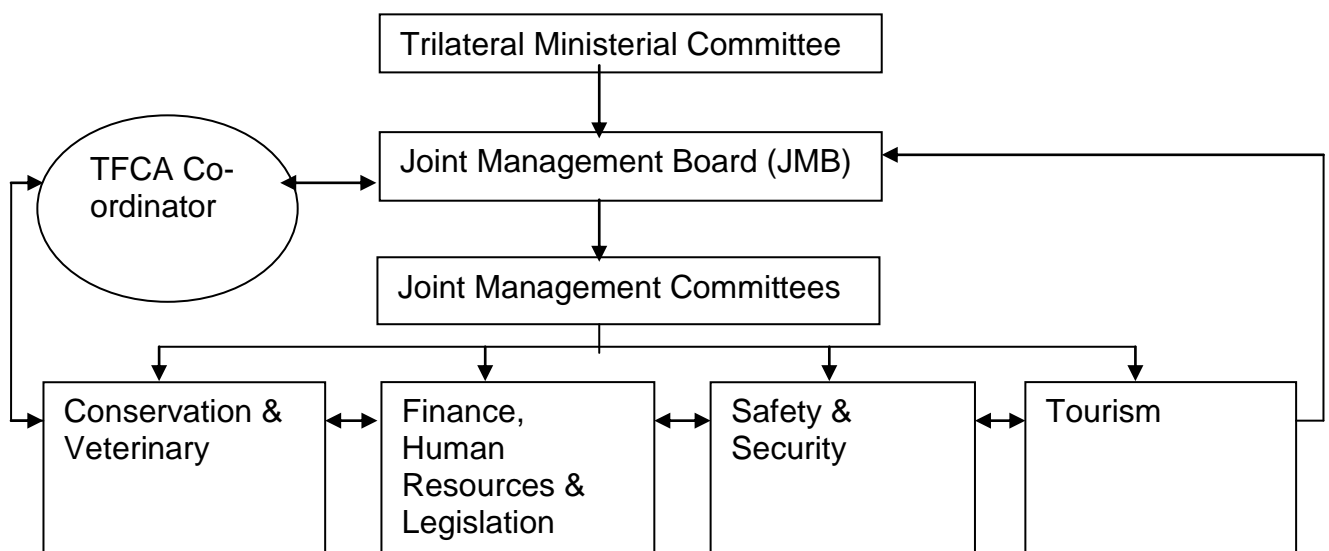


Figure 6.1: The GLTP Institutional Framework

Source: <http://www.greatlimpopopark.com/>. Accessed 15/03/10

The trilateral ministerial committee (TMC) comprise three responsible ministers designated and mandated by the participating countries. It is responsible for the overall policy guidance in the development of the TFCA. The joint management board (JMB) is made up of senior representatives of competent authorities of each country involved. The JMB is supported by four joint management committees (JMC) that advise and assist in the implementation and day to day management of the

GLTP. The JMC are made up of representatives appointed by the competent authorities of the participating countries and/or representatives delegated by relevant ministries (Spenceley, 2006:651). The JMC is made up of four working groups and addresses legislation, finance and human resources; conservation; tourism and safety and security issues (Schuerholz, 2003 cited by Spenceley, 2006:651).

It is however not clear from literature how various institutions dealing with conflicts at local level are streamlined and coordinated.

6.3.4. Institutions for Community Participation

To incorporate and involve communities in the TFCA processes various structures particularly inclined to TFCA processes were established and some of these are;

1. Combined Local Authority (CLA) comprising the Chiredzi, Beitbridge and Chipinge Rural District Councils. Its main purpose is to be used as a vehicle to facilitate the establishment of Sengwe-Tshipise corridor which is the only viable link between GNP and Kruger National Park (KNP). This link is crucial for connecting the GNP to KNP thereby physically linking the GLTP component parts and consolidating the GLTP concept.
2. The TFCA regional steering committee which operates at provincial level to coordinate development activities.
3. The district TFCA steering committee that operates at district level to coordinate development activities and
4. Working Groups. There are four working groups; namely conservation and veterinary; tourism; finance, human resources and legislation; and safety and security.

Apart from these TFCA structures there are traditional leadership structures that deal with community issues under the Traditional Leadership Act, and development committees starting at village level, that is, the village development committee (VIDCO), ward development committee (WADCO) up to district development committee (DDC) and upwards.

Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) like in the Makuleke case also play an important role in assisting governments to meet set targets, social responsibility and aid in conservation related conflict resolution. In 2005 a consortium of NGOs including the International Centre for Research, Development and Agronomy (CIRAD), the International Foundation for the Conservation of Wildlife (IGF), the World Conservation Union Regional Office for Southern Africa (IUCN-ROSA) and the World Wildlife Fund Southern Africa Regional Office (WWF-SAPRO) came together and launched a project called Bio-Hub. The project aim is to enhance the conservation of wild plants and animal species for the benefit of people and natural resources for generations to come, this consortium mooted a public private community partnership (PPCP) in the south east lowveld (as a micro-project) with the goal of creating an environment where ZIMParks and neighbouring communities would contribute to and benefit from biodiversity conservation in and around GNP. The objective of the project is to mitigate the Chitsa community-parks conflicts, to preserve the integrity of the GNP and to promote a PPCP approach to enhance natural resources benefit sharing (www.cirad.fr/ur/agirs/content/download/895/.../June_2006%20N-1.pdf. Accessed 14/03/10).

6.3.5. Chitsa-GNP Conflict Resolution Process

The previous narrative under 6.2.5. focused on the Makuleke-KNP case by reviewing the conflict resolution process and institutions established to manage it, this part examines the Chitsa-GNP conflict resolution process and the institutions established to manage it.

In order to find a settlement to any dispute, contesting parties should not only recognise the existence of a dispute, but should at least agree on the nature of the dispute. In other words, for a dispute to be solved it should be recognised as a problem by the contesting parties as alluded to by Horton and Leslie (1981) in chapter 4:1 this volume. In the case of the Chitsa-GNP conflict, researchers came out with a pallet of conflict causes, with stakeholders portraying different views and interests thus making the case complex.

Some of the conflict causes identified by researchers include land claims and occupation (Mombeshora and Wolmer,2000:27,; Mombeshora, Mtisi and Chaumba, 2001:59; Wolmer, 2003:18); conflicting policy framework (Mombeshora and Mtisi, 2001:2); political (Wolmer, 2003:8; Ferreira, 2004:301 & 307); historical, that is, deep rooted resentment due to previous evictions (Wolmer *et al*, 2003:15); commoditisation of wildlife(Sibanda,2009) and chieftainship dispute (Bio-Hub,2008; Mombeshora and le Bel, 2009:2611).

Given such a cocktail of conflict causes, negotiators need to identify a root cause(s). This can be possible through the application of concepts such as the problem tree analysis, where the identification and subsequent resolution of the root cause would lead to the resolution of others. In an attempt to address these problems, Mombeshora and le Bel (2009:2613) point out that the initial top-down approach to conflict resolution yielded little results. The recognition of the limitations of this top-down approach aroused the need for bottom-up approaches that recognise local cultural traditions, power dynamics and social justice. According to Mombeshora and le Bel (2009:2613) ZIMParks in an effort to find a settlement to this issue requested IUCN in 2003 to help strike a resolution to this conflict. In response to this request IUCN in 2004 engaged the Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE), an environment based NGO which examined a number of alternatives that could be considered to reach a possible settlement. Some of these alternatives to a possible settlement include;

1. Accommodating the Chitsa land claim and therefore subsequently amending the Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 20:14) of 1996 particularly as it relates to GNP boundary. The problem with this alternative is that while the Chitsa community are comfortable with this option, ZIMParks are not.
2. Returning occupiers to places they came from before occupying the contested land and negotiate a co-management regime over the

contested land in the same mould as the Makuleke contractual park agreement. The problem with this option is that both parties are not comfortable with it.

3. Relocating the Chitsa community outside the current park boundary and supporting them with irrigation schemes. This option is again problematic as one party; ZIMParks is comfortable with it, while the other party, the Chitsa community, is not.

The above scenario resulted in a gridlock. Realising that there was no consensus forthcoming and in an effort to move forward ZIMParks in 2005 made another attempt, this time by requesting Bio-Hub to find a settlement satisfactory to both ZIMParks and the Chitsa community. In that regard Bio-Hub⁶ partners agreed to mediate using participatory approaches based on the principles of multi-stakeholder inclusion, free, prior informed consent and transparency (Mombeshora and le Bel (2009:2614). As a means to that end a Chitsa Task Force (CTF) was established. This task force brought together the provincial administrator (PA) as its chair, ZIMParks officials, Chiredzi district administrator (DA); provincial and district lands officials; a representative of private wildlife conservancies; Chief Tshovani; Headman Chitsa; Chitsa community representatives; a local councillor; the Chiredzi district Chief Executive Officer (CEO) and researchers (Mombeshora and le Bel, 2009:2615).

The task force's mandate was to carry out community consultations and develop a work plan. In pursuit of that, it managed to hold public meetings. It is during those public meetings that it realised that stakeholders held not only different views, but conflicting interests as well. Some of these different views revolved around disagreements over the source and authenticity of a directive to remove Chitsa community from the park, park boundary disputes, disputes

⁶ Bio-hub is a Zimbabwe-based initiative set up by regional NGOs in 2005 with funding from the French government (French Global Environment Facility) to promote wildlife conservation and sound management as a development opportunity and share information between projects in Eastern and Southern Africa. Its mission is to integrate conservation of natural resource management with sustainable development.

over alternative relocation sites and disputes over concerns about disruption of livelihoods (Mombeshora and le Bel, 2009:2615).

However, despite numerous consultative meetings and planning, the Chitsa task force, just like preceding efforts, was largely unsuccessful in meeting the main goal. However, despite the recognition of the need to employ bottom-up approaches as mentioned above, Mombeshora and le Bel (2009:2617) again attribute this failure to the taskforce's top-down approach to finding a settlement to this conflict.

Following this apparent failure, another strategy (plan B) was mooted by Bio-Hub. This time it hinged on traditional conflict resolution mechanisms. This came about after the realisation that the Chitsa-GNP conflict could not possibly be resolved without attending to the Chitsa chieftainship issue. For the benefit of readers, the researcher will digress a bit by briefly explaining the Chitsa chieftainship issue here before progressing further.

We recall that the Chitsa community was forcibly evicted from their ancestral land situated at the confluence of Save and Runde Rivers in 1962 according to Wolmer (2003) or 1975 according to Ferreira (2004). That portion of land was later incorporated into the GNP on its proclamation as a national park in 1975. Their relocation to the fringes of the park boundary near Sengwe communal land in an area called Seven Jack (Mombeshora and le Bel, 2009:2609) had serious socio-economic implications. Chiefs who resisted relocation at that time were demoted or had their powers even obliterated altogether by the ruling regime at that time. Hence, the resistance of Chief Chitsa to the annexation of his land into the GNP saw him demoted to a mere headman and placed under the Chieftainship of Tshovani. It is this relocation and subsequent demotion that the Chitsa dynasty resent up to this day. In order to reclaim the original status Chitsa sees getting back to their ancestral land as the only salvation, which land is now part of the GNP. Currently, Chitsa perceives the establishment of the park as directly contributing to the loss of his chieftainship. Paradoxically, Chief Tshovani is opposed to this claim and wants the current status quo to remain.

In addition, the Chitsa argument on chieftaincy is further buttressed by a chieftainship genealogy as illustrated below;

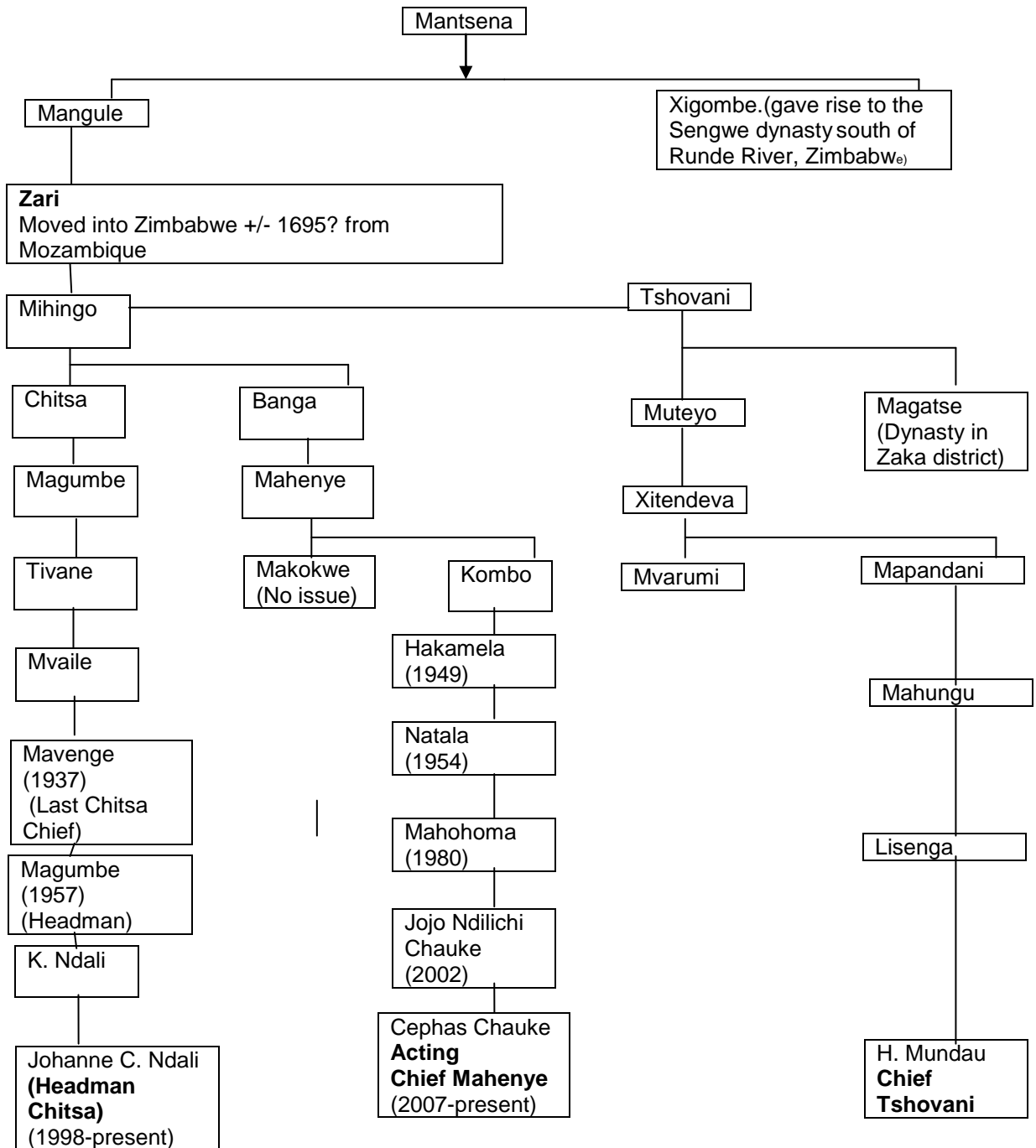


Figure 6.2: Genealogy of the Chitsa, Mahenye, Tshovani and Sengwe Dynasties.

Source: Mombeshora and le Bel (2009:2608).

As can be seen from figure 6.2 above, it is clear that the Chitsa community has their chieftainship lineage emanating from the same ancestry as that of

Chiefs Tshovani, Mahenye and Sengwe, making them a distinct group in terms of chieftainship.

Thus in summary, according to Bio-Hub, although the conflict between ZIMParks and the Chitsa community is rooted on contested land, it is strongly hinged upon a chieftainship dispute. An initial attempt to resolve it followed the top-down approach which was largely unsuccessful. Mombeshora and le Bel (2009:2613) stated that, 'initial efforts to resolve the conflict essentialised the state's right of eminent domain, but this principle typically overlooks the impoverishment risks of conservation-induced displacement.' The shortfalls of this approach gave rise to bottom-up approaches to conflict resolution that recognised cultural traditions, local power dynamics and social justice (Mombeshora and le Bel 2009:2613). Bio-Hub then came in with a mediation strategy that involved a taskforce. This task force identified the use of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms as an effective tool to resolve the main or first hurdle they identified as chieftainship dispute (slide 20, Bio-Hub, 2008 Presentation). In other words, if this chieftainship dispute is resolved, then the resolution of the land issue will become easier.

Reverting to the use of traditional conflict resolution mechanisms, there was need for mediation and researchers in the area, due to their 'neutrality' and vast experience, particularly on the Chitsa-GNP conflict agreed to act as mediators. Their envisaged strategy was based on local traditions of conflict resolution (Mombeshora and le Bel, 2618). However, after some considerations they later redefined their strategy by using one of the chiefs to mediate with other chiefs and traditional leaders. Although the process seemed to have been on track, it hit a snag after the death of the mediating chief (Chief Mahenye) in December 2007. However, because of this unfortunate incident, the process lost the initial drive and is now in need of resuscitation once again, given that a new Mahenye Chief has since been installed (personal communication with a local parks ranger).

6.3.6. Challenges

The challenges to the conflict resolution process in the Chitsa-GNP conflict are varied, but as Zwecker (2002) and Marshall (2003) cited by Ferreira (2004:308) observed, they hinge on two fundamental requirements. These are positive attitudes and perceptions among external partners and support and co-operation of the local stakeholders. The writer also believes that positive attitudes and perceptions among local stakeholders are essential for the resolution of this conflict. These attitudes and perceptions should translate into viable institutional arrangements, permeate through conflicting stakeholder interests and clarify stakeholder roles.

The other challenge is that current arrangements for local community involvement in conservation such as communal areas management programme for indigenous resources (CAMPFIRE) activities should be strengthened to convince communities that conservation has benefits. Ferreira (2004:303) argues that '...conservation is not achievable in circumstances where people are starving. Notwithstanding all the worthy efforts of many who care about the environment, unless conservation can be made to pay for itself, and be seen to be doing so, not only will Africa's heritage be destroyed, but also the cornerstone of its tourism potential.' Therefore issues of poverty must be addressed in the conservation debate, hence, the need for positive attitudes and perceptions from external partners who have the financial muscle to support poverty alleviation programmes.

It is not surprising that one of the fundamental issues of resource management in developing countries relates to the existence of widespread and persistent poverty. The World Bank (1982a) reports that absolute poverty is overwhelmingly concentrated in the rural areas and estimated that by 1980 over 780 million people excluding those from China were living in abject poverty. Johnson (1992:157) quoting Prince Charles's address to the reconvened meeting of the World Commission on Environment and Development on April 22, 1992 states '.....but perhaps two simple truths need to be writ large over the portals of every international gathering about

the environment. We will not slow the birth rate until we address poverty. And we will not protect the environment until we address the issue of poverty and population growth in the same breath.'

Further, issues of power continue to hamper efforts to find a settlement. The chieftainship power wrangles are a colonial hangover brought about through the acts of subjugation, and divide and rule tactics. As observed in the Makuleke case where in a typical fashion of disempowering indigenous peoples and entrenching separatist ideologies Ramutsindela (2001) citing Harries (1987:107) reports that the apartheid regime took advantage of the infighting between Chief Mhinga and Chief Makuleke. Chief Mhinga wanted his brother, Chief Makuleke to be brought under his control. Since the apartheid regime wanted to divide people along ethnic lines it took advantage of this wrangle and on the basis of language decided to move the Makulekes from their original land by advancing a fact, which was to their advantage, that the Makulekes were cut-off from their ethnic homeland by Vendlan in the west and KNP in the south. On that basis alone the Makulekes were declared illegal occupants so were relocated to a place called Ntlaveni in preparation for their settlement near to Chief Mhinga in the Malamulele district. Despite other motives behind it, this movement threatened the Chieftainship of Makuleke.

A similar tactic was used in the case of the Chitsa community who were relocated from their original place and settled under the Chieftainship of Tshovani whose languages were similar. Again, like in the Makuleke case, this move had a serious threat to the chieftaincy of the Chitsa people.

In terms of institutional arrangements, though they are present, they are fragmented and power is shared among various institutions resulting in overlapping jurisdictions. Thus there are various legislative and administrative arrangements that often conflict or compete in dealing with the conflict, particularly at local level, that are mandated with this task. Hence, due to fragmentation of institutions that deal with conflict issues, problems of coordination often arise. This is not the case in the Makuleke story.

6.3.7. Observations

Unlike in the Makuleke case, in the case of Chitsa-GNP conflict, it appears there is lack of an appropriate framework, recognised by all involved parties, within which to facilitate, integrate environmental and land use planning and coordinate conflict resolution processes (Tamburelli and Guillet, 2003:9). Although there are institutions like ZIMParks, various NGOs like Zimbabwe Trust, WWF, Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE) and the Lowveld Environment Awareness Programme (LEAP) that played key mediating roles for access to natural resources in Sangwe Community (Mombeshora and Mtisi, 2001:3), there is no clear cut institution that deals with land claims and land use disputes at the local level.

This observation was also echoed by Dhliwayo (2009:20), who in comparison, noted that Zimbabwe has inadequate constitutional provisions recognising environmental rights as human rights like in South Africa. Hence, this lack of a constitutional provision on environmental rights could stifle effective community participation in conservation both at the national and regional levels. Community participation in conservation is more effective in countries where environmental rights are enshrined within the national constitution. This observation seems to transcend even to issues of dispute resolution where there is no singular authority or institution to deal specifically with these matters.

At the moment it would appear as if there are many role players with a lot of overlapping, if not contradictory roles. For example, RDCs (Local Government), Land Department through land committees, Agricultural, Technical and Extension Service (Agritex) and ZIMParks. Although ZIMParks appears to be leading the process there is an inadequate framework or institutional framework that is wholesome, inclusive and empowered to deal with such matters decisively. This risks creating even more structural conflicts as players' roles clash, chiefly in the implementation of instructions and directives emanating from different officials.

Based on the lessons learnt, it can be argued that ownership of natural resources is important in situations where particular communities have a vested interest. It is unlikely that communities will destroy what they intrinsically consider to belong to them. Drifting away from the Western concept of individual or private property rights to natural resources, a broader conceptualisation relating to 'communal ownership' of natural resources is emerging, particularly to those who were forcibly removed from their land to establish fortress conservation areas (Thornhill and Mello, 2007:293). Further, Thornhill and Mello (2007:293) talk of two types of ownerships, the first one relates to the legal ownership based on a title deed and the second one is communal ownership, which is not necessarily based on the possession of a title deed. The second one is appropriate to communities such as Makuleke. One key characteristic of communal ownership is joint management through consensus in decision-making.

However, communal ownership by its inherent nature may generate even different or diversified forms of conflicts. This indicates that the Makuleke community should acquire conflict management skills as a matter of necessity. Nevertheless, a panacea of a moral nature comes in the form that within the African context communal ownership or collectivism is an inherent trait. This is made easier by making reference to and adherence to the inherited principle of 'Ubuntu', that is, 'a man (woman) is only a man through others' (Thornhill and Mello, 2007:293 citing Tshikwatamba, 2004). Hence, collectivism can be more appreciated and relatively easy to adopt as it is not an imported ideology within the African communities as individualism is.

6.4. SECTION 3

6.4.1. Lessons Learnt.

In terms of conflict resolution and management, the availability of clear cut institutions, whether legal framework or administrative institutions to deal with it, facilitates quick resolution of the conflict. This is evident in the case of the Makuleke in SA and the Kakadu in Australia where conflicting parties successfully utilised established institutions to deal with their grievances.

However, in order for some established institutions for dispute or conflict resolution to employ agreed strategies such as mediation successfully, Bosch (1999) advances some lessons learnt in the Makuleke case and similar others. Such lessons include the following;

- i. There must be a dispute and all parties should be prepared to talk about settlement. That is conflict must be recognised by all the parties involved or at least the majority of the stakeholders, if they are more than two, wish it to be resolved.
- ii. For mediation to be used as an appropriate process there must be at least some possibility of a settlement being struck between the feuding parties.
- iii. All important parties must be given the opportunity to participate. If that is not the case any eventual settlement may face problems of being undermined or challenged by those not participating.
- iv. Depending on the nature of conflict, a mediation strategy may be affected in phases, starting with sessions with each of the key parties to understand individual concerns and interests and then move on to joint sessions with two or more key parties and later with all parties involved.
- v. Establishment of institutions charged with conflict resolution or management and backed by policy and law is essential in conflict management.

However, according to Mahony and Van Zyl (2001) on the Makuleke initiative, two key strengths learned were that firstly, the community has ownership of an asset with commercial value and secondly, the community organisation and structures allow for meaningful participation.

Nevertheless, despite these strengths, there are areas that require attention such as entitlements associated with land ownership, which are still unclear and misunderstood. Also the playing field is still uneven, that is the power balance in the partnership is biased towards the SANParks by virtue of its political muscle and superior technical know-how. Mahony and Van Zyl (2001) observed that although the Makuleke Community Property Association (MCPA), tasked with the management of the property, is gradually taking its role, SANParks is reluctant to give up control and relinquish power that was previously embodied in it, in order to promote a real partnership.

The other lesson is that the ordinary members of the community find it difficult to control their own pieces of land, as their individual rights are now constrained by the new dispensation of community or collective ownership. For example, the discretion to sell individual land is no longer so obvious.

6.5. Comments and Conclusion

Although contested, reference is made to the recommended set of alternative options for land dispute resolution under 6.3.5 (this volume). If stakeholders are to employ the alternative dispute resolution (ADR) route which emphasises negotiations and mediation, it would be effective provided certain material facts are taken into consideration. For example, to apply the Makuleke model in the Chitsa-GNP case is a bit problematic on technicalities, but feasible. It is problematic unless the Chitsa community is willing to relocate and ZIMParks is also flexible particularly regarding alternative number two on co-management on contested land. The difference being that in the Makuleke case, negotiations with SANParks took place before the act of occupation and the Makulekes agreed not to occupy their contested land. This had the positive impact of not generating shocks that could have been potentially produced by worries about livelihoods disruptions.

In the Chitsa case, there appears to have been no prior negotiations with ZIMParks to the extent that the community simply decided to occupy that part of the park without engaging with the current land lord or even giving notice as

is required under section 117 of the Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 20:14) of 1996. Hence, reverting to the Makuleke model means the community has to move out of the park. The question is 'will this not ferment conflict as it mirrors the previous land evictions that gave rise to the current scenario?', but again, in the absence of negotiations does this action legitimise the cause? However, from a moral point of view, it would be reasonable to give peaceful resolution a chance rather than using coercive force, although in the end it might remain the only possible way if both sides remain aloof.

Alternatively, the researcher believes the Makuleke model is still possible provided all parties give serious commitment and thought to the outcomes and long-term benefits. The researcher holds this belief based on previous research that mentioned several times that due to the semi-arid nature of the south east lowveld, the most viable land use option would be wildlife conservation (Wolmer *et al*, 2003:1 citing the Zimbabwe Ministry of Environment and Tourism, 2001; Ferreira, 2004:310). Also occupying that part of the park poses a number of challenges such as increased human-wildlife conflict and animal disease transmission. The argument that humans used to stay there before becomes questionable today.

Again, in the past there were vast uninhabited areas where animals could roam around, but due to human population growth and encroachment into previously uninhabited areas the same cannot be said as the land available to wildlife is shrinking, hence, animals can no longer migrate elsewhere and the only option is to contest for limited space. Moreover, forced evictions were the norm during colonial periods and human communities moved places, but then if all forcibly removed communities were to move back to their 'original' places what would happen to cities, roads and other infrastructure?

Nevertheless, the Communal Lands Act (Chapter 20:04) of 1992 section 6(1)(a) states that the President subject to certain conditions may declare that any State Land shall form part of Communal Land. In that regard, if the resolution takes that root, then issues of boundaries have to be discussed and agreed upon to prevent recurrent conflicts.

Whatever solution, it has to be inclusive and involving all key stakeholders for it to be acceptable and reduce the potential for future recurrence of the problem. The decision should also be conscious of its implications on a national and regional level.

In the final analysis, results of documentation reviewed on conflict causes have been consistent with the ABC Conflict triangle referred to in chapter two on conflict theory, which has three sides to a conflict. The three sides are circumstances, attitudes and behaviour. In the two cases under study an analysis of these three sides reveal that circumstances have centred on past policies, evictions and past injustices; attitudes were shaped by deep rooted resentment of past systems and inequalities, while behaviour was manifested in the form of land occupation, threats of land occupation and land claims.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CHITSA/GONAREZHOU NATIONAL PARK (GNP) CONFLICT

7.1. Introduction

Chapter 7 focuses on the findings from the Chitsa/Gonarezhou National Park case. Results primarily reflect the perceptions and attitudes of stakeholders' views obtained from responses based mainly from questionnaires and personal interviews. To some extent information was obtained through personal discussions, participant observation in focus groups and personal communication. A brief analysis of the data collection methods is presented below and analysis was restricted to similar variables measured between similar group levels. The two distinct group levels in this study were policy makers and non-policy-makers.

7.1.1. Questionnaire Response Analysis

Of the 30 questionnaires administered to targeted policy/decision-makers in Chiredzi, 25 responded, representing 83.3% response rate. The remainder, 16.7% failed to respond in time. The researcher noted that some of the targeted respondents were no longer actively operating in the area, particularly NGOs such as CESVI. However, considering the above circumstances, the response rate was sufficient to make acceptable generalisations about the targeted population. Scientific sampling states that although there is no standard for an acceptable response rate, public opinion indicates that a response rate below 80% could produce some bias, while a response rate below 60% is barely acceptable (Edwards *et al*, 2002). Sierles (2003) advises that 80% is excellent, although between 60% and 70% is usually acceptable, and sometimes less than 60% is acceptable depending on the subject. Given the above scenario, this researcher is of the opinion that a questionnaire response rate of at least 80% is adequate for analysis and making meaningful generalisation about the views of a targeted population.

7.1.2. Interview Response Analysis

Those who participated in personal interviews were Headman Chitsa, seven Zimparks personnel, ten representatives of relevant government departments and non-governmental organisations and three community members. Analysis occurred in the field during and soon after gathering empirical data.

7.1.3. Focus Group Method

The researcher was an active participant at a Human-Wildlife conflict (HWC) focus group workshop held in Chiredzi in November 2010 to manage the increasing HWC conflict issues. The workshop participants numbering 20 were drawn from Chiredzi Rural District Council (CRDC), Environmental Management Agency (EMA), Agricultural and Technical Extension Services (Agritex) Safari Operators, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), Parks and Wildlife Management Authority (PWMA), CAMPFIRE and Traditional leaders (Chiefs). Hence, the participants formed the bulk of the targeted population as they were local policy implementers and influential in policy formulation.

It was a brainstorming session where participants came up with various problem areas, their causes and possible solutions. Natural resource conflicts in the district were discussed with particular focus on the Chitsa/GNP conflict. To enhance comprehension, the focus group results were triangulated through a compare and contrast matrix with results from questionnaires and interviews as illustrated in table 7.2.

7.1.4. Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were dropped after consent was not forthcoming from the community representatives to interview key community informants. With questionnaires, personal interviews and focus group discussions the methods were already overloaded, but semi-structured interviews were designed to enrich triangulation. Hence, its exclusion had an insignificant effect on the results.

7.2. Location of Chitsa Settlement.

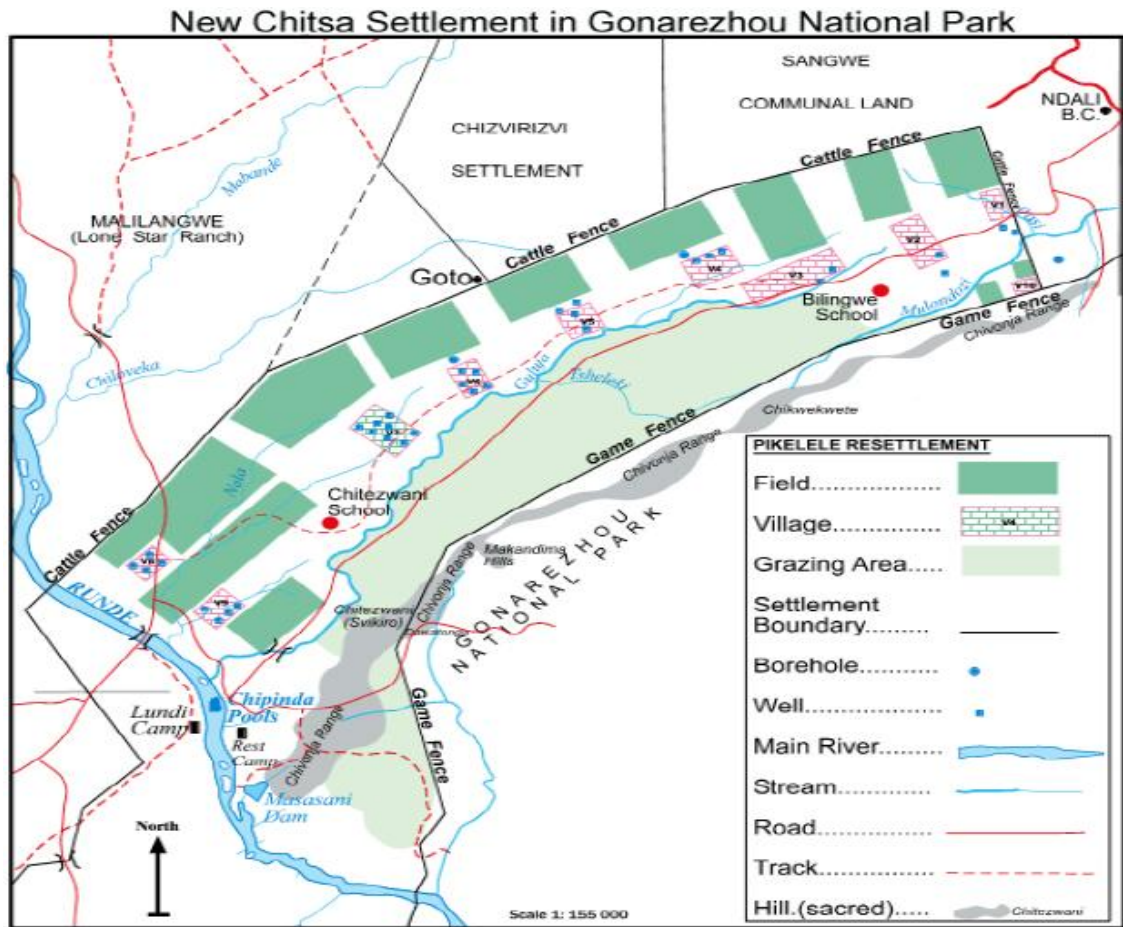


Figure 7.1: The Chitsa Settlement in GNP

Source: Mombeshora (2006).

This settlement with 10 villages each led by a sabhuku (kraal head) is located on the northern corner of the GNP and is assumed to be in ward 22 of the Chiredzi District. It is organised into three distinct zones, firstly a zone where houses and livestock overnight enclosures are constructed; secondly, a field/cropping zone and thirdly, a grazing zone. The housing zone is situated between the grazing zone generally to the east and field zone generally to the west.

7.3. Historical and Conservation Background

To obtain first hand historical facts about the conflict the researcher in the company of the local park Senior Ecologist visited Headman Chitsa's home, locally referred to as Chief, on 24 April 2010 to seek for permission to conduct

interviews with community members in his area. Permission was verbally granted. He narrated the clan's oral life history chronicling the background giving rise to the issues between him and the park that have resulted in the current dispute situation. Chitsa started by narrating the arrival of Munhumutapa in the ninth century, the arrival of the Chitsa people from Mozambique in the 17th century (in 1695), up to the arrival of the first Europeans in the 19th century (in 1838). He pointed out that the original people who were living in the area then occupied by the Chitsa clan were the Bushmen. The Chitsa community were then removed from their area in the 1960's to pave way for a game park and to consolidate this plan around 1963, a game fencing project started. However, for a detailed history about the origins and movements of the Chitsa people known as the Hlengwe or Shangaans a report by Mugadza and Mandizadza (2006) can be informative. What is apparent from the historical reflection is a deep-rooted resentment towards the manner in which the communities were removed and their subsequent disempowerment.

In the following sections the issues surrounding this conflict are closely looked at from the perspective of other respondents.

7.4. Conflict Dynamics

After an insight into the conflict background, the researcher sought to gather current views as conflict is dynamic. The views are a reflection of respondents' perceptions and responses are categorised into conflict drivers and conflict restraining forces. Applying Lewin's (1947a) force field analysis model, which assumes that in any given situation, there are both driving and restraining forces, where the driving forces are push factors promoting conflict by pushing in one direction. They tend to initiate and keep up the momentum. On the other hand restraining forces act in a rather opposite direction, hence, decreasing or neutralizing the driving forces. In the following text, an analysis of the driving and restraining forces in the context of this study is presented.

7.4.1. Conflict Drivers

Respondents identified five major reasons driving the Chitsa /GNP conflict as illustrated in figure 7.2 below.

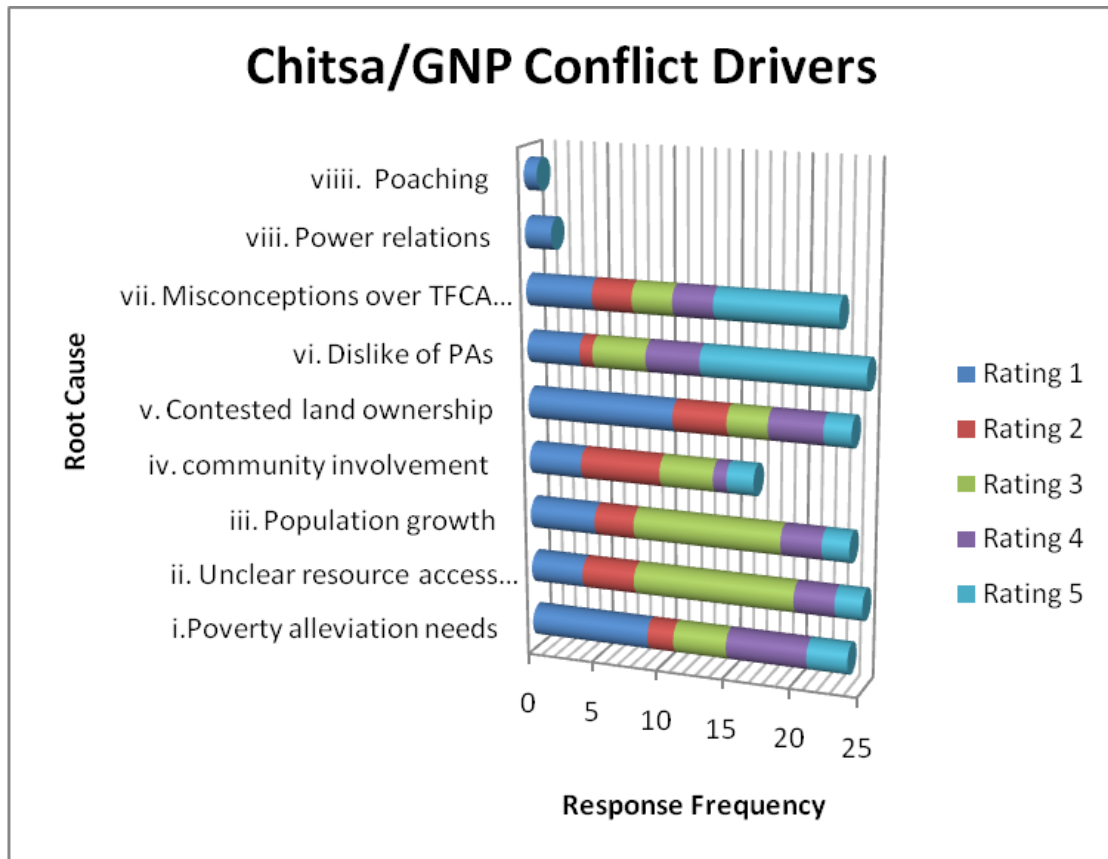


Figure 7.2: Major reasons behind the Chitsa/GNP conflict.

Responses ranged from rate 1-5, where rate1 indicates the major reason and rate 5 indicates the least of the reasons.

Nine reasons were advanced as having an influence in the Chitsa/GNP case, but among them, five were identified as major reasons. As can be observed from figure 1 above, the five major reasons are land contests, poverty alleviation needs, unclear resource access policies, population growth needs and lack of community involvement in conservation projects. These were found within the ratings of 1 to 3 representing the major reasons. Those

reasons attracting low ratings of 4 and 5 represented the least of the reasons advanced.

If we are to look at rate 1 representing reasons of highest priority, one would deduce that the majority of respondents 24.4% rated contested land ownership and poverty alleviation needs (20%) as the two major reasons scoring the highest points in that category. In the second category with rating 2, lack of community involvement in TFCA development attracted 26% and in rating 3 were unclear resource access policies with 29.3% and population growth needs with 26.8%. The factors with the least rating of 5, that is representing the least of the reasons, were dislike of protected areas and misconceptions about TFCA development. These factors constituting the least of the reasons could actually be turned into some of the restraining forces. In the following the driving forces are unbundled and further explained.

7.4.1.1. Contested Land

The land contest is based on historical circumstances primarily caused by forced removals. The study area is littered with a complex matrix of historical and conservation facts. An interview with one of the longest serving members of Parks staff employed at one of Gonarezhou National Park's Camp closest to the occupied land called Chipinda Pools on 21 November 2010 revealed this complexity. Indications are that the place the Chitsa community is currently occupying is not the actual or original area they used to reside in historically, although it falls within the confines of the general area they used to inhabit that was later incorporated into the park. Their original area is at the confluence of Save/Runde Rivers but the Chitsa community are now settled in an area called Gulugi named after Gulugi River that passes through the area.

That same area, Gulugi, is where one Seven Jack and his people used to stay before they were also evicted just like the others. Some people under Seven Jack, who was a village head, were moved to a place called Ndali also known as Chitsa village just outside the park area while others were relocated to another district in Masvingo Province called Zaka (in the case of Magatse).

The Chitsa people together with some village members from the Seven Jack community were relocated to the newly created Ndali village under Chief Tshovani. It was around 1968 and 1969 when the last people were forcibly removed to pave the way for wildlife conservation. However, the community is allowed access into the park to conduct its traditional rituals. Today, Seven Jack, better known as Chitimela is the one who conducts traditional rituals in the Gulugi area as tradition dictates and is respected accordingly. The rituals which are mainly rain making ceremonies are conducted at a hill called Seven Jack.

Nevertheless, despite being given access to conduct their rituals, the community is making a claim to repossess the land as they feel that they were unfairly treated. The contest is now between the existing statutes and historical truths. While the area occupied by the Chitsa community is now part of GNP according to the Parks and Wildlife Act of 1996, the community is using historical facts and memory dating back to a situation in 1957 and backwards to reclaim it.

Some of these memories are a reflection of the misunderstandings generated by the numerous past changes in the park boundaries. Thus by linking the land contest to the park boundary debates aggravates an already complex matter as explained in the following.

7.4.1.2. Boundary Disputes

A number of conflicting views on the boundary issue were made by respondents. Headman Chitsa and some village community leaders said the boundary of the park should be redefined to recognise the area under headman Chitsa. This was reinforced by a Bio-Hub representative who indicated that when higher authorities at the Provincial level (governor) were interviewed, the governor expressed support for the action taken by the Chitsa community. One of the previous provincial governors even denied that the Chitsa community are settled inside the park, arguing that they have no

intention of occupying the park⁷. The argument is premised on an old map of 1957 indicating old boundaries before the new park boundary was designated in accordance with the current Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 20:14) of 1996.

Discussions with the former regional manager for PWMA's Southern Region on 23 November 2010 indicated that the claim by the Chitsa community on the piece of land based on historical ties is correct, but it is a common scenario found across most parks land as the then government removed people in order to establish protected areas throughout the country. Therefore, the claim by the Chitsa community is not unique, hence, based on the above scenario, the former regional manager argued that to use the issue of changing boundaries as a fact to contest land is legally a closed chapter, as boundaries had to be changed now and again to expand wildlife areas as the situation demanded. Notwithstanding anything to the contrary, those changes were legalised through government statutes. After all, the current Parks Act provides for such boundary changes through section 22. Some of these memories are a reflection of the misunderstandings generated by the numerous past changes in the park boundaries. Thus by linking the land contest to the park boundary debates aggravates an already complex matter as explained in the following text.

7.4.1.3. Competing Land use Practices

Land use conflict has been raised by a number of respondents (24.4%) as a significant challenge in finding an amicable resolution to the land conflict. One respondent even mentioned that;

‘Those who want to live in areas set aside for wildlife should practice wildlife conservation and not to grow crops, otherwise you invite problems.’

⁷ Personal comm. with a Bio-Hub representative on 4/11/2010

In addition, acting in consensus, participants at a human-wildlife conflict management focus group workshop held from 21 to 22 November 2010 viewed land use conflicts as a spring board upon which other problems like human-wildlife conflicts and land use clashes arise from. In Chiredzi District, the top ten wards, representing about 31% of the 32 wards, with this type of conflict include ward 22, part of which encompasses the Chitsa community occupying part of the park. At this point the conflict drags in policy debates, pitting conservation against social policies. In the public eye human welfare should be prioritised ahead of that of animals. This thinking saw local politicians supporting the actions of the locals resulting in what one respondent referred to as 'disrespect for proper land use practices', hence generating what can be referred to as 'downstream' conflicts.

Typical examples of these downstream conflicts are human-wildlife conflicts created by the unplanned settlement as witnessed by the researcher and the resident senior ecologist on one of the several visits to the villages on 22/11/10. The resident senior ecologist received two elephant problem reports. The elephants were destroying people's crops and posed a threat even to human life. People attempting to chase away the problem elephants risked attack that could end up being fatal. In response to such a situation, respondents attributed the problem to be a creation of unplanned and illegal settlements caused by some disrespect for current conservation land use practices.

Discussions with the community leaders indicated that elephants are increasingly becoming a problem as they are now consuming a wide range of crops including those they used not to consume before, such as cotton and pepper. For instance, the community planted pepper at the edges of their fields as an elephant deterrent strategy. It worked for one season, but in the subsequent seasons the elephants even fed on the pepper plants that were expected to act as a deterrent, before proceeding to eat the cultivated crops expected to be protected by the same pepper plants.

Apart from elephants, there are other problem animals such as lions and hyenas that attack community livestock. One farmer actually complained that;

‘I have not been invited to this workshop, but when I heard that it is about human-wildlife conflict I just thought of gate-crashing. My problem is that lions attack our livestock, this year alone I have lost close to 80 cattle, who is going to compensate me?’

Apart from competing land uses, another conflict driver observed was the issue of power and relationships. This variable was manifested in various forms including chieftainship power struggles and power contests among local stakeholders, as explained below.

7.4.1.4. Chieftainship Power Struggles

As alluded to before, some influential players used the land contests to advance their interests. A case in point is the long standing chieftainship power wrangle between Chief Tshovani and Headman Chitsa. This case reared its head as Headman Chitsa took advantage of the ensuing melee to resuscitate his claim to restore his lost chieftainship. This would be archived through extricating himself from Chief Tshovani’s power by acquiring a piece of land over which he exercises his jurisdiction. Mugadza and Mandizadza (2006:3) citing Bannerman (1978) and Wright (1972) concede that ‘it would be a way for the Chitsa to reclaim their lost chieftainship.’ Hence, the majority of respondents, 68% attributed chieftainship power struggles among local traditional leaders as one of the key issues threatening to derail the conflict settlement in the Chitsa /GNP case, while only 32% did not perceive it as a major problem. Figure 7.3 below illustrates respondents’ views on the impact of chieftainship power struggles on finding a settlement to the conflict.

Is Chieftainship Power Struggles a Significant Factor on Conflict Settlement?

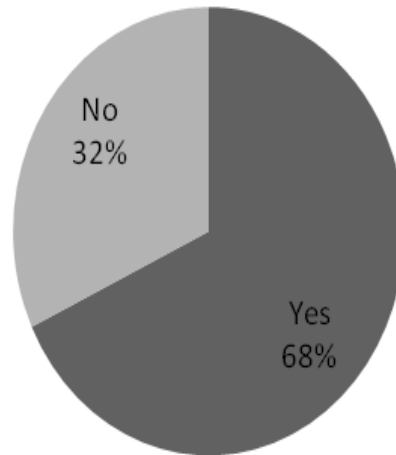


Figure 7.3: Significance of chieftainship power struggles on conflict resolution.

Arguments that chieftainship power wrangles are real and a factor to consider in the resolution of the Chitsa/GNP conflict were collaborated by a PWMA Official responsible for the GLTP initiative. He subscribes to the fact that the conflict is driven by a number of factors, chief among them being issues of power. Headman Chitsa is not happy with the current set-up where he is subjected to another chief (Tshovani), particularly when he considers himself a Chief within his own right (pers comm. 16/11/10)⁸. With an emotionally charged voice, headman Chitsa mentioned that;

‘All these other chiefs in our clan are junior to me and I have mentioned this several times in meetings, they know I am their senior, but they do not want to acknowledge it’.

However, there is a technical dilemma, one cannot claim chieftainship without both the subjects and the territory (land) to exercise his/her powers, thus, the

⁸ Personal communication with a parks official responsible for the GLTP on 16/11/10.

official views the occupation of part of GNP as a power game and a demonstration to justify and reassert his chieftainship.

This was again corroborated by a former PWMA Regional Manager who was by then responsible for the Province in which the area under contest falls. It was confirmed that the issue of chieftainship power needs is clearly manifested in this case. He mentioned that Chitsa and the current Chief Tshovani are cousins and Chitsa claims to be the most senior of all the chiefs under the same clan. What is irking him is that he does not want to be under any chief but to establish his own area with people subjected to his rule. However, in order to achieve that he needs a certain size of land and a minimum number of people to be accorded chiefdom status⁹. In traditional African culture, more land for the chief means more people under his/her jurisdiction and this translates to more power. Mugadza and Mandizadza (2006:19) citing Latham (1965) advance a common understanding among the people about chieftainship as reflected by the following saying;

‘.....the chief is the people and the people are the chief. They say that the people could not be a people without a chief, but that stated conversely a chief without people would not be a chief.’

What this literally means is that a chief dispossessed of land is automatically disempowered and stripped of the chieftaincy. Therefore, this becomes a convincing argument for the occupation of the park to reclaim lost power and identity.

However, the local headman had his own conceptualisation of the issue. He gave a narrative history of his chieftainship and how it got lost. His claim is that according to the family tree he is the most senior of all the chiefs under their family genealogy. He clarified that the village called Ndali, also called Chitsa, was named after Ndali the son of Chief Chitsa.¹⁰

⁹ An interview with a former Parks Regional Manager on 21/11/10

¹⁰ Personal interview with Headman Chitsa on 24/11/10.

He further stated that the chieftainship of Tshovani was conferred with the blessings of Chitsa. Written documents availed to the researcher reveal that the Muhingo house (father to Chitsa) is senior to that of Tshovani house. This is according to an undated report titled 'Chitsa Headmanship and Community' in possession of Headman Chitsa. However, the same report states that one by the name of Zava wrested away the Chieftainship from Chitsa under unclear circumstances. To reinforce Headman Chitsa's argument, further correspondence in his possession confirms that the chieftainship of Chitsa had been in existence since 1906 to sometime between 1945 and 1960 when most of the Chieftainships were either whittled down or completely abolished.¹¹ The same letter state that Chitsa had a big crown (meaning that Chitsa was a paramount chief) which was then downgraded with no explanation given.

As a result Chief Chitsa was subsequently and officially given a headmanship title and that was the status at the time of this study. This issue created protracted chieftainship power struggles that remained latent until they graduated into the manifest stage, when the current Headman, who in an effort to find a solution took the matter head on. This year (2010) Chitsa made another follow-up application directed at higher offices on the restoration of the chieftainship.

However, despite the current status and the effort being made, headman Chitsa is of the conviction that the chieftainship issue has been 'resolved'. To him, what are now pending are the conferment and the installation ceremonies. Anyway, this was never collaborated by any of the respondents, hence, casting doubts on the merits of the claim. In addition to the observed chieftainship power wrangles, there were also power contests among various state organs charged with policy implementation in the district as explained in the following sub-theme.

¹¹ A letter from the Chiredzi DA to Masvingo PA dated 12 November 2001.

7.4.1.5. Stakeholder Power Relations

Apart from chieftainship power struggles, power contests among key local stakeholders were identified as another factor militating against the resolution of this case. A high percentage of the respondents (24%) categorised power contest especially among state organs as very serious and the majority (52%) of respondents categorised it as serious and only 8% were not in the know. The table 7.1 below summaries responses to the question, 'How would you describe the impact of power contests among local stakeholders in hindering efforts to find an acceptable solution to this case?'

Table 7.1: Negative impacts of local stakeholder power contests on conflict resolution.

Response Option	Responses in Percentages
Very serious	24%
Serious	52%
Don't Know	8%
Not serious	8%
Not very serious	8%

One shortcoming begets another, as the power contest generated by overlapping jurisdiction over policy implementation among local regulatory agencies resulted in weak coordination leading to poor collaboration. For instance, 45% of respondents conceded that the contest created by overlapping jurisdictions over policy implementation had a very big impact in weakening coordination and corporation. It also affected community mobilisation efforts and participation in development projects. 27% said it had a big impact, 12% said it had a small impact, 4% said there was very small impact, while 12% said there was no impact at all. A close analysis indicates

that 72% of respondents agreed that this factor had a very big to big impact in retarding community participation even in the TFCA development process.

Poor stakeholder collaboration had an incremental effect of perpetuating conflict as it took different dimensions and roped in more stakeholders. It created a situation not conducive for stakeholder consultation and cooperation in policy implementation to the extent of even affecting the GLTFCA development process. Figure 7.3 below illustrates this scenario.

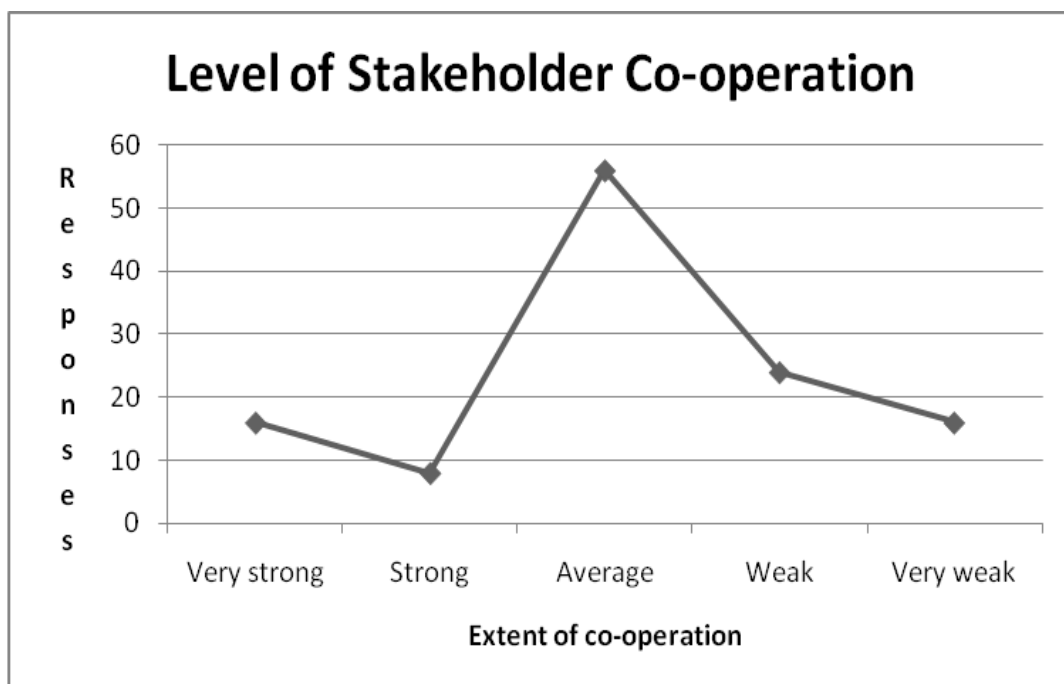


Figure 7.3: Level of Stakeholder Co-operation in GLTFCA development Process.

The range of responses to the level of co-operation in the GLTFCA development process was expected to be in the strong to very strong categories considering that the initiative is supposed to be stakeholder driven with conservation benefits going beyond boundaries.

In addition, there was evidence of overlapping jurisdiction and inadequate collaboration between the Agritex and other authorities such as RDC and

Zimparks, among others, in policy implementation. What comes into mind is what transpired during the initial phases of occupation of the parks land by the Chitsa community. The Agritex department went on to demarcate and peg plots for human settlement without consent or collaborating with the current landholder, who is the Parks and Wildlife Management Authority.

The end result was that poor coordination between key state organs inflamed the conflict and confused the communities to the extent that the communities are of the view that since one government department actually allocated them land for resettlement then the occupation is official and legitimate. This situation drags in policy issues as further explained under the next subtopic on policy misinterpretation.

Lack of local collaboration resembled a microcosm of the prevailing general situation. Focus group discussions revealed that stakeholder collaboration at district level was weak. With reference to the land reform programme most participants indicated that because it was of national significance it attracted many actors resulting in co-ordination challenges. This resulted in poor collaboration with information being scattered and fragmented. For example, according to one participant, there were a number of government departments dealing with the programme (such as DDF, Agritex, etc) and these have pieces of vital information regarding the programme. However, that information is not useful at the moment as it is in different formats and not integrated. The solution is to integrate this information and establish a database that can be accessed by relevant stakeholders.

7.4.1.6. Policy Misinterpretation

Well intended policies can be subjected to misinterpretations thereby achieving non-intended outcomes. When the agrarian land reform policy and programme was launched some communities misunderstood it or were made to believe that under that programme people were at liberty to choose and stay wherever they so wished¹². Some interviewees stated that people had

¹² An interview with a long serving member of the local parks station on 22/11/10.

been harbouring this thinking in mind to one day reclaim their lost land, but were hesitant and unsure as to how to go about it. So the Chitsa community based on the strength of such an understanding gathered hope and took advantage of this window of opportunity to revert to their ancestral land. The problem is that the piece of land occupied belongs to Zimparks land and this created tension with the land holder (PWMA), hence, resulting in a policy crisis situation, which Mombeshora and le Bel (2009:2621) referred to as a contradiction between agricultural and conservation policies. The choice to settle in that particular area ahead of others was to a large extent influenced by the desire to return to 'matongo' (old abandoned home) and to secure livelihoods as expanded under the next theme, community livelihoods.

7.4.1.7. Community Livelihoods

The need to satisfy basic human needs and secure food and other livelihoods motivated the community to settle in the contested area. For instance, a local parks staff member said that since cropping began in the contested area, the least expected maize harvest is five tonnes per season per hectare and according to the community standards, a farmer who produces such a yield is regarded as not performing up to expected standards. The expected standard is producing more than five tonnes of maize crop per hectare.

One local farmer was expecting over 30 tonnes from last year's harvest and this season is expecting another bumper harvest¹³. A visit to the community led us to a local farmer who revealed that he still had some of the maize harvested in the last cropping season, but was now badly affected by grain borers. Asked why he did not sell his produce to the Grain Marketing Board, the farmer stated that;

'I did not sell to the Grain Marketing Board this year, because their grain buying price was not good this season and again sometimes they delay in paying you, I decided I would rather keep my produce this season and then see what I can do with it'.

¹³ Interview with one of the longest serving members at GNP Chipinda Pools on 22/11/10

Comparably the community experiences quite high maize yields considering that in most areas in the lowveld, which lies in region 5, the maize yield hardly exceeds 1 tonne per hectare due to characteristically low rainfall and dry humidity. The high yields are attributed to the good soils found in the area as collaborated by a number of interviewees who stated that the community's choice was based on the soils which are predominantly rich black rigorous of basalt type that are good for crop production, subject to the availability of water. Currently crop planting takes place without adding any inorganic fertilizers as the soils are still naturally fertile¹⁴. The main crops grown are maize, cotton, sorghum, groundnuts, water melons and pumpkins¹⁵.

In addition to relatively high crop production due to fairly good soils, the community rear livestock including cattle, goats, chickens and donkeys. There is abundant livestock with one farmer possessing in excess of 150 cattle in a rural setting. However, as mentioned before, farmers face other problems as their livestock are attacked by predators¹⁶.

'At times hyenas and lions attack our livestock, particularly at night and that is why we keep dogs and sleep outside our houses', another farmer complained.

Common pets are dogs that are also used as guards to protect crops and livestock. The dogs normally alert their owners through a barking signal whenever something is wrong particularly at night.

The suitability of the soils and the area for both crop and livestock production constituted one of the conflict's driving forces. According to the park area

¹⁴ Personal comms with a GNP Chipinda Pools employee on 22/11/10

¹⁵ Interview with one of the longest serving members at GNP Chipinda Pools on 22/11/10

¹⁶ Predators are animals, such as lions, leopard and hyena that kill and survive on other animals.

manager, the Chitsa community is even extending their fields further into the park and herding their cattle a long distance inside the park thus further precipitating tension. The researcher actually observed some cattle being herded into the park on several later visits to the area.

7.4.1.8. Community Expectations

The launching of the GLTP project in 2002 by the three respective Ministers from Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe raised very high positive hopes among the local communities. A PWMA official involved in TFCA activities conceded that local community expectation of benefits from the TFCA initiative were originally very high¹⁷. This thinking is consistent with views expressed at the human-wildlife focus group discussion workshop where participants pointed out that communities expected to benefit more from CAMPFIRE like programmes, hence, the contests for land close to protected areas.

Communities expected immediate benefits and a dramatic change in their livelihoods. This triggered anxiety among community members privy to information as they started to strategically position themselves to be at vantage points to access and gain from the expected benefits. However, the high expectations were not matched by a corresponding increase in economic growth due to various reasons including a down turn in tourism and donor withdrawal caused mainly by bad publicity attributed to the concurrent land reform programme. This then helped to ferment conflict as suspicions crept into stakeholders' ranks as a result of a crisis of expectations.

7.4.1.9. Local Community Participation

- **Community Structures**

Local community participation in conflict resolution has not featured as prominently as expected. Though the community is organised with structures

¹⁷ Interview with a PWMA official involved in TFCA activities on 16/11/10

in place, respondents conceded that little interaction takes place between other key stakeholders and community structures.

The communities in the park are organised into ten (10) villages, numbered 1 to 10. These villages, apart from the headman, have other structures such as the village heads (kraal heads) and then a village committee with a chairperson and vice-chairperson who oversees all the ten villages.

In addition, the community set up a committee or forum that acts as a communication link between the community and local park management. Communication includes reporting matters to do with human-wildlife conflict¹⁸. At the time of the researcher's visit this arrangement seemed to be working as some forum members were seen reporting cases of problem animals in their respective areas to local park management. This arrangement provides relief to concerns expressed by some stakeholders that dialogue with the community is difficult due to entrenched mistrust between the contesting parties.

7.4.1.10. Population Growth

The researcher observed a lot of children under the age of five, which is an indicator of a high population growth rate. A PWMA official (pers. comm, 13/11/10) mentioned that the population is growing and there are signs of human encroachment further into the park.

To quote his own words, the PWMA official stated that;

‘Our main concern is that the population continues to grow and extend further into the park, maybe we need to erect a fence to stop further encroachment into the park, but again we need intervention from higher levels as we cannot make that decision at our level’.

¹⁸ Interview with the park area manager on 22/11/10

Households have increased from the initial number of less than 500 in 2000 to about 1 000 households in 2010.

7.4.2. Conflict Restraints

Further, an analysis of respondents' comments responding to the question 'Do you think livelihood needs of the community, such as access to natural resources are addressed in the current local District social policy framework?' The majority were of the view that livelihood needs are incorporated in the District social policy. Based on the responses, the researcher came up with five broad categories shown in table 7.1, to illustrate the extent to which community livelihoods have been incorporated. The table includes positive and negative responses to reflect the diversity of views. The majority of respondents were of the view that the district social policy has enabled community benefits, particularly from the viable wildlife industry to outweigh costs. This created a positive attitude towards wildlife conservation among local communities and therefore helped to defuse the bitterness of the conflict as a restraining force.

Table 7.1: Categorised responses on incorporation of livelihood needs in the Chiredzi District Social policy

Category	Positive Response	Negative Response
Community livelihoods	Programmes such as water and sanitation have made a difference in community life. Living standards have improved as a result of the campfire programme, which is anchored on animals spilling over from GNP	
Resource access and benefits	Campfire programmes address access to natural resources There is quota allocation to the communities	Local communities have limited access to natural resources, including shared resource, e.g. water holes and grazing land

Policy issues	The Parks and Wildlife Act make it a requirement for communities to benefit from natural resources found in their areas. It is also a condition stipulated for the conferment of Appropriate Authority (AA) status to be given to RDCs that apply for such a status. The AA status is given on condition that the RDC agrees that a larger percentage of hunting proceeds are channelled to the producer communities.	
Competing land uses		Settlements in GNP are illegal; hence, that land should be maintained as a conservation area.
Community participation	There are well established management structures within the local RDC involving local communities (e.g. wildlife conservation committees)	

7.4.2.1. Distribution of Economic Benefits and Costs.

Related to the livelihoods issue, in terms of the cost- benefits analysis 44% of the respondents indicated that local communities receive more of the benefits than costs, 20% indicated that cost and benefits are equally shared between local communities and other stakeholders, 24% indicated that local communities receive more of the costs than benefits and 8% indicated that local communities do not receive any benefits.

The responses are contrary to common thinking where communities are thought to suffer more costs than benefits. This scenario is interesting particularly where there are resource conflicts. Although most participants to a

human-wildlife conflict focus group workshop indicated that human-wildlife conflicts are on the increase, there is a general understanding that benefits from the CAMPFIRE programme outweighs the costs of living with wildlife.

CAMPFIRE is supposed to address issues of access to natural resources and enhance community benefits through their participation in natural resource management. Thus the CAMPFIRE concept is anchored to the philosophy that conservation efforts can be enhanced by devolving decision-making and flow of benefits to local communities who bear the costs of living with natural resources like wildlife. In that regard, CAMPFIRE communities in Chiredzi district participate in sustainable wildlife harvesting through hunting quota-setting workshops to which all people with properties having wildlife suitable for trophy hunting are invited. In the case of the producer communities like local communities living with wildlife and whose land is gazetted as a communal land according to the Communal Lands Acts, the local RDC represents them. However, the debate about such representation is discussed under chapter 9 of the discussion.

Through the CAMPFIRE programme communities get 55% of revenue for their development. As such a number of projects have already been completed in the general area as portrayed in table 7.1. These include water and sanitation projects in some wards, construction of clinics, provision of grinding mills, construction of schools, establishment of tourism enterprises offering tourist accommodation, for example, the Mahenye Lodge, which is a joint venture between private operators and the local community. Projects sponsored by the CAMPFIRE programme cover even ward 22, part of which accommodates the Chitsa community in the GNP. Hence, some respondents pointed out that communities are relatively 'well-off' in Chiredzi owing to revenue generated from a spill over of animals from the GNP.

However, some respondents felt that issues of access and benefits are yet to be addressed in full as the current situation has some limitations; for example, some communities have limited access to shared resources, such as water holes and grazing land. Some even felt that community based natural

resource management (CBNRM) is yet to be fully implemented. The CBNRM programme is an umbrella programme that comes in different forms such as CAMPFIRE. The tangible benefits assisted in reducing tension among stakeholders as communities understand the benefits of conservation.

7.4.2.2. Stakeholder Analysis and Participation

There are arguments over stakeholder participation in local conservation development projects partly due to inadequate or poor stakeholder analysis. However, in this study 48% of respondents indicated that stakeholder analysis was done, particularly through the TFCA initiative although unsatisfactorily, while 32% were not aware whether it was done. There was therefore a slight indication that stakeholder analysis was done leading to a build up of positive attitudes.

A follow-up question was posed to determine whether there were any consistencies between stakeholder analysis and the sharing of TFCA objectives at the GLTP project launch. 16% of the respondents expressed satisfaction on the sharing of TFCA objectives, 40% agreed that the objectives were shared, 16% were not satisfied and 28% indicated that the objectives were not shared.

In figure 7.4 an analysis of whether there is a correlation between stakeholder analysis at the initial phases of the project and the sharing of TFCA objectives among key stakeholders is presented.

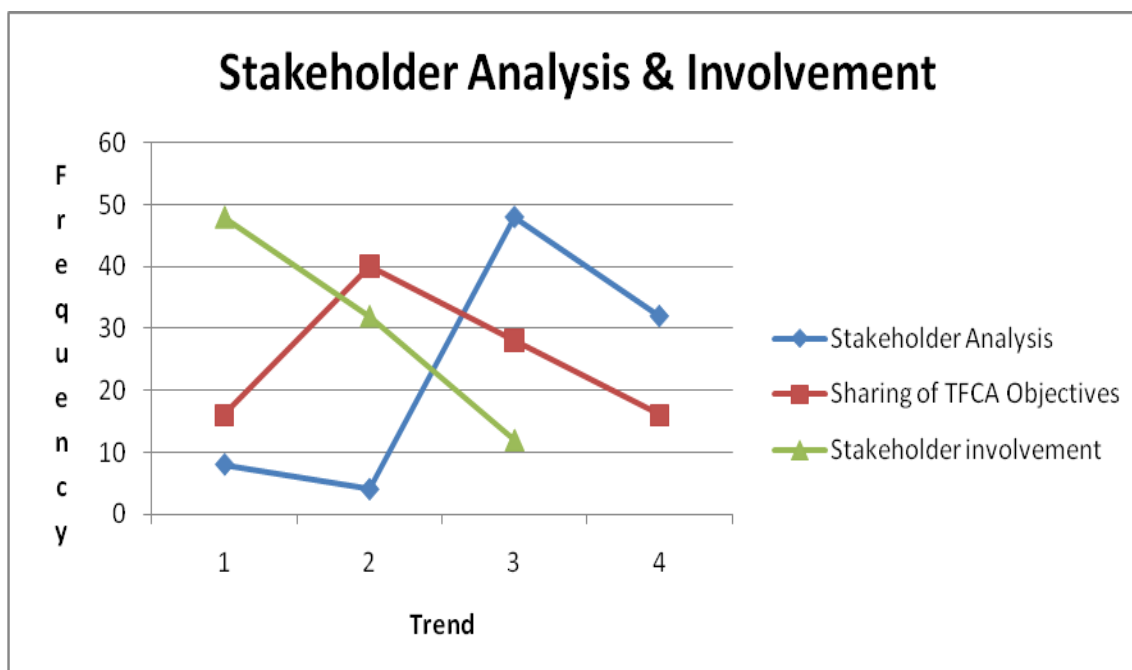


Figure 7.4: Comparison trend line: stakeholder analysis, sharing of TFCA objectives and stakeholder involvement

As can be deduced from figure 7.4, it can be concluded that although both stakeholder analysis and the sharing of TFCA objectives were done at the GLTP project launch, there is a strong positive relationship between the two variables. However, a negative correlation is observed between the sharing of TFCA objectives at the initial project launch and stakeholder involvement in conflict resolution at the later phases of the project. That is, despite the sharing of TFCA objectives and a thorough stakeholder analysis during the initial project phases, the later phases of the project experienced less and less stakeholder involvement in conflict resolution. For instance, 48% of respondents indicated that not all key stakeholders are involved in conflict resolution, 32% said they are involved and 12% stated that they are unaware of any stakeholder involvement. Given such a scenario, the local community constituency was not spared as its involvement became marginal.

7.4.2.3. Lack of Universal Support

Looking at a broader context, the other factor raised by a PWMA official involved in the TFCA programme was that the occupation of the GNP, while it had localised support from local and provincial political and other players, it

lacked strong national backing. At national level there is little evidence of express support for communities to occupy state land particularly national park areas.

According to the official, local communities were aware of and respected the designated park boundary before and that explains the reason why all along they had not attempted even to graze their livestock in the park.

The problem was locally induced with powerful local players supporting community actions. In an attempt to address the local communities' unresolved historical grievances these players piggybacked on the agrarian land reform programme and attempted to use it to settle these historical grievances. Thus taking advantage of community discontentment and the perceived socio-economic opportunities presented by the situation, these local players managed to influence the communities to occupy the parks estate, with neither national level blessings nor policy support. Though this induced a sense of local level victory or retributive justice, it did not obliterate the sense of insecurity which could be detrimental to conservation efforts.

Nevertheless, the sense of insecurity can work to the advantage of all local players as it can act as a motivating factor that pulls all key stakeholders to the negotiating table in search of lasting solutions¹⁹ (MacQuarrie, 2008:105).

¹⁹ For instance, Castro and Nielsen (2003) presented a case known as the Blue Forest, researched by Prins Cornelis; Castilla Oscar and Almendares Rosa. These researchers analysed a conflict between legal and illegal forest users from three communities near the Blue Forest, Honduras. The three communities involved were San Ramon; Nueva Granada and Brisas del Norte. San Ramon had the legal right to harvest timber in the Blue forest, but Nueva Granada and Brisas del Norte illegally harvested timber from the forest for commercial purposes. This generated conflict with San Ramon and law enforcement agencies. In the final analysis one of the factors that led to the resolution of the conflict was increasing insecurity on the part of both the illegal and legal timber harvesters. Fear of imprisonment on the part of illegal harvesters for engaging in illegal timber harvesting, the confiscation of their illegally harvested timber and the potential loss of income, convinced the people of Bisa del Norte that negotiations were necessary and could offer an opportunity to advance their interests (Castro and Nielsen, 2003:113). On the other hand, though San Ramon can relatively be considered to be elite basing on the fact that it was the least poor of the three communities, there was a need for it to strengthen their local organisation around development activities and that contributed to their willingness to find a negotiated solution to the conflict over the forest (Castro and Nielsen, 2003:110).

Because of the negative effects generated by the sense of insecurity among communities, the concern for the environment or natural resource conservation due to the controversial human presence in the park leads us to analyse the extent of human impact on the environment.

7.4.3. Environmental Consequences

The levels of environmental impacts due to human activity in the park since the Chitsa/GNP occupation show an upward trend. The majority of the respondents indicated that there was an increase in all the listed activities, with some even adding on disease transmission as increasing. Figure 7.5 demonstrates this observed trend.

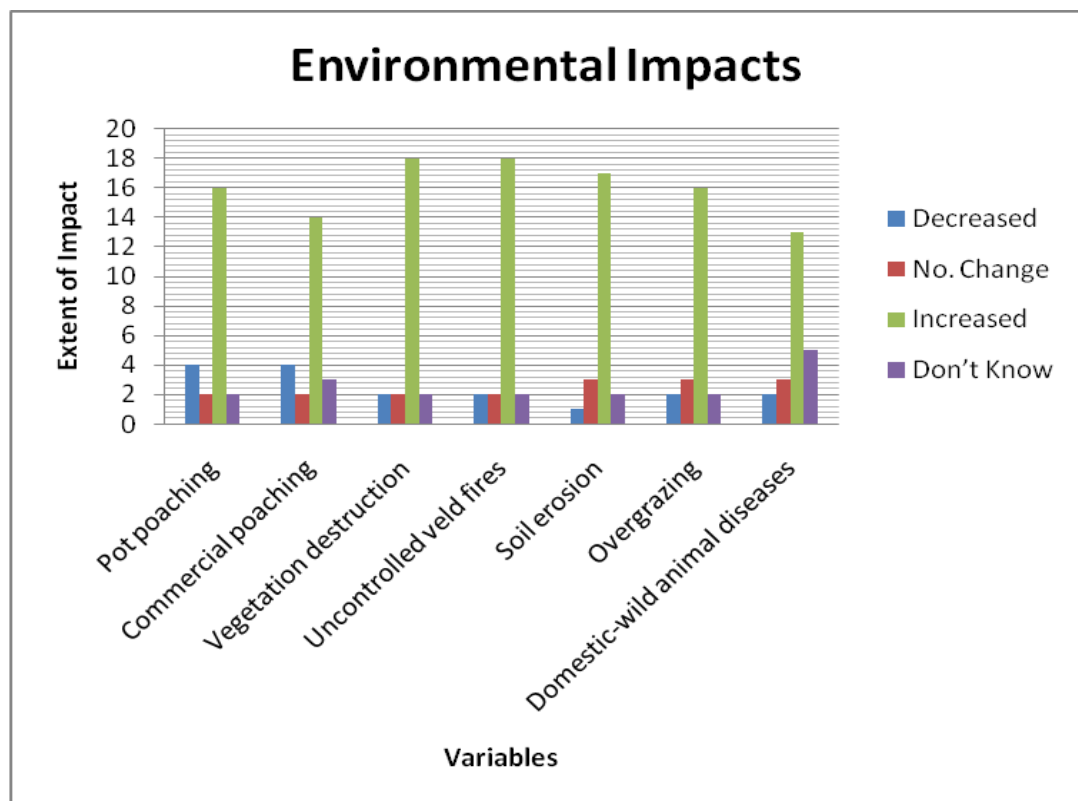


Figure 7.5: Anthropogenic environmental impacts

According to figure 7.5, all the listed variables were negatively affected by the occupation of the park. The increase in the level of human induced impacts upon a given variable demonstrates the extent to which it has been negatively affected. The net result is accelerated environmental degradation. The fear is that environmental degradation reduces its capacity to produce by disturbing

the ecological equilibrium, hence perpetuating the cycle of poverty and land degradation.

Having assessed the level of human induced impacts on the environment, the question is 'What are the present attitudes of local stakeholders toward wilderness conservation given the current scenario?' The following responses attempt to assess these attitudes.

7.4.4. Attitudes towards Wilderness Conservation/TFCA

The majority of the respondents (76%) view wilderness areas/TFCA as very important, while 24% said they are important. None said they are not important. These responses are figuratively shown below.

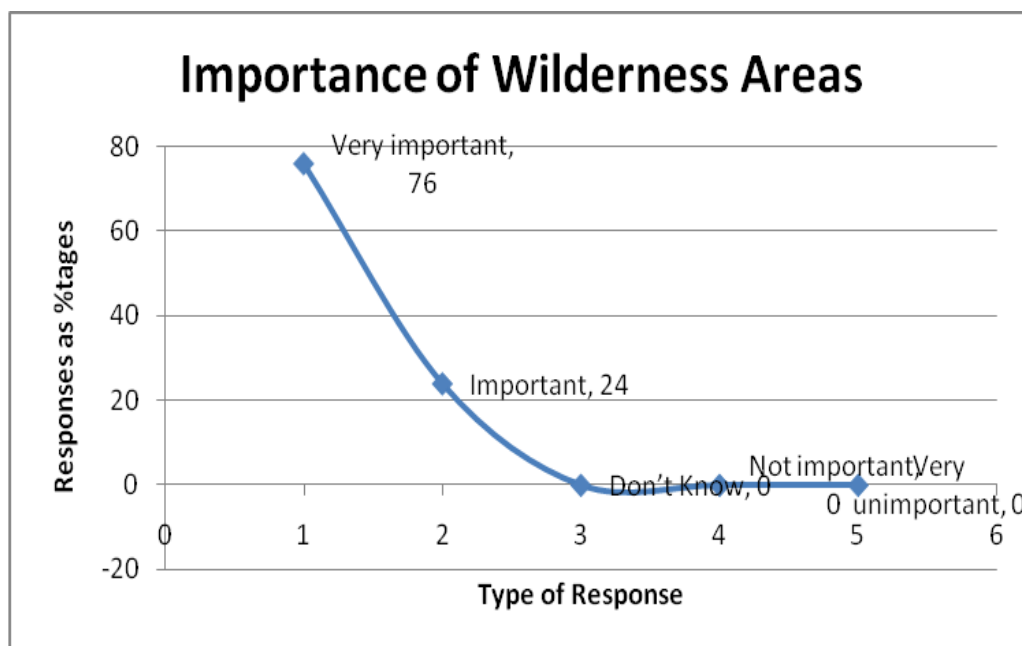


Figure 7.6: Importance of wilderness areas

In support of the above, the following reasons were advanced to reinforce their present views.

- The tourism industry heavily relies on sustainable management of wildlife resources;
- Wildernesses act as a conservation measure for local natural resources;

- Wildernesses are very important because they are rich with biodiversity which ensures sustainable development by conserving and utilising what we have for national development. Therefore it is very critical to the country's economy and the improvement of local community livelihoods;
- In addition to minimising human wildlife interactions, cross boundary wildernesses or TFCAs afford free movement of wildlife across international boundaries.

After the realisation of the importance of wildernesses, the best strategies to protect the GNP wilderness values to promote sustainable eco-tourism development were solicited. Respondents were given a range of options to choose from and the majority, 76% indicated that the current land area under wilderness conservation be maintained. The remainder, 24% were of the view that the land area under wilderness conservation should actually be increased.

Having established both the conflict drivers and restraints, a look at the conflict resolution process provided an insight as to how these factors were addressed. Hence, satisfying the third study objective;

- To explore and assess the effectiveness of conflict resolution and management processes in the GLTP.

7.5. Conflict Resolution Process

7.5.1. Conflict Strategies Employed

The question designed to establish the most used conflict resolution strategy and its effectiveness attracted various responses. These responses have been figuratively presented below.

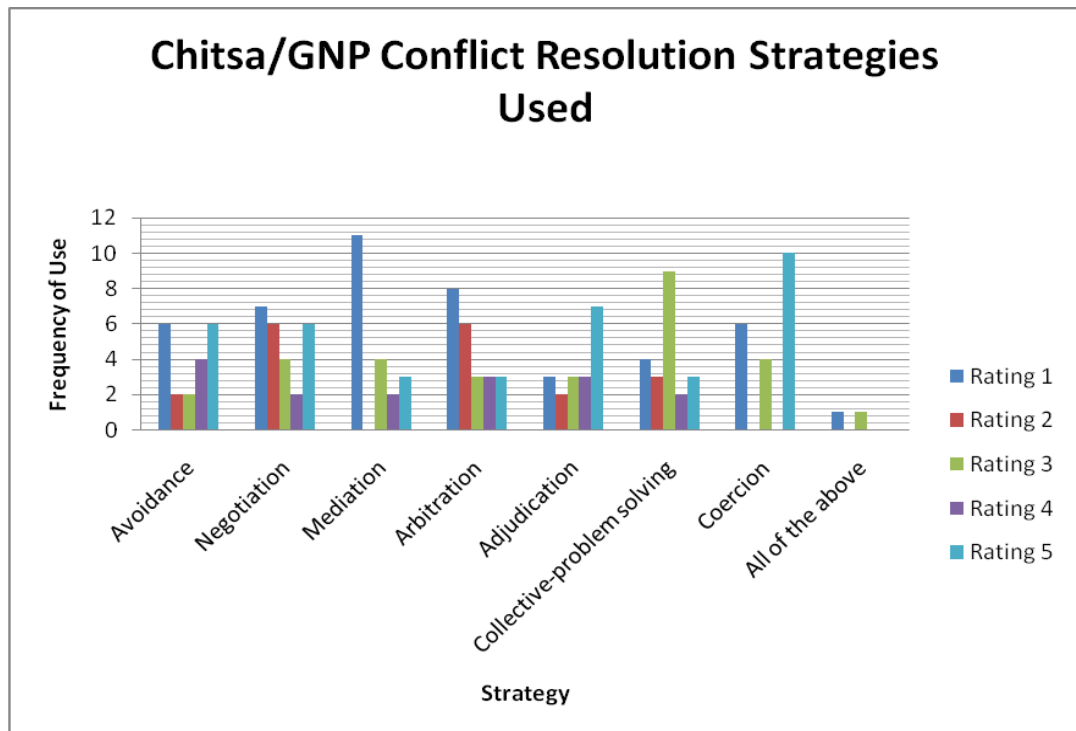


Figure 7.7: Chitsa/GNP conflict resolution strategies.

The figure indicates responses being rated from 1-5. This rating indicates the frequency of use of a given strategy. Rating 1 indicates the most used strategy, rating 2 indicates a sometimes used strategy, rating 3 indicates that the respondent is not in the know of the strategy used, rating 4 means the strategy was rarely used and rating 5 means the strategy was not used. For example, looking at the frequency of use of the avoidance strategy, it means that 50% indicated that it was used mostly, while another 50% indicated that it was not used at all.

According to respondents, all the above strategies were used in varying degrees and stages in an attempt to resolve the conflict. However, with respect to figure 7.6, most respondents pointed out mediation (24%), arbitration (21%) and avoidance (14%) as the three most used strategies. This was followed by negotiation (10%), collective problem-solving (10%) and coercion (4%) as the least frequently used strategy. Although the respondents pointed out that collective problem-solving was in the distant third place in terms of use frequency, the majority conceded that it was the most effective strategy for conflict resolution or its management, followed by arbitration,

negotiation, mediation and adjudication in that order. The least effective strategy was identified as avoidance.

7.5.2. What Structures are Available for Community Engagement?

In order to resolve a conflict, there should be an entry point and to that effect a number of structures are available to effectively engage the community and ensure their participation. The study established that the following structures are available for engagement;

- Village/ ward development committee
- Traditional leaders' forum
- Local political leadership
- District lands committee and TFCA District Steering Committee.
- District Lands Committee
- District Environmental Committees

The structures mostly referred to by respondents as being available for engagement were village/ward development committees with 44% of respondents, traditional leaders' forum with 32%, TFCA District Committee with 16%. However 8% of respondents were not sure of the structure(s) available for engagement. Nevertheless, though there were a number of structures available for engagement, figure 7.8 below illustrates a different pattern regarding the frequency at which these structures were engaged during the previous year to manage or resolve the conflict.

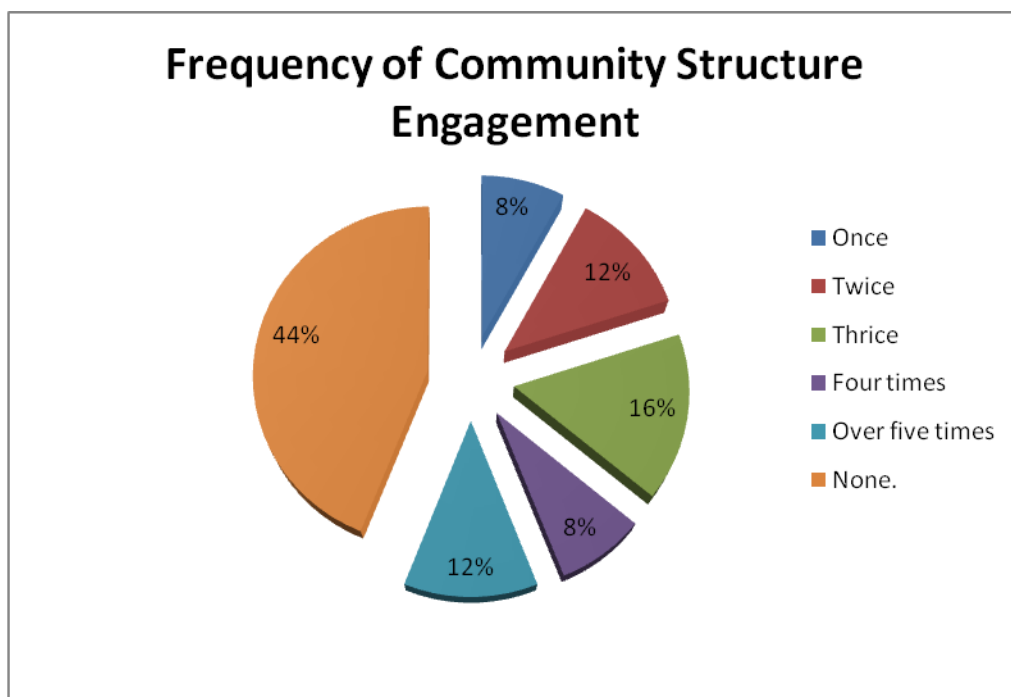


Figure 7.8: Frequency of community structure engagement

Figure 7.8 illustrates that the majority of the respondents, that is, 44% had not engaged the community structures during the previous year to find a solution to the problem while only 12% had engaged the community over five times during the previous year. However, 16.1% conceded that they are not engaging any of the locally available structures

In terms of the practical aspect of finding a collective solution to the problem, given the above structures, most respondents (32.2%), pointed out community workshops and traditional leadership (19.3%), as the most used means of involving communities, followed by community meetings (12.9%), local political leadership (12.9%) and the district lands committee (6.5%).

7.6. Challenges: Conflict Resolution Process

The results of this case are consistent with Barbanti's statement;

'Development interventions often underestimate local politics, social realities and belief systems. These are strong factors affecting the opportunities for conflict resolution, which have largely remained overlooked by those working in the field of development theory and

practice' (Barbanti [Jr], 2004). The following results demonstrate this consistency.

7.6.1. Perception Divergence

The real challenges to the conflict resolution process are psychological as they are based on differences in conflict perceptions among key stakeholders. Typical examples are the perceptions between the Headman and other key stakeholders.

A personal interview with local headman on 24/11/10 indicated that the issue of people settled in the park is a forgone issue. As far as he is concerned, his area extends as far as the Save/Runde junction, which is about 80km into the park. Hence, his focus is now on agreeing on new boundaries and the restoration of his chieftainship. On the contrary, a District Lands Official mentioned that the Chitsa issue is still pending with some discussions already taken place where various options had been debated. One of the options was to relocate the community to a suitable alternative area where irrigation facilities could be provided²⁰. These sentiments were collaborated by local PWMA officials and other stakeholders who are of the view that the issue is far from settlement as stakeholders' persuasions on options are still wide apart.

Apart from perception difference, another identified challenge is based on skewed power relations among local key stakeholders as explained in the following.

7.6.2. Power Relations

Issues of power relations among stakeholders constituted one factor in the conflict matrix, particularly as far as influencing the course of action to be taken to resolve the conflict. Most respondents indicated that current traditional leadership have far too much influence (52%) to average influence

²⁰ Personal interview with a Chiredzi District Lands Officer on 24/04/10

(16%), while local Government departments followed with too much influence (28%) to average influence (40%). Central Government has too little influence (28%) to far too little influence (20%). Figure 7.9 assist to display the power differentials among influential participants.

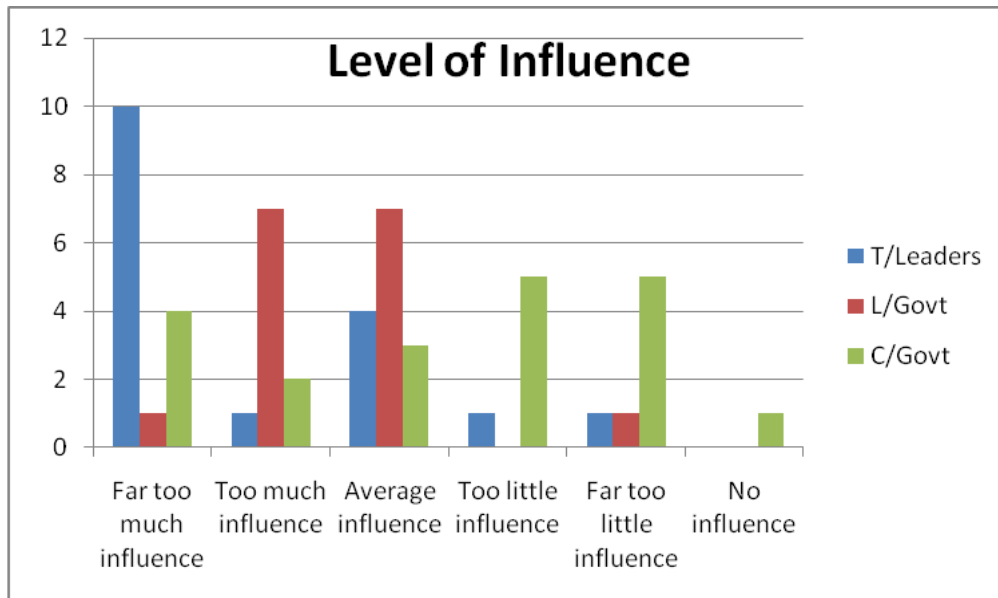


Figure 7.9: Level of influence among key players.

This means that when it comes to the level of influence in the conflict resolution process, if we are to base our assessment on the current scenario, then traditional leaders have an upper hand. However, despite having a lot of power this scenario has not produced the desired results, particularly due to problems within the traditional leadership itself. This is in accordance with Mombeshora (2009:16) who recommended that the chieftainship issues should be resolved first in order to find a resolution to the land contest.

Having identified the challenges faced in conflict resolution, the following conflict resolution strategies were advanced.

7.7. Suggestions on Conflict Resolution

Suggestions on conflict resolution have been compressed into five themes, that is, review of the park boundary, establishment of conflict resolution institutions, the promotion of community partnerships, instituting proper land use practice and finding alternative₂₁₂ land for the community.

7.7.1. Park Boundary

In response to the question on how best to resolve the Chitsa/GNP conflict, various solutions were suggested. One of the solutions is to redefine the park boundary and follow the veterinary game fence as shown in figure 7.10. This should be followed by the erection of a cordon fence to control the movement of both humans and livestock. The decision should come from higher levels of government's decision making body.

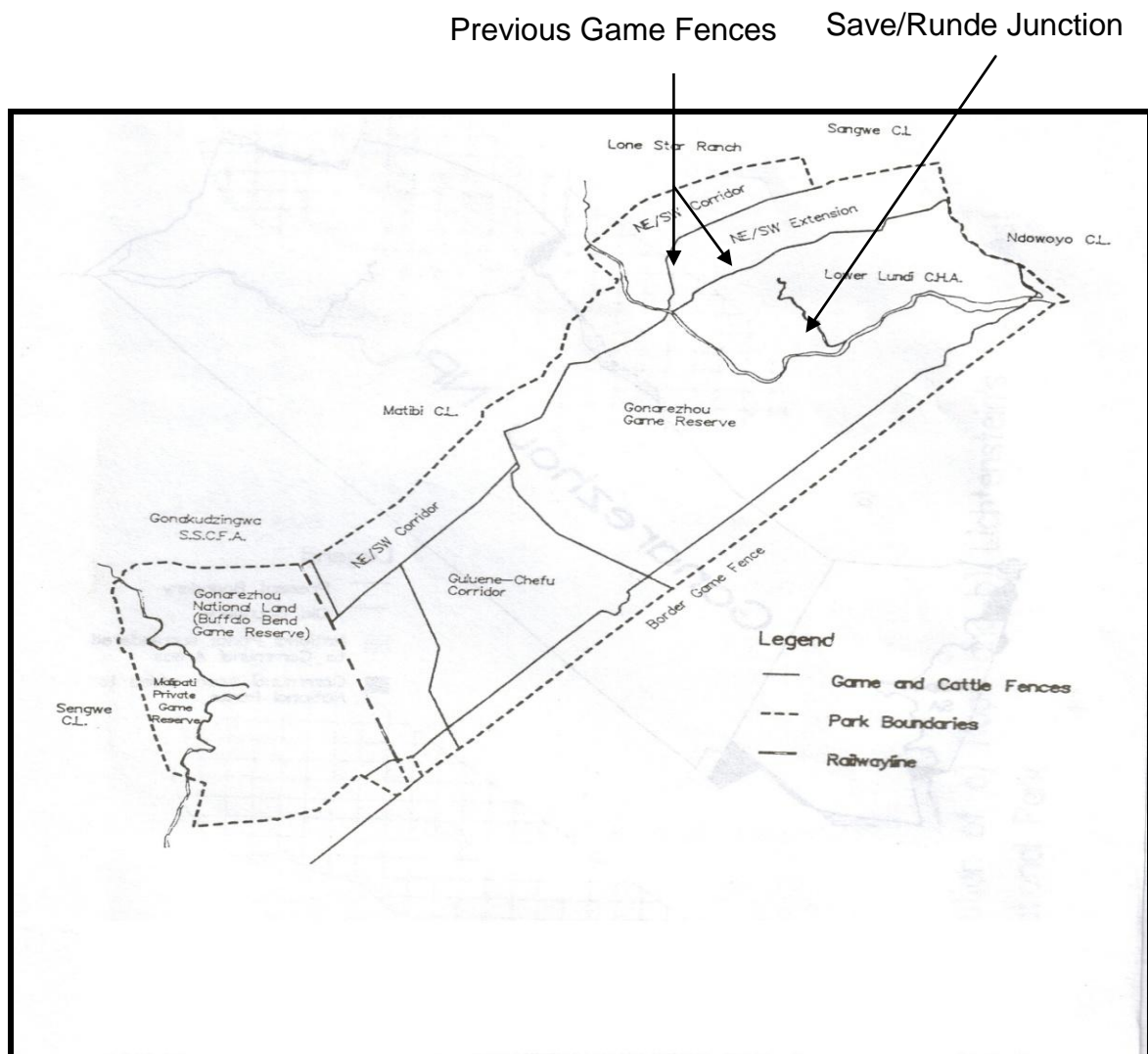


Figure 7.10: GNP former land demarcations

Source: Adopted and Modified from Mugadza and Mandizadza (2006)

Figure 7.10 shows a map of GNP illustrating former land designations in

terms of the park boundaries and game and cattle fences. The game and cattle fences were erected by the department of Veterinary Services to control the transmission of diseases such as foot and mouth mostly spread by the Cape buffalo and African horse sickness whose ideal maintenance host is mainly the zebra.

7.7.2. Relocation of the Community

Most respondents were against the idea of allowing communities to stay in the park, but proposed that government must find an alternative place to relocate them or simply ask them to return to their original places. However, this proposal includes the suggestion that such communities should be given land adjacent to protected areas in order to promote the establishment of appropriate partnership where they would derive benefits by participating in eco-tourism related economic activities.

In support of this proposal, a key player from the CAMPFIRE Association suggested that PWMA, with the assistance of all key government and development partners should remove the community, but this time through dialogue and not forced removals as happened in the past. PWMA should then change the current land use practices in the contested area from conservation for non-consumptive purposes to conservation for consumptive purposes such hunting. The affected community should be allowed to benefit directly from hunting operations. Development partners should then assist in the relocation costs and in community development and integration programmes.

Notwithstanding the above, further dialogue among key stakeholders at local level is necessary to find a way forward. To that end several options were mooted. Some of these options are that should relocation of the community become the only viable option then the community should be moved to an acceptable area preferably near to where the community is currently

occupying. The challenges on this option as pointed out by Mombeshora and le Bel (2009:2617) are real but should be addressed through policy reviews on land distribution and land size allocation. Alternatively, land swapping can be considered, that is, leaving the community where they are presently, and obtaining other land probably from the CRDC which is similar in size that can be designated and incorporated into the park.

7.7.3. Community Partnerships

In order to promote community partnerships, stakeholders in the GLTP TFCA initiative set aside three sites allocated for community partnerships within the GNP. However, development of these sites has been stalled by financial constraints and lack of support from development partners²¹. There is need to effectively market these sites and offer attractive incentives to lure would be investors. Some of these incentives could be in the form of tax exemptions for a specified period, customs duty exemption for capital goods, assurances on security of investments and upholding of property rights.

7.7.4. Conflict Resolution Institutions

It was observed that though there are various institutions dealing with the conflict, apart from the conventional court system, there is no particular institution where all such conflicts can be channelled. For example, one of the respondents advanced the point that there are no formal structures to resolve the conflict except that all is left to PWMA to deal with it. Therefore there is need for an institution to be put in place whose functions apart from resolving the conflict, should extend to find ways of incorporating local communities in conservation programmes for them to realise tangible benefits. Pursuant to the above, learning from each other's experiences, an institution in the mould of the South African Land Dispute Mediation Commission should be effective in dealing with such issues at national level.

²¹ Interview with a parks official dealing with GLTP issues on 27/11/10

The establishment of such institutions is designed to control the process, promote transparency in the system and provide a focused interface between the community and other key stakeholders by opening up avenues for dialogue.

7.7.5. Proper Land Use Practice

As solutions to this challenge, focus group participants came up with the following suggestions, integrated and proper land use planning, land zonation and discouraging unlawful settlements. Further, the participants pointed out that the integrated and proper land use planning process should involve all key stakeholders.

Some participants urged the government to take decisive action. Apart from identifying an alternative and suitable area for relocating the community, it was suggested that communities settled in areas designated for particular land use practices should adopt such a practice and not attempt to experiment on different land use practices. For example those occupying conservancies should go into wildlife conservation and not attempt to go into crop production as this may cause further conflicts.

7.7.6. Application of the Centre-Periphery Approach

Some respondents were of the view that since issues of land and natural resources access are essentially in the realm of policy and political circles, the resolution of related conflicts should emanate from the same circles. Normally policies and politics originate from the centre, hence, the use of the centre-periphery approach becomes appropriate. In that context, considering that the local players appear to be facing a variety of challenges, a lasting solution is supposed to come from higher government offices, particularly from the highest levels of government, such as the office of the President, otherwise as it stands it is rather problematic to deal with at any other level.

7.8. Comparative Analysis: Suggested Resolutions from Various Groups

In order to triangulate, a simple comparative analysis was done to check for similarities between the suggested resolutions from literature sources, particularly IUCN-ROSA and the Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE) and empirical sources. We recall that IUCN-ROSA and SAFIRE (2004) recommended five options to PWMA as follows;

1. Maintaining the Status Quo. This option basically implies leaving the settlers where they are and redefine the Park boundary and de-gazetting the settlement area.
2. Moving the settlers back to their original homes and negotiating a co-management of the contested area.
3. Move the settlers out of the park and settle them on some other land elsewhere.
4. Confine the settlers to smaller parts of the park by providing them with irrigation facilities.
5. Provide the settlers with irrigation facilities outside the park

Table 7.2 below presents an analysis of suggested solutions in a table format.

Table 7.2: A Comparative Analysis of Suggested Solutions

Suggested solutions (IUCN-ROSA/SAFIRE)	Suggested Focus Group Workshop Solutions	Questionnaire Responses	Key interview responses
1.Maintaining the Status quo(i.e. take no action)	Promote integrated land use planning, including land zoning	Turn occupied area into a safari area where Chitsa people co-manages with national parks	Status quo should change(i.e. take action)
2. Moving the settlers back to their original homes and negotiating a co-management of the contested area.	Engage all key stakeholders Improve on communication and reporting procedures.	Relocate the Chitsa community possibly to the areas they came from before occupying the GNP	
3. Move the settlers out of the park and settle them on some other land elsewhere.	For those settled in wildlife areas ,but have interest in crop production should be offered alternative land and supported with irrigation schemes	The country's legislation stating the position of land use for the Parks Estate and other statutory requirements available must be enforced	
4. Confine the settlers to smaller parts of the park by providing them with irrigation facilities.	People settled in wildlife areas to practise wildlife farming /conservation	Remove that part occupied by the Chitsa community from rest of GNP	Redefine the boundary
5. Provide the settlers with irrigation facilities outside the park.		Remove the Chitsa people and allocate land elsewhere with irrigation schemes provided	

The table above portrays a contribution of relatively new ideas which are however not a complete departure from recommendations made before by other researchers including IUCN-ROSA and SAFIRE. Improved additions include an advocacy for a facilitated direct dialogue among PWMA,

community, traditional leadership, and district authorities, where the local people are taken on board on an equal basis, thus avoiding dictating to them. However, new ideas were the suggested application of existing legislation to enhance the good management of the parks land, promote integrated land use planning and exposed the community to information through education and awareness campaigns on the socio-economic importance of wildlife conservation.

A look at these responses across the table indicates a close relationship between responses from IUCN-ROSA/SAFIRE, focus group discussions and questionnaire responses, with most of the interview responses being similar to the IUCN-ROSA/SAFIRE recommendations. However, some disparities in views were noted and since most of the interviewees were community representatives, such disparities could be a reflection of lack of dialogue, hence, reaffirming that 44% of respondents did not engage available local community structures during the previous year.

7.9. Conclusion

The Chitsa case though it is a local conflict should be looked at with a global lens. While it is important to find a settlement, it is essential that any settlement arrived at should be done with the full knowledge of its implications to other communities with a similar situation. The challenge is then to create a framework or come up with a win-win model that is applicable to most communities facing similar situations within and outside Zimbabwe.

However, the current paralysis in finding a settlement in the Chitsa/GNP conflict is based on a number of factors, chief among them being socio-political logjam versus environmental concerns. Further mistrust between key stakeholders caused by the unceremonial occupation of the park without following proper procedures or negotiating with parks eroded confidence in any resolution efforts. Although negotiations were later initiated, the case had become complex due to deepening and seemingly incompatible persuasions

among stakeholders. This scenario runs in tandem with the statement made by Van de Merwe when presenting on challenges facing SANParks and TFCA formation at a seminar on 14 February 2002 that ‘...issues like perceptions and politics can sink negotiations.’ While the community wanted to justify its action of occupation using historical truths and politics, the PWMA and other stakeholders were not comfortable negotiating with a community regarded as an illegal land occupant, hence sinking negotiations.

It can therefore be concluded that the observed inadequate involvement of all key players in conflict resolution and the lack of a settlement all point out to a concurrence with this study’s first proposition which states that; in case one, involving the Chitsa community and GNP, the public scoping exercise was not carried out well, hence, local stakeholders were not effectively involved in the initial phases of project design, implementation and conflict resolution. There is therefore enough evidence to conclude that no collective *problem-identification and resolution occurred*, thus, resulting in the difficulty in finding a common solution to this conflict over the past 10 years.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MAKULEKE /KRUGER NATIONAL PARK CONFLICT

8.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on results from the Makuleke case. It focuses on tracking the conflict resolution process, assessing community participation and benefits as well as investigating community perceptions and attitudes towards wilderness conservation and GLTP development project. Since the conflict between the Makuleke community and Kruger National Park (KNP) was resolved, the case study was important to benchmark the process in the Chitsa/GNP case.

8.1.1. Location

The Makuleke community is located close to the boundaries of three countries, Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. It is found on the northern portion of the KNP and is bounded by Limpopo River to the north and Luvuvhu River to the south. Figure 8.1 spatially situates this community.

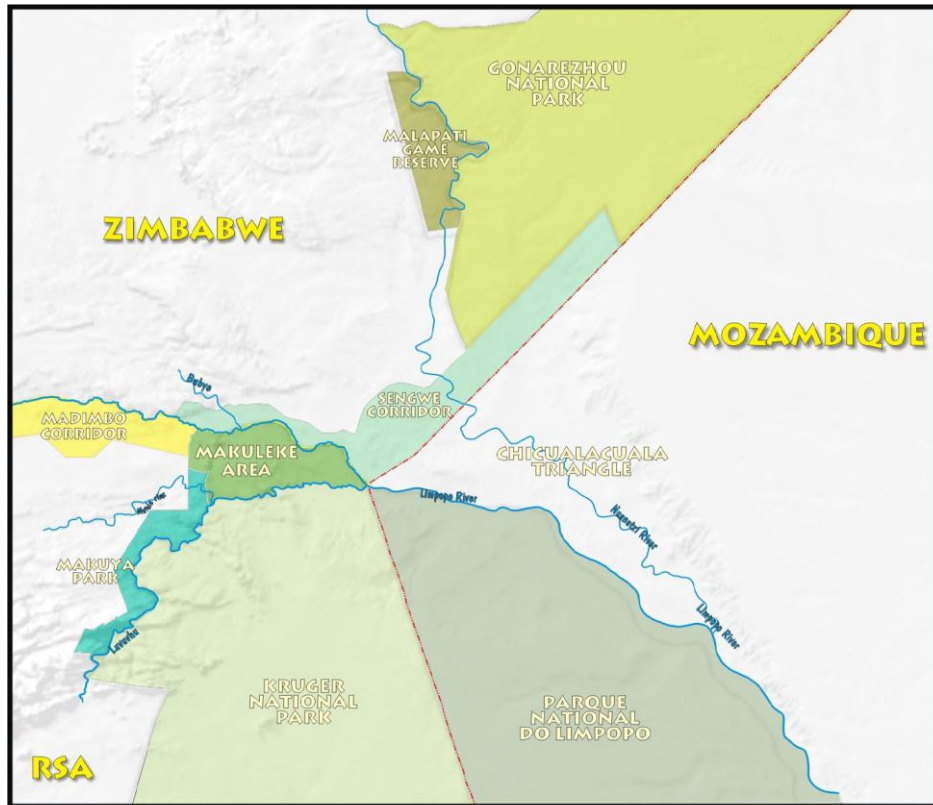


Figure 8.1: Map of GLTP indicating the Makuleke Area.

Source: Peace Parks Foundation (2006)

The Makuleke area falls under ward 5, which is under the jurisdiction of the Thulamela Municipality in the Vhembe District. It is located to the far north of the KNP and in Vhembe District as mention under item 1.8 (ibid)²².

8.1.2. Data Collection Instrument Review

If the study method were of a true experimental nature, then the Makuleke case would fit as the scientific experimental control. This study proposition that;

‘In case two, pertaining to the land conflict between the Makuleke community and Kruger National Park (KNP), the public scoping was

²² Pers. comm. with a CPA Executive member on 2/11/10.

carried out well, hence, there is ground to suspect that conflict settlement was made possible through the employment of collective problem-solving techniques', makes it a perfect benchmark for this study.

In view of the above, literature review would have been adequate, but there was need to validate certain points raised in literature. In that context, six respondents were offered a questionnaire which was personally administered and collected by the researcher, hence, resulting in a 100% return rate. In order to create a critical mass of information, the same respondents were again subjected to personal interviews. The questionnaire and interview coverage of six respondents was adequate considering that about 13 to 20 participants were involved in the mediation process. Although Bosch (1999) states that as many as 13 parties were involved, Ramutsindela (2001) claims that more than 20 stakeholders were involved in the Makuleke land claim mediation process. Hence, based on the above, considering an average of around 15 stakeholders, a sample of six respondents would represent about 40% which would suffice for the purpose of this study.

The interviewees and questionnaire respondents were selected purposefully and with endorsement from the Chairman of the Association. Babbie (2004) advances that at sometimes convenience samples may be the result of restrictions placed on the researcher, for example, when members of an organization select interviewees rather than give the researcher a free rein to do so. The association executive has the prerogative of selection and thus decides who participates. In this case, selection was based on institutional knowledge, participation in the conflict resolution process, and articulation of ethnographic (historical) facts of linkage between forced evictions and conservation. Following set protocol, the same people interviewed were later administered with a questionnaire to respond to pre-planned questions. Most questions matched the ones posed on the Chitsa community to aid comparative analysis.

8.1.3. Interview and Questionnaire Outcomes

Personal interviews were held first followed by the questionnaire survey, but the results were presented in a mixed method fashion.

A personal interview with the Makuleke Community Property Association (MCPA) Resource person and Office Administrator on 1/11/10 revealed a number of issues, some that were not found in reviewed literature. It was pointed out that, 'as a community we are over researched and some people feel that while the researches benefit the researchers and other end users of information, most researches are not benefitting the researched community²³. While the Association accepts researchers they feel that they need feedback to motivate them. However, the interview proceeded and the following conflict drivers were identified.

8.2. Conflict Drivers

The conflict between the Makuleke Community and Kruger National Park (KNP), like most conflicts had deep-rooted, underlying and dispute level causes as illustrated in the discussion chapter this volume. The deep rooted and underlying levels are presented in a table below, while the dispute level causes follow.

8.2.1. Deep-Rooted and Underlying Causes.

At the deep-rooted and underlying levels, there were three major causes or issues that drove the conflict. The deep-rooted causes consisted of contested land (in the table it's shown as land claim) and access to natural resources (indicated as land user rights). Among a variety of underlying causes, the unresolved chieftainship issue was the most common. These major causes were said to be mutually exclusive, that is the settlement of one did not translate to the resolution of the other two. However, respondents indicated

²³ Personal interview with a CPA Resource Person on 1/11/10.

that although the issue of chieftainship claim was of material substance, it had no serious impact on the land claim case as the two were parallel processes. In fact there were three issues to the Makuleke/KNP case that were mutually exclusive, these are outlined in table 8.1 below.

Table 8.1: Deep-rooted and Underlying Conflict Causes

	Cause/Issue	Resolution Status
1	Land claim(old Makuleke region)	Resolved
2	Land user rights(for current land occupied by the Makuleke Community)	Resolved
3	Chieftainship restoration	Pending

These issues are at the heart of the Makuleke Community for they define their cause; hence their resolution can help restore their identity, power and pride. These deep-rooted and underlying factors had been simmering in the hearts and minds of the community until they were catalysed by an opportunity created through a favourable policy and graduated into the dispute level.

8.2.2. Dispute Level Causes

At the dispute level, respondents pointed to a number of factors that generated and propelled the Makuleke/KNP conflict, chief among them being poverty alleviation needs, lack of local community involvement in TFCA development particularly at the inception stage, unclear resource access policies and population growth demands. These were motivated by the following community needs and interests;

- Economic interests
- Deep-rooted historical problems
- Cultural/social needs
- Conservation interests
- Chieftainship power disputes

Figure 8.2 below illustrates the perceived role of each factor in community motivation.

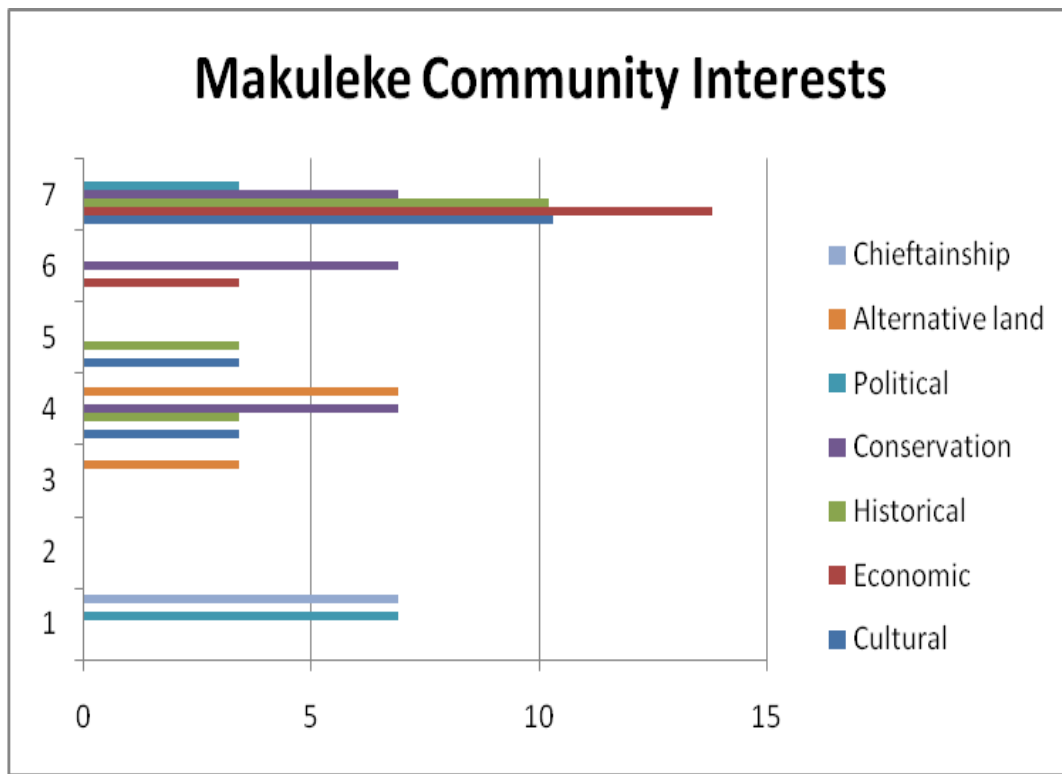


Figure 8.2: Makuleke Community Needs and Interests.

A rating ranging from 1-7 was used to rank in order of priority the reasons best representing the interests of the Makuleke community to justify settling outside the Park. In the continuum, rate 7 indicated an interest of the highest priority while rating 1 indicated the least priority of interests.

8.2.3. Historical Circumstances

Among other factors, the conflict was driven by historical circumstances as all questionnaire respondents and interviewees subscribed to the fact that the community was forcibly removed in 1969 and settled in an area that was carved out from the KNP. That carved area is of about similar size to the one they were evicted from. In the old Makuleke region there were 10 villages, but following removal and relocation, the 10 villages were reconstituted into 3 settlements under one headman. However, they were resettled together with

other communities who live in 7 separate settlements each under a different chief or headman. Hence, a complaint by the Makuleke that they are now congested in three villages. The human population in the three villages is increasing and currently village 1 has over 1000 households, village 2 has over 800 households and village 3 also has over 800 households²⁴.

Consequently, two processes occurred concurrently as a result of the relocation programme. One was the redefining of KNP boundaries to create space and accommodate the Makuleke and other communities, but at the same time the KNP annexed the old Makuleke area and incorporated it into the KNP. The reasons advanced for this double barrelled action were that the old Makuleke area was rich in biodiversity. The biodiversity includes endemic species of birds, butterflies and trees. While the species diversity attracted conservation efforts, it caused the removal of a community that has continuously resented this move.

These historical circumstances are also linked to livelihood needs as uncertainty and insecurity as a result of limited or lack of rights on land negatively impact on productivity, and this is further expanded under the following theme.

8.2.4. Land Contests

The results indicated that the land claim issues were resolved. Although the Land Claims Court (LCC) pronounced that the Makuleke Community had won the land claim case, in the main, the resolution process followed the alternative dispute resolution (ADR) strategy characterised by intensively facilitated negotiations and mediation. During the negotiation process community members were consulted using community meetings and workshops.

²⁴ Interview with a CPA Executive member on 3/11/10

Although the Makuleke won the land claims case and obtained legal rights to ownership of the contested area, the community collectively decided not to use it for human habitation, preferring to adopt the existing land use practice. They saw the economic potential of the area in terms of eco-tourism and cultural tourism business; hence, they agreed to allow the current land practice of wildlife conservation to continue. The community aspirations were sealed by entering into a partnership with KNP in the form of a Contractual Park Agreement. The content of the contractual park agreement is a result of collective contribution from the community and SANParks, hence, the community feels that it is not only party to it but also feels ownership of the agreement. One of the major reasons of partnering with KNP was advanced as the complementary strength and ability of KNP to market the area for tourism purposes to the benefit of the community. Hence, the community looked for a partner with complimentary strength and non-overlapping weaknesses which is an important consideration for a successful partnership.

8.2.5. The Role of Chieftainship Disputes

According to figure 8.2 there were a number of interests that motivated the Makuleke Community to act in the manner they did. Although the major motivating factors were based on economic, historical, cultural and conservation interests, chieftainship disputes were present but were in the background as they were not considered as a major driving force in the land claims case. Results indicate that although the chieftainship issue is real, it was a separate issue, just as it currently stands. The fact that the land claim case was settled without reference to the chieftainship issue validates the above statement. Hence, it did neither influence the conflict nor dictated the pace of its resolution. However, separate as it is, the issue is being pursued through the courts. It therefore indicates that this issue has a significant impact in the community's social being. This leads us to the issues centred on power relations as findings below reveal.

8.2.6. Chieftainship Power Contests

Chieftainship power struggles have been in existence since the community realised that their royal power had been eroded. The demotion from a Chief to a Headman was precipitated by the apartheid regime when the community was forcibly dislodged from its ancestral home and relocated to an area under the jurisdiction of Chief Mhinga. However, reflecting back to the time of the community's relocation, one interviewee pointed out that 'by then it was not visible that we had been placed under another chief'²⁵. This was in apparent reference to the point that initially the community did not realise the implications of the relocation with regard to their traditional power. It was only after the community realised that the area they were relocated to was under the jurisdiction of another Chief and were therefore expected to be bound by his rule that they knew their royal power had been reduced. This did not go down well with the Makulekes who even today are still contesting the chieftainship issue. In fact as mentioned earlier, at the time of data collection, the matter had already been made a court case and the community was eagerly expecting a positive outcome.

Apart from chieftainship power issues, within the power relations aspect were stakeholder power contests as further explained in the following sub-theme.

8.2.7. Stakeholder Power Contest

There were no significant power contests among involved government departments. This was attributed to the fact that stakeholder roles were initially clearly defined. Respondents indicated that power contests were not serious in the Makuleke/KNP case as there was minimal jurisdictional overlapping over policy implementation.

²⁵ Interview with a CPA Resource Person on 3/11/10

However, during the initial phases of the land claim process, some communities outside of the Makuleke community, such as the Venda community, wanted to have a stake in the claim. This generated some tensions as the people who were meant to benefit from this claim were either the descendents of the people who used to stay in the old Makuleke Region or those who had attested to become members of the Makuleke community by virtue of staying in the Makuleke villages and subscribing to abide by the community's rules and norms.

These communities that wanted to be part of a process where they thought they had a stake later opted out after realising that they were neither directly involved in the central issues nor would benefit from the expected outcomes.

8.2.8. Community Livelihoods

The Makuleke community is settled in a relatively dry area close to Punda Maria Gate of the Kruger National Park (KNP). Due to its proximity to the park, the most viable industry is eco-tourism underpinned by an abundant wildlife resource base in the KNP. However, in terms of employment opportunities, the park cannot accommodate all the job seekers within the surrounding communities including Makuleke and this result in high rural-urban drift. Most of the young people migrate to towns and cities in search of employment and other perceived opportunities.

As a consequence of the rural-urban drift, the community is left populated by the elderly and the very young whose livelihoods are dependant mostly on agricultural activities. Because the area is relatively dry, community members practice dry planting, thus depending on rain fed crop production. To mitigate against the effects of dry weather conditions, the community established an irrigation scheme where a variety of crops are grown throughout the year. The irrigation scheme was established with assistance from the government and other co-operating partners with the aim of improving nutrition and the livelihood base of the community. Crops grown include cash crops like

potatoes, which are sold to markets in Thohoyandou and as far as Johannesburg. Although the irrigation scheme is for the community, it is characterised by individual plot management and joint product marketing.

In addition to crop production, the community has constructed visitor accommodation located within village 1. Because the Makuleke community has been put on the world tourism map through various researchers, some visitors on transit to KNP pass through the village and often need overnight accommodation. Even researchers are accommodated in these nice lodges built to exude an African culture. The rustic lodges were constructed using locally based materials and can accommodate a maximum of 12 persons per day.

Apart from crop production and provision of visitor accommodation, the community rears livestock such as cattle, donkeys and goats. However, the community faces a problem of grazing land shortage as they are cramped into congested villages with limited space to accommodate the expanding livestock herd and the provision of adequate animal forage.

As a result of an expanded livelihood base, respondents concede that the living standards of the community have transformed. What is evident from an observation point of view are better housing units, improved educational structures and electrified villages. However, in terms of housing construction, it was indicated that although each community member uses his/her own resources, the community leadership is instrumental in encouraging members to self develop²⁶.

8.2.9. Local Community Participation

In the early stages, the Ford Foundation sponsored community interaction and exchange programmes within the three countries involved in the

²⁶ Interview with a CPA Resource Person on 3/11/10

GLTFCA. The exchange programme saw Zimbabweans visiting South Africa, and South Africans visiting Mozambique. In addition further information was obtained through the CPA Executive Committee which in turn would have obtained the information from national or provincial level through meetings and workshops. The later stages experienced little interaction organised along such lines among affected local communities.

8.2.10. Population Growth

Human population growth, like everywhere else in the developing world is on the upward trend. From a population size of about 3 000 at the eviction time in 1969 (Mahony and van Zyl, 2001), the population has increased to more than 15 000 people based on an average of 5 persons per household. This figure is a conservative figure considering that most households average more than 5 persons per family. The approximate total number of households in Makuleke community are 2 600 families, with the main village (HQ) having about 1000 households and the other two have about 800 households each. According to interviewees, the population growth is increasing and this demands a corresponding increase in service provision and pressure on resources.

8.2.11. Human-Wildlife Conflict

Due to its proximity to the KNP, the Makuleke community experiences human-wildlife conflict particularly in the form of livestock attack from predators such as lions and hyenas. Lions often stray from the KNP and pass through a valley that is in-between Makuleke villages. Human-wildlife conflicts are compounded by the fact that there is no provision for a mechanism for compensation. However, there is a pending court case where one community member is claiming compensation for his eight cattle killed by lions in 2004. This is a test case as it is the first of its kind to be brought before the justice

system and the community is tracking the process as an interested observer to see how the case will be handled with particular interest in the outcome²⁷.

The issue of compensation in cases of human-wildlife conflicts and the resultant damage or loss to livestock, crops or even human life is debilitated by technicalities. One of the technical issues originates from the current legislation that stipulates that a wild animal has universal or collective ownership. While the government takes custody of all free ranging wildlife on behalf of the nation, an animal is said to belong to where it is with regard to space and time. This means that if a wild animal enters one's property it legally belongs to that property owner until it exits such property. It follows that the risks and benefits also passes on in the same manner. Hence, raising questions on whether there should be compensation and if so whose responsibility that should be? Also questions have been raised as to whether human life can be compensated for and if so at what value?

8.3. Conflict Restraints

8.3.1. Stakeholder Analysis and Collaboration

With regard to stakeholder analysis at the initial phases of the GLTP implementation, respondents were of the view that it was done, but unsatisfactorily. This subsequently resulted in unsatisfactory sharing of the TFCA concept and objectives among all key stakeholders particularly the affected communities. The Makuleke community was fortunate in that one of its members was also involved in the GLTP initiative as a member of the GLTP Joint Management Board (JMB).

Regarding the involvement of key stakeholders in the conflict resolution process, figure 8.3 below illustrates that key stakeholder involvement was

²⁷ Personal communication with an Executive member of the CPA on 3/11/10.

described as 'not all were involved' by 40% of respondents, while 60% of the respondents described it as, 'all were involved'.

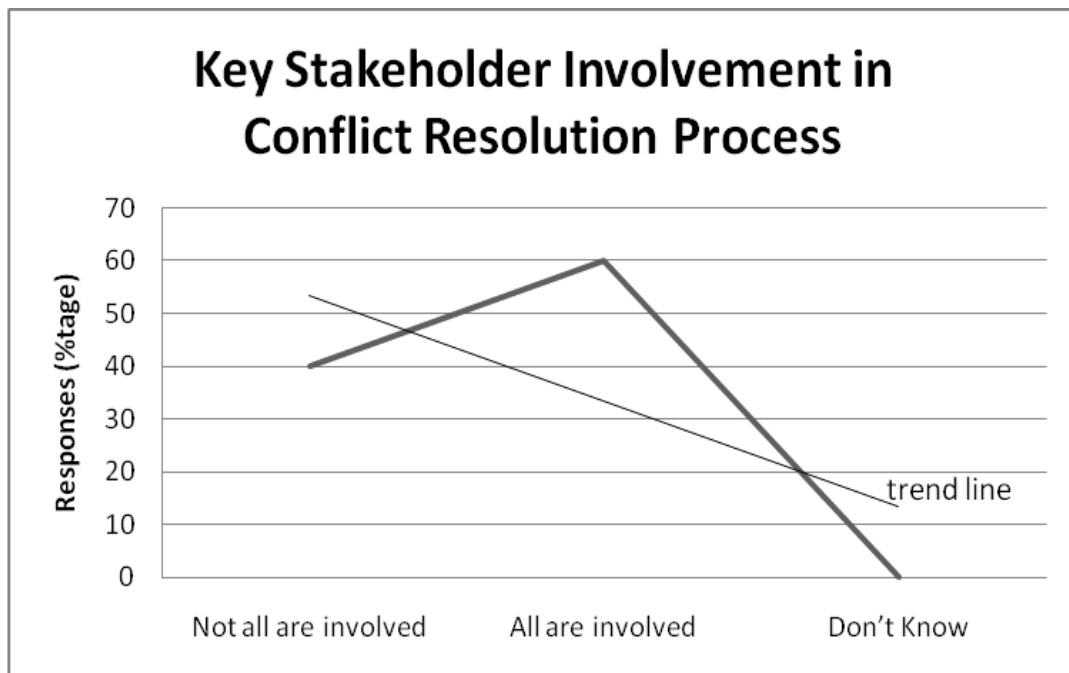


Figure 8.3: Extent of key stakeholder involvement in conflict resolution

However, despite the inadequate involvement of all key stakeholders, collaboration, particularly in conflict resolution was improved through the community's willingness to work with other key stakeholders, such as SANParks and the Department of Land Affairs.

8.3.2. Community Benefits

Communities benefit through the creation of employment opportunities. For example, various projects like the Working for Water project, Working for Land project and Working for Wetlands project initiated by SANParks emphasis on recruitment of local community members. This has benefited a number of young people in a region with a high unemployment rate due to the distance from major centres and lack of local incentives for investment. The nearest industrial town is Makhado, which is more that 200km away from Makuleke community.

At the cultural village there are six community lodges with electricity and running tap water which generate revenue that is used to improve community living standards through funding projects like water and sanitation provision. Access to safe drinking water is a real challenge to the community which depends mostly on underground water. Water for livestock is plenty as it is available at the nearest dam.

On proceeds from the partnership, a member of the CPA Executive Committee indicated that the Makuleke Community gets 8% of the income from the tourism enterprises it runs jointly with its partners through the Contractual Park Agreement. That revenue goes straight to the Community Trust and is then used to fund the community's capital development projects, which include infrastructure development such as schools, installation and maintenance of electricity facilities, purchase and maintenance of equipment such as vehicles and computers²⁸.

As a result of the success and benefits accruing to the Makuleke community particularly associated with the Contractual Park Agreement with KNP, some nearby communities emulated this arrangement to the extent that they are even proposing to convert part of their excess land into conservation and arrange for joint management with the KNP. Such communities include the Magona under Chief Nxumalo²⁹.

8.3.3. Attitudes towards Wilderness/TFCA Conservation

The majority of the respondents (60%) indicated that wilderness/TFCA areas are very important, while 40% indicated that they are important. None said they are not important. To reinforce these views all the respondents

²⁸ Personal communication with an Executive member of the CPA on 3/11/10.

²⁹ Interview with a CPA Resource person on 3/11/10

advocated for the maintenance of the current land area under wilderness conservation or even its increase where possible. The following figure 8.4 summarises the responses obtained from respondents regarding the level of importance of wilderness areas to them.

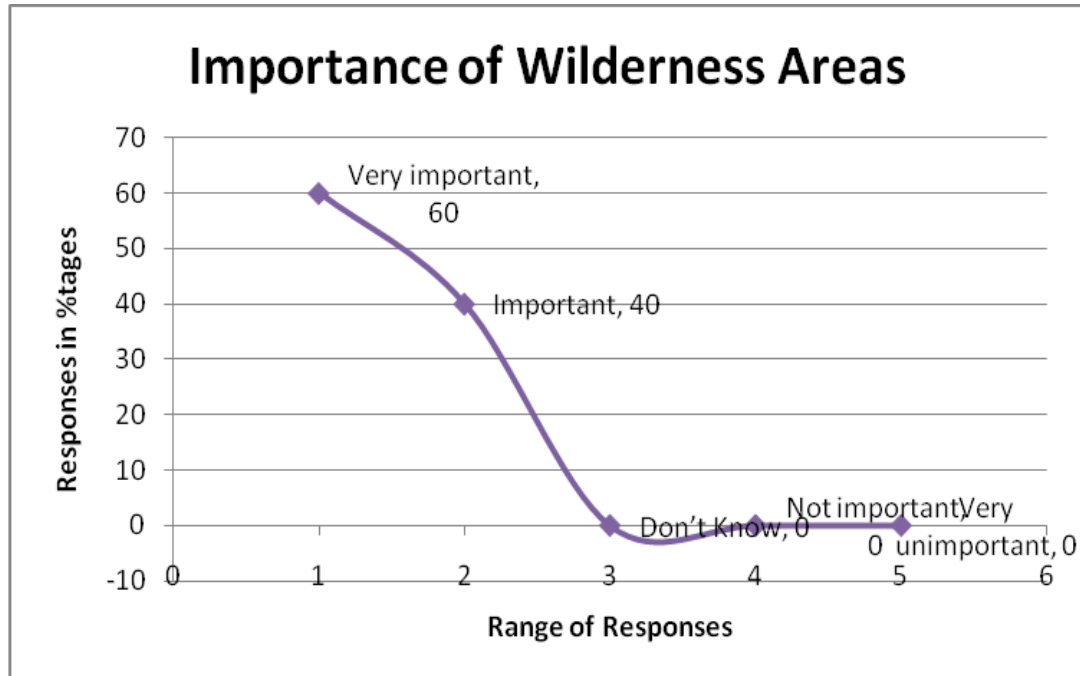


Figure 8.4: Importance of wilderness areas to respondents

The trend of responses demonstrated in the figure above is consistent with that observed in figure 7.6 illustrating respondents' view in the Chitsa case.

The Makuleke community is proud of its achievements and the benefits it gets from the partnership to the extent that attitudes toward wildlife and wilderness conservation have registered positive changes. A notable change is that while community members used to see wild animals only in terms of food provision in the recent past, they have now attached an economic value to wildlife and contribute to its protection. A case in point is that witnessed by the researcher on 1/11/10 where a community member of the CPA contacted KNP management advising them of poaching cases taking place inside KNP.

8.4. Conflict Resolution Process.

8.4.1. Resolution Methods Employed

According to the findings, the conflict resolution process took about two years to reach a final settlement and principally followed the ADR principles where negotiation and mediation strategies were dominant. It was after negotiations and mediation had succeeded that the case was referred to the Land Claims Court (LCC) for legal endorsement. Thus adjudication was done simply to confirm and rubber stamp the decisions made in terms of the law.

Negotiations took place with a number of stakeholders numbering about 13 (Ramutsindela, this volume), however, among them key stakeholders were:

1. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT)
2. The Department Of Land Affairs(now the Department of Land Reform and Rural Development)
3. The S.A. Defence Force
4. The Department of Agriculture

These key stakeholders became part of the signatories to the Agreement expressly sealing their concurrence to the fact that the contested land now belonged to the Makuleke Community³⁰.

During negotiations, the District as an authority had little influence as it was marginally involved in the negotiation process and the subsequent settlement. It was mainly the district's legal section that was involved together with the Legal Resources Centre on more of a voluntary basis. These institutions assisted in the case simply out of interest and therefore were not hired by the community. In order to participate in the conflict resolution process, the community organised itself by establishing structures that represented

³⁰ Interview with a CPA Resource person on 3/11/10

community interests in a focused manner as explained under the following sub-theme.

8.4.2. Community Structures

Various structures were established to deal with the land claims issue, but at local community level the most prominent was the land claims committee (LCC). This land claims committee was established after the community saw it necessary to create a structure that would negotiate and represent the community's interests at any forum. This committee, which is still in existence, consists of nine elected members. Committee membership changes after every three years following a participatory community selection process that involves voting, however, a previous committee member can serve for another term subject to re-election.

The terms of reference (ToR) of the committee were and are to deal with the contested land issue and pursue any other matters related thereto as assigned by the community. It is because of that mandate that the committee members were involved in the negotiation and mediation process. During the negotiations, the committee interacted frequently with the general community members by way of a feedback mechanism where community meetings and workshops were mainly the channels of communication.

Based on this mode of operation which is rooted on a broad-based community consultative strategy, the CPA, through this committee became an effective community structure in the conflict resolution process.

In addition to the LCC, parties to the Contractual Park Agreement established a Joint Management Board (JMB) made up of equal representatives from both the community and KNP after the settlement of the land claim case. This board oversees the implementation and management of the Contractual Park Agreement and all matters related thereto. Community representatives who are members of the JMB give feedback to the community through the CPA.

8.4.3. Ways of Promoting Good Working Relations

In order to promote and sustain good working relations between members of the CPA and among stakeholders in terms of the contractual park agreement, cooperation and continuous communication among all key stakeholders were pointed out as important factors. The available structures were identified as effective in that regard and their full utilisation would enhance the corporation needed. The need for transparency particularly with reference to the various economic activities being carried out by the CPA for the community was emphasised. In that respect one respondent pointed out that although issues to do with revenue particularly from the business ventures between the community and other partners in the KNP are handled by a community trust, there are periodic financial statements meant for public consumption.

8.5. Observation

The Makuleke villages are relatively developed based on the standards of other villages within the same general area. There is electricity, running tap water, schools and a clinic. In addition to the above, although currently the CPA is utilising some office rooms within the Tribal Offices, the offices are equipped with modern office equipment and telecommunication infrastructure such as computers connected to the internet and a functional telephone system. General discussions with some community members reveal that most of the successes are hinged on visionary community leadership and corporation. The villages are closely knit into cohesive units with clear communication and reporting structures.

8.6. Conclusion

The Makuleke community decided not to reoccupy their ancestral land even though they had been given the legal rights to ownership. They decided through a community consultative process to continue with the prevailing land use practice and settled for a joint management agreement with SANParks. This type of agreement where a community owns a piece of land inside a

protected area and co-manages it with a government conservation agent is unique in Southern Africa. It is truly a community empowerment initiative that can be used as a model elsewhere. Looking at the whole process of negotiations, consultations and the establishment of community structures, with reference to the second proposition, it can be conceded that the public scoping/consultation was carried out well, hence, there is enough evidence to conclude that conflict settlement was made possible through the employment of collective problem-solving techniques.

In the two cases under study though the conflict causes were of a similar nature in that they were based on historical circumstances characterised by forced removals for the establishment of protected areas; there were fundamental differences in terms of conflict handling and resolution.

PART 5: DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

This part consists of two chapters. Chapter 9 discusses comparatively the empirical results and literature review. Chapter ten underlines the study with recommendations and conclusions based on the findings.

CHAPTER NINE

DISCUSSION

9.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses primary results from the two cases and links them with literature to discern both consistencies and inconsistencies. Building on the available evidence, triangulation is done through searching for evidence that is comparative and contradictory to comprehend the conflict.

9.2. Conflict Typology

Looking at the nature and composition of conflict in the two case studies through the lenses of both the conflict cube and the ABC conflict triangle, one would discern their practical manifestations and consistencies with these two models.

The conflict causes, in the two communities under study, were consistent with the hallmarks of the conflict cube as they were based on needs, interests, structures and relationships. Although most of them were cross-cutting as they were similar, exceptions were detected on conservation interests which differed as indicated in table 9.1.

Table 9.1: Conflict causes across the two communities

Conflict cube variable	Corresponding issue	Chitsa/ GNP case	Makuleke/KNP case
Structural	Past circumstances characterised by oppressive policies; unclear resource access policies.	√	√
Interests	Economic Conservation	√ x	√ √
Needs	Poverty alleviation; land, cultural ; Chieftainship Power needs	√	√
Relationships	Contentious historical relations	√	√

In any conflict situation there are both conflict drivers and conflict restraining forces. If the conflict drivers, which are the push factors and restraining forces, which are the pull factors are balancing, the conflict is said to be at equilibrium. However, if the conflict drivers have more force than the restraining forces, then the conflict is likely to escalate or continue. In this study, conflict drivers have been identified as poverty, land contests, boundary disputes, power wrangles and population growth. Conflict restraining forces were identified as community participation, stakeholder collaboration, attitudes towards TFCA's or wilderness conservation and community benefits.

If we were to marry the two concepts and superimpose the ABC conflict triangle on the conflict cube one would view the following levels; deep-rooted, underlying and dispute indicating a significant positive correlation as illustrated in figure 9.1.

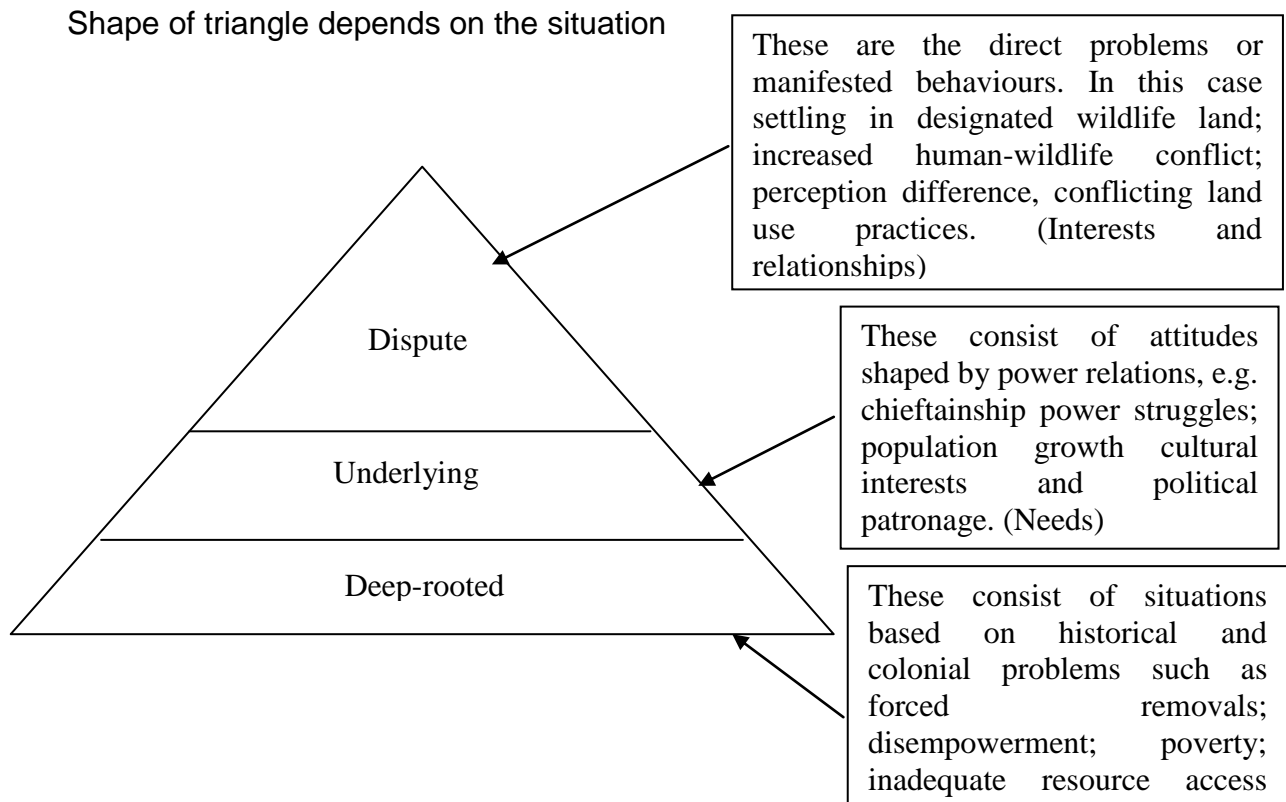


Figure 9.1: Conflict shape according to the ABC conflict triangle.

As can be noticed, the nature of conflict is consistent with Mitchell’s ABC conflict triangle as illustrated in chapter two (this volume, pg 31). We recall that the ABC conflict triangle consists of attitudes (underlying causes), circumstances (historical circumstances) and behaviour (manifested behaviour).

The manifest behaviour which in this case is at dispute level was characterised by illegal occupation of the northern part of the GNP and the resultant consequences such as increased human-wildlife conflict, perception difference and conflicting land use practices. These would fall under the categories of interests and relationships. The other side of the triangle on attitudes, indicated as underlying causes, have been shaped by cultural interests; power relations, for example, chieftainship power struggles and other factors like population growth and political patronage. In the conflict cube these categories would fall under needs.

While the third side, circumstances, that is, deep-rooted causes, consists of colonial and historical problems such as forced removals; disempowerment; poverty and inadequate resource access policies. Using the conflict cube, these would be referred to as structurally, and relationship based.

This study observed that the underlying conflict causes in the two cases, Chitsa/GNP and Makuleke/KNP are based on similar historical circumstances such as forced removals initiated for the establishment of protected areas. The forced removals had a number of side effects that generated advantages for some groups and disadvantages for others. For example, the empowerment of one chieftainship was at the demise of another.

However, though the conflict drivers appear similar in the two cases, analysis reveals some significant differences. Some of the differences are embedded in the initial approaches used to handle the land dispute. Unlike the Chitsa community, the Makuleke community decided not to occupy their once traditional area. This made it easier for the contesting parties to come together in search of solutions. They negotiated for the restoration of their land rights, but maintained the land use practices by entering into an agreement with SANParks for co-management. In the following section, a detailed discussion of the conflict drivers and restraining forces is presented.

9.3. Conflict Drivers

The driving forces were not hierarchical, they were rather cyclical and in certain circumstances it was difficult to differentiate them as the resolution of one could influence the resolution of the other. For example, although one interviewee stated that the three issues in the Makuleke case, which are land ownership claim, restitution of land rights and restoration of chieftaincy were mutually exclusive, looking at the issues holistically one can conclude that the resolution of one could lead to the resolution of the other. For instance, the success of the land claim case could have made it possible for the Makuleke

community to make claims for the restoration of their lost chieftainship; because they now had the land they call theirs. This argument is premised on the fact that in the African tradition one cannot talk of chieftainship without referring to a land area with subjects where a chief exercises his/her powers. This reflects the very reason why Chitsa is claiming a piece of land in order to justify his chieftainship claim.

9.3.1. Land Contests

The contest over land in both the Makuleke and Chitsa communities are deep-rooted as they are based on historical circumstances characterised by forced removals and establishment of protected areas. While such claims are valid and similar, it is the manner in which the claims were presented that made a difference between the two cases.

Taking advantage of the land reform programme, the Chitsa community occupied what they believe to be their land without negotiating with ZIMParks, which happens to be the current land holder. This sparked the conflict and created unnecessary misunderstandings, suspicions and tensions that kept the contesting parties drifting apart instead of working towards a common understanding. The result is a delayed conflict settlement as key stakeholders view each other's needs as incompatible, and with none willing to compromise at this stage.

The approach in the Makuleke case was fundamentally different from the one observed in the Chitsa case. From the onset, the Makuleke community decided not to reoccupy their land even after winning their land claim. This encouraged stakeholders to come to the negotiating table without being confrontational with the law. This then defines the marked difference observed between the two cases.

However, in the Chitsa case, although initially communities avoided the negotiation strategy, a drift towards negotiations has been experienced before

(Mombeshora, 2006, 2009). Of late this drift has been accelerated by another problem associated with land contests, that is, the emergent increase in human-wildlife conflicts. This has been catalysed by the phenomenon of incompatible land use practices which characterise the Chitsa/GNP case. As a result key stakeholders are forced to consult each other due to this problem which is a common concern to all.

9.3.2. Incompatible Land Uses

Incompatible land use practices represent one of the reasons fermenting conflict in the Chitsa/GNP case, particularly in the form of crop production in an area designated for wildlife conservation. The current land use practices were adopted based on known environmental factors, and unless significant changes occur over such environmental factors, it is prudent to maintain current land use practices for maximum land productivity. Otherwise it is costly to undertake fundamental land use transformations without being environmentally correct. In that context, communities who occupy a piece of land with an established land use practice should adopt that land use practice. For instance, those who occupy areas set aside for commercial plantations like in the Zimbabwean eastern highlands with commercial pine forests should go into plantation activities, just as it is expected that those who are given or occupy wildlife conservation areas should practice conservation business. This is based on the argument that to transform from one practice to another, particularly a completely unrelated practice requires heavy capital investment which may present a challenge in developing countries that have other pressing challenges.

However, the very issue of incompatible land use practices draws in park boundary debates as some stakeholders attempt to justify their action by arguing that they are not in the park. In line with such an argument the issue of land use incompatibility should not arise. Currently there is no consensus on this issue as further discussed below.

9.3.3. Park Boundary Disputes

Debates on park boundary issues are more prevalent in the Chitsa/GNP case than in the Makuleke/KNP case. As some stakeholders attempt to justify their decisions, issues of park boundaries have emerged, basically with arguments that the Chitsa community are not settled inside the park. For instance, the Masvingo Provincial leadership argues that the part occupied by the Chitsa community is not part of the GNP. Hence, it follows that the Chitsa people did not occupy GNP and have no intention to do so (Mombeshora 2009:8) However, a former Parks Regional Manager presented a different view stating that the GNP boundary is known by the communities surrounding the GNP and is clear from a legal perspective. The boundary as stated in the Parks and Wildlife Act 20:14 of 1996 First Schedule clearly spell out boundary positions. This was corroborated by another parks official from the GNP who indicated that communities are not only aware of the park's current boundary, but used to respect it before. However, the official is of the view that some stakeholders are playing games on the boundary issue by making reference to the frequent changes in veterinary fences meant to control diseases to complicate the debate. The changes in veterinary fences had no bearing on the position of the park boundaries.

Based on the results of this study, the observation by Mugadza and Mandizadza (2006:15) that the formative phases of the establishment of the Gonarezhou National Park could have caused the current dissention between the GNP and the Chitsa community, while consistent with literature is debatable if it were to be used as a valid basis over the current park boundary argument. There are indeed divergent perceptions as another respondent attributed this argument to have been motivated by the need to justify the need for the restoration of the Chitsa chieftainship through extending the communal land area.

9.3.4. Power Relations

The linkage between park boundary disputes, chieftainship power wrangles and land occupation was significant in the Chitsa/GNP case as opposed to the Makuleke/KNP case. Although chieftainship power struggles were also cited as a factor in the Makuleke case, it was not directly tied to the land claim case. With reference to the Chitsa case, arguments on the linkage between chieftainship power wrangles and land occupation is consistent with literature where some researchers like Mombeshora (2009) argues that these two factors are closely related.

Issues of chieftainship power wrangles have become prominent of late due to a number of factors. Some of these factors are centred on benefits accruing to the position of a chief. For instance, apart from earning community respect, the authority to preside over disputes generates some spin-offs as Chiefs can now impose fines as well as determine the disposal method. In addition post-independence governments in South Africa and Zimbabwe have restored the authority of traditional leadership and extended to them certain benefits, such as the provision of free housing, electricity, allowances and vehicle purchase schemes.

In both case studies, the communities highly respect their respective chiefs. In the Makuleke community, apart from other benefits the community built a beautiful and spacious house as they considered befitting the position of a chief. This was also a show of appreciation for the critical role the chief played in the resolution of the land claim case.

Similarly, this type of respect was also observed in the Chitsa community, where a house was constructed for the chief at his rural homestead by a donor. The community members pay respect to their chief according to tradition and one of the ways is by following local customs as dictated by the

community's belief system. This was the case when a problem elephant was killed and according to local tradition a chief in whose area an animal has been killed receives particular portions of the animal's parts. In the case of an elephant the trunk and other parts removed from the animal side in contact with the ground should be given to the chief. Failure to do so would attract drastic punishment such as a spot fine of as much as even two beasts (pers. comms on 25/11/10)³¹.

With all this respect, it can be argued that anyone would want to be a chief, especially if they were aware, or believe that were entitled to chieftainship.

Despite the chieftainship power wrangles some respondents linked the conflicts in the two cases to poverty and population growth as discussed below.

9.3.5. Poverty

Poverty has been cited as one of the major conflict drivers in the case study. One interviewee from the Makuleke community remarked;

'If we had been allowed to continue staying in our ancestral land we would not be as poor as we are today. Some powerful people want us to die in poverty.'

Hence, the question is how can the frontiers of poverty be pushed back given such a context of poverty, power and influence? Ferguson (1990) citing Lappe and Collins (1979) argues that poverty is not a result of global scarcity, but only a symptom of powerlessness. However, in the two cases, it is interesting to note that the influence of the poor has been strengthened by the motives or interests of the elite. This is consistent with Prescend and Ruiters's (2008:205) argument that strengthening the political influence of the poor is central to strategies for addressing their needs. Citing the case of Malaysia, Taiwan, South Korea and Thailand, poverty reduction strategies were related

³¹ Pers. comms with Village Chairman on 25/11/10

to social conditions and based on the understanding that as long as widespread poverty existed, national security would be compromised. Hence the perception and insecurities of the elite assisted not only to create a political will necessary to address poverty but also catalysed the evolution of progressive social policies (Prescend & Ruiters, 2008:206).

Some of these progressive social policies such as the Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and the Indigenisation drive in SA and Zimbabwe respectively are designed to economically empower the previously disadvantaged groups. In order to empower the poor, Prescend and Ruiters (2008:206) propose that they be involved in decision-making processes to ensure that development is people-driven and people centred. This requires the activation of social forces designed to strengthen the political influence of the poor as well as addressing socio-economic differentials.

Nevertheless, the challenge is how can these well intended policies be translated to real empowerment of the majority without empowering and enriching a privileged few?

9.3.6. Population growth

As revealed by this study, issues of population growth cannot be ignored. The population of Makuleke has increased from around 3000 in 1969 to over 15 000 in 2000. Also the population of the Chitsa community occupying the contested area alone has also increased from around 500 in 2000 to about 1 000 households by 2010. What this translates to is that more land is needed to accommodate new entrants; hence, governments and other social development partners should come up with appropriate strategies to strike a balance between the needs of a growing population and environmental sustainability.

The concerns by Prince Charles come to the fore when he conceded that 'We will not protect the environment until we address the issue of poverty and

population growth in the same breath' (Johnson, 1992:157). As human population increases, the need for services and products increases accordingly, thus putting pressure on a dwindling natural resource base. In that context poverty and population growth are interlinked especially in developing countries where there is high dependence on natural resources.

For instance, in recent times, Uganda was faced with fears associated with the combined effects of population growth and widespread poverty. Environmentalists were concerned about the consequential environmental impacts such as rapid deforestation, accelerated soil erosion, decline in quality and quantity of grazing areas, excessive fishing, water shortage and human encroachment into ever more marginal and sensitive environments. The fears were based on the fact that in most cases all these ills are often blamed on the mismatch between population growth and economic expansion (World Bank, 1982a). Given such a scenario, social systems must be responsive to individual needs or be subjected to instability and forced change just as has been reflected in these cases. Coate and Rosati (1988) concede that all individuals have needs that they strive to satisfy, be it by using the accepted system or by socially deviant behaviour.

As a strategy to balance the two and make the social system respond to these needs sustainably, respondents advocated for proper land use practices and zoning. This would reduce human to human conflicts as well as the increasing human-wildlife conflicts. Management of such conflicts will go a long way in meeting the interests of both parties as total elimination of conflicts may neither be feasible nor be desirable. The reality being that even if protected areas were to be abolished, people will continue to face problems with wildlife as all have to co-exist in a non-expanding space.

9.4. Conflict Restraining Forces

The following discussion highlights some of the identified major conflict restraining forces.

9.4.1. Community participation

The study revealed that although literature pointed out that community participation in conservation projects is lacking, it appears that there is a gradual change taking place. The majority of respondents indicated that community participation has improved as policy makers begin to realise that conservation that excludes people's aspirations is doomed. However, Garcia-Zamor (1985) sees it differently, arguing that in as much as community participation is a buzz word in most development projects, most of the projects have been hampered by failures in programme implementation, hugely attributed to lack of effective community participation. This leaves the issue of community participation still debatable.

In support of Garcia-Zamor's argument, the findings that the TFCA concept and objectives were unsatisfactorily shared with the affected communities in the initial project phases concurs with the report produced by the University of Witwatersrand Refugee Research Programme (RRP) titled "A Park for the People" (2002) (ibid) where observations were made that on the Mozambique side knowledge of the great Limpopo transfrontier park (GLTP) was not disseminated to all the affected local communities. It would appear that this was a common trend in all local communities affected by the GLTP development initiative, hence, indicating an underestimation of the role local communities play in the success of conservation projects. Some blame inadequate community participation as a colonial hangover, where the then colonial administrators' roles were to subjugate citizens, instil fear, make them feel inferior and exclude them from participation. Their participation or lack of it was therefore a non event.

What is encouraging though is that most development administrators agree that citizen participation in the planning and management of development projects is crucial to their lasting success.

However, this researcher argues that this should be taken a step further. The mere agreement that citizen participation is crucial in projects is not enough, there is need to take active steps and formulate deliberate policies to empower and enable meaningful community participation. This should not only end at political dominance but economic empowerment that truly liberates communities from the yoke of cyclical poverty, land degradation and conflicts. One of the major objectives of community empowerment in conservation is to capacitate communities to be able to improve the quality of their own lives by involving them in the decision making process. Gregis (1999) notes that the concept of empowerment has evolved within the development discourse, thereby dethroning the term participation which has lost currency since the 1980s. Empowerment came to light as a response to address the limitations observed where people could participate in projects, but without the power to decide on pertinent issues the project could have on their livelihoods. Although community empowerment is not entirely separate from community participation, the objective is to uplift community participation a step further to a stage where communities will be able to participate in the decision making process.

To that end, some countries in Southern Africa including South Africa and Zimbabwe have attempted to come up with policies that enhance or promote community empowerment in natural resource management, particularly with regard to wildlife management. Some of these policies include the Zimbabwe wildlife policy (n.d.), the Wildlife-Based Land Reform Policy of 2004 and South Africa's Pro-poor Tourism Policies, which include co-management regimes. It is expected that through these policies community participation will move to a higher level of community empowerment.

To assist in explaining the issue of community participation, figure 9.2 shows how communities and other key stakeholders participate in decision-making, particularly through the wildlife hunting quota setting system in Zimbabwe. For the purpose of this illustration, a quota can be defined as 'the number of

animals of one or more species that can be removed from a given population through hunting without negative biological impacts on the wildlife population, the targeted species and the ecosystem balance.'

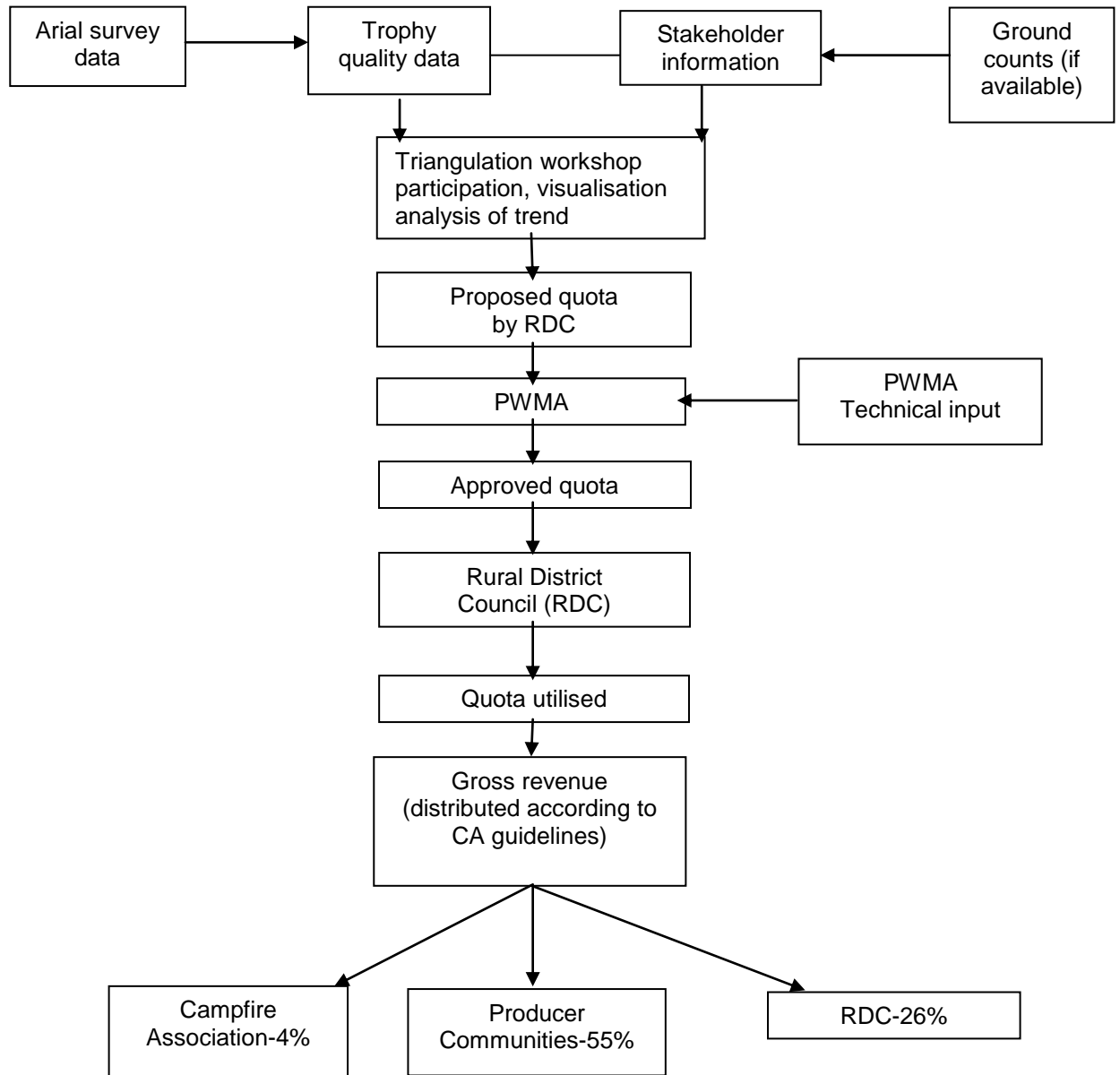


Figure 9.2: The quota setting and revenue distribution process

Source: Adapted and modified from Goredema *et al* (2005:15)

Participatory quota setting begins at community level. Normally a workshop brings together all key stakeholders, including producer communities, safari

operators, respective RDCs, Parks and at times independent observers, to determine the size and composition of the quota (Goredema *et al*, 2005:14).

In terms of co-management regimes, though community involvement is yet to reach the desired levels, some positive results have been registered in communities like the Makuleke and elsewhere. Buckles and Rusnak (1999) observed that some local structures involved in dealing with conflicts in Cahuita, Costa Rica later evolved into a management committee involving local people and government officials, which managed to resolve conflicts and make management decisions to the satisfaction of government officials, hence paving a new discourse to the development of co-management regimes in protected areas management in Costa Rica.

This is a recent phenomenon where co-management regimes or arrangements are emerging across developing countries as an effective conflict resolution strategy in contested areas. Whande *et al* (2003:14) highlighted the role of co-management regimes premised on equal partnerships in resolving conflicts over natural resources. In line with this thinking, Whande *et al* (2003:14) advocate for deliberate policies to protect communities if they are to claim their rightful place in the conservation of natural resources. In line with this thinking one respondent indicated that the part of the GNP occupied by the Chitsa community should be de-proclaimed a national park and re-gazetted as a safari area where co-management arrangements between the community and parks are established.

The co-management regimes can come in different forms of partnerships. Spierenburg *et al* (2008: 96) observed that partnerships are increasingly being advocated for in development in general as well as in community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) in particular.

de Villiers (1999:73) recommended that depending on the land ownership, management options could range from informal consultation and information

exchange to formal co-decision making. Some of these formal co-decision making arrangements are joint management regimes. However, while some experiences from Australia and South Africa show that 'joint management ' of National Parks is relatively rare, consultation is widely practised (de Villiers 1999:75). The same countries Australia, Zimbabwe, India, Canada and others have some experiences in joint management practices with over 20 years experience in the case of Australia.

Otherwise advocating for 'joint' management de Villiers (1999:73) argues that conservation authorities have to adapt to a new reality, namely, the intimate involvement of local communities in matters affecting their interests. The time when a national park or provincial reserve was regarded as an island that could exist in isolation from surrounding communities has long passed.

The challenge is on how to come up with a partnership model appropriate to the situation. Most proponents of partnerships agree that there is no single model that satisfies all situations. It follows that each situation should be considered case by case based on a range of factors including the prevailing socio-economic and environmental factors.

The other challenge is to have clarity on the roles to be played by key stakeholders whether local or external in view of the changes to the existing status quo. In that regard, Shrestha (2006) advocates for the development of social relations based on trust in order for such arrangements to succeed.

The fear is that in most partnerships, the communities are at the losing end or receive inadequate benefits due to power differentials and skewed agreements, hence, the call to capacitate communities so that they will be able to negotiate on an 'equal basis principle'.

9.4.2. Stakeholder Collaboration

Stakeholder collaboration can be an effective tool in conflict resolution and its management. As has been observed in this study the involvement of stakeholders, particularly key stakeholders is essential in conflict management. This justifies why stakeholder analysis is an essential step in conflict resolution. Drawing from the experiences of South Africa with regard to stakeholder collaboration in the context of Makuleke/KNP conflict resolution, consistent with literature (de Villiers, 1994:14) this study identified four primary state organs, listed below, that were involved as respondents.

1. The Department of Land Affairs (acting on behalf of the state)
2. Environmental Affairs and Tourism (the department for conservation issues)
3. Public Works (in whose name all state land is registered) and
4. SANParks (as the manager of the land)

Among other stakeholders, these state organs participated in the process of finding an acceptable settlement to the conflict. The resolution of this case indicates that these state organs collaborated to strike a settlement acceptable to all key stakeholders. This is reinforced by the fact that all the four key state organs became signatories to the agreement reflecting high levels of collaboration among key stakeholders.

Nevertheless, every process has got its fair share of weaknesses. Irrespective of the above observations there were some areas that needed fine tuning. This prompted de Villiers (1999:74) to recommend that 'the respective roles of different organs of the state with regard to land claims on conservation areas require clarification and better co-ordination'. It is on the same basis that SANParks emphasised that while it is supportive of the land rights restitution process, questions concerning the legality of claims should be handled by the relevant government departments.

On the other hand, looking at the Chitsa/GNP case in Zimbabwe, the following state organs mirror those mentioned above;

1. The Ministry of Lands, Land Reform and Rural Resettlement (that can act on behalf of the state)
2. The Ministry of Environment and Natural Resource Management (as responsible for conservation issues)
3. The Ministry of Local Government, Public (which is responsible for land use planning and overseer of all local authorities)
4. ZIMParks (as the manager of the respective land)

However, though these state organs are present and fully functional just as they are in SA, there is little evidence to prove effective collaboration among them. What was actually observed on the ground is non-collaboration where for example, the Agritex department went ahead to peg human settlement plots in the park without collaborating with the parks officials or the ministry responsible. Hence, this study revealed that though stakeholder analysis was done, particularly in the initial phases of the TFCA initiative, it was not done satisfactorily since some key stakeholders were not involved in the conflict resolution process. This could be another factor explaining why the conflict has not yet been resolved.

The above scenarios indicate glaring differences in conflict approach and management. Such fundamental differences probably answer one of the study questions posed in chapter one, which reads: 'why is it that the conflict in the Makuleke/KNP was resolved and not the Chitsa/GNP case?'

9.4.2.1. Challenges to Stakeholder Collaboration

As much as stakeholder collaboration and participation is advocated for, there is need to expose the challenges facing full collaboration in conservation projects such as TFCAs and some of these are:

- How to demonstrate benefits and gain adequate buy-in from national and local level government organs and other stakeholders. Although Pearce,(1996) attempted to come up with a formula to determine the optimality for biodiversity conservation in rural marginal areas, there is need to demonstrate that commercial wildlife production can be more viable and an efficient utilisation of land especially in semi-arid areas that are close to areas where wildlife conservation is practiced. Munthali (2007:56) points out that such communities need to be assisted in identifying areas of high biodiversity conservation value for commercial wildlife production. Communities need to be empowered to appreciate that wildlife conservation is a viable land use option and once they start deriving benefits from it conflict over competing land use priorities would be reduced.
- Balancing the demands of different stakeholders including international donors and players who have a stake in the initiatives. More often than not it has been demonstrated that different players have different interests and motives behind a project. In the case under study it was revealed that some stakeholders were driven by different motives such as the need to maximise economic gains, political expediency, power needs and conservation interests. It is therefore imperative that for a project to survive its full cycle it should strive to meet these interests without compromising its objectives.

- How to ensure adequate participation, involvement and empowerment of local communities in the management, decision-making and other processes promoting such initiatives. This follows inadequate provisions, policies and laws in most developing countries designed to empower local communities in the natural resource conservation sector. However, some countries have already come up with relevant policies and what comes in mind is the SA National Environmental Management Act, No. 107 of 1998 and Zimbabwe's Environmental Management Act Chapter 20: 27 of 2003, which have prescriptive provisions for community participation.
- Clarifying the role of locally based government organs, as well as the role of the private and public sectors. Role definition can be greatly enabled by policies, laws and institutional provisions that are explicit in their intent and clarity in terms of authority and responsibilities.

9.4.3. Community Benefits and Livelihoods

Most communities living adjacent to or within protected areas are faced with a dilemma of human-wildlife conflicts, where in most cases costs associated with living with wildlife outweigh the benefits. To reduce these costs, it is ideal for communities to go into wildlife farming if they choose to reside in an area where wildlife conservation is the preferred option. However, more often than not communities lack skills and capacity to engage meaningfully in such a business. Hence, they are left with little options apart from resorting to subsistence crop production and livestock farming.

In reflecting upon the extent to which communities derive benefits, it is interesting to note that though the CAMPFIRE programme was not asked for in the study, it featured frequently in responses. It was mentioned by several respondents as a vehicle used to economically empower communities and as a policy derivative designed to promote the flow of benefits to wildlife producer

communities. What is therefore needed is to assess the Campfire programme with the objective of reviewing it and making the necessary improvements.

Communities in Chiredzi, like elsewhere, benefit from wildlife hunting proceeds and products, which satisfies some of the objectives of the CAMPFIRE programme as referred to under the sub-topic 'distribution of economic benefits and costs' (ibid). Mukarati (2008:13) in his study of the CAMPFIRE programme observed that wards 5; 6; 7; 8; 9; and 22 form the bulk of communities benefiting from their natural resources under the banner of the CAMPFIRE programme in the Chiredzi district. Of interest is ward 22 which houses the bulk of the Chitsa community, including those settled in the contested area. Hence, one of the means to address the current limitations in resource access by local communities is through the strengthening of the well established natural resources management structures within the local RDC such as the committees on natural resources.

9.5. Socio-Environmental Impacts

When it comes to environmentally degrading activities the observed trend was that in the Chitsa case most of the activities such as poaching, vegetation destruction, uncontrolled fires, accelerated soil erosion, overgrazing and animal disease transmission between wild and domestic animals were on the increase. These activities have negative impacts on the environment and its ability to sustain life. If considered at a global scale, it draws in issues of global warming and its associated consequences such as climate change. The decimation of wildlife through illegal hunting (poaching) and the rampant habitat destruction threaten the very existence of plants and animals with restricted ranges. Ehrlich cited in Lawton and May (1995) paints a gloomy picture of a lack of sustainability in the future. He argues that even if humans make monumental changes in the manner in which they live, enormous impacts will still be felt on the environment and upon plant and animal communities 'before the rising tide of human numbers levels out and perhaps begins to subside. Much of the biodiversity we inherited will be decimated

before humanity sorts itself out'. The world's plant biodiversity is disappearing at an alarming rate. Not only are entire species going extinct, but important plant populations are being greatly depleted. In 1997, the IUCN Red list of Threatened Plants identified nearly 34 000 species, that is, 12.5% of the world's flora as facing extinction (Martin, 2004).

The unfortunate thing is that animal and plant population extinctions signal an uncertain future for humans as well (Ehrlich and Ehrlich 1981 in Lawton and May, 1995). The problem is that the livelihood base for poor, marginal communities heavily dependent on natural resources would have been destroyed, hence, exposing them to what Omara-Ojunga (1992) referred to as the cycle of poverty and land degradation.

The benefits to man and animals are that wild plants not only provide habitats and aesthetic value, but also provide timber, food, non-timber forest products, genes for breeding new crop varieties, new medicines, etc. Over 35 000 medicinal plant species play a vital role in human health maintenance, especially in remote areas and therefore medicinal and aromatic plants (MAPs) contribute significantly to the livelihoods, health and income of peoples (Martin, 2004).

Apart from the interdependence of these natural resources, it is known that some of these animal and plant populations are important indicator species that inform humans of important environmental responses and changes. The fear is that expressed by Omara-Ojunga (1992) when he painted a gloomy picture of the interrelation between poverty and environmental degradation and the complexity of breaking out of the poverty cycle. Sanginga (2007:6) concedes that these conflicts contribute to further degradation of natural resources and add a dimension of the erosion of social capital, hence, posing significant challenges to both rural livelihoods and sustainable natural resource management.

As observed in this conflict, as it takes longer to resolve, attitudes are hardening on both sides as parties begin to attract sympathisers and advisors. Some actions that were possible in the early phases of the conflict, such as the unilateral decision to evict the Chitsa community without any room for negotiations, are becoming questionable.

However, several officials interviewed concurred with the fact that there is still no consensus among key stakeholders on what exact course of action to take as positions are diametrically opposed. For instance, due to the current lack of dialogue between the parties to the conflict, PWMA is now making reference to standing rules, stating that the Chitsa community are illegally settled in the park and that it has a mandate to enforce the Parks and Wildlife Act, which prohibits illegal settlements. While others, including the Masvingo Provincial office, support the community claim based on historical facts. This is consistent with literature where, for example, Mombeshora (2009:8, this volume) indicated that the Masvingo Provincial leadership argues that the Chitsa community did not occupy any part of the GNP. These two positions are incompatible, hence, raising the need for a negotiated settlement.

9.6. Attitudes towards TFCA/Wilderness Areas

Most respondents had a positive attitude towards TFCA/wilderness conservation as they advocated for the maintenance of the current status quo by keeping the present GNP and KNP land as wilderness conservation areas. Some actually proposed that the land under wilderness conservation be extended, as observed on responses to the question, 'How best should the wilderness values be protected to promote sustainable eco-tourism development?' In reaction to this question, 24% of the respondents in the GNP/Chitsa case indicated that they wanted the area under wilderness to be increased. This reinforces the sentiments echoed by the ZIMParks Authority which is of the view that 'the boundaries of the GNP as defined in the current Parks Act are inviolable' (Mombeshora 2009:8). The importance of wilderness areas were attributed to their cultural values and their contribution to the local,

national and regional economic development. This thinking was cross-cutting between the two cases, hence, reflecting a paradigm shift of viewing wilderness areas from a micro to a macro perspective. The following figure 9.3 demonstrates the congruency of attitudes and perceptions of respondents in the two case studies as observed in chapter seven and eight (this volume, pgs 206 & 236).

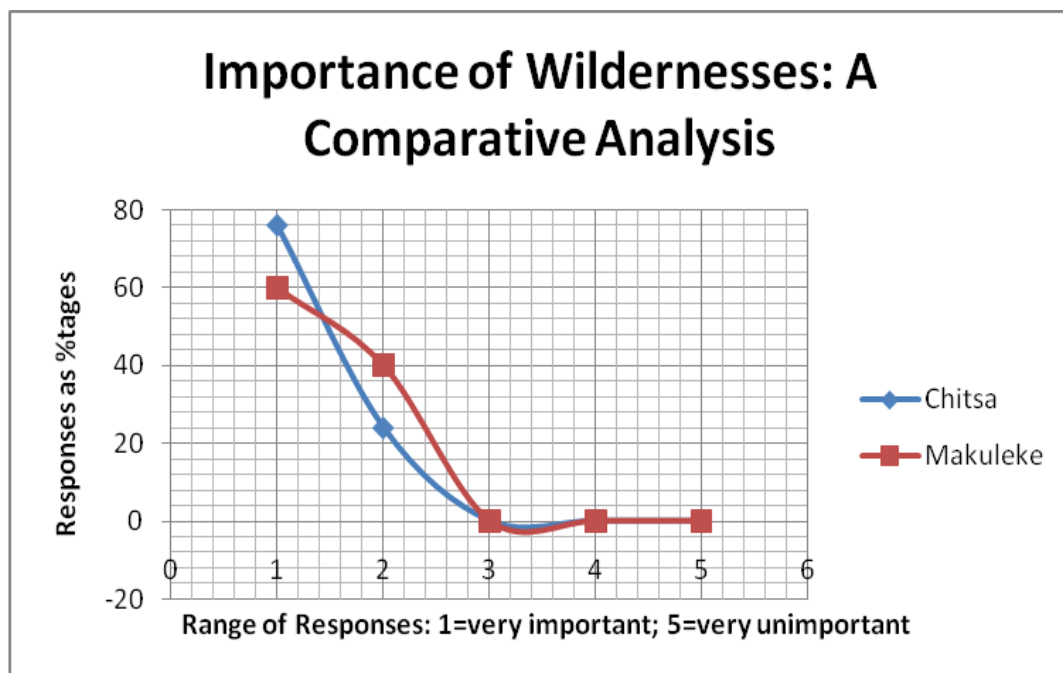


Figure 9.3: Importance of Wilderness: A Comparative Analysis of Responses from the Two Cases

This trend indicates a paradigm shift. From an indigenous African point of view, wilderness areas were viewed as vestiges of colonial rule, symbolising conquests and power and meant for the enjoyment of a few. That mentality, nurtured by the way the wilderness areas were established, and maintained by the colonial administrators appears to be shifting towards a new look with a progressive and nationalistic outlook in which wildernesses are seen as economic vehicles essential for national development. It follows that respondents appreciate the value and contribution of wildlife to socio-economic development. This gives a glimmer of hope for the future of wildernesses. They will not be relegated to the dust bins of history through human induced extinctions at least for the foreseeable future. Therefore, the

question, 'are wilderness areas going to survive in the face of development?' was addressed in this context.

What is more encouraging and refreshing is that the attitudes of community members have transformed from mere spectators and appreciators of wilderness values to active participants in its conservation. This is consistent with the thinking that if communities living near protected areas are afforded co-management arrangements and derive direct and tangible benefits from natural resource management they will attach an economic value to the resource and hence, actively participate in conservation efforts.

Apart from active participation induced by economic values of wilderness areas, Chidhakwa (2001), taking lessons from the Haroni and Rusitu forest experiences in Zimbabwe observed that some wildernesses with additional values other than economic, that is, non-material, non-economic social values such as like spiritual values were effectively conserved using traditional methods as local people perceived intangible benefits in maintaining them.

9.7. Conflict Dynamics

How does one link the local conflicts with national perspectives? The study impressed upon the researcher that when dealing with conflict one has to look wide and deep in order to find an acceptable settlement. For instance, the situation pertaining in the Chitsa/GNP case can also be looked at in the context of interplay between power dynamics and human needs. It is the researcher's deduction that power relations right from the local up to the international level are clearly discernable. This researcher calls it a 'power game' propagated by varying persuasions and perceptions as one gravitates upwards or downwards from one level to another. In terms of different persuasions, literature has it that the then Governor of Masvingo Province in which Chiredzi district falls, wrote that 'as Governor he considered that human welfare comes first before the welfare of wild animals. He also considered that the Chitsa people are part of the Shangaan ethnic minority in Zimbabwe

and that this ethnic group should be made to feel that they are part of the nation-state' (Mombeshora, 2009:8). On the other hand, the former Director-General of PWMA counter argued that when the current GLTP agreement was signed there were no human settlements in the GNP, so in order to maintain good relations with other parties to the GLTP agreement, human settlement in the park should be discouraged (Mugadza and Mandizadza, 2006:14).

There is however, a thin line demarcating the extent of each player's power circle of influence making it rather difficult to discern the differentiated power game. This is complicated by the fact that each player's source of power is different, ranging from legitimate and legal power to political and connection power. However, main actors at each level define the exigencies at that time as alluded to in chapter two (this volume). In an attempt to clarify the power game, the researcher attempted to figuratively illustrate that as shown in figure 9.3.

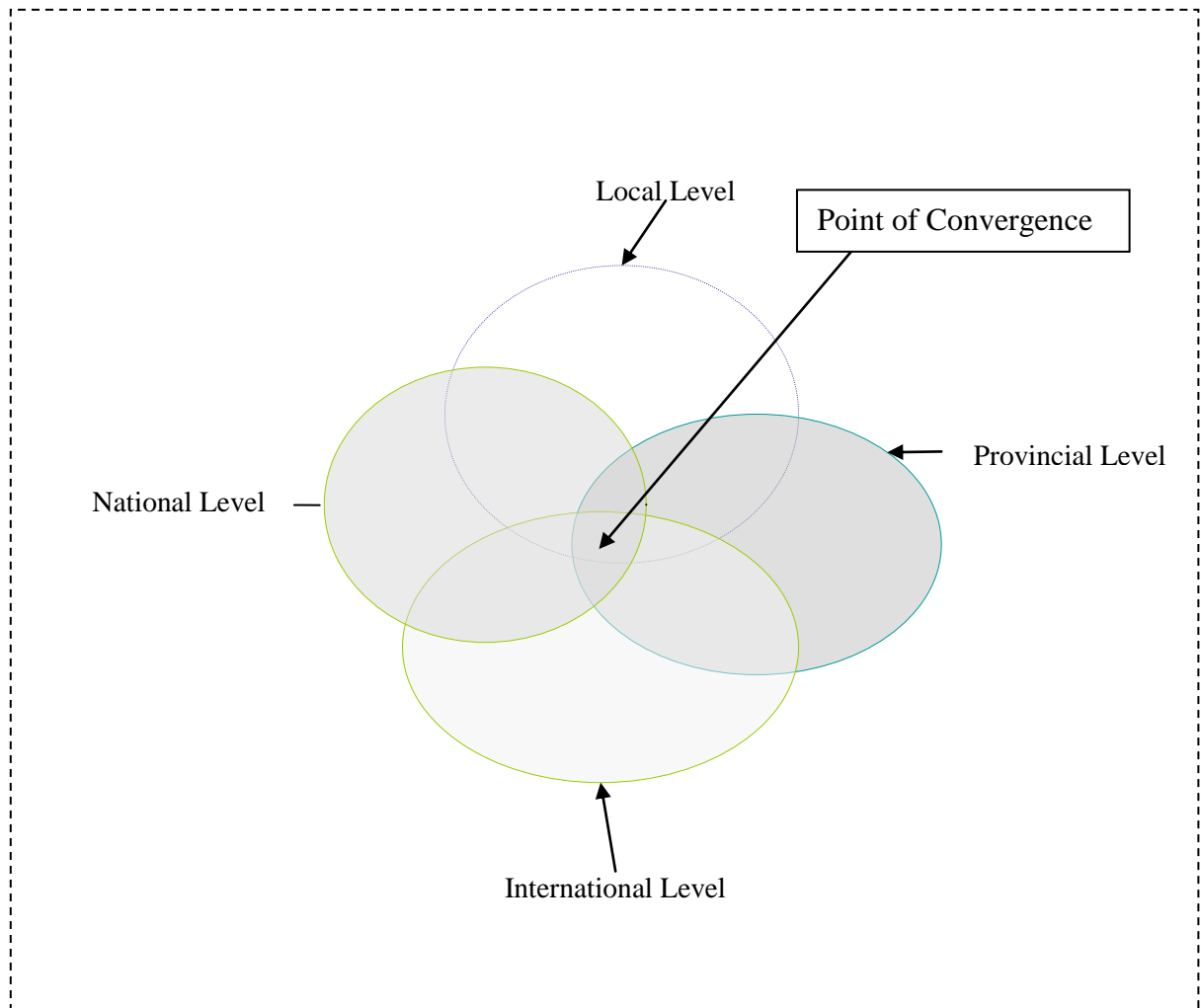


Figure 9.4: Power game dynamics

At local level, the power play revolves around land contest, chieftainship power wrangles and overlapping jurisdictions over policy implementation. This contestation of power is mingled with the need to satisfy physiological and security human needs, but unfortunately at the expense of wildlife conservation.

At the provincial level, the power play assumes a different shape and rotates around socio-political versus economic-ecological debates, where once again human needs and political power needs are advanced at the expense of conservation.

As one moves to the national level the conflict becomes more centred on policy debates mixed with moral considerations. It is therefore characterised by wildlife conservation versus social policy debates. For instance, on moral grounds, Mugadza and Mandizadza (2006:3) states that Mtsambiwa (2005), the former Director-General of PWMA 'asserts that they had an option of evicting the Chitsa people as they had both the legal right and political support. However, *in sympathy with the Chitsa people* they chose the route of negotiation (*emphasis is mine*).

The power game does not end at national level, but spills over to regional and international level. At this level one delves into international relations issues, particularly as they pertain to regional and international natural resource conservation agreements and human rights issues. At the regional level there are natural resource conservation agreements that have to be observed such as the GLTP international agreement and treaty. At international level, one faces human rights issues, where for example, evictions for conservation may attract strong vilification from human rights defenders. However, despite these cascading differentials in the locus of conflict with each level, it is rather difficult to draw a dividing line separating the levels.

9.8. Conflict Resolution Process

9.8.1 Evaluation of Conflict Resolution Mechanisms

Based on the results of this research, it can be observed that although the negotiation and mediation strategies were employed to find settlements in the two cases, avoidance and arbitration were viewed as the most used conflict resolution strategies. However, the avoidance strategy featured more prominently in the Chitsa case than in the Makuleke case. This was also experienced by the researcher when the community leadership was hesitant to allow members to participate in the academic study.

However, the avoidance strategy has yielded little positive results in as far as finding a collective solution is concerned. Hence, by avoiding key

stakeholders, the Chitsa case will just be prolonged and this is not healthy for it keeps the community guessing about their fate and therefore feel insecure.

Although avoidance and arbitration strategies have been used, negotiation and mediation in conflict situations have been found to yield positive and lasting settlements. Tracing the origins of the negotiation and mediation strategy, Buckles and Rusnak (1999) contends that the 'field of conflict management draws many of its principles from North American experiences with alternative dispute resolution (ADR)'. Buckles and Rusnak (1999) explain that the ADR refers to a variety of collaborative approaches including conciliation, negotiation, and mediation as opposed to litigation and other confrontational modes of conflict resolution.

While the court system in Zimbabwe is similar to that of South Africa, since these countries basically follow the Roman-Dutch law, focus is on the application of the ADR process as opposed to adjudication which was to a lesser extent employed in the Makuleke case. Unlike with the Makuleke case where there was an established and recognised body of mediators termed the National Land Reform Mediation and Arbitration Panel and the appointment of the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (IMSSA) as the service providers (Bosch 1999), in the Chitsa case there is lack of a central mechanism that coordinates the mediation process. For the mediation process to be legitimate it should be bound by stipulated and agreed rules, procedures and ethics in order for the process to be acceptable. Nevertheless, although negotiations and mediations are the pillars of the ADR process, Bradshaw (2006) argues that negotiation is a matter of choice. It is a matter of choice because it is a voluntary and informal process which should be acceptable to the parties to a dispute. Otherwise parties can use the adjudicatory system or court system which is referred to as common law with its roots in England (Owasanoye, 2001).

This study learnt that the ADR approach was used successfully in the Makuleke/KNP case, but although it has been applied in the Chitsa/GNP case it appears to have frozen at the conciliation stage.

9.8.2. Conflict Resolution Institutions

As has been observed, there are various institutions at local level to deal with natural resources conflict in the Chitsa case such as traditional institutions, local political structures, local administrative structures (e.g. RDCs), central government structures (e.g. government departments such as forestry, PWMA, environmental management agency and Agritex), the courts (formal judiciary system) and pressure groups (conservation NGOs and private players). However, it is the coordination and co-operation of these that was found wanting. The sentiments of most respondents were summed up by one respondent who commented that;

‘Some people want to get all the credit, so they want to work alone and not with others.’

Although empirical results indicate that 56% and 60% of respondents in the GNP/Chitsa and KNP/Makuleke cases respectively were of the opinion that stakeholder coordination and cooperation were at average to strong, the results corroborates the sentiments stated above. Based on the researcher’s experience in working with a number of stakeholders in the conservation field, coordination and cooperation in conflicts generated by contests over a resource are expected to range from strong to very strong in order to produce the desired results.

In terms of effectiveness, traditional institutions could avert the degradation of localised natural resources and resolve localised conflicts due to their inherent power in rural communities. Though these traditional institutions were eroded or made powerless during the colonial period (Murombedzi, 1990), Whande *et*

al (2003) concedes that they were resilient and remained in subtle form, hence, making it easier to resuscitate and strengthen them.

Nevertheless, a close analysis of the conflict resolution process in the two cases indicates interesting similarities as well as stark differences. The similarities are in the use of negotiations and mediations as conflict resolution strategies but differences exist in the establishment of various and specific institutions to deal with the processes of land claims and disputes. In the Makuleke case there are well defined procedures and institutions as compared to the Chitsa case, where procedures to be followed in resolving conservation related issues are not well defined³². This can explain the confusion created by the lack of a clear institutional structure to deal with such conflicts. In the absence of clear problem ownership and institutional structures each stakeholder attempts to solve the problem independently. This observation is consistent with the literature where a number of players seemed to be vested with some form of power, for example, PWMA; Lands Department; Agritex; traditional leadership, political leadership and others. The role of different state organs need to be defined with respect to land disputes on protected areas.

³² In terms of institutional framework, de Villiers (1999) and Bosch (1999) (this volume chapter 6) mentioned the following institutions as having been established at national level to deal with land claims and the disputes arising thereof; the Land Claims Court; the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights; the National Land Reform Mediation and Arbitration Panel; and the Independent Mediation Service of South Africa (IMSSA). At the community level, the following institutions or structures were established to promote community participation; the Joint Management Committee; the Makuleke Community Property Association with its substructures such as the Executive Committee; the Makuleke Development Forum and the Makuleke Development Trust (Thornhill and Mello, 2007 and Maluleke, n.d.; this volume chapter 6).

Mediation process followed the IMSSA procedures and the processes and procedures governing negotiations were present. For instance de Villiers (1999:13) (this volume chapter 6), points out that the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 22 of 1994 contains three settlement options, these being; (i). Restoration of the actual title to land through transferring the land to the claimant's name; (ii). Provision of alternative land for the claimant or (iii). Offer financial compensation to the claimant. All parties were expected to be familiar with the Act's provisions.

9.8.3. Local Community Structures

The Makuleke community structures were effective in dealing with the conflict probably due to the fact that there was constant information exchange between the CPA executive members and the generality of the community. Interaction between implementers and the general community members was even made easier by the existence of functional offices and the availability of resource persons (a CPA Executive member, pers. comms).

In the case of the Chitsa community, although there are a number of structures available for community engagement as mentioned before, results indicate that these structures were not engaged by most key stakeholders for the whole of last year (2009). It demonstrates that little interaction is taking place between and among local players to find a solution to this conflict.

Some of these structures include traditional leadership, political leadership and village development committees. While these structures are well defined at local level the reporting structure needs to be reviewed, particularly with regard to information flow from the village to district level. Further, although at local level these structures are well coordinated, and act as social security systems, the level of co-ordination and capacity of the structures has not yet reached the standard of organisation exhibited in the Makuleke community where there is a registered and legally recognised association.

In addition, the structures mentioned above were not designed to handle a conflict of such magnitude as they are development oriented. However, in an attempt to improve communication with the local community, the local parks area manager said that, 'in order to create good neighbourliness with the community, we just encouraged them to form a platform or forum that we can liaise with particularly on problem animal reporting.' This is a forum designed to engage PWMA at local level focusing particularly on human-wildlife conflict.

Otherwise there is need to either capacitate the already established structures at local community level to deal with conflicts of such a nature or consider new structures as an effective means of promoting dialogue.

9.8.4. Use of Legal Advice

Experiences show that for effective handling of community land claim cases, the use of legal advice is essential. In the case of Makuleke community, the Legal Resources Centre based in Johannesburg legally represented their case. Literature is littered with such examples, for instance, the case with plantation farmers against the Bwindi Impenetrable National Park in Uganda (chapter 3 this volume). The farmers initially followed the ADR process of negotiation and mediation, but in the later stages decided to go for adjudication to speed up the resolution process after noticing that the negotiation route was taking a long time. For effective representation, the farmers engaged legal services and subsequently won their case (Blomley this volume). I think this indicates particularly the importance of well developed organs of civil society, such as the legal resources centre, which have to be available, active and strong enough to take on the other players.

However, though it is a fundamental right to have access to legal representation, it is costly, particularly for struggling communities. The Bwindi farmers had the financial resources to do so, but in the case of the Makuleke community they did not have such financial clout. However, the Legal Resources Centre and the local district's legal section came to the aid of the Makuleke community out of interest and sympathy to the extent that they offered their services without charging, hence, becoming part of the Friends of Makuleke³³.

³³ Friends of Makuleke refer to an alliance between Makuleke community and a group of external role-players that the Makuleke leadership entered into. This network of alliances was eventually consolidated into what was called 'Friends of Makuleke' (FoM). It should be noted that it was the Makuleke who decided on who to include and exclude and the composition of the resultant structure. Most of the FoM role-players were strongly linked with the NGO movement toward 'community participation in conservation'. The primary objective of the FoM

9.8.5. Challenges to Conflict Resolution

It appears that efforts had been made in the past years to resolve the Chitsa/GNP conflict using the mediation strategy, but inherent challenges were observed. In the beginning a top-down mediation strategy was attempted where PWMA engaged IUCN-ROSA and SAFIRE during the period 2001-2003 (Katerere, 2003; IUCN, 2004) to mediate in the dispute. The process produced four settlement options that were never implemented (see *appendix 6.*) Later in 2005, PWMA engaged Bio-Hub (Mugadza and Mandizadza, 2006:3) which again initially fell into the same trap as IUCN-ROSA and SAFIRE by applying the top-down strategy.

Another attempt was made to enlist the services of researchers, some from as far as Harare to mediate, although the strategy failed to take off it mirrored the top-down approach and was therefore destined to fail. In the ensuing process, Bio-Hub realised that the top-down approach³⁴ was proving ineffective and therefore changed it to a bottom-up approach. In this case the traditional conflict resolution mechanisms were activated by engaging the services of Chief Mahenye to mediate. Although some advocate for top-down approaches, Lederach (1997) points out that bottom-up approaches, based on grassroots level influence can be effective. For instance, in the case of Somali conflict, Lederach (1997:53) points out that discussions and

was to support the Makuleke in their land claim and their secondary objective was to make CBNRM work (Steenkamp and Urh, 2000:6).

³⁴ In the GNP/Chitsa conflict, the top-down approach was reflected in the composition and level of engagement. Prior to engaging Bio-Hub, PWMA enlisted the assistance of IUCN-ROSA and SAFIRE during 2001-2003 (Mombeshora, 2009:6) on a process of resolving the conflict. IUCN-ROSA and SAFIRE are international and regional organisations respectively and as such their active role mirrored a top-down approach. These organisations looked at various options of dealing with the illegal settlers and situated the dispute in a wider socio-political context (Mugadza and Mandizadza, 2006:19). This approach came up with various and interesting options of dealing with the case and also set in motion the process of finding a settlement. However, there is no documented evidence to indicate that local players at grassroots level such as the affected communities were involved in the initial stages of problem identification and the search for the conflict resolution alternatives. This was at variance with the Conflict Analysis Framework (this volume), where the analysis of structures and involvement of actors affected by a conflict, at initial stages, feature as critical factors in determining the outcome of a conflict resolution process.

agreements to end fighting occurred through local level peace conferences and the engagement of local leadership structures, including traditional social organisations. This resulted in the northern part of Somalia, Somaliland enjoying relative peace compared to the rest of the country. Unfortunately, in the GNP/Chitsa case, Chief Mahenye died before a logical conclusion on the matter was arrived at.

In the Makuleke case the challenges were more centred on mobilising resources to meet the costs of mediation and convincing other publics that a marginalised community can stand up to powerful forces and win a case of such magnitude. The majority of respondents indicated that at the beginning they were sceptical of committing themselves to the land restitution process due to the financial commitments involved, but gathered strength when they realised that there was external financial, legal and moral support.

Another challenge was the need to separate issues and not to bundle them as one. The community managed to separate the land claim issue from the chieftainship restoration issue. This was crucial for refocusing efforts on a particular need and pursuing it to its logical conclusion. It was therefore not smooth sailing, there were casualties along the way, but group cohesion, perseverance and consistency are the hallmark of success.

9.9. Suggested Conflict Resolution Strategies

9.9.1. Use of the Collective Problem Solving Strategy

Observations are that in the Chitsa case, although there were many previous attempts supported by several studies to find a lasting solution (Mombeshora, 2009; Mugadza and Mandizadza, 2006; Bio-Hub, 2005; Wolmer *et al*, 2003), there is no evidence from literature pointing to any stage in time that the conflict resolution process tried to employ a collective-problem solving strategy. There appears to have been no attempts to gather all the contesting parties together at a round table meeting and hold direct discussions on how best to resolve the conflict. Although collective problem-solving strategies are

not a panacea, they have proved to be effective in resolving protracted conflicts.

So far, there is no evidence from respondents indicating any previous attempts to hold meetings or problem-solving workshops that involve all stakeholders. In the absence of such evidence one can be excused for concluding that stakeholders have been attempting to resolve the conflict by using an exclusive strategy, characterised by holding group discussions and meetings between like-minded stakeholders isolated from those with different views. Mediation as a process in the Chitsa case has not yet reached a stage where all contesting parties gather at the same place and discuss issues jointly. However, it may be the case that the mediator(s) did not see any possibility of success in bringing all the key stakeholders together at that stage.

In addition, most researchers seem to relegate the entire responsibility of finding a settlement to the Chitsa/GNP case on one player, that is, PWMA (Katerere, 2003; IUCN-ROSA and SAFIRE, 2004; Bio-Hub, 2005; Mugadza and Mandizadza, 2006; Mombeshora 2006; Mombeshora 2009). There is a need to depart from that point of view and advocate for solutions to come from all key stakeholders in order that they bear ownership, hence guaranteeing lasting solutions. This worked in the Makuleke case³⁵, so why not in this case given that the situations are similar? Applying too much pressure on one party that also happens to be a directly interested party has inherent limitations as the rule of fair play is compromised and the tenets of the dual concern model, which principally recognises concern for self and concern for others³⁶ (Pruitt

³⁵ In the case on KNP/Makuleke, the liability of finding an acceptable solution was not left to SANParks alone. Several relevant government departments, such as SA Defence Force, Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development and DEAT took the joint responsibility to find a solution. They worked together with relevant NGOs and the community involved (Bosch, 1999, this volume). This resulted in a relatively quick resolution to the conflict.

³⁶ The dual concern model has been discussed in chapter two of this volume page 46 with reference given to the Thomas-Kilmann model (1974). Nevertheless, the dual concern model illustrates five approaches to conflict demonstrated by whether concern for self or concern for other is high or low. As mentioned before, the five approaches are avoidance, compromising,

and Kin 2004: 40) will be at risk. The challenge is whether an interested party can exercise such concerns without being ego-centric?

Therefore, it is prudent to engage a neutral third party to continue facilitating the mediation process strategy.

9.9.2. Adjudication

However, as if departing from the mediation strategy, some respondents argue that the relevant policies and legislative instruments be activated, thus implying the execution of the provisions of the Parks and Wildlife Act that prohibits human settlement in a designated Park. This is supported by the literature where, for instance Agarwal (2001:3) mentions that there are several methods available for resolving disputes between two parties and the first and most important method is through the courts. When a dispute arises between two parties belonging to the same country, there is an established forum available for the resolution of the same. The parties can get the said dispute resolved through the courts established by law in that country. Generally, this is the most common method employed by the citizens of a country for the resolution of their disputes with fellow citizens. However, when a dispute arises between two persons belonging to two different countries, a difficulty arises in applying the court system due to jurisdictional challenges and here alternative dispute resolution has been found to be effective.

Additionally, the conflict resolution/management field is nearly unanimous on the fact that legal processes are expensive, time-consuming, and poor in respect of satisfying needs and interests. That is why they promote mediation in the first place. We should therefore accept adjudication as a last resort,

contending, yielding and problem-solving (Ramsbotham, *et al*, n.d:15). In the avoidance approach, one has low concern for self and other. In compromising style one seeks to balance the interests of self and other, while in contending approach, one has high concern for self and low concern for other. In the yielding approach one has high concern for other than self and in problem-solving approach, one has high regard for both self and other's interests, which prompts one to seek for a creative problem-solving outcome (Ramsbotham, *et al*, n.d:15).

when other methods have been found wanting. This has little to do with international aspects, but rather more to do with the fact that there are competing value systems at stake, such as the case in our case study here.

9.9.3. Use of Alternative Dispute Resolution Strategy

There is also no language of collaboration when it comes to invoking legislation against the illegal settlements in a park, but at this stage, it is imperative to consider both legal and moral issues in the same breath, hence, the need to involve all key stakeholders through ADR mechanisms. It is observed that the alternative dispute resolution methods are becoming more popular not only for resolution of disputes between parties belonging to two different countries, but even between two parties belonging to the same country. Hence a strong advocacy for the use of the ADR in the Chitsa/GNP case as it was successfully done in the Makuleke/KNP case.

However, despite an advocacy for the use of the ADR strategy in the Chitsa case, one interviewee registered a different suggestion. The suggestion by one respondent was that for a lasting solution to this conflict to be achieved, a settlement is supposed to come from higher government offices, particularly from the highest levels of government, such as the office of the President, otherwise as it stands he considered it as rather problematic to deal with at any other level given the complexity of the matter. Yet such an approach would constitute a typical top-down approach.

9.10. Lessons Learnt

In every case there are lessons to be learnt and in the cases under study there were a number of lessons some of which are explained below.

- Without legal representation, communities face insurmountable challenges in preparing and winning their land claim cases. This is so because land claims are primarily based on legality. In that regard,

communities need friends or volunteers with various expertises like legal knowhow to push through their cases. Since the use of legal and ADR approaches in conflict resolution are not mutually exclusive, the researcher recommends the multi-use of legal and ADR approaches in certain conflict resolution processes. At times it is necessary to seek legal opinion or even to go for adjudication if that can result in a fair process, particularly where there are serious power differences.

- Cohesion and cooperation among affected community members is critical for its success in terms of conflict management or resolution. For example, the Makuleke community members had a unity of purpose and established community structures that handled their case in the form of the Land Claims Committee. The committee would liaise with community members and give feedback on all matters. It follows that more organised communities stand a better chance of successfully engaging relevant stakeholders to achieve their goals in deep rooted conflicts. Also having clearer procedures and institutions specifically to deal with certain problems make the conflict resolution legitimate and acceptable (Riddell, 1988:39).
- For communities to unite there should be a perceived or real threat to a common rallying point. If we look at the Makuleke community the rallying point was based on the need to reclaim their lost land and the restoration of their land rights. These rights were threatened by apartheid policies that did not recognise the traditional land rights and moral values of place identity by alienating communities from their traditional land. However, despite different approaches to the conflict in the two cases under study, the same argument for the need for a given community to unite over something of a common interest applies to the Chitsa community where the rallying point is the need to reclaim lost traditional land. A local headman and some respondents concurred that there was a need for land and access to resources.

- There should be an opportunity to present a case and the community affected should utilise that opportunity. When the democratic South African Government introduced the Land Restitution Act of 1994 the Makuleke community took advantage of the Act to present their case. Today they are credited as being the first rural community to win a case of a land claim, particularly of such a nature not only in South Africa, but also in Southern Africa and beyond.
- For a lasting conflict settlement, stakeholder collaboration is essential, but should be preceded by a comprehensive stakeholder analysis process to ensure that all key stakeholders are involved from the start to conclusion.
- Engaging affected communities is critical for both conservation and social interests. In the Makuleke case the literature indicates that the community organised itself by establishing structures such as the CPA whose executive members are elected to run the affairs of the association and act as an intermediary between the rest of the community and other key stakeholders. Such a level of organisation was also observed in the Bwindi Impenetrable and Mgahinga Gorilla National Parks, south-western Uganda (Bromley and Kubagenda, 2001 cited by Castro and Nielsen, 2003, *ibid*). In the Chitsa community, the structures are present, but are not yet developed to the level seen in the Makuleke community.
- Negotiation and mediation, if used in the rightful context can be very effective tools in conflict resolution. The South African experience indicates that mediation can help seemingly intractable opponents find a common ground, be they political, labour, land and environment based disputes. Nevertheless, Bosch (1999) concedes that there are many examples where mediation led to unhappy compromises that generate further disputes and at times worse disputes than before.

- However, for mediation to be successful the following factors should be present;
 - There should be a possibility of a solution,
 - Contesting stakeholders should be prepared to make compromises,
 - Advantages of reaching a solution should outweigh the possibility of a no-solution situation,
 - There should be an identifiable rallying point (Bosch, 1999).
- Good natural resource governance is critical in conflict management, particularly that which is more inclusive, transparent, and efficient. This can help groups in a conflict situation to appreciate some differences, collectively work out to find some common ground, and improve on key decisions affecting them.

9.11. Conclusion

Conflict and sustainable development are correlated. In developing countries it could be that sustainable development is used as a conflict resolution strategy and as a peace-building tool or conflict is generated by under development.

In this chapter discussion has centred on conflict drivers and restraining forces. One of the outcomes was that no matter how deep-rooted conflict is, dialogue between and among contesting parties clearly makes a difference between settlement and non-settlement. Various conflict resolution mechanisms are available for use but it is the use of the ADR that proved useful in the cases under review.

However, in addressing one of the study sub-problems, 'What is the difference between conflict resolution processes in the Makuleke and Chitsa cases, given that the settings under which the conflict phenomena arose look similar?' the researcher concedes two things. Firstly, it would appear that in the Chitsa/GNP case the conflict drivers are greater than the restraining

forces, and stakeholders are disenfranchised. Hence, if drastic measures are not taken to address these forces the conflict is likely to escalate. Secondly, in the Makuleke/KNP case the conflict restraining forces were greater than the conflict drivers, and stakeholders were cooperative and well coordinated. Hence, the conflict was settled relatively quickly.

It is therefore important to place emphasis on stakeholder cooperation and collaboration, and build local community capacity to participate effectively in the conflict resolution process. Unless local communities are economically, politically, technologically and socially empowered to benefit and utilise natural resources they depend on, it looks as though it will be difficult to extricate themselves from the poverty cycle and the vagaries of unduly influential participants.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the conclusions derived from the research findings from both literature and empirical evidence. Following the conclusions, appropriate recommendations are suggested and areas needing further study pointed out.

10.2. Conclusions

'If you want to make peace with your enemy, you have to work with your enemy. Then he becomes your partner.' Nelson Mandela (n.d)

In order to find ways of promoting peace, the study established four objectives designed to address the problem and its sub-problems. The four objectives were:

- (i). To determine whether there is perception difference within and between local stakeholders about conflicts associated with TFCA development. Chapters seven and eight addressed most aspects concerning stakeholder perceptions among various players and how these perceptions influenced conflict resolution or its management.
- (ii). To measure the level of local stakeholder involvement and participation in TFCA development and describe how such involvement shaped their perceptions about sustainable development. This was addressed in chapters six making reference mostly to literature and chapters seven and eight where empirical results revealed the extent to which stakeholders are involved in TFCA/wilderness development.

- (iii). To explore and assess the effectiveness of conflict resolution and management processes in the GLTP. This was addressed in chapters six, seven, eight and nine where the various strategies used to address the conflicts in the two cases were analysed and discussed. The ADR strategy was found to have been effective in conflict resolution. However, in cases where this strategy appeared to be failing it was more to do with the approaches used.

- (iv). To propose ways for effective local community participation in conservation projects. This was addressed in this chapter where recommendations were proposed for appropriate models for effective community participation, with particular emphasis on PPCPs.

Evidence obtained is sufficient to make certain conclusions within the study's contextual framework and can be generalised to represent the views of decision-makers and policy implementers at local level. It can be concluded that non-violent techniques such as negotiation and mediation in natural resources management can be effective tools in conflict resolution, making peace among protagonists and promoting collaboration. In addition, it can also be concluded that managing and resolving conflict in a participatory, consensual and peaceful manner can strengthen civil society while land and resource conflicts that are ignored or unjustly handled always have the potential to become intractable and violent. Unfortunately, the ensuing violence results in environmental degradation, diminished livelihoods, human rights abuses, fanning distrust and promoting divisions. In the initial stages of such conflicts, the livelihoods of poor households are more vulnerable to disruption, but eventually everyone is at risk should conflict escalate.

However, consensual negotiation is not an unquestionable panacea, although it is more desirable, it has its own flaws just like other forms of conflict management and resolution, for instance, it may not be appropriate in dealing

with violent conflicts involving high levels of insecurity among stakeholder groups and in cases where enormous power differences exist among separate stakeholders, hence, making the negotiating field and process highly uneven.

Hence, conflict resolution and management is both an art and a science, for one has to be skilful to be able to look for an appropriate opportunity for entry to break the cycle of conflict at what Bradshaw (2007) citing Zartman referred to as the 'ripe time.' When two parties still have the energy and think that they can advance their interests through other means other than negotiations it could prove to be an uphill task to bring such opponents to the table. But the opportune time is when both parties realise that violence will not achieve their desired results, but dialogue.

Fortunately, in this study, the conflicts could be characterised as non-violent to the extent that it is indeed feasible to take the route of negotiations and mediation further. Castro and Engel (2007) cited in this volume chapter 3, observed that the emergence of non-violent conflict can be progressive in natural resources management and conservation development projects. Such non-violent conflicts can work as catalysts for progressive social change. Hence, it can be concluded that this conflict is important for it registers the need to involve local communities in conservation projects. Today's communities are no longer passive recipients of development projects unfolding within their vicinity.

Applying the abductive reasoning, the researcher observed that the presence of conflict means that the resolution strategies used in case one have failed. Therefore looking at the first proposition which states that , 'In case one, pertaining to the land conflict between the Chitsa community and Gonarezhou National Park (GNP), the public scoping exercise was not carried out well, hence, local stakeholders were not effectively involved in the initial phases of project design, implementation and conflict resolution. There is therefore

ground to suspect that no collective problem-identification and solving techniques were employed, thus, the difficulty in finding a common solution to this conflict,' is accepted. It is accepted on the basis that a large percentage (48%) of respondents (this volume, pg 203) mentioned that they were not actively involved in the conflict resolution process.

Using the same reasoning the researcher concludes that in the second proposition which states that, 'In case two, pertaining to the land conflict between the Makuleke community and Kruger National Park (KNP), the public scoping/consultation was carried out well, hence, there is ground to suspect that conflict settlement was made possible through the employment of collective problem-solving techniques', has been proven to be correct, as a greater percentage (60%) of responses indicated that communities were consulted or participated in the conflict resolution process.

What this translates into is that in order to make peace the protagonists in the Chitsa community and GNP have to work together as partners, either as co-managers like in the Makuleke/KNP Contractual Park Agreement or any other appropriate PPCP arrangement as they consider appropriate to their situation. They should be able to work together to promote peace as peace is one of the ingredients for sustainable development.

Nevertheless, although Nelson Mandela was once again, quoted as having said, 'I dream of the realisation of the unity of Africa, whereby its leaders combine their efforts to solve the problems of this continent. I dream of our vast deserts, of our forests, of all our great wildernesses' (Nelson Mandela, n.d.), thus dreaming of peace and unity on a grand scale. This author advocates for a situation where local stakeholders, wherever they are, including those concerned with the Chitsa/GNP conflict and Makuleke/KNP Agreement, to come together to resolve their differences in natural resource access and management for the betterment of both community livelihoods and natural resource conservation. Peace in natural resource management is

more critical at the local level where the interface between people and resources is clearly evident. Finally it is indeed in the best interest of all to be able to resolve and manage conflicts for the benefit of current and future generations.

This requires new thinking as Warburton (1998.3) contends that sustainable development offers a new political ethic, presented in all the guises of international agreements and national strategies which call for new ways of thinking about social economic and environmental goals and how to achieve them. Is it not Albert Einstein who said, 'the significant problems we have cannot be solved at the same level of thinking with which we created them', hence, there is a need for a paradigm shift from the current mentality where communities are viewed as anti conservation, destructive of the environment and breakers of law to embrace them in conservation projects as a progressive force and an important component of the sustainable conservation agenda.

10.3. Recommendations: Conflict Resolution and Management Options

'People tend to forget their duties, but remember their rights' Indira Gandhi (n.d.)

Rights should go with corresponding obligations, otherwise they become empty rights. In order to remember both our duties and rights, the recommendations put forward are based on information obtained from both literature and empirical evidence. They are also designed to remind stakeholders that as much as it is important to remember and advocate for our rights, it is equally important to remember and be committed to our natural resource management and conservation obligations. The realisation of the need to balance the two will go a long way in reducing conflicts and promoting sustainable development for the benefit of the present and future stakeholders.

Most of the proposed recommendations are meant to address the conflict in the Chitsa/GNP case for the simple reason that that is where the conflict still remains unresolved almost 10 years later as opposed to the Makuleke/KNP where a settlement to the conflict was reached within a period of 1-2 years.

A review of literature, particularly IUCN-ROSA (2004), Katerere (2003) and SAFIRE (2004) (see *appendices 6 and 7*) revealed that all the previous recommendations for conflict management or resolution were found to have either been used or suggested in this study. Triangulating these options one would realise that Katerere went further to expand and enrich options recommended by IUCN-ROSA by offering mitigatory measures to curtail what can be termed 'socio-environmental impacts.'

In line with Katerere (2003)'s recommendation, we concede that there is need for a collaborative approach to resolve the conflict. This should not be based merely on legal rights but to use this opportunity to establish an approach to conservation that recognizes the needs, values and aspirations of local communities. However, our point of departure is of the view that this approach should be directed to PWMA alone as if it's an individual player. We argue that any conflict resolution process should be the responsibility of all key stakeholders and hence make the following recommendations based on the empirical evidence, with reference being made to literature on eclectic options. Recommendations 1-6 are more of a reactive nature as opposed to recommendations 7-11 that are primarily of a proactive nature. These are stated below and are not listed according to any criteria.

10.3.1. Re-designation of the Occupied Area

One of the options is to remove that part of GNP land occupied by the Chitsa community from the rest of Gonarezhou National Park. This is in line with option 1 by IUCN-ROSA (2004) and Katerere (2003) option 5, which literally means officially recognising the Chitsa's claim to land. The process would involve demarcating the occupied land, de-proclaiming it as a national park

and proclaiming it as some other land use category like a human resettlement area. The process itself requires following legislative procedures, that means going through parliamentary processes where the President should finally assent before any part of the park is reduced according to the Parks and Wildlife Act (Chapter 20:14) of 1996 Section 117.

This option is however contentious as the Parks Authority is not willing to relinquish any portion of its land, although the community would be comfortable with such a decision. Indecisiveness is dangerous. It breeds insecurity among the community and can actually contribute to resource degradation as a sense of ownership is eroded. One of the most feasible options is to accept the Chitsa claim but negotiate with them for their removal. Acceptance of their claim means acknowledging that the Chitsa community owns that land but standing firm on the principle that it should remain a conservation area where co-management is arranged. This would mirror the Makuleke Contractual Park Agreement model. This researcher envisages that most stakeholders would be comfortable with this arrangement since it is double barreled in that it conforms to both theoretical aspects as well as practicalities of biodiversity conservation and human needs satisfaction. Further, in conflict management terms, it recognises both the legal status of the conservation area, and the human needs of the resident community.

10.3.2. Redefining the Park Boundary

Although the park boundaries as defined in the Act should be demarcated on the ground to dispel academic debates between stakeholders on the boundary position, there is need to consider the boundary issue as presenting a possible solution. A decision should be made either to redefine the Park boundary or let the Chitsa community stay or maintain the current boundary and remove the people. Since redefining the park boundary is contentious as conservationists fear setting a precedent that may mean the demise of protected areas, this process can be done simultaneously with land swapping, where a piece of land from the RDC with the same acreage is added to the

park. Although this maintains the size of the park, one of the problems associated with this option is that the land that could be available for swapping might mean reducing the land area of another Chief or District. To avert this, Council and other key stakeholders should be actively involved.

However, the catch is that such land should be adjacent to the park in order to create a contiguous protected land as opposed to fragmentation.

The redefining of the park boundary while being feasible, since boundaries are created by the people, it is also a remote possibility due to inherent fears of the unknown. The greatest fear is the setting of a precedent that could spark a chaotic situation where communities with similar claims simply occupy a park with the knowledge that eventually they would be accommodated.

However, should redefining of the park boundary become the only feasible option, it will be necessary to come up with options and conditions. These options and conditions should be part of a clear policy that provides for claims to be considered on a case by case basis.

10.3.3. Eviction of the Community

One of the most feasible options is the removal of the Chitsa community illegally occupying part of the GNP. This means the appropriate authorities should invoke the country's relevant legislation stating the position of land use for the Parks Estate and how illegal settlers are handled. The Zimbabwe Parks and Wildlife Act section 23(k)(i) restricts lawful persons residing in the park for conservation purposes to be accommodated in areas set aside as development areas. This requirement feeds into the globally accepted definition of a national park defined as;

‘natural areas and/or sea designated to (a) protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for this and future generations, (b) exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of

designation of the area and (c) provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible' (IUCN, 1994 cited by Mombeshora 2009:4).

Nevertheless, although this option could have legal and political backing, and is backed by literature as proposed by IUCN-ROSA (2003), the challenge is whether it is morally correct to forcibly remove the community out of the park considering that most parks the world over are littered with human settlements. However, if the route of eviction is considered, it should be sensitive to the people's right to be heard and to dignity. The community affected should be consulted and their concerns addressed, so that such action does not mirror the colonial way of policy implementation.

For eviction to be morally acceptable it can be conditioned to meet some of the community needs. Stakeholders can take advantage of the chieftainship power needs to get the community out of the park by giving a double barrelled condition that Headman Chitsa's chieftainship claim can only be restored provided the community in GNP agrees to move out. This condition should see two mutually inclusive actions taking place, that is, firstly, the resettling of the Chitsa people in another area probably near the current contested area so that they will have access to natural resources, engage in fruitful partnerships for economic benefits especially on tourism activities and be able to conduct their customary rituals. The second condition is the restoration of the Chitsa chieftainship. This should be able to address headman Chitsa's argument on contested land which remains consistent. Mombeshora (2009:5) states that 'Headman Chitsa's main argument is that his people were reclaiming ancestral land that was lost during the colonial period. In addition to population growth and land scarcity in Sengwe Communal land, the nationalist discourse of reclaiming 'lost lands' helped to propel the settlers to stake their claim'. By making concessions that will result in the restoration of the lost chieftainship and the provision of alternative land near to their

ancestral claims, headman Chitsa's argument could be put to rest without compromising either community livelihoods or conservation efforts.

In that context, the Chitsa community should be allocated land elsewhere and promote the development of irrigation schemes for agricultural purposes. This is meant to ensure that relocated communities are able to maintain or even improve on their livelihoods, bearing in mind that the issue of land contests is also linked to poverty alleviation needs. As has been noted in this study, although there are other factors associated with land conflicts such as the chieftainship power wrangle and deep-rooted historical problems, lessons drawn from the Makuleke and Chitsa cases indicate that livelihood needs are an imbedded element of land contests.

10.3.4. Promoting Dialogue among Key Stakeholders

We propose that one of the most effective options is to promote dialogue among key stakeholders. Conditions should be created to facilitate direct dialogue among all key stakeholders such as PWMA, traditional community leadership, community representatives, the District officials and other key stakeholders. This option is meant to allow key stakeholders to come up with solutions generated and owned by them. This could be through problem-solving meetings or workshops. Experienced and trained facilitators should be engaged to lead and guide the process in order to ensure effective participation. Facilitators should make sure that power differentials particularly where it is prominent, should not derail the process.

To ensure effective participation by key stakeholders the alternative dispute resolution (ADR) method should be pursued with negotiation and mediation strategies being employed. Even mediation with 'muscle', as coined by Schehr and Milovanovic (1999), can produce the desired results, particularly at this stage when the attitudes from all the sides appear to be hardening. However, the dialogue should be conducted in a transparent, fair and ethical manner with due consideration to all options.

10.3.5. Establish Appropriate Institutional Framework

As has been observed, in the case of Chitsa/GNP conflict, unlike the Makuleke/KNP conflict, there is no discernable or clear cut institution, apart from Parks and the formal justice systems, that is vested with powers to deal with and resolve conflicts of such a nature using the ADR framework or any other framework for that matter. In the case of the Makuleke/KNP a National Land Reform Mediation and Arbitration Panel and the Land Claims Court were established (Bosch 1999). In the absence of the above or similar such structures, there is no clear-cut recourse as power is fragmented and tends to reside in various institutions that are unfortunately characterised by inadequate coordination. It is against this background that central government, in consultation with all key stakeholders, should establish institutions that are vested with power and authority to deal decisively with such conflicts. These should be in the mould of the conflict resolution structures established in South Africa to deal with land claims. This area of conflict is increasingly becoming important and there is a need to lay a framework upon which such issues are dealt with now and in the future. It follows that the setting up of such institutions should be supported by clear procedures and processes that provide a framework upon which such claims and conflicts are managed and administered.

10.3.6. Promote the Promulgation of Supporting Policies

The establishment of appropriate institutions is inadequate if there is no supportive legislative framework. The researcher recommends for the promulgation of legislation that forms the legal framework and power base upon which these institutions derive legal authority. To buttress the legal framework, a conflict resolution framework should be established with clear guidelines on operational processes and procedures that are established through the stakeholder participatory process.

10.3.7. Promoting Partnerships (PPCPs) and Land Tenure

Public-Private-Community Partnerships (PPCPs) are an option for resolving land contests as well as promoting effective local community participation in conservation projects. Literature proves that this option can work very well as a conflict management tool. However, PPCPs such as co-management arrangements can be used in conjunction or as a precondition to other options. One fundamental truth is that before one delves into talks about PPCPs, consideration should be given to land tenure and tenure rights systems. Thus, one cannot talk about wildlife ownership or access and use rights without making reference to land and land tenure.

Land tenure concepts define how individuals gain access to and acquire use rights over land, either temporarily or permanently. Hence, interventions and methods of enforcing PPCPs should be built around local land tenure practices. Group titles can be instrumental in assisting large groups of less well-off people, particularly with reference to poor communities. However, the most appropriate set of tenure rights should be determined by the proper mix of ecological conditions and socio-economic situations.

Experiences from Africa, particularly from Kenya and South Africa indicate that ownership patterns generally fall under three major lines of policy, these being;

- Socialisation of land
- Privatisation and individualisation, for example, in Kenya and Malawi.
- Co-operatives and state farms.

Private and individualisations seem to be prevailing at the moment. Riddell (1988:39) argues that the past five years have seen the wholesale abandonment of economic planning based on social property concepts in favour of a planning pattern emphasising some form of private property rights.

This 'property rights' paradigm is based on neoclassical economic theory, which argues that traditional African land tenure systems induce inefficient allocation of resources because property rights are not clearly defined, costs and rewards are not internalised, and contracts are not legal and enforceable (Barrows and Roth, 1990:266). The theory holds that individualisation of land tenure;

- Increases the land holder's security of tenure.
- Increases investment by improving tenure security and;
- Will transfer land to those who are able to extract a higher value of product from the land as more productive users bid land away from less productive users (Barrows and Roth, 1990:269).

However the issue of land tenure and rights has been widely documented, but whatever land tenure system is adopted, all people should be aware of the value of land and the possibilities for sustainable development in any arrangement. Conscious of the above, stated below are different scenarios and possible models of partnerships in natural resource management which are recommended.

10.3.7.1. Possible Partnership Models

- a) Community ownership(CO)
- b) Private ownership(PO)
- c) Community to community partnership(CCP)
- d) Community to government partnership(CGP)
- e) Community to private partnership(CPP)
- f) Community to private to government partnership(CPGP)
- g) Government to private partnership(GPP)
- h) Government ownership(GO)

The above scenarios are further illustrated in figure 10.1 below.

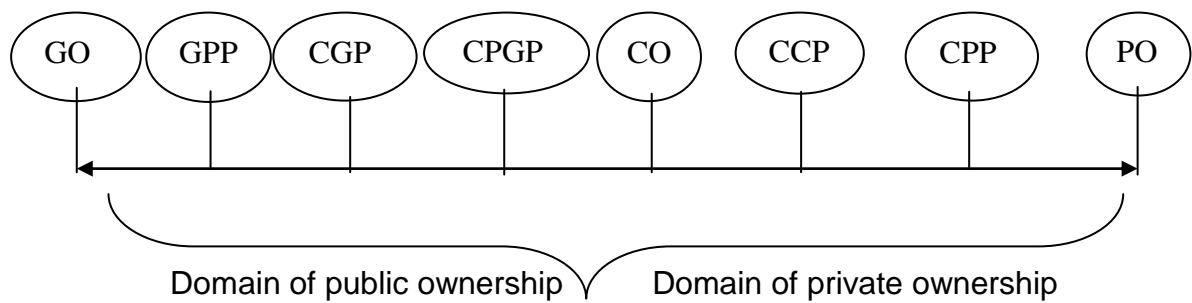


Figure 10.1: Possible partnership models.

Looking at the above figure, a movement from the centre, that is, between community-private-government partnership (CPGP) and community ownership (CO) to the right increasingly puts one into the domain of private or individual ownership, while an incremental movement to the left leads us into the domain of public ownership. However, there is no one model that is universally appropriate, hence, it is recommended that stakeholders should agree on the most appropriate model applicable to their situation.

In the Chitsa/GNP case, after having insight of the issues, the researcher recommends the adoption of the Makuleke/KNP model, that is, in the form of a contractual park agreement. With reference to the above models the contractual park agreement mirrors model (f) which is community to private to government partnership (CPGP).

Also when entering into a partnership, parties should look for partners with complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses. They should be based on mutual sharing of benefits and costs.

10.3.8. Promote Stakeholder Capacity Building and Empowerment

It is critical for the local communities to be empowered to participate meaningfully in economic activities like tourism and wildlife conservation. There should be appropriate training and the transfer of technical skills through arranging for relevant education and training programmes. The skills

should capacitate local communities to be able to run their affairs even in the absence of external support. Also since information is power, there should be mechanisms to facilitate information exchange between stakeholders.

In addition, capacity building and empowerment can be propagated through education and awareness campaign programmes. Hence, the affected communities should be empowered with knowledge through awareness and education campaigns. This should have the effect of exposing the community to various experiences in the region. Thus, in order to make appropriate decisions the Chitsa community should be offered opportunities to learn from other communities particularly the Makuleke Community. Here it is proposed that even 'look and learn' visits would go a long way in shaping the mindset and attitudes of community members. This comes in the wake that although issues of community benefits through co-management regimes are fashionable, the concept is still in its infancy, hence, there are few examples of working models in the developing world.

Further, although TFCA and wilderness conservation is highly regarded, there is need to consolidate such perceptions across all community members. There is need therefore to also focus on stakeholder attitudes and perceptions. It is pointed out that 'two fundamental requirements for a successful integration of GNP into the great Limpopo transfrontier park are positive attitudes and perceptions amongst its cross-border partners and the support and cooperation of the local population' (Ferreira 2004:308). In line with this observation, programmes should be developed to reinforce and educate the communities and other players on the value of wildernesses, the importance of peace in natural resource management and the role of wildlife in sustainable socio-economic development.

10.3.9. Encourage Proper Land Use Planning

Considering the semi-aridness of the lowveld, a characteristic of the Limpopo basin and other low-lying lands, practicing crop production where wildlife

conservation is the most economical and viable land use option would require heavy investment in irrigation projects, particularly for commercial crop production. In the face of conflicting options and disputes, it is prudent to carry out a cost-benefit analysis to determine the most competitive land use practice.

Given such a scenario, land use planning becomes critical in fostering sustainable development as orderliness begets peace. Integrated land use planning involving all stakeholders should be adopted as an appropriate approach to land use planning. Once a proper land use option for a particular land has been adopted, the approach should stipulate procedures upon which such option could be changed. This means that people settled in wildlife areas should practise wildlife farming /conservation unless approval has been granted to do otherwise from the Land Board or the Land Planning Departments.

Proper land use planning results in land zonation that stipulates appropriate land use options. Considering the environmental conditions of the GNP and its immediate environs, the researcher recommends a wildlife based land use option on the contested land. This is consistent with literature where due to the arid conditions characteristic of most parts of the lowveld, wildlife conservation becomes the most viable land use activity (Wolmer *et al*, 2003:1; Ferreira, 2004:310). This option would have a number of multiplier effects such as the reduction in human-wildlife conflicts, increasing economic benefits to local communities through eco-tourism activities and advancing the conservation discourse.

10.3.10. Clarify the Roles of State Actors

Clarity and redefining the roles of state organs in natural resource and conflict management in particular is needed. Looking at power dynamics in the Chitsa/GNP conflict, empirical evidence points to the fact that the current situation is not producing the desired results despite much influence by both

traditional leaders and local government departments. Central government should redefine the roles of each state organ in conflict management.

By the same token central government should increase its role and influence by defining the course of action. This is consistent with literature where researchers like de Villiers (1999:77) advocates for the South African government to become more active in the development of uniform, national approaches to land claims where conservation areas are affected. Critical elements to this approach would entail restoration of land rights, protection of the conservation status of the contested land, establishing joint management and agreements especially on tourism related business. Therefore, central government should put in place the institutions and procedures to guide players in order to create systems and foster order as is being attempted in the Makuleke/KNP case. Institutional arrangements are essential for the success of conservation projects and resolution of conflicts that may arise. Such establishments should provide for adequate cross-sectoral linkages as the range of issues to be addressed is wide.

Although institutions and procedures should be defined by national governments, the actual conflict resolution process should be localised. Local players are best placed to understand the conflict and therefore better positioned to deal with it. The inclusion of national governments is critical and strategic to avert nation-wide reactions. These reactions will impact negatively to TFCA/Conservation efforts and tourism.

10.3.11. Support the Resolution of the Chieftainship Dispute

It is observed that unlike in the Makuleke case, the chieftainship dispute is significantly linked to land claims in the Chitsa case. Therefore, in concurrence with Mombeshora and le Bel (2009) supporting and encouraging negotiation and mediation for the resolution of the chieftainship dispute between Headman Chitsa and Chief Tshovani should be considered as a strategy that could unlock solutions to the land dispute.

10.4. Policy Recommendations:

This study strongly recommends that in general emphasis be placed on the concept of community empowerment through effective participation in natural resource management to satisfy both basic human needs and environmental security. This paradigm shift is based on both theory and practice where it is undisputable that where order prevails local communities are the best custodians of natural resources found in their locality

In order to manage conflicts generated by restricted resource access and other deprivations, the following policy recommendations are advanced, but should be strongly backed by the political will on the part of political leadership and government.

- A re-examination of the pro-poor conservation policies with the aim of addressing current inequalities and skewed natural resource access and user rights, without compromising the productive basis of that sector. The policies should be driven by the need to uphold the 'equal opportunities' principle and avoid the segmented and incremental approaches designed to pacify people's needs on an ad hoc basis by providing piece-meal solutions.
- Issues of community partnerships and benefits should be an integral part of the conditions for a successful business investment proposal in the natural resource management field. There is need to urgently address the issue of glaring disparities between the affluence of protected areas and the abject poverty of the adjacent communities. The concept of 'each man for himself/herself but God for us all' is self defeating as extreme poverty generated by power differential is detrimental to both the haves and have-nots. Therefore there should be deliberate efforts to empower the majority of the communities particularly those living adjacent to conservation areas.

- Greater emphasis should be placed on conflict management training with particular focus on the educational system, where conflict management and resolution skills must be accorded high priority in life-skills training. Hence, academic programmes and courses on conflict and its resolution, particularly ADR mechanisms should be incorporated into the curricula of secondary and tertiary education in both South Africa and Zimbabwe's educational systems. As human population grows against a dwindling resource base, the probability of conflicts arising is inevitable. Conflict handling and resolution should also be spread through social networks and other institutionalised processes.
- However, since conflict can never be eliminated and will be part of the development process, there is need to recognise its inevitability. Perhaps we should tolerate some levels of conflict as long as they do not degenerate into chaos and pandemonium. Certain levels of conflict are essential in catalysing social change and should be taken by progressive theorists and practitioners alike as necessary and progressive. In that context policies should not stifle conflict, they should provide a platform upon which conflict can be a legitimate positive social force, but at the same time discouraging the nurturing of destructive conflict.
- Going with the constructive theorists, to completely resolve conflict is not only impracticable but could be unnecessary as conflict is viewed as a constructive force in development theory. However, again to ignore it is equally destructive as conflict, particularly violent conflict can really be destructive and unnecessary. Since total peace is also a rare commodity, a balance has to be established between conflict and peace that continuously motivate people to promote sustainable development that help not only to maintain the two extremes in balance, but also to reduce the levels of poverty.

10.5. Conclusion

The study revealed that a conflict poorly handled has a tendency to not only escalate, but to increase in both scope and extent. The Chitsa/GNP conflict was not handled in the same manner observed in the Makuleke/KNP case. The approaches used in handling the two seemingly similar conflicts were significantly different in that one was resolved fairly quickly in about two years, while the other is yet to be resolved 10 year later. There is an argument to be made that in the resolution of the Chitsa/GNP conflict there is need to adopt the Makuleke/KNP resolution model if stakeholders are to move forward and have lasting peace. Even if stakeholders prefer to use a different approach to the resolution process relating to the Makuleke/KNP case, it still provides essential leads that are critical in handling conflicts of such a nature to the extent that any serious conflict resolution practitioner should not afford to ignore . The bottom line is that local communities are the vanguard of local resource conservation and therefore their involvement in conservation efforts is not a privilege but a necessity. Ignoring this simple truth is detrimental both to conservation efforts and the community livelihoods.

The conflicts experienced by both the Makuleke and Chitsa communities are primarily land based, where contested pieces of land form the basis from which other issues emanate. The conflicts are deep-rooted with driving forces such as frosty historical relationships, chieftainship claims, population growth needs, poverty, and limited resource access being active in driving the conflict.

Since most of these forces were a result of policies that were insensitive to human needs, one of the most effective resolutions comes from policy review. This is consistent with literature that advocates for structural changes to support peace building initiatives (Burton, 1990a; Lederach, 1997:37, this volume). In that regard, the researcher advocates for policies that are sensitive to both human needs and conservation demands. For conservation to be relevant and contribute to sustainable development it should be

responsive to socio-economic dynamics right from the local to international level. At local level, let communities adjacent to wilderness areas and other protected areas be involved in decision-making, particularly on areas that touch their livelihoods. There is a lot of theory about participation and empowerment, but it does not tally with practice as has been observed in this study.

As academics and researchers intensify the debate, communities continue to face the threat of deepening poverty particularly as their coping strategies are limited in the face of adverse environmental changes. Wildernesses will no longer remain isolated islands designed to separate people from wildlife or people from nature, after all the relationship between wilderness and humans has been in existence over time immemorial. Nevertheless as human population increases, demand for wilderness services and products also increases, it is then crucial to balance demand and supply so that the resource's capacity to continue providing for such demands is not diminished, hence, the sustainable development concept. Indeed sustainable development is possible and its importance is being felt more today than it was in the past and shall be felt more in the future than it is today as competing priorities increasingly exert pressure on a resource base that is inelastic.

To release the increasing pressure on resources, the Makuleke model can be a useful reference case in communities facing similar situations. While it supports conservation efforts, it also meets human needs. Such relationships that satisfy both conservation needs and basic human needs as defined by Maslow's human needs theory, ensures the survival of wildernesses as communities attach socio-economic values on natural resources, hence assist in conserving them.

This thesis advocates for policy makers to actively promote such policies that provides opportunities for communities to engage in fruitful partnerships

through some truly broad based consultative processes. Natural resource access and benefit policies should be informed by the needs of the communities heavily dependent on those resources. Policies that do not meet the needs of the communities may actually achieve the unintended as communities and other stakeholders will continue to seek ways of satisfying their needs, meeting their interests and protecting their values. In the absence of clear proactive policies and procedures communities will strive to satisfy their needs by any means possible, be it legal or illegal. Hence, proactive policies that help nurture peaceful order and promote sustainable development will curtail conflict. However, the promotion of broad based empowerment initiatives rests with policy-makers.

Hence, the main research question, 'Why has the GLTP stakeholders so far failed to make appreciable impact to resolve the conflict in the Gonarezhou National Park(GNP) case ,involving the Chitsa community, as seemed to have happened in the Kruger National Park(KNP) case, involving the Makuleke community, under similar circumstances?', has been answered.

10.6. Areas for Further Research

During the study certain areas remained grey and appeared suitable candidates for further research. There is therefore need for scientific inquiry in certain areas to address glaring challenges with no immediate and clear answers.

Based on the above observation, possible research could focus on the following suggested areas;

- There is need to further analyse the effectiveness of natural resource conflict resolution mechanisms in Southern Africa. For instance, as the globalisation agenda continues to forge ahead, competition over scarce resources intensifies as more nations realise the importance of securing the benefits and resource access rights in order to develop

their own economies. However, in the process of securing these resource access rights, conflicts become inevitable and are likely to intensify particularly with regard to shared resources like international waters and international boundaries. The researcher recognises that while it is inevitable to avoid conflict, it is important to develop conflict resolution mechanisms that respond to such challenges. Focus of the study should then look at the efficacy of such conflict resolution mechanisms assuming that they are already in place. Answers are needed to address questions directed at their effectiveness in dealing with emerging natural resource conflicts within the regional context. There is need to take stock and make a critical analysis of these mechanisms with a view to strengthen them so they can match the dynamism characteristic of natural resource conflicts.

- Another area centres on community empowerment which still remains a challenge. Although the current talk in regional relations and political circles is about community and indigenous empowerment, there is need to assess the extent to which these policies have been translated into reality. It would be interesting to determine how the policies address the economic disparity of citizens that continues to widen in Southern Africa. There is therefore need to critically assess empowerment policies in order to come up with recommendations that addresses the gaps between policy and reality. Means should be found to address challenges and empower the majority without compromising the product particularly in the discipline of natural resources. This should encompass governance issues and the role of various players in local community resource management and empowerment programmes.
- Poverty alleviation and coping strategies particularly in the face of climate change are critical if communities living in marginal areas are to be extricated from the cycle of poverty and conflict over natural

resources. The reason why more and more people are becoming heavily dependent on natural resources in developing countries is driven by the desire to cope with adverse environmental factors that continue to erode the capacity of communities to survive using traditional means. While governments in Southern Africa are striving to eradicate poverty through pro-poor policies, the scourge of poverty continues to haunt the majority and appears to be widening due to the vagaries of nature and anthropogenic factors. It is common knowledge that the cycle of poverty, land degradation and conflict leads to extreme poverty. However, there is need for a scientific study to come up with coping strategies, be they relevant policies, appropriate technology or relevant information. The objective will be to improve the capacity of local communities to effectively manage and survive emerging resource constraints induced by environmental changes.

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Bongani Baloyi, CPA Member, 4/11/10

Chiredzi District Lands Officer 25/11/10

Chiredzi District Veterinary Officer 25/11/10

Chitsa Village chairman and vice chairman, 23/11/10

Dr. Norman Monks. Park Area Manager Chipinda Pools National Parks
22/11/10

Former Parks Regional Manager 23/11/10

Headman Chitsa. 24/11/10

Livingstone Maluleke is the ward 5 councillor that incorporates Makuleke Community. He is also a member of the joint management board (JMB), a creation of the Makuleke/KNP Contractual Park Agreement. He is also a member of the GLTP Joint Management Board, 4/11/10.

Mavis Hatlane, CPA Resource Person, 2/11/10

Mr. Edson Gandiwa. Senior Ecologist based at Chipinda Pools National Park
22/11/10

Mr. Samson Mavaso. A long serving Parks Ranger based at Chipinda Pools National Park (part of the GNP) 22/11/10

Ms. Patience Zisadza. Senior Ecologist Chipinda Pools National Park.
22/11/10.

Parks Official Responsible for TFCA development. 27/11/10.

Solomon Maluleke is a member of the CPA Executive Committee as well as being an Educator, 3/11/10.

Solomon Maluleke. CPA Executive member, 2/11/10 & 3/11/10

Vettlee Macebele is a CPA Office Administrator and participated in the land claim negotiation process. She is also the CPA resource person, 3/11/10.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Questionnaire Survey: Makuleke Sample

Background

My name is Muboko Never. I am a doctor of philosophy conflict management student at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (S.A). I am requesting your participation in this survey by answering all questions. The survey is aimed at gathering information necessary for the completion of my DPhil thesis. Researchers and the press have highlighted conflict among Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) stakeholders. Some reports carry successes while others carry challenges, but interestingly most of these reports do not only contradict but offer different versions of the same story. This study therefore seeks to understand the GLTP development conflict from the experiences and perceptions of the local stakeholders involved.

Background to GLTP and TFCAs

The GLTP was established under the auspices of SADC transfrontier conservation area (TFCA) programme. The initiatives usually involve at least one national park called the core area and adjacent land areas which may be composed of various land uses. The core area is termed the transfrontier park (TP), while the adjacent and associated areas are non-core areas. The combination of the core and non-core areas is referred to as the TFCA. The GLTP is therefore composed of the Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) (Zimbabwe), the Kruger National Park (KNP) (South Africa) and the Limpopo National Park (Mozambique). In addition, together with these national parks, the adjacent areas that have agreed to be incorporated into these conservation project become transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs), hence the name the great Limpopo transfrontier conservation area (GLTFCA).

About the Researcher

The researcher is a DPhil (Conflict Management) Studies student registered with the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, SA and this research is in fulfilment of that programme. Contact details: cell: +263915598602 or +27789522920; e-mail: nmbok@yahoo.co.uk.

What to do on Completion

After completion, please use the enclosed self-stamped and self-addressed envelope to post it back, or for those with access to email please scan and sent via e-mail on address indicated above. Please can you post it by 30 November 2010? N.B. If the space provided for your answers is not enough, please, be free to attach additional papers where possible.

Please complete the attached questionnaire as best as you could, and remember that;

- All information given will be kept strictly confidential;
- You may not write your name on the forms, unless you want to;
- Anonymity will be maintained;

I wish to thank you in advance for taking your precious time to complete the questionnaire.

Section A: Respondent Details

a. Your position (e.g. RDC Ward 2 Councilor)_____

b. Your type of business/Occupation, (e.g. Councilor, Safari Operator)_____

c. Please, indicate how long you have lived or worked in this area?

1-5yrs	6-10 yrs	11-15 yrs	16-20 yrs	20+yrs
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d. Please, tick the appropriate box

Gender	Male	Female						
Age Group	30 or less	31-40	41-50	51-60	60 +			

Section B: Questionnaire

The following is a list of questions on conflict and development process in the GLTP. Please, complete all questions and follow any directions given on how to complete each question.

1. What were the major reasons behind the development conflict between Kruger National Park (KNP) and the Makuleke community?(*Please tick the appropriate rating: 1 being the most major reason and 5 the least of reasons*)

Root Cause	Rating				
	1	2	3	4	5
i. Poverty alleviation needs					
ii. Policies: (unclear resource access policies)					
iii. Population growth(need for more land)					
iv. Lack of local community involvement in TFCA development					
v. Contested land ownership					
vi. Dislike of protected areas					
vii. Misconceptions over TFCA development					
viii. Other(specify)					

2. Given your experience how would you rank in order of priority the reasons you think best represents the interests of the Makuleke community to justify settling outside the Park. (tick in the appropriate box: 1 being the least and 7 being of the highest interest)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
a. Cultural/social interests							
b. Economic interests							
c. Deep-rooted historical problems							
d. Conservation interests							
e. Political interests							
f. Availability of alternative Land							
g. Chieftainship power disputes							
h. Other (please, specify _____)							

3. How would you describe the impact of power contests among local stakeholders in hindering efforts to find an acceptable solution to this case? (tick the number best expressing your comment)

5	4	3	2	1
Very serious	Serious	Don't know	Not serious	Not very serious

4. How would you comment on the existence of chieftainship power struggles among local traditional leaders as one of the key issues that threatened finding a settlement in the Makuleke/KNP case? (Tick the number best expressing your opinion).

7	6	5	4	3	2	1
Very strongly agree	Strongly agree	Agree	Don't Know	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Very strongly disagree

5. How would you describe the impact of overlapping jurisdictions over policy implementation among local regulatory agencies in retarding community participation in TFCA development. (tick the number best representing your description)

1	2	3	4	5
Very big impact	Big impact	None	Small impact	Very small impact

6. At the beginning of the GLTP project would you say stakeholder analysis was done to determine who to include or exclude? (tick your answer from the list below)

1	2	3	4
Done	Not done	Done but unsatisfactorily	Don't know

7. How would you describe the sharing of the TFCA concept and its objectives among all key stakeholders before project implementation?
(please, tick one from the list below)

1	2	3	4
satisfactorily shared	shared	unsatisfactorily shared	not shared

8. How would you describe the involvement of all key stakeholders in the conflict resolution process? (tick the number best representing your opinion)

1	2	3
Not all are involved	All are involved	Don't know

9. Please, indicate how you engage with the Makuleke community to find collective solutions should conflict arise?(ticking one or more of suggestions below)

1	2	3	4	5	8
Community meetings	Traditional leadership	None	Community workshops	Local political leadership	Other(specify)

10. What structures, representing community interests are available for engagement?

1	2	3	4	8
Village/Ward development Committees	Traditional leaders' forum	Don't know	TFCA District committee	Other(specify)

11. Basing on your experiences, how would you describe the effectiveness of these structures in addressing conflicts of such a nature?(**effective/ineffective**)

12. Assuming that this conflict was resolved to the satisfaction of all parties involved, of the 7 conflict resolution strategies listed below, which one was used most and how effective was it?(please, use the frequency and effectiveness key provided below)

Mechanism	Frequency					Effectiveness		
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
Avoidance: People preferred not to discuss it with other stakeholders.								
Negotiation: People preferred negotiating with other stakeholders voluntarily to reach agreement through consensus and relied on elders or groups to solve conflict.								
Mediation: People preferred engaging a neutral third party to facilitate any negotiation process.								
Arbitration: People preferred engaging an acceptable authority such as elected leaders (e.g. councillors, MPs, etc) for solutions.								
Adjudication: People preferred court action for resolution.								
Collective-problem solving: People preferred resolving their problems through all stakeholders meetings for joint decision-making.								
Coercion: People didn't want any negotiations, preferring imposing their will through threat or use of force.								
All of the above								
Other (please, specify) _____								

Frequency (key)

1	2	3	4	5
Mostly used	Sometimes used	Don't know	Rarely used	Not used

Effectiveness

1	2	3
Effective	Don't know	Not effective

13. How would you describe the impact of the Makuleke/KNP agreement to the overall TFCA development process? *(please, tick one answer only)*

1	2	3	4
Huge negative impact	No impact	Huge positive impact	Don't know

14. What would you recommend to ensure that the Makuleke/KNP agreement is long-lasting? _____

15. Looking at the current TFCA development process, how would you comment on co-operation among different key stakeholders in terms ensuring its success? *(Tick the number most representing your comment)*

5	4	3	2	1
Very strong	Strong	Average	Weak	Very weak

16. How would you describe your involvement in the TFCA development process? *(Tick a number best suiting your comment)*

1	2	3	4
Very much involved	Involved	Not involved	Not sure

If your answer to question 16 above is not involved or not sure, please, briefly explain the reasons?

15. How would you rate the importance of wilderness/TFCA areas to you as an individual or as an organisation, if you are representing one? (*tick a number closely resembling your rating from below*)

1	2	3	4	5
Very important	Important	Don't Know	Not important	Very unimportant

i. Please, give a reason(s) to your answer to question 17 above

16. How best should the KNP wilderness values be protected to promote sustainable eco-tourism development? (*tick one answer only that best expresses your opinion*)

1	2	3	4
Maintain current land area under wilderness conservation	Reduce current conservation land area	Increase current conservation land	Don't know

Other (please, specify) _____

17. How would you describe the level of influence the following institutions had in your district in the resolution of the Makuleke/KNP conflict? (*tick only one level of influence best describing an institution from the list below*)

	Level of influence	Institution		
		Traditional Leadership	Local Government Departments	Central Government
1	Far too much influence			
2	Too much influence			
3	Average influence			
4	Too little influence			
5	Far too little influence			
6	No influence			

18. Given your understanding of the environmentally degrading activities given below, *tick in the appropriate column against each activity* to best express the level of impact you consider to have occurred due to human activity in the park since the establishment of the Contractual Park Agreement?

	Decreased	No. Change	Increased	Don't Know
Pot poaching(subsistence)				
Commercial poaching(trading)				
Vegetation destruction				
Uncontrolled veld fires				
Soil erosion				
Overgrazing				
Domestic-wild animal diseases				

19. How would you describe the distribution of economic benefits and costs between local communities residing around the KNP and other key stakeholders as a direct result of TFCA development? (e.g. revenue loss/gain; livestock grazing loss/gain, etc) (Tick an answer from the list below).

- a. The local communities receive more of the costs than benefits
- b. The local communities receive more of the benefits than costs
- c. Costs and benefits are unequally shared between local communities and other stakeholders
- d. Local communities do not receive any benefits
- e. Other stakeholders receive more costs than benefits.
- f. Other stakeholders receive more benefits than costs.
- g. Other opinion (specify)_____
- h.

20. Do you think livelihoods needs of the community, such as access to natural resources are addressed in the current local District social policy framework?(yes/no).

Support your answer_____

21. Please, make any comments or suggestions you have about this Makuleke-KNP agreement or any matter related to this. (If the space provided is not adequate you can attach additional paper(s)).

The researcher would like to take this opportunity, once again, to thank you for your co-operation in answering this questionnaire.

Appendix 2: Questionnaire Survey: Chiredzi Sample

Background

My name is Muboko Never. I am a doctor of philosophy conflict management student at Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (S.A). I am requesting your participation in this survey by answering all questions. The survey is aimed at gathering information necessary for the completion of my DPhil thesis. Researchers and the press have highlighted conflict among Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) stakeholders. Some reports carry successes while others carry challenges, but interestingly most of these reports do not only contradict but offer different versions of the same story. This study therefore seeks to understand the GLTP development conflict from the experiences and perceptions of the local stakeholders involved.

Background to GLTP and TFCAs

The GLTP was established under the auspices of SADC transfrontier conservation area (TFCA) programme. The initiatives usually involve at least one national park called the core area and adjacent land areas which may be composed of various land uses. The core area is termed the transfrontier park (TP), while the adjacent and associated areas are none-core areas. The combination of the core and non-core areas is referred to as the TFCA. The GLTP is therefore composed of the Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) (Zimbabwe), the Kruger National Park (KNP) (South Africa) and the Limpopo National Park (Mozambique). In addition, together with these national parks, the adjacent areas that have agreed to be incorporated into these conservation project become transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs), hence the name the great Limpopo transfrontier conservation area (GLTFCA).

About the Researcher

The researcher is a DPhil (Conflict Management) Studies student registered with the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University, SA and this research is in fulfilment of that programme. Contact details: cell: +263915598602 or +27789522920; e-mail: nmbok@yahoo.co.uk.

What to do on Completion

After completion, please use the enclosed self-stamped and self-addressed envelope to post it back, or for those with access to email please scan and sent via e-mail on address indicated above. Please can you post it by November 30 2010? N.B. If the space provided for your answers is not enough, please, be free to attach additional papers where possible.

Please complete the attached questionnaire as best as you could, and remember that;

- All information given will be kept strictly confidential;
- You may not write your name on the forms, unless you want to;

- Anonymity will be maintained;

I wish to thank you in advance for taking your precious time to complete the questionnaire.

Section A: Respondent Details

e. Your position (e.g. Chiredzi RDC Ward 2 Councilor)_____

f. Your type of business/Occupation, (e.g. Councilor, Safari Operator)_____

g. Please, indicate how long you have lived or worked in this area?

1-5yrs	6-10 yrs	11-15 yrs	16-20 yrs	20+yrs
--------	----------	-----------	-----------	--------

h. Please, tick the appropriate box

Gender	Male	Female						
Age Group	30 or less	31-40	41-50	51-60	60 +			

Section B: Questionnaire

The following is a list of questions on conflict and development process in the GLTP. Please, complete all questions and follow any directions given on how to complete each question.

1. From your knowledge and experiences, what were the major reasons driving the Chitsa-Gonarezhou National Park (GNP) conflict? *(Please tick as many as possible, 1 being the most major reason and 5 the least of reasons)*

Root Cause	Rating				
	1	2	3	4	5
i. Poverty alleviation needs					
ii. Policies: (unclear resource access policies)					
iii. Population growth(need for more land)					
iv. Lack of local community involvement in TFCA development					
v. Contested land ownership					
vi. Dislike of protected areas					
vii. Misconceptions over TFCA development					
viii. Other(specify)					

2. Given your experience how would you rank in order of priority the reasons you think best represents the interests of the Chitsa community to justify settling inside the Park. (tick in the appropriate box: 1 being the least and 7 being of the highest interest)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i. Cultural/social interests							
j. Economic interests							
k. Deep-rooted historical problems							
l. Anti-conservation reasons							
m. Political interests							
n. Land shortage							
o. Chieftainship power disputes							
p. Other (please, specify _____)							

3. Basing on your experience and interactions, how commonly shared is the reason you ticked as being of the highest priority in question 2 above among the ordinary members of the local communities? (Encircle the number best describing your opinion)

1	2	3	4	5
Very uncommon	Uncommon	Not sure	Common	Very common

4. How would you describe the impact of power contests among local stakeholders in hindering efforts to find an acceptable solution to this case? (tick the number best expressing your comment)

5	4	3	2	1
Very serious	Serious	Don't know	Not serious	Not very serious

5. Is chieftainship power struggles among local traditional leaders one of the key issues that threaten finding a settlement in the Chitsa/GNP case? (Yes/No).

6. How would you describe the impact of overlapping jurisdictions over policy implementation among local regulatory agencies in retarding community participation in TFCA development. (tick the number best representing your description)

1	2	3	4	5
Very big impact	Big impact	None	Small impact	Very small impact

7. At the beginning of the GLTP project was an all stakeholder analysis done to determine who to include or exclude?(*tick an answer from the list below*)

1	2	3	4
Done	Not done	Done but unsatisfactorily	Don't know

8. Was the TFCA concept and its objectives satisfactorily shared among all key stakeholders before project implementation? (*please, tick one from the list below*)

1	2	3	4
satisfactorily shared	shared	unsatisfactorily shared	not shared

9. How would you describe the involvement of all key stakeholders in the conflict resolution process? (*tick the number best representing your opinion*)

1	2	3
Not all are involved	All are involved	Don't know

10. Please, indicate how you are engaging with the Chitsa community to find a collective solution to this problem?(*ticking one or more of suggestions below*)

1	2	3	4	5	8
Community meetings	Traditional leadership	None	Community workshops	Local political leadership	Other(specify)

11. What structures, representing community interests are available for engagement?

1	2	3	4	8
Village/Ward development Committees	Traditional leaders' forum	Don't know	TFCA District committee	Other(specify)

12. How many times have you engaged the community structure(s) you indicated above over this conflict in the past twelve (12) months? *Put an X in the appropriate box*

Once	Twice	Thrice	Four times	Over five times	None
------	-------	--------	------------	-----------------	------

13. Basing on your experiences, how would you describe the effectiveness of these structures in addressing conflicts of such a nature?(**effective/ineffective**)

14. Considering that a lot of effort has already been made to resolve this conflict among contesting parties, of the 7 conflict resolution strategies listed below, which one has been used most and how effective was it?(see key below)

Mechanism	Frequency					Effectiveness		
	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3
Avoidance: People preferred not to discuss it with other stakeholders.								
Negotiation: People preferred negotiating with other stakeholders voluntarily to reach agreement through consensus and relied on elders or groups to solve conflict.								
Mediation: People preferred engaging a neutral third party to facilitate any negotiation process.								
Arbitration: People preferred engaging an acceptable authority such as elected leaders (e.g. councillors, MPs, etc) for solutions.								
Adjudication: People preferred court action for resolution.								
Collective-problem solving: People preferred resolving their problems through all stakeholders meetings for joint decision-making.								
Coercion: People didn't want any negotiations, preferring imposing their will through threat or use of force.								
All of the above								
Other (please, specify) _____								

Frequency (key)

1	2	3	4	5
Mostly used	Sometimes used	Don't know	Rarely used	Not used

Effectiveness

1	2	3
Effective	Don't know	Not effective

15. How would you describe the impact of this Chitsa/GNP conflict to the overall TFCA development process? (please, tick one answer only)

1	2	3	4
Huge negative impact	No impact	Huge positive impact	Don't know

16. What do you recommend should be done to find a lasting solution to this Chitsa/GNP conflict?

17. Looking at the current TFCA development process, how would you comment on co-operation among different key stakeholders in terms of ensuring its success?(tick the number most representing your comment)

5	4	3	2	1
Very strong	Strong	Average	Weak	Very weak

18. How would you describe your involvement in the TFCA development process? *(tick a number best suiting your comment)*

1	2	3	4
Very much involved	Involved	Not involved	Not sure

If your answer to question 19 above is not involved or not sure, please, briefly explain the reasons?

19. How important are wilderness/TFCA areas to you as an individual or as an organisation, if you are representing one? *(tick a number closely resembling your rating from below)*

1	2	3	4	5
Very important	Important	Don't Know	Not important	Very unimportant

ii. Please, give a reason(s) to your answer to question 19 above

20. How best should the GNP wilderness values be protected to promote sustainable eco-tourism development? *(tick one answer only that best expresses your opinion)*

1	2	3	4
Maintain current land area for wilderness conservation	Reduce current conservation land area	Increase current conservation land	Don't know

Other (please, specify) _____

21. How would you describe the level of influence the following institutions have in your district in the resolution of the Chitsa/GNP conflict? *(tick only one level of influence best describing an institution from the list below)*

	Level of influence	Institution		
		Traditional Leadership	Local Government Departments	Central Government
1	Far too much influence			
2	Too much influence			
3	Average influence			

4	Too little influence			
5	Far too little influence			
6	No influence			

22. Given your understanding of the environmentally degrading activities given below, *tick in the appropriate column against each activity* to best express the level of impact you consider to have occurred due to human activity in the park since the Chitsa/GNP conflict?

	Decreased	No. Change	Increased	Don't Know
Pot poaching(subsistence)				
Commercial poaching(trading)				
Vegetation destruction				
Uncontrolled veld fires				
Soil erosion				
Overgrazing				
Domestic-wild animal diseases				

23. How would you describe the distribution of economic benefits and costs between local communities residing around and inside the GNP and other key stakeholders as a direct result of TFCA development? (*tick your answer from the list below*)(E.g. revenue loss/gain; livestock grazing loss/gain, etc).

- a. The local communities receive more of the costs than benefits
- b. The local communities receive more of the benefits than costs
- c. Costs and benefits are unequally shared between local communities and other stakeholders
- d. Local communities do not receive any benefits
- e. Other stakeholders receive more costs than benefits.
- f. Other stakeholders receive more benefits than costs.
- g. Other opinion (specify) _____

24. Do you think livelihoods needs of the community, such as access to natural resources are addressed in the current local District social policy framework?(yes/no).

Support your answer _____

Please, make any comments or suggestions you have about this Chitsa-GNP conflict or any matter related to this. (*If the space provided is not adequate you can attach additional paper(s)*).

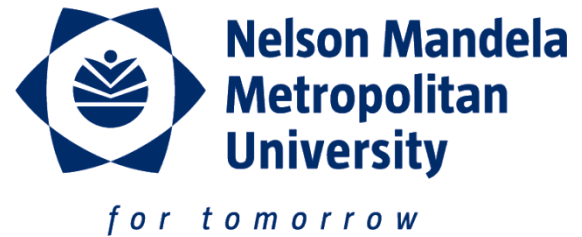
The researcher would like to take this opportunity, once again, to thank you for your co-operation in answering this questionnaire.

Appendix 3: Interview Guide: Makuleke community

The following are the general areas which guided the interviews.

1. Historical and conservation background
2. Conflict resolution process, who were involved?
3. Community developments, particularly following the Contractual Park Agreement.
4. Participation by ordinary community members in development programmes
5. The structure and functions of the Community Property Association(CPA)
6. Challenges in the conflict resolution process
7. The contractual park agreement
8. Community members' awareness of TFCA and information sharing.
9. Community benefits.
10. Dispute management with Kruger National Park(KNP).(e.g. JMB, co-sponsoring of an official)
11. Revenue from Contractual Park Agreement

Appendix 4: Invitation to participate in the research.



• PO Box 77000 • Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
• Port Elizabeth • 6031 • South Africa • www.nmmu.ac.za

Date: _____

Dear Mr/Ms/Mrs/Dr/Prof/_____

Invitation to Participate in an Academic Research

Permission is kindly requested for your participation in an academic research project covering communities surrounding Gonarezhou National Park (GNP), particularly Chitsa community in Zimbabwe and Makuleke community in South Africa's Vhembe District.

My name is Muboko N and am a Doctor of Philosophy (Conflict Management) student at the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU) South Africa. I am conducting a research provisionally titled '**Conflict and Sustainable Development: The case of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP); Southern Africa**'. The project is being conducted under the supervision of Dr. G.J. Bradshaw of the NMMU South Africa. It is in fulfilment of the requirements of the Doctor of Philosophy programme and meets the requirements of the Research Ethics Committee (Human) of the NMMU.

Research Objectives

The proposal intends to achieve the following objectives:

- ◆ To assess and describe the perceptions and experiences of local communities in dealing with conflicts associated with TFCA development

- ◆ To measure the level of local stakeholder involvement in TFCA development and describe how such involvement shapes their perceptions about sustainable development.
- ◆ To determine whether there is any added perceived value on wilderness conservation brought by TFCA development.
- To recommend best practices in addressing socio-ecological needs within the conservation discourse.

Significance of the Research Project

The research is significant in three ways:

1. It will assist in understanding local stakeholder perceptions and concerns about the conflict.
2. It will provide information about what needs to be improved in the current conflict resolution or management process.
3. It will provide decision/policy makers with greater understanding of issues needing immediate and long-term attention to secure and foster sustainable development within the socio-ecological discourse.

Benefits of the Research to Decision-Makers

1. They will be able to tackle issues and propose policies from a better informed position
2. It will create awareness on the need for local stakeholder involvement in local conservation projects.

Research Data Collection Method

The mixed methods approach underpinned by abductive reasoning will be used to address the main and sub-problems. The multidisciplinary nature of the study, the data required and the research purpose were determinant factors. **Primary data collection** through field work is built upon key informant interviews and surveys across the two communities. Methods will in the main include a formal questionnaire survey and personal interviews. A survey, in the form of a mail questionnaire will be administered to targeted

respondents selected through purposive sampling. In addition personal interviews will be conducted on targeted respondents also selected through purposive sampling. The questionnaire results will be subjected to both quantitative and qualitative analysis, while data collected through interviews will be subjected to content analysis.

Participants , whether in the survey or interviews are expected to complete all the questions or answer all the questions as these contribute to the successful completion of the study. Questionnaire will have instructions to follow for the convenience of the participants.

The researcher will administer the surveys/interview/data collection and this exercise is expected to take about one month to complete.

All information collected will be treated in strictest confidence and respondents will not be identifiable in any reports that are written. Participants may withdraw from the study at any time. Data collected is not sensitive, but may be classified. Please, find attached a principal consent form for your ascent and signature.

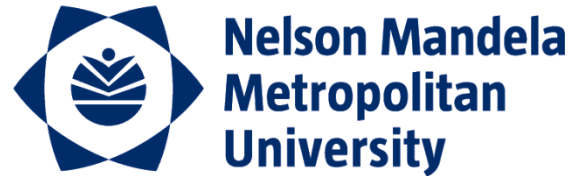
Should you need the full research proposal please contact the researcher on cell +263 915 598 602 or email: nmbok@yahoo.co.uk. Thank you for your usual assistance.

Muboko Never (Researcher) _____

Dr. G. Bradshaw (Supervisor) (NMMU) _____

Appendix 5: Principal consent Letter

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• Port Elizabeth • 6031 • South Africa • www.nmmu.ac.za



for tomorrow

Conflict and Sustainable Development: The case of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP); Southern Africa

Principal Consent Letter

Following your request for me/us to participate in the academic research project titled 'Conflict and Sustainable Development: The case of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP); Southern Africa', I offer my consent on the understanding outlined below.

I have read the Project Information Statement explaining the purpose of the research project and understand that:

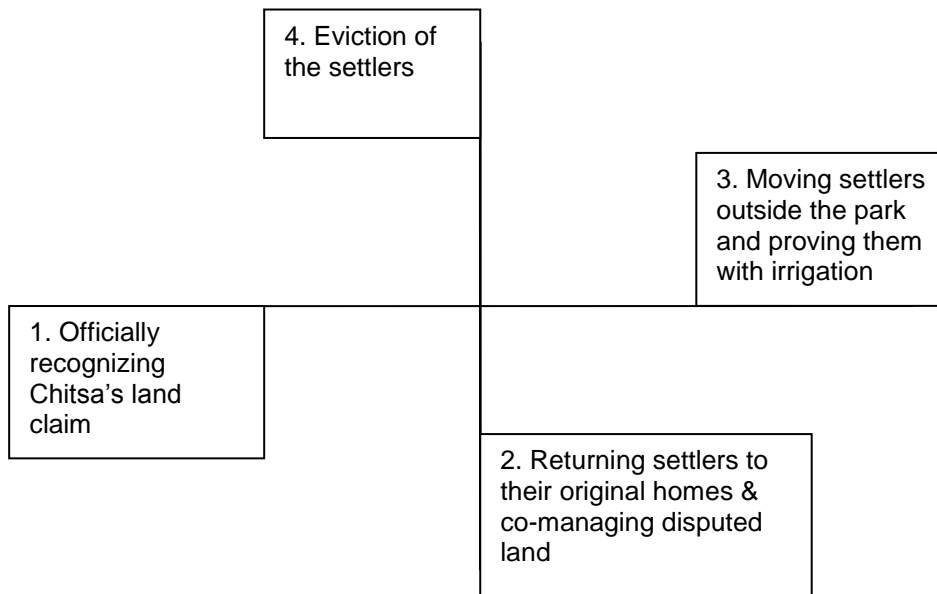
- The role of the respondents in the study is voluntary
- I may decide to withdraw the respondents' participation at any time without penalty
- Policy makers and key informants will be invited to participate and that permission will be sought from them.
- Only targeted respondents who consent will participate in the project
- All information obtained will be treated in strictest confidence.
- The respondents' names will neither be used nor be identifiable in any written reports about the study.
- Participants may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty.
- If so required, a report of the findings may be made available to the local rural district council.
- I may seek further information on the project from Muboko N on cell number +263 915 598 602.

Participant Name

Signature

Date

Appendix 6: IUCN-ROSA Options for dealing with the Chitsa case



Source: Mombeshora (2009)

Appendix 7: Additional Options for dealing with the Chitsa/GNP case

1. First, should it strive to retain its authority over the disputed piece of land and thereby ensure that it is managed as wildlife land with a central conservation objective or should it accept some other legal arrangement?
 - a. Such arrangement might include relinquishing title to the community or the re-designation of the disputed land as either communal or resettlement land.
 - b. Where title is transferred the land use regime will need to be agreed to with the new rights holder. It is quite possible that the new landholder will chose to use it as agricultural land. However, as will be shown, transfer does not rule out the possibility of establishing a collaborative sustainable use regime that seeks to conserve existing resources.
 2. Where it retains authority it is faced with the choice of whether to manage the disputed area, in much the same vein as before that is, as an area of preservation or to establish a sustainable use regime that seeks to support conservation and local livelihoods.
 3. Where it retains authority and opts for a sustainable use regime it is faced with deciding whether this can be achieved where settlement continues in the Park.
 4. It needs to decide whether to retain the status of the disputed land as National Parks or whether to seek its re-designation as some other category of protected area.
- Where it relinquishes title it is faced with the challenge of how to build relationships with its neighbours so as to ensure the integrity and sustainability of Parks estate. **(Source: Katerere, 2003)**

Appendix 8: Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement

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PREAMBLE

WE, the Heads of State or Government of:

The Republic of Angola

The Republic of Botswana

The Democratic Republic of Congo

The Kingdom of Lesotho

The Republic of Malawi

The Republic of Mauritius

The Republic of Mozambique

The Republic of Namibia

The Republic of Seychelles

The Republic of South Africa

The Kingdom of Swaziland

The United Republic of Tanzania

The Republic of Zambia

The Republic of Zimbabwe

.

AFFIRMING that Member States have the sovereign right to manage their wildlife resources and the corresponding responsibility to sustainably use and conserve these resources;

NOTING that Article 5 of the SADC Treaty states that the sustainable use of natural resources and effective protection of the environment is one of the objectives of SADC;

NOTING also that Article 21 of the SADC Treaty designates natural resources and environment as an area of cooperation for SADC Member States;

AWARE that the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife in the SADC Region contribute to sustainable economic development and the conservation of biological diversity;

CONVINCED that the viability of wildlife resources in the SADC Region requires collective and cooperative action by all SADC Member States;

CONVINCED also that the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife in the SADC Region depend on the proper management and utilisation of wildlife, including enforcement of laws governing such use;

RECOGNISING that the survival of wildlife depends on the perceptions and development needs of people living with wildlife;

BELIEVING that the regional management of wildlife and wildlife products will promote awareness of the socioeconomic value of wildlife and enable equitable distribution of the benefits derived from the sustainable use of wildlife;

ACKNOWLEDGING the need for cooperation among Member States in enforcing laws governing wildlife, in sharing information about wildlife resources and wildlife law enforcement, and in building national and regional capacity to manage wildlife and enforce the laws that govern it;

RECALLING that all SADC Member States are members of the International Criminal Police Organisation (Interpol), and that all are signatories or parties to the Convention on Biological Diversity (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), the African Convention on the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (Algiers, 1968) and the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) (Washington, 1973);

NOTING ALSO the agreement for the establishment of the Southern African Convention for Wildlife Management (SACWM, 1990), the Lusaka Agreement on Cooperative Enforcement Operations Directed at Illegal Trade in Wild Fauna and Flora (Lusaka, 1994) and the Master Plan for the Security of Rhino and Elephant in Southern Africa (1996);

DESIRING to establish a common framework for the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife resources in the SADC Region and to assist with the effective enforcement of laws governing those resources;

HEREBY agree as follows:

ARTICLE 1 DEFINITIONS

In this Protocol the terms and expressions defined in Article 1 of the Treaty shall bear the same meaning unless the context otherwise requires.

In this Protocol, unless the context otherwise requires:

"Community based wildlife management" means the management of wildlife by a community or group of communities which has the right to manage the wildlife and to receive the benefits from that management;

"Conservation" means the protection, maintenance, rehabilitation, restoration and enhancement of wildlife and includes the management of the use of wildlife to ensure the sustainability of such use;

"State Party"

Means a member of SADC that ratifies or accedes to this Protocol;

"Sustainable use" means use in a way and at a rate that does not lead to the long-term decline of wildlife species;

"Transfrontier conservation area" means the area or the 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;

"Taking" means the hunting, killing, injuring, capturing, harassing, collecting, picking, uprooting, digging up, cutting, destruction and removal of any species of wildlife and includes any attempt to engage in such conduct;

"Wildlife" means animal and plant species occurring within natural ecosystems and habitats;

ARTICLE 2 SCOPE

This Protocol applies to the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife, excluding forestry and fishery resources.

ARTICLE 3
PRINCIPLES

1. Each State Party shall ensure the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife resources under its jurisdiction. Each State Party shall ensure that activities within its jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the wildlife resources of other states or in areas beyond the limits of national jurisdiction.

2. Pursuant to the attainment of the principles contained in Article 3 of this Protocol, States Parties shall:

a) Ensure cooperation at the national level among governmental authorities, nongovernmental organisations hereinafter referred to as NGOs, and the private sector;

b) Cooperate to develop as far as possible common approaches to the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife; and

c) Collaborate to achieve the objectives of international agreements which are applicable to the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife and to which they are party. In implementing this Protocol, States Parties shall:

a) Take such policy, administrative and legal measures as appropriate to ensure the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife;

b) Take measures as are necessary to enforce national legislation pertaining to wildlife effectively; and

c) Cooperate with other Member States to manage shared wildlife resources as well as any transfrontier effects of activities within their jurisdiction or control.

ARTICLE 4
OBJECTIVES

1. The primary objective of this Protocol is 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 the effective enforcement of laws governing those resources.

2. To this end, specific objectives of this Protocol shall be to:

a) Promote the sustainable use of wildlife;

b) Harmonise legal instruments governing wildlife use and conservation;

c) Enforce wildlife laws within, between and among States Parties;

d) Facilitate the exchange of information concerning wildlife management, utilisation and the enforcement of wildlife laws;

e) Assist in the building of national and regional capacity for wildlife management, conservation and enforcement of wildlife laws;

- f) Promote the conservation of shared wildlife resources through the establishment of transfrontier conservation areas; and
- g) Facilitate community based natural resources management practices for management of wildlife resources.

ARTICLE 5

INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS

1. The institutional arrangements shall be:
 - a) The Wildlife Sector Technical Coordinating Unit;
 - b) The Committee of Ministers responsible for Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources;
 - c) The Committee of Senior Officials; and
 - d) Technical Committee.

2. The Committee of Ministers responsible for Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources shall:
 - a) Be composed of Ministers responsible for Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources in Member States;
 - b) Meet at least once a year; and
 - c) Be chaired by the Minister representing the Member State coordinating for Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources.

3. The functions of the Committee of Ministers shall include:
 - a) Adopting regional wildlife policies and development strategies;
 - b) Considering and approving any amendment to the policies and strategies;
 - c) Providing policy guidance with respect to matters referred to it by the Committee of Senior Officials;
 - d) Considering and approving the sectoral Annual Report before submission to the Council;
 - e) Submitting proposals to the Council for amending the provisions of this Protocol;
 - f) Supervising the implementation of this Protocol;
 - g) Supervising the work of any Committee or Subcommittee established under this Protocol;

4. The Committee of Senior Officials shall:
 - a) Consist of administrative heads of Ministries responsible for wildlife or their representatives;
 - b) Meet at least once a year;
 - c) Be chaired by the nominated officials representing the country responsible for Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources.

5. The functions of the Committee of Senior Officials shall include:
 - a) Assessing the requirements of and the need for updating and amending the regional policy and development strategies;
 - b) Reviewing and coordinating the activities of the Committees;
 - c) Considering any amendment to this Protocol;

- d) Reporting to the Committee of Ministers of Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources on matters relating to the implementation of the provisions contained in this Protocol;
- e) Reviewing the work of the Wildlife Sector;
- f) Approving the documents prepared by the Wildlife Sector Technical Coordinating Unit (hereinafter referred to as WSTCU) to be submitted to the Committee of Ministers of Food, Agriculture and Natural Resources;
- g) Monitoring the implementation of this Protocol; and
- h) Performing such other functions as may be determined by the Committee of Ministers.

6. The Wildlife Sector Technical Committee (hereinafter referred to as WSTCU) shall comprise the Heads of Wildlife Departments or their representatives and shall:

- a) Meet at least once a year;
- b) Be chaired by the official representing the country responsible for coordinating the Wildlife Sector

7. The functions of the Wildlife Sector Technical Committee shall be to;

- a) Supervise the implementation of this Protocol; and
- b) Coordinate development of policy guidelines for common SADC regional approaches to the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife.

8. The WSTCU shall:

- a) Be the Secretariat responsible for implementing this Protocol at the regional level;
- b) Coordinate with the designated sectoral contact points;
- c) Coordinate the efforts of States Parties to adopt common approaches to the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife, to harmonise their applicable legislation, and to cooperate in necessary law enforcement;
- d) Support the efforts of Governments and NGOs to ensure the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife and the involvement of local communities in such efforts;
- e) Promote such cooperation between the national wildlife law enforcement authorities, communities and by NGOs, on all issues related to enforcement;
- f) Serve as the regional clearinghouse for the exchange of information;
- g) Coordinate SADC regional programmes for research and capacity building in the management of wildlife;
- h) Liaise with other SADC sectors to promote intersectoral cooperation in wildlife management; such as standardising veterinary regulations which govern the movement of wildlife and wildlife products; and
- i) Perform any other task which may be assigned by the Council for the purpose of implementing this Protocol.

ARTICLE 6

LEGAL INSTRUMENTS FOR THE CONSERVATION AND SUSTAINABLE USE OF WILDLIFE

1. States Parties shall adopt and enforce legal instruments necessary to ensure the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife as provided in Article 7 of this Protocol.

2. States Parties shall endeavour to harmonise national legal instruments governing the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife; such harmonisation shall include but not be limited to standardising:
 - a) Measures for the protection of wildlife species and their habitat;
 - b) Measures governing the taking of wildlife;
 - c) Measures governing the trade in wildlife and wildlife products and bringing the penalties for the illegal taking of wildlife and the illegal trade in wildlife and wildlife products to comparable deterrent levels;
 - d) Powers granted to wildlife law enforcement officers;
 - e) Procedures to ensure that individuals charged with violating national laws governing the taking of and trading in wildlife and wildlife products are either extradited or appropriately sanctioned in their home country;
 - f) Measures facilitating community based natural resources management practices in wildlife management and wildlife law enforcement;
 - g) Economic and social incentives for the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife;
 - h) Measures incorporating obligations assumed under applicable international agreements to which Member States are party;
 - i) Any other measures which the Council may deem necessary.

3. The WSTCU shall coordinate initiatives of Member States to harmonise national legislation governing the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife.

ARTICLE 7

WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AND CONSERVATION PROGRAMMES

1. States Parties shall establish management programmes for the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife and integrate such programmes into national development plans.

2. States Parties shall assess and control activities which may significantly affect the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife so as to avoid or minimise negative impacts.

3. Measures which shall be taken by States Parties to ensure the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife shall include
 - a) the protection of wildlife and wildlife habitats to ensure the maintenance of viable wildlife populations;
 - b) Prevention of overexploitation and extinction of species;

- c) Restrictions on the taking of wildlife, including but not limited to restrictions on the number, sex, size or age of specimens taken and the locality and season during which they may be taken; and
- d) Restrictions on trade in wildlife and its products, both nationally and internationally, as required by relevant international agreements.

4. States Parties shall establish or introduce mechanisms for community based wildlife management and shall, as appropriate, integrate principles, and techniques derived from indigenous knowledge systems into national wildlife management and law enforcement policies and procedures.

5. States Parties shall, as appropriate, establish programmes and enter into agreements:

- a) To promote the cooperative management of shared wildlife resources and wildlife habitats across international borders; and
- b) To promote cooperative management, the conservation of species and populations and the marketing of their products.

6. States Parties shall, as appropriate, promote economic and social incentives to encourage the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife.

7. States Parties shall, as appropriate, develop programmes and mechanisms to:

- a) Educate the general public and raise public awareness concerning issues of the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife;
- b) Build national and regional capacity for wildlife management and law enforcement;
- c) Promote research which contributes to and supports the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife.

8. States Parties shall in recognition of the important role played by rural communities in the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife, promote community based conservation and management of wildlife resources.

9. States Parties shall, in recognition of the location of key wildlife resources near international boundaries, promote the development of transfrontier conservation and management programmes.

ARTICLE 8 INFORMATION SHARING

1. The States Parties shall establish a regional database on the status and management of wildlife. The regional database shall:

- a) Comprise data on all wildlife resources within the Region; and
- b) Be accessible to States Parties and to the general public.

2. The WSTCU shall:

- a) Coordinate surveys of all wildlife databases in the SADC Region;

- b) On the basis of the results of the surveys, coordinate the establishment of a Regional database which complements those already in existence;
- c) Coordinate the development of standard methodologies for wildlife inventories;
- d) Upon request assist efforts at the national level and coordinate efforts at the regional level to gather data for incorporation into the regional database;
- e) Serve as the clearing house mechanism for the regional database;
- f) Ensure that the regional database is linked with other appropriate databases in the Region and that it is mutually accessible; and
- g) Perform any other task necessary for the establishment and functioning of the regional database.

ARTICLE 9

COOPERATION IN WILDLIFE LAW ENFORCEMENT

1. States Parties shall take the necessary measures to ensure the effective enforcement of legislation governing the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife.
2. States Parties shall allocate the financial and human resources required for the effective enforcement of legislation governing the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife.
3. States Parties shall enforce legislation governing the conservation and sustainable use of wildlife, particularly in transfrontier contexts. Such enforcement shall include:
 - a) Coordinating with their designated Interpol National Central Bureaus (Interpol NCBs) ;
 - b) Exchanging information concerning the illegal taking of, and trade in, wildlife and wildlife products;
 - c) Coordinating efforts with wildlife law enforcement authorities and Interpol NCBs to apprehend illegal takers and traders and to recover and dispose of illegal wildlife products; and
 - d) Undertaking any other initiatives which promote the effective and efficient enforcement of wildlife laws and regulations within, between and among States Parties.
4. Through the designated Interpol NCB, the wildlife law enforcement authorities in a State Party may request from the designated Interpol NCB in any other State Party or States Parties any assistance or information which may be required to locate, apprehend, or extradite an individual charged with violating the wildlife laws of the State Party.
5. The wildlife law enforcement authorities in each State Party shall provide to the designated Interpol NCB in that Member State all available data on, inter alia, the location and movements of illegal takers and traders and the location of routes for illegal transfrontier trafficking in wildlife and wildlife products, except where the provision of

such information would jeopardise investigations or impinge on the security of a State Party.

ARTICLE 10

CAPACITYBUILDING FOR EFFECTIVE WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT

1. States Parties shall cooperate in capacity building for effective wildlife management.
2. States Parties shall endeavour to incorporate into existing training programmes, techniques such as community based natural resources management and administration, indigenous knowledge systems as well as current practices in both the wildlife management and wildlife law enforcement fields.
3. States Parties shall identify aspects of wildlife management and wildlife law enforcement for which adequate training programmes are not available within the Region and shall establish training programmes to meet the needs identified.
4. The WSTCU shall coordinate, at the regional level, initiatives of States Parties to standardise and initiate training programmes.

ARTICLE 11

FINANCIAL PROVISIONS

1. States Parties shall allocate the necessary financial resources for the effective implementation of this Protocol at the national level.
2. Member States shall meet their own expenses for attending meetings of the WSTC.
3. Member States shall create a fund known as the Wildlife Conservation Fund for programmes and projects associated with this Protocol pursuant to Article 25 of the Treaty.
4. Other resources of the Wildlife Conservation Fund may include grants, donations, technical assistance and funds for specified projects and programmes pursuant to this Protocol.

ARTICLE 12

SANCTIONS

1. Sanctions may be imposed against any State Party which:
 - a) Persistently fails, without good reason, to fulfil obligations assumed under this Protocol; or
 - b) Implements policies which undermine the objectives and principles of this Protocol.
2. The Council shall determine whether any sanction should be imposed against a State Party and shall make the recommendation to the Summit if it

decides that a sanction is called for. The Summit shall decide, on a case by case basis, the appropriate sanction to be imposed.

**ARTICLE 13
SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES**

Any dispute arising from the interpretation or application of this Protocol which cannot be settled amicably shall be referred to the Tribunal for adjudication.

**ARTICLE 14
ANNEXES**

1. States Parties may develop and adopt annexes for the implementation of this Protocol.
2. An annex shall form an integral part of this Protocol unless the annex contains a provision stipulating otherwise.

**ARTICLE 15
AMENDMENT**

1. An amendment to this Protocol shall be adopted by a decision of Members of the Summit who are Parties to this Protocol.
2. A proposal for the amendment of this Protocol may be made to the Executive Secretary by any State Party to this Protocol. Within thirty (30) days of receipt, the Executive Secretary shall notify the States Parties to this Protocol of any proposal for amendment. Three (3) months after notification, the Executive Secretary shall submit the proposal for amendment to the Council for preliminary consideration.

**ARTICLE 16
SIGNATURE**

This Protocol shall be signed by the duly authorised representatives of the Member States.

**ARTICLE 17
RATIFICATION**

This Protocol shall be ratified by the signatory Member States in accordance with their constitutional procedures.

**ARTICLE 18
ENTRY INTO FORCE**

This Protocol shall enter into force thirty (30) days after the deposit of the instruments of ratification by two thirds of the Member States.

**ARTICLE 19
ACCESSION**

This Protocol shall remain open for accession by any Member State.

**ARTICLE 20
RESERVATIONS**

No reservations shall be made to this Protocol.

**ARTICLE 21
WITHDRAWAL**

1. Any State Party wishing to withdraw from this Protocol shall give written notice of its intention, six (6) months in advance, to the Executive Secretary. Withdrawal shall be effective on the date of expiration of the notice period.

2. Any States Parties withdrawing from this Protocol shall:

- a) Cease to enjoy all rights and benefits under this Protocol from the effective date of the withdrawal;
- b) Remain bound to the obligations assumed under this Protocol for a period of twelve (12) months from the date of withdrawal.

**ARTICLE 22
TERMINATION**

This Protocol may be terminated by a decision of the Summit.

**ARTICLE 23
DEPOSITARY**

1. The original text of this Protocol and all instruments of ratification and accession shall be deposited with the Executive Secretary who shall transmit certified copies to all Member States.

2. The Executive Secretary shall register this Protocol with the Secretariats of the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, WE, the Heads of State or Government, or duly authorised representatives of SADC Member States have signed this Protocol.

DONE at Maputo, on the 18th day of August, 1999, in two (2) original texts, in the English and Portuguese languages, both texts being equally authentic.

REPUBLIC OF ANGOLA
REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
KINGDOM OF LESOTHO
REPUBLIC OF MALAWI
REPUBLIC OF MAURITIUS
REPUBLIC OF MOZAMBIQUE
REPUBLIC OF NAMIBIA
REPUBLIC OF SEYCHELLES
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA
KINGDOM OF SWAZILAND

UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA
REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA
REPUBLIC OF ZIMBABWE

Appendix 9: Extracts of Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994. No. 22 of 1994 In Terms of Mediation Provision (Section 13 And 14)

Mediation

13. (1) if at any stage during the course of the Commission's investigation it becomes evident that-

- (a) There are two or more competing claims to a particular right in land;
- (b) In the case of a community claim, there are competing groups within the claimant community making resolution of the claim difficult;
- (c) Where the land which is subject to the claim is not state-owned land, the owner or holder of rights in such land is opposed to the claim; or
- (d) There is any other issue which might usefully be resolved through mediation and negotiation, the Chief Land Claims Commissioner may direct the parties concerned to attempt to settle their dispute through a process of mediation and negotiation.

(2) (a) A direction contemplated in subsection (1) shall be made in a written notice specifying the time when and the place where such process is to start.

(b) The Chief Land Claims Commissioner shall appoint a mediator to chair the first meeting between the parties: Provided that the parties may at any time during the course of mediation or negotiation by agreement appoint another person to mediate the dispute.

(3) A person appointed by the Chief Land Claims Commissioner in terms of subsection (2)(b) shall either be an officer contemplated in section 8 who is a fit and proper person to conduct such a process of mediation and negotiation or an independent mediator contemplated in section 9(l)(b).

(4) All discussions taking place and all disclosures and submissions made during the mediation process shall be privileged, unless the parties agree to the contrary.

Referral of claims to Court

14. (1) if upon completion of an investigation by the Commission-

- (a) The parties to any dispute arising from the claim agree in writing that it is not possible to settle the claim by mediation and negotiation;

(b) The regional land claims commissioner certifies that it is not feasible to resolve any dispute arising from such claim by mediation and negotiation;

(c) The parties to any dispute arising from such claim reach agreement as to how the claim should be finalised and the regional land claims commissioner is satisfied that such agreement is appropriate; or

(d) The regional land claims commissioner is of the opinion that the claim is ready for hearing by the Court, the Chief Land Claims Commissioner shall certify accordingly and refer the matter to the Court.

(2) Any claim referred to the Court as a result of a situation contemplated in subsection (1) (a), (b) or (d) shall be accompanied by a document-

(a) Setting out the results of the Commission's investigation into the merits of the claim;

(b) Reporting on the failure of any party to accede to mediation;

(c) Containing a list of the parties who ought to have the right to make representations to the Court in respect of the claim; and

(d) Setting out the Commission's recommendation as to the most appropriate manner in which the claim can be resolved.

(3) A referral made as a result of an agreement contemplated in subsection (1) (c) shall be accompanied by a document setting out the results of the Commission's investigation into the merits of the claim and a copy of the relevant deed of settlement together with a request signed by the parties concerned and endorsed by the Chief Land Claims Commissioner requesting that such agreement be made an order of Court.

(4) If the Chief Land Claims Commissioner is not satisfied that a settlement referred to in subsection (1) (c) is appropriate, he or she shall refer the matter to the Court for a hearing in accordance with subsection (1) (d).

(5) Any interested party shall be entitled, upon payment of the prescribed fee, to copies of the documents contemplated in this section, including the submissions of other interested parties in relation to any matter contemplated in this section.

(6) The Court shall not make any order in terms of section 35 unless the Commission has, in respect of the claim in question, acted in accordance with the provisions of this section.

(7) If a claim has not been referred to the Court within nine months from the date of its lodgement, the regional land claims commissioner concerned shall report in writing to the Commission, giving the reasons for the delay.