

**PARKS THAT CROSS THE BORDERLINE:
TRANSNATIONAL CO-OPERATION IN
SOUTHERN AFRICA**

NICOLA MORTON

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Supervisor: Prof. Philip Nel

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Date:

ABSTRACT

In this era of globalisation, the world is becoming more economically, politically and ecologically interdependent, that is, there is a growing mutual vulnerability between actors. The conditions of growing interdependence produce specific challenging circumstances for the achievement of particular goals, including that of sustainable development. The Southern African context holds further obstacles to such development, which include poverty, inequality, a history of racial conflict and colonialism, and a regional economy on the semi-periphery of the global economy. It is my assertion that it is in the mutual self-interest of states and other stakeholders (e.g. communities) to approach this dilemma through transnational co-operation under the ethical umbrella of sustainable development. Thus this thesis seeks to discover to what extent the construction of Transborder Conservation Areas (TBCAs), relatively large areas which straddle the borders between two or more countries and cover natural systems incorporating one or more protected areas, can meet the criteria of sustainable development, given these conditions. The three primary criteria used for measuring sustainable development are community-based development; close linkages between the environment and development; and co-operation on all levels. The Kgalagadi TBCA, formally recognised on the 7th of April 1999 between South Africa and Botswana, serves as the case study. The conceptual framework used for the analysis is a theory of co-operation, as it applies to the field of International Relations. The key concepts employed here are those of interdependence, co-operation, sustainable development and institutionalisation. The research centers around three key issues: If sustainable development is the way forward for Southern Africa, do TBCAs reflect and fulfill the criteria as set forth by sustainable development? What does the experience of TBCAs in Southern Africa tell us about co-operation, recognising that TBCAs can only succeed if it has a sound base in the awareness and engagement of people? And, how best can decision-makers go about establishing TBCAs? Ultimately the thesis is a call to Southern African countries to embrace this new form of utilising the environment.

In hierdie era van globalisering is die wêreld besig om ekonomies, polities en ekologies meer interafhanklik te word, met ander woorde, daar is 'n toenemende wedersydse kwesbaarheid tussen akteurs. Toenemende interafhanklikheid produseer spesifieke uitdagings ten opsigte van die bereiking van sekere doelwitte, insluitend volgehoue ontwikkeling. Daar is besondere hindernisse op die weg na volgehoue ontwikkeling in Suidelike Afrika, is byvoorbeeld armoede, ongelykheid, 'n verlede gekenmerk deur rassekonflik en kolonialisme, asook 'n regionale ekonomie op die semi-periferie van die globale ekonomie. Dit is in die wedersydse belang van state en ander betrokke partye (bv. gemeenskappe) om hierdie dilemma te benader deur middel van transnasionale samewerking onder die etiese sambreel van volgehoue ontwikkeling.

Hierdie tesis probeer vasstel tot watter mate die skep van Transnasionale Bewaringsgebiede, of sogenaamde "Vredesparke" (*Transborder Conservation Areas = TBCAs*), d.w.s. relatiewe groot areas aan weerskante van die grens(-e) tussen twee of meer lande en wat natuurlike stelsels dek wat ten minste een beskermde gebied inkorporeer, kan voldoen aan die kriteria vir volgehoue ontwikkeling, gegewe die bogenoemde konteks. Die drie primêre kriteria wat gebruik word om volgehoue ontwikkeling te meet is gemeenskapsgebaseerde ontwikkeling; die hegtheid van die verhouding tussen die omgewing en ontwikkeling; en samewerking op alle vlakke. Die Kgalagadi TBCA, amptelik op 7 April 1999 tussen Suid-Afrika en Botswana erken, dien as die gevallestudie. Die konseptuele raamwerk wat gebruik word in die analise is 'n teorie van samewerking, soos dit van toepassing is op die veld van Internasionale Betrekkinge. Die sleutelkonsepte wat gebruik word is *interafhanklikheid*, *samewerking*, *volgehoue ontwikkeling* en *institusionalisering*. Die navorsing sentreer rondom drie sleutelkwessies: Indien volgehoue ontwikkeling die weg vorentoe vir Suidelike Afrika is, weerspieël en voldoen TBCAs aan die vereistes van volgehoue ontwikkeling? Wat kan ons wys raak oor samewerking na aanleiding van ons ervaring van TBCAs in Suidelike Afrika, gegewe dat TBCAs slegs kan slaag indien dit gefundeer is op gemeenskapsbewustheid- en deelname? Laastens, wat is die beste manier waarvolgens besluitnemers TBCAs kan vestig? Ten slotte is hierdie studie 'n beroep op die besluitnemers in Suidelike Afrika om hierdie nuwe wyse waarop die omgewing benut kan word, te ondersteun.

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And, then to my God, my Rock, to You be the glory for without Your magnificent creation there would have been no thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abbreviations

List of tables

List of figures

Map 1

Chapter 1- Transborder Conservation Areas: A conceptual, theoretical and methodological overview

1. Introduction	1
2. Background of Transborder Conservation Areas	2
3. Research Questions and Methodology	4
3.1 Nature of Study	11
4. Conceptualisation	13
4.1 Transborder Conservation Areas	13
4.2 Environmental Politics	13
4.3 Biological Diversity	15
5. The Foundations	16
5.1 Environmental Discourses	16
5.1.1 Sustainable Development	19

Chapter 2 – Theoretical framework: politics, the environment and co-operation

1. Introduction	24
2. The changing political economy and the environment	25
2.1 Environmental ethics	26
2.2 Sustainable development	29
2.2.1 Economic sustainability and sustainable development	31
2.2.2 Sustainable development and community-based conservation	36
2.2.2.1 Approaches to wildlife management	38
2.2.2.2 The role of organisations in establishing community-led wildlife management	40

3. Co-operation	43
3.1 Tragedy of the Commons	47
3.2 The routes to co-operation	48
3.3 Units of Analysis: international institutions and co-operation	50
3.3.1 Liberal institutionalism	51
3.3.2 Limitations of liberal institutionalism	52
3.3.3 State-to-state co-operation	53

Chapter 3 – Transborder Conservation Areas

1. Introduction	57
2. Transborder Conservation Areas	58
2.1 History of transborder conservation areas	63
2.2 Participating organisations	64
2.2.1 Which organisations should be involved?	67
3. The benefits and limitations of transborder conservation areas	68
3.1 The value of TBCAs	68
3.1.1 The promotion of peace and co-operation	69
3.1.2 Management and conservation of natural resources	72
3.1.3 Economic development	75
3.1.4 Local community participation and development	77
3.2 Impediments to transborder co-operation	78
4. History of TBCAs in Southern Africa	80
4.1 Southern Africa's new priorities	82

Chapter 4 - The Kgalagadi Peace Park

1. Introduction	87
2. Case study: the Kgalagadi TBCA	88
2.1 Organisations involved: an overview of their roles	90
2.1.1 Non-governmental organisations	92
2.1.1.1 The Peace Parks Foundation	92
2.1.1.2 Open Africa Initiative	93
2.1.1.3 IUCN	93
2.1.1.4 USAID	94
2.1.2 Community-based organisations	94

2.1.2.1 TRANSFORM	94
2.1.2.2 South African San Institute	94
2.1.3 Governmental and parastatal organisations	95
2.1.3.1 Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism	95
2.1.3.2 Department of Land Affairs	95
2.1.3.3 South African National Parks	95
2.1.3.4 Department of Foreign Affairs	96
2.1.3.5 SADC	96
2.1.4 Evaluation	97
3. TBCAs and sustainable development	97
3.1 Community development	98
3.2 Close linkages between the environment and development	102
3.3 Co-operation at all levels	105
4. Areas of concern and recommendations	109
4.1 Communication	109
4.2 The political environment	110
Chapter 5 –In Conclusion	
1. Conclusions	114
2. Strategy proposed for the creation of a peace park	119
2.1 Designation and endorsement of a facilitator	119
2.2 Drawing up of a guiding framework	120
2.3 Informal contacts	120
2.4 Initiate joint activities	121
2.5 Extending discussions to other authorities/ departments	121
2.6 Signature of a “memorandum of understanding”	122
2.7 Preparation of a formal document	122
3. Measuring effectiveness	122
4. Future research	123
References	125

Appendices

ABBREVIATIONS

CBC	Community-based Conservation
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DWNP	Department of Wildlife and National Parks (Botswana)
GPE	Global Political Economy
KTP	Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IUCN	The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (The World Conservation Union)
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SANP	South African National Parks
SASI	South African San Institute
SDC	Sustainable Development Commission
TBCA	Transborder Conservation Area
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
WCED	The World Commission on Environment and Development

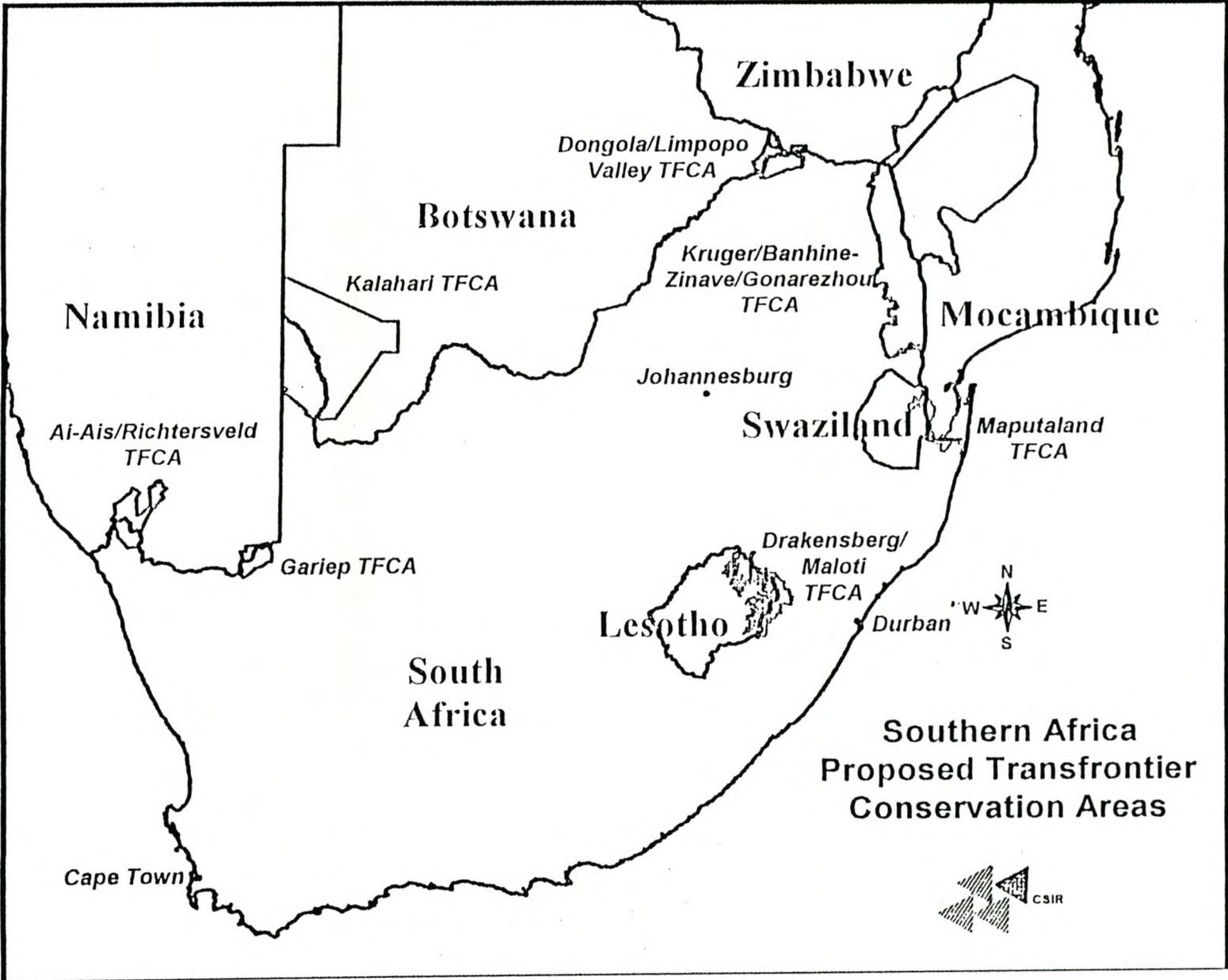
LIST OF TABLES

	page
Table 1: Protected area categories	60
Table 2: International parks classified primarily by sovereignty, secondarily by interest	62

LIST OF FIGURES

	page
Box 1: Classifying environmental discourses	19

MAP 1



CHAPTER ONE TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREAS: A CONCEPTUAL, THEORETICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL OVERVIEW

“The irony is that our rampant success in living outside the world’s ecosystems has put them all, and thus ourselves, in jeopardy” – Niles Eldredge of the American Museum of Natural History (1999)

1. INTRODUCTION

We live in an era of globalisation, in which the world is becoming more economically, politically and ecologically interdependent, that is, there is a growing mutual vulnerability between actors. Thus, there is a growing worldwide interest in the potential of the environment in fostering transnational interdependence and co-operation. One such recent mechanism by which this role is being expressed is through bilateral and multilateral agreements between countries whose natural protected areas meet at their respective borders – these are Transborder Conservation Areas (TBCAs) (Thorsell, 1990). Transborder Conservation Areas are a very exciting global development in the environmental world. “Tangible evidence of goodwill between friends who share a common border, history, heritage and future” (Hamilton et al, 1996).

Southern Africa’s biological diversity and wealth in natural resources stands out in comparison to other areas of the world. The conservation of ecosystems in Southern Africa has social, political and economic benefits that extend beyond wildlife and biodiversity protection. Many rural communities depend on natural resources for a greater or lesser part of their subsistence. For example, the opportunities for self-sufficiency and economic improvement are diminishing for many rural people in the agricultural sector of Southern Africa. In contrast, employment opportunities within the wildlife and natural resource-based sector are increasing. The idea of using parks and reserves in the form of Transborder Conservation Areas to promote sustainable tourism, ecotourism specifically, community development and as a vehicle for regional co-operation and economic growth is not only becoming increasingly appealing, but imperative.

2. BACKGROUND OF TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREAS

If Southern Africa's destruction of its natural environment continues unabated, we stand to lose crucial life-support systems through the loss of important habitats; to undermine rural livelihoods, with the degradation of the natural resource base on which people depend; and to diminish economic opportunities, as options for developing medicines and foods are reduced and the natural resource base for tourism is damaged (DEAT, 1997). Clearly, action is needed. This is where Transborder Conservation Areas come in.

Transborder Conservation Areas (TBCAs), Peace Parks or Transfrontier Conservation Areas are defined as relatively large areas, which straddle the borders between two or more countries and cover large-scale natural systems encompassing one or more protected areas. These are areas of natural or cultural significance shared by two or more countries or other resource-owning jurisdictions (Hanks, 1997). The terms transfrontier, transborder or transboundary may have slightly different shades of meaning, but for the purposes of this paper they will be used interchangeably. At least 100 TBCAs have been designated throughout the world, involving 65 countries and several separate states (Thorsell, 1990). Traditionally both human and mammal populations would have migrated across or straddled the political boundaries concerned. Thus an aim of this initiative is to support the management of existing national parks, as part of a wider "conservation zone" of different land uses that extend across national borders, thereby advancing ecologically based regional land use. It requires co-ordinated regional and local community-based natural resource management activities. This co-ordination is essential for the creation of integrated land-use conservancies that merge wildlife management programs with the needs of local communities.

The concept of transborder protected area co-operation through the establishment of "peace parks" is not new. The World Conservation Union (IUCN) has long been advancing their formation because of the numerous potential benefits associated with them. The World Bank's (1996) report entitled: *Mozambique: Transfrontier Conservation Areas Pilot and Institutional Strengthening Project*, suggested a conceptual shift away from the idea of strictly protected national parks towards greater emphasis on multiple resource use by local communities by introducing TBCAs. In essence, TBCAs extend far beyond designated protected areas, and can include such innovative initiatives as

biosphere reserves and a wide range of community based natural resource management programmes (World Bank, 1996).

A number of initiatives are presently taking place in the Southern African region to develop transboundary parks. The plan is to create a vast network of conservation areas across the whole of the sub-continent stretching almost from coast to coast. Taking advantage of the increase in nature based tourism worldwide, the establishment of TBCAs will help to promote regional co-operation, job creation and biodiversity conservation. Thousands of jobs will be created in wildlife management, infrastructure development projects and in the tourism industries. Consequently, Southern Africa will be protecting and showcasing some of the most spectacular natural assets to be viewed anywhere in the world in a sustainable way (Peace Parks Foundation, 1998).

Presently there are five TBCAs proposed and two in the process of being established along the borders of South Africa with its neighbouring countries: Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Swaziland and Lesotho. From the west to the east of the region they are as follows: [Refer to map 1]

- (i) Ai-Ais / Richtersfeld TBCA (South Africa and Namibia)
 - (ii) Gariep TBCA (South Africa and Namibia)
 - (iii) Kgalagadi TBCA (South Africa and Botswana) Bilateral Agreement signed 7th April 1999.
 - (iv) Dongola / Limpopo Valley TBCA (South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe)
 - (v) Kruger / Banhine – Zinave / Gonarezhou TBCA (South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique) Trilateral Agreement signed 24th October 1999.
 - (vi) Maputaland TBCA (South Africa, Swaziland and Mozambique)
 - (vii) Drakensberg / Maloti TBCA (South Africa and Lesotho)
- (Peace Parks Foundation's website, 1999)

The countries involved share common potential benefits in the establishment of these transboundary parks. Thus it is worthwhile to establish as high a level of co-operation as is possible. The alternative to the traditional separation of states which transborder conservation areas offers can culminate in ecological and economical benefits of larger, contiguous protected areas and combined responsibility. Consequently, there are political gains, which promote understanding and strengthen ties between countries.

There is a considerable challenge presented by the need for more international and transnational co-ordination in the environmental field. Herein lies the broader potential contribution of the concept of border peace parks. Transborder Conservation Areas co-operating in nature and cultural conservation, research, education and recreation strategies, can culminate in more effective management regimes and increased awareness of the transnational issues faced by political jurisdictions and peoples (Hamilton et al, 1996). Perhaps this is what Henry David Thoreau implied when he noted that "in wildness is the preservation of the world" (IUCN, 1990). Through such a study it is hoped that the importance of the environment will be highlighted not only as an instrument of co-operation between states and peace-building but also as an instrument of economic development for the states as entities as well as the local surrounding communities. By establishing frameworks for the building of an institutional order and by practically demonstrating the benefits of co-operation in a world of decreasing significance of boundaries, border parks can provide ecological models as well as political symbols of effective conservation and interstate co-operation.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND METHODOLOGY

Being a relatively new phenomenon in Southern Africa, TBCAs raise many questions not yet tackled by researchers. Research carried out on TBCAs includes Liane Greeff's (1998) *Preliminary Status Report of the Transfrontier Conservation Areas in South Africa* for TRANSFORM (Training and Support for Resource Management). Greeff acknowledges the weaknesses in her study due to time and logistical constraints. It is for these reasons that the study only touches the surface of the strengths, limitations and the establishment of TBCAs in Southern Africa. It is therefore not an in-depth study, but it does provide valuable information in terms of highlighting some of the major areas of concern in TBCA formation (for example a lack of community involvement); it serves as an important introduction to the key stakeholders; and it discusses the areas of opportunity for Southern Africa. The *International Conference on Transboundary Protected Areas as a Vehicle for International Co-operation* held in Somerset-West, South Africa, 16-18 September 1997, provides a number of reports of significance from TBCA role-players from around the world and an opportunity for reviewing case studies. The aim of the conference was to start an international dialogue on how to make better use of protected areas as a peace keeping and confidence building mechanism in areas

where biological and cultural values can only be preserved through transboundary co-operation. A key issue is learning from experience and to promote the exchange of lessons learned and expertise between those working in the field (IUCN, 1997). The research provides a good overview of TBCAs worldwide but little focus on Southern Africa. The CSIR Division of Water, Environment and Forestry Technology (Gelderblom et al, 1998) prepared a study on *Proposed Transfrontier Conservation Areas: Preliminary Data Sheets and Financial Requirements* for the Peace Parks Foundation. The study provides a skeleton outline of the proposed peace parks between South Africa and its neighbours giving focus to the financial budgets required for the different projects. The authors themselves acknowledge that many gaps exist in the information. The research lacks substance and critical evaluation of the TBCAs. Other local works on TBCAs include Bertus de Villiers' (1998), from the South African National Parks, legal studies on the Kgalagadi Transnational Park. His research provides a useful foundation for understanding the legal tenets of TBCAs like the Kgalagadi –its agreements, treaties and the process involved in its legal formation. But, it does not provide a critical evaluation of TBCAs nor does it address areas of concern, like Botswana and South Africa's differing legal systems. Two other significant studies which focus on TBCAs are *Transborder Protected Area Cooperation* (Hamilton et al, 1996) and *Parks on the Borderline: Experience in Transfrontier Conservation* (Thorsell, 1990). These works explore case studies from around the world, helping to promote TBCAs in theory and in practice. There is however little focus given to sustainable development or Peace Parks of Southern Africa. A study of future importance is USAID's *Study on the Development and Management of Transboundary Conservation Areas in Southern Africa* (1999). The purpose of the study is to provide an assessment and preliminary analysis of issues, approaches and targets of opportunity relating to the establishment and management of TBCAs in Southern Africa. The study will be used by USAID to develop a regional strategy on TBCAs, provide important background information and to define an appropriate role for USAID's Regional Center for Southern Africa (the RCSA) (USAID, 1998). Unfortunately, the completed study (completed in October 1999) was not available before the completion of this thesis.

In particular, three issues have not yet been addressed adequately by the research on TBCAs. This thesis is an initial attempt to pay attention to these issues. The three are:

1. How do TBCAs fit into the whole scheme of sustainable development? Are they good examples of sustainable development? And, what should be done to ensure that their potential with regards to sustainable development is secured? Thus, if transnational co-operation based on the principles of sustainable development is a viable solution to Southern Africa's economic, social and political problems, *are TBCAs a good example of sustainable development?*
2. Although TBCAs should ideally be community-based, it is conceded that states are still legally the main negotiating mechanisms for their establishment. What does the experience of TBCAs in Southern Africa tell us about co-operation, between states and other actors?
3. How best can decision-makers go about establishing TBCAs? An important question for Southern African decision-makers given the fact that besides the Kgalagadi TBCA and the Trilateral Agreement signed between South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe to establish a TBCA, there are five further proposed TBCAs in the region. [Refer to Map 1] A guiding framework is therefore needed for the establishment of these future TBCAs. But, at present, the policy literature is sparse, so there is a need to develop it.

This thesis wants to make a contribution to advancing our insights on all three issues mentioned above. Naturally, one cannot deal with all three adequately in a short thesis, and therefore my attention will be given to the first issue predominantly, but without ignoring the other two. These three issues are demanding, as each requires a different approach, theoretically and methodologically.

With regards to the **first issue**, how TBCAs fit into the scheme of sustainable development, focus has been given to the theory of sustainable development, and I develop an understanding of that by means of a discussion of recent contributions to environmental thinking. This issue demands a normative approach and I am quite explicit about my normative beliefs in the discussion. In **Chapter One** I provide the foundations for my discussion on the theory of sustainable development. My first task was to explore the different understandings of the concept "environmental politics" (Arnold, 1993; Atkinson, 1991; Dobson, 1994; Guimarães, 1991; Müller, 1997; Thomson, 1986) and in this way recognise the linkages between the environment and politics. My second task was to look at the different Environmental Discourses before

furthering my argument for the discourse of sustainable development. Much focus is given to the work of John S. Dryzek (1997). He recognises that with environmental problems decision-makers confront two strands of complexity: ecosystems and human social systems. As has already been ascertained in the previous section environmental politics incorporates both of these. Thus it is important to understand the proliferation of Environmental Discourses and my preference for sustainable development.

Chapter Two develops the theory of sustainable development highlighting the importance of linking the environment and development, especially for developing countries like those of Southern Africa (Attiga, 1992; Strong, 1992). The two main components of sustainable development are emphasised:

1. Making economic accounts reflect environmental realities (McNeely, 1988; Repetto, 1992; Swanson and Barbier, 1992).
2. The need for community-based conservation. Thus, recognising that the sustainable utilisation of the environment cannot and must not be separated from the human element (IIED, 1994; UNEP, 1994; Wells et al, 1992).

Elements involved in the altering of the perception of the environment have been examined throughout thus recognising the realisation of the benefits through sustainable development:

- Changing perceptions of the environment through giving natural resources an intrinsic economic value;
- Showing the economic benefits of conservation and ecotourism to states and local communities;
- Linking development with conservation; and
- Showing the potential benefits of community-based environmentalism.

The first and second chapters' discussions on sustainable development therefore lay the *theoretical foundations* for my study of TBCAs. **Chapters Three and Four** explore and evaluate my case study on Transborder Conservation Areas. The third chapter explores the concept of Transborder Conservation Areas, placing this new development within the realm of politics and the Global Political Economy (GPE). The components of a peace park (environment, economic sustainability and local communities) have been assessed as well as the history and evolution of TBCAs. Motivations for why states and other actors should support this new development have been provided, through

illustrating the potential benefits of establishing TBCAs (in terms of economic development, biodiversity conservation, community development and inter-state co-operation). It also considers some of the impediments to transborder co-operation and establishment. Chapter Four introduces the specific case study, the Kgalagadi TBCA, and evaluates its application of the yardstick of sustainable development. My *methodology* in the study of TBCAs in general and the Kgalagadi specifically was three-fold: [Refer to Appendix 1 for list of organisations targeted for research]

1. *Review of secondary material.* To develop a better understanding of the dynamics of transborder conservation areas, the first step was to collect and carefully review the available literature, public documents and other sources of related information. (IUCN Conference Report, 1997; Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park Management Plan, 1997; Preliminary Status Report of the Transfrontier Conservation Areas in South Africa, 1998)
2. *Case studies.* Chapter Two provides a general background to TBCAs looking at case studies and the lessons learned from around the world (Hamilton et al, 1996; IUCN, 1997; Thorsell, 1990). But for the purposes of this thesis I focussed on the Kgalagadi TBCA. My motivation for choosing the Kgalagadi TBCA as my case study was due to the fact that no other TBCA had yet been established in Southern Africa and at the start of my thesis the Kgalagadi was the closest to completion. A bilateral agreement was in fact signed between South Africa and Botswana on the 7th of April 1999. The Kgalagadi therefore had written documents (e.g. the Bilateral Agreement, the Management Plan) which I could study and evaluate as an example for future TBCAs in the region. The Kgalagadi is therefore an exciting development for the region as a whole as it sets a precedent for future TBCAs.
3. *Interviews and questionnaires – of an informal and formal nature.* Due to the newness and the nature of the topic a large part of my research consisted of gleaning information from interviews. I used my interviews to build up my network database. The Peace Parks Foundation and USAID were most helpful in providing me with the names and contact details of the relevant role-players. Interviews with the following organisations were organised: the Peace Parks Foundation, the South African National Parks Board, USAID, Conservation International, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and the Department of Foreign Affairs of South Africa. [Refer to Appendix 2 for list of interviewees and example of questionnaire used]

Unfortunately due to financial and logistical limitations I was unable to interview the San community (the local community of the Kgalagadi TBCA) directly. The methods of data collection I used to attempt to overcome this limitation included:

- 1) Studying literature already done on the local communities (Greeff, 1998)
- 2) Accessing information from NGOs involved with the local communities (Southern African San Institute, 1998)

The **second issue** focuses on literature dealing with the theory of co-operation (Keohane, 1984; Keohane and Murphy, 1992; Keohane and Nye, 1977; Ruggie, 1993; Waltz, 1979). The existing literature on co-operation in the Southern African Development Community is limited to grand scale integration, and too little attention is paid to the conditions for and the processes of state-to-state co-operation that is ecologically beneficial. The model for regional integration favoured by SADC is based on the idea of market integration, and is the same that underlies the Abuja Treaty which is supposed to facilitate the creation of an African common market by the third decade of the new century. In **Chapter Two** I point out that the regions of Southern Africa constitute an interdependent network of mutual vulnerability. However, Southern Africa can achieve higher levels of security and development for its people only by closer *co-operation* in the region, both in the sense of a larger degree of getting the authorities in the region to co-ordinate their policies better, but also to collaborate with one another in jointly addressing the main challenges to the well-being of the people of the region, in this case environmental problems. This process of co-operation is pointed out in the literature of Keohane (1984 and 1998). In the discussions on TBCA formation in **Chapters Three and Four** the problems of the top-down approach, and the problems associated with jointly "owned" natural areas –i.e. commons ("The Tragedy of the Commons") become clear. Although the ideal for TBCAs is for them to be community-based they are legally dependent on states as the main negotiating mechanisms for their establishment.¹ Thus, as the theory points out states will not behave in ways that are contrary to their interests, it is therefore important to highlight these interests, which

¹ Although I am aware of the debate questioning the sovereignty and the functionality of the state, I recognise at this present moment in the establishment of TBCAs in Southern Africa the state is a reality. Regardless of whether one favours the state or not, it is undeniably a key role-player in the process.

chapter three does. In the realisation of these interests and in the effective establishing of TBCAs I build a case of creating transnational institutions. Thus, states can work together in the establishment of TBCAs and do so with the assistance of transnational institutions.

Finally, the **third issue** deals with a need for policy advice. In light of the previous chapters my **concluding chapter** serves as an advocacy for the establishment of TBCAs in the region. It further sets out basic guidelines for the establishment of TBCAs. This thesis advocates the building of mutually beneficial (though not necessarily symmetrical) transnational relations on the basis of ecological interdependence and advancing transnational co-operation and collective upliftment- thus sustainable development. The conclusion is ultimately an advocacy of transnational co-operation under the ethical umbrella of sustainable development. By firstly showing the benefits to be derived from sustainable development in chapters two, three and four I have advanced the argument that this is the approach for Southern Africa to follow.

As the outcome of this thesis has been to provide an advocacy of TBCAs for Southern Africa it is important to explain how I understand the logic of an *advocacy paper*. The intention of an advocacy paper is to produce data concerning the possibilities of certain courses of action resulting in consequences that are valuable to some individual, group or society as a whole. An advocacy paper requires that policy recommendations are made by illustrating how certain policy actions will have valued outcomes. Such recommendations must include information on the consequences of acting on different alternatives, and which of these alternatives are most valuable and why. Because of these conditions an advocacy paper is closely related to ethical and moral questions (Dunn, 1994).

It is important to understand the different characteristics of advocative claims, as discussed by Dunn (1994):

1. Actionable: The claims focus of actions, which may be taken. These actions will satisfy needs, values and opportunities for improvement.
2. Prospective: These claims occur prior (*ex ante*) to the time that actions are taken.
3. Value laden: The claims include both fact and values. It is assumed that individuals, groups or societies will value the predicted outcomes.

4. Ethically complex: The underlying values are ethically complex. A given value (e.g. natural resources) may be regarded as both intrinsic and extrinsic. Intrinsic values are those valued as ends in themselves. In terms of natural resources it is those benefits that are completely divorced from the actual use of the resource. These are such benefits which people are prepared to pay for simply for the pleasure they derive from knowing that a particular species or habitat continues to exist (McNeely, 1988; Swanson and Barbier, 1992). Extrinsic values are those which are valued because they will produce some other value. These direct values are concerned with the enjoyment or satisfaction received directly by consumers of biological resources. They can be relatively easily observed and measured (McNeely, 1988; Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

In the advancing of an advocative claim alternatives must be given. The choice may be between a new course of action and the status quo or the choice may be more complex with a number of alternatives to choose from. The form, which I have taken, is as follows: (1) defining the problem requiring action (e.g. attaining environmental conservation and economic development in Southern Africa). (2) Comparing the consequences of two or more alternatives to solve the problem. In this case the choice between maintaining the present status quo (e.g. unilateral action / preservation or degradation of the environment) or a new course of action (e.g. co-operation / sustainable development). (3) Concluding with the best choice of action that will best satisfy some need, value or opportunity (e.g. transnational co-operation under the ethical umbrella of sustainable development) (Dunn, 1994).

In making my recommendations, I have addressed the following questions: Whose needs, values and opportunities are of concern here, and how can they be met? What goals and objectives should be achieved, and how should they be measured? What will the costs be and what types of limitations –budgetary, legal, administrative, social, political –may prevent or impede their achievement? What side effects and spillovers can be anticipated that should be counted as costs or benefits? How certain is it that the forecasted outcomes will come to pass? And, what should be done?

3.1 NATURE OF STUDY

In providing an overall assessment of my study, it is necessary to recognise what type of study it is. The thesis has two identities linked to the three issues discussed:

- a) Firstly, it is a deductive, hypotheses generating study. Deductive logic is the process of reasoning from general statements (laws, assumptions) to particular sets of information and claims. Theoretical predictions are based on deductive logic (Dunn, 1994). I use a theory of sustainable development, and then deduce certain hypotheses or expectations, which I then test against the reality of TBCAs to determine whether they are good examples of sustainable development. The same deductive method is used in testing the theory of co-operation. Chapter two provides the theories of sustainable development and co-operation, which chapters three and four then test using the example of TBCAs.
- b) Secondly, with regards to the third issue, the study is an advocacy paper. Thus, the key question which, I answer is: *what should be done?* The answer is therefore normative in its approach, rather than one, which is empirical or merely evaluative. There is also an overall aspect of advocacy determining the treatment of the first two issues. In both cases I have highlighted the advantages of co-operation and sustainable development so as to convince people that TBCAs are a worthwhile initiative. It is nevertheless important to note the limitations of an advocacy paper. The uncertainty arises over the role of values and ethics. It has not been my intention just to simply predict some future outcome but to actually advocate a specific course of action whose outcomes are valuable to members of a community. It is difficult to know with certainty what is considered valuable to members of a community. In this study there are different levels of community (e.g. members of the state, members of the region and local communities), whose values differ. A second source of uncertainty arises from incomplete knowledge of the effects of policies on valued outcomes. There is no certainty over which policies and programs work best under different conditions (Dunn, 1994). In the case of TBCAs, their success is conditional on factors like the policies, legal systems, and social structures of the different countries. And no one model can be applied in each case. Further, it may be contended that I only use those aspects of TBCAs, which endorse my case. Firstly, I have recognised that a study of this nature is normative in its approach and many may disagree with my personal approach (e.g. an anthropocentric approach). Secondly, the conclusion does not paint a perfect picture. The Kgalagadi TBCA, especially in its application of sustainable development, exposes many areas of concern, such as a lack of direct and effective community involvement in the process. In terms of co-operation between South Africa and Botswana I highlight the

difficulty of creating transborder initiatives where the countries entering into bilateral agreements do not have harmonised legislation. I have also expressed an urgent need for co-ordination of the various spin-offs that are being developed to guide the process and to benefit the process of creating TBCAs. Thirdly, to overcome my own bias I have attempted to obtain the opinions of “all sides”. This is evident in my methodology- my use of the full range of data collection: interviews, case studies and secondary material. [Refer to Appendix 1, which lists the organisations consulted for this thesis]

4. CONCEPTUALISATION

4.1 TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREAS

Transborder Conservation Areas (TBCAs) are: *protected areas that meet across international borders*. These are areas of natural or cultural significance shared by two or more countries or other resource-owning jurisdictions that lend themselves to transborder protected areas. A TBCA: “spans an international boundary” (Hamilton et al, 1996:1). The IUCN Director General, David McDowel, rightly observed that it is important that the term TBCA, specifically referred to as Peace Parks in Southern Africa, is not confined to protected areas which were essentially set up to achieve enhanced physical or military security. Rather, the term should also incorporate principles of resource or ecosystem management and objectives of community welfare. (IUCN conference report, 1997). To fully grasp the term Transborder Conservation Area, an understanding of its elements is required. This will be done in chapter three.

4.2 ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS

There are various understandings of what the concept “environmental politics” means, thus it is important to clarify the meaning being employed for the purposes of this thesis. Arnold (1993) distinguishes environmentalism from ecology, with ecology meaning the science of how organisms interrelate with their environments whereas environmentalism is portrayed as a social movement. Environmentalism and conservation are also contrasted. Conservationism being “commonly concerned with improved resource management and the politics of managerial reform while the latter comes with a belief that the environmental problematic was global in extent and that the solutions would need to go well beyond the kinds of reform deemed by conservationism” (Atkinson,

1991:19-20). According to Müller (1997) environmentalism is unavoidably political since it must take cognisance of social action to accomplish its objectives, and because action must frequently occur and be initiated through and encouraged by government.

However, Dobson (in Hayward, 1994:187) states that: "ecologism seeks radically to call into question a whole series of political, economic and social practises in a way that environmentalism does not." Guimarães (1991:46) states that ecopolitics, in his opinion being short for ecological politics, emerges from the recognition that in order to overcome the ecological crisis –scarcity of natural resources- political decisions will have to be made. In more recent times it is described as the study of the "interplay between human activities and natural systems – or the study of people's power to control their immediate environment" (Guimarães, 1991). Guimarães (1991) emphasises that the label "environmental politics" is inaccurate and misleading, because the object of analysis is not the environment (referred to as the characteristics of natural systems), nor is the study related to a specific sector of government. The main aim is not to understand how different social and political groups influence environmental policies but, rather, to understand how the political system operates, through the study of environmental problems brought up by economic growth. Ecopolitics, according to Guimarães (1991), is politics resting on ecological foundations. It conveys the holistic idea that the interrelationships of several public problems must be studied, much like the analysis of the principles of ecology has revealed that in human, natural and social life everything is to some extent connected to everything else. Thomson (1986:introduction) goes further and presents the term "biopolitics", being the political power capable of affecting ecologically important decisions, as the biggest and most important factor affecting all wildlife management programmes around the world. It is the power of a politician through the stroke of a pen to create or destroy entire game reserves and parks, and establish or abolish critically important management programmes elsewhere. Biopolitics is the influence, positive or negative, that political decisions have on wildlife resources. It is the biggest single factor determining the fortunes of wildlife populations, the habitats that support them and even the very existence of our game reserves (Thomson, 1986). It should be remembered that politicians are intimately involved with deciding policy in wildlife organisations. In the first place parliament examines and approves all primary laws (the fundamental documents that prescribe principal policies) that apply to the wildlife resource. These laws dictate the actions of senior

administrators in agency headquarters and of the wildlife managers in the field, and they also prescribe public involvement. The Minister responsible for wildlife is required also to approve and gazette all regulations that flow from the primary law. So, because all matters flow from these fundamental legal and administrative protocols, the politician has a vital and sometimes crucial influence on the whole wildlife scenario (Thomson, 1986).

For the purposes of this paper the term 'environmental politics' will be used, which is defined as (a) a field of study, or (b) the practice of making authoritative decisions as far as the environment is concerned. Approaching and seeking solutions to environmental issues requires engaging with social and political issues. Since the causes of environmental neglect reside in the economic, social and political structures of human societies so should the solutions and the drawing of benefits (Williams, 1993).

4.3 BIOLOGICAL DIVERSITY

Biological diversity is closely related to the number of species that exist within the earth's ecosystems – the loss of a species represents the loss of genetic diversity. Biodiversity conservation is, at base, concerned with the world's continuing losses of genetic capital, i.e. the amount and extent of genetic variety within the earth's ecosystems. Biological diversity is the variety and variability among living organisms and the ecological complexes in which they occur. (McNeely, 1988) The motivation to conserve biological diversity is not an altruistic one. There are clear and positive links between biological diversity and human development. At the global level, the loss of diversity means the loss of options for all of us and for future generations. In addition to any yet-to-be-discovered economic values, there is also the very real dependence of our ecosystems, and hence our economies, on the diversity that exists (Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

There is also the very tangible value obtained by those persons who rely upon the diverse products of our earth for their subsistence and development. Most of these people belong to groups who have traditionally used and consumed the products of natural habitats, and to them "biodiversity" represents real and concrete resources. For example, in many parts of the developing world, the majority of the daily intake of protein continues to come from wildlife. It is not only for our appreciation and enjoyment of nature that we conserve it; but it is also in our "self-interest". This is true not only at the local level of communities that are dependent largely upon the

diverse products of natural habitat for subsistence purposes, but it is also true at the global level for the insurance and options that biodiversity preserves for us all (Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

5. THE FOUNDATIONS

5.1 ENVIRONMENTAL DISCOURSES: PRESERVATION OR SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT?

According to Dryzek (1997:10) discourse is necessary since it affects the way we define, interpret, and address environmental affairs. The environmental discourse started in industrial society and therefore is positioned within the discourse of industrialism. There are, of course, many ways to approach the study of environmental politics, as there are many different levels of analysis. The environmental discourse is divided according to varying distinctions. Two major philosophies, which have arisen, are the protectionist, anti-use philosophy and the pro-use philosophy. The protectionist philosophy perpetuates the increasing tensions between "North-South" trading partners, as it overlooks the basic requirements of developing economies. The pro-use philosophy also has its problems. It lacks significant studies and evidence of its benefits. (The real tragedy lies in the lack of formalised connection between measured income and wild assets. Under the present economic accounting practices, a country could exhaust its renewable resources without affecting measured income in the process. Unless these accounting practices are altered to reflect the full economic value of wild assets, there will be no incentive to preserve them for future generations.) (Swanson and Barbier, 1992:viii) The two philosophies can be illustrated using two forms of wildlife management, namely, conservation and preservation. Conservation implies that a renewable resource can be "used" by man, although such usage is not imperative; it also implies "wise use". Preservation implies "protection from harm", which makes preservation the antithesis of conservation (Thomson, 1986:25). TBCAs, which employ sustainable development, are areas of conservation, where nature is 'used' wisely. Thus, the debate over the world's resources is polarised between preservation and development views. There are, however, alternatives.

Andrew Dobson (1990) distinguishes between old-fashioned conservationism, reform environmentalism, and radical ecologism. Robyn Eckersley (1992) writes of two main differences: anthropocentric (human-centered) and ecocentric (nature-centered) perspectives. Cock and Koch (1991:1) refer to the "authoritarian conservation perspective" and "new environmentalism". The former perspective considered "overpopulation" as the main environmental problem; poor people were perceived as the greatest threat to the environment, being responsible for the destruction of

trees and creating waste. Conservation operated "outside of politics " and was removed from development. Many such conservation projects showed disregard for human needs, rights and dignity (Müller, 1997:114). On the other hand, "new environmentalism" addresses urban issues and human issues, such as community power to manage their own resources, the role of women, inequality and redistribution. It is a political and / or social movement variety with its interest in the more basic transformation of institutions and values. The shift in focus away from the traditional "conservation" in the narrow sense, to address the needs of local communities bordering game parks, and to suggest ways in which they can participate in decision making and benefit from tourism. The traditional conservation perspective appeared to be more concerned with animals than with people (Müller, 1997). The objectives of Transborder Conservation Areas endorse the aims of the "new environmentalism" perspective. This will be discussed in greater detail under the community element of TBCAs. Thus the principles underlying these environmental discussions are as much about the structures of our society as they are about environmental "problems". According to Müller (1997), in this sense environmentalism is unavoidably political since it must take cognisance of social action to accomplish its objectives, and because action must frequently occur and be initiated through and encouraged by government.

A brief focus on the distinctions of environmental discourses made by John S. Dryzek (1997) is necessary. According to him when decision-makers confront environmental problems they face two strands of complexity: Ecosystems themselves are complex and knowledge of them is limited. So are human social systems complex. By definition environmental problems incorporate both of these systems, making them doubly complex. Thus the proliferation of perspectives on environmental problems has been immense.

As previously mentioned the ideologies of the industrial discourses (e.g. liberalism, socialism) long ignored or suppressed environmental concern, in fact environmental issues were usually considered in terms of inputs to the industrial system. Dryzek (1997) believes that the solution is for the environmental discourse to depart from these terms. The discourses of environmentalism therefore can be categorised under the terms radical or reformist as the one dimension and either prosaic or imaginative. A second dimension can be either prosaic or imaginative. The prosaic departure considers the political economy of the industrial society as a given. Environmental problems require action, but not a new society. The action can be dramatic or radical (i.e. reigning in economic growth). Imaginative departures aim to redefine the industrial society. Environmental problems are considered as opportunities rather than troubles. Thus this type of redefinition may

remove old dilemmas, treating environmental concerns not in opposition to economic systems but potential in harmony. Thus the environment is an intimate part of society and its cultural, moral and economic systems, rather than outside of these systems. Within this discourse the degree of change sought can be modest and reformist, or immense and radical. Bringing together these two dimensions –reformist vs. radical and prosaic vs. imaginative –produces four cells, as illustrated in box 1.

“Environmental problem solving is defined by taking the political-economic status quo as given but in need of adjustment to cope with environmental problems, especially via public policy” (Dryzek, 1997:13). The advocates of this discourse treat ecological problems as manageable within the framework of the political economy of industrial society, belonging to a box of its own. Human interactions with the environment create a number of problems, to which solving devices must be turned. The three main ways humans have co-ordinated such events are by bureaucracy, democracy, and markets (Dryzek, 1997). The Survivalism / limits discourse, arising in the 1970s, is based on the idea that continued economic and population growth is limited by the Earth’s stock of natural resources and the limited holding capacity of its ecosystems. This discourse is radical in that it seeks comprehensive redistribution of power and a reorientation away from perpetual economic growth. It only sees solutions in terms of the options set by industrialism, through greater control of existing systems, therefore it is prosaic. Sustainability has its foundations in the 1980s and is defined by “imaginative attempts to dissolve the conflicts between environmental and economic values that energize the discourses of problem solving and limits” (Dryzek, 1997:14). It redefines the concepts of growth and development so as to render obsolete the projections of the limits discourse. The Brundtland Report of 1987 is fundamental to the sustainability discourse. Green Radicalism is radical and imaginative. This discourse completely rejects the fundamental structure of industrial society and promotes varying alternative interpretations of humans, their society, and their place in the world (Dryzek, 1997). It is later shown that the establishment of Transborder Conservation Areas is largely based on the aims of sustainable development, thus further exploration of this approach has been made.

Box 1 Classifying Environmental Discourses

	Reformist	Radical
Prosaic	Problem solving	Survivalism
Imaginative	Sustainability	Green Radicalism

(source: Dryzek, 1997:14)

5.1.1 Sustainable Development: The Environment and Development

Concern over international environmental issues is, of course, not new. Environmental concern was a result of two distinct strands according to Atkinson (in Müller, 1997): a campaign in the early 1950s highlighting the problem of nuclear weapons, and a book, *Silent Spring*, published by Rachel Carson identifying the massive detrimental effect pesticides were having on the ecology. Major contributors to the development of environmentalist views in this time were biologists and ecologists. In 1970 Paul and Anne Ehrlich published some of these contributions in the textbook, *Population Resources Environment*. In the textbook the dominant assumption in favour of economic growth was criticized and a redistribution of resources from the overdeveloped to the underdeveloped was called for. The Club of Rome, an international grouping of industrialists, academics and senior civil servants who were concerned with bringing the environmental message to a wider audience, had a further impact on public consciousness (Müller, 1997). But it can be said that the contemporary international pre-occupation with environmental problems began with the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment (UNCHE) held in Stockholm in 1972. The preparatory work, the conference and the follow-up injected a new impetus to the consideration of the ecological dimension of international relations. Its main goal was to articulate an approach to the environment consonant with the pursuit of economic growth (Williams, 1993). The Founex Report, of June 1971, resulted. It stated that environmentalism should no longer be considered a barrier to development but as an integral part of the process. Founex created the immediate link between development and the environment and the concept of sustainable development cemented the alliance. The concept of sustainable development is not new, but attempts to promote it as the basis of ecologically sound development were in greater evidence from the mid-1970s. The publication of the Brundtland Report in 1987 catapulted the concept to the center of the

environmental debate. The concept of sustainable development inextricably binds development to environmental concerns (Williams, 1993).

The concept of sustainable development first appeared in the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's 1980 *World Conservation Strategy*, but was submitted from a dominantly conservationist point of view. The primary statement of sustainable development, which marked the term's political coming-of age and established the content and structure of the present debate, is the 1987 World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) report, known as the Brundtland Report after its chairperson. The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), generally known as the Rio Conference of 1992 or the Earth Summit, followed the Brundtland and aimed to achieve the goals set out by the Brundtland. Its proceedings were underwritten by sustainable development (Dryzek, 1997). One of the main offspring of Rio was Agenda 21, a broad action plan for sustainable development (Müller, 1997). Although agreed at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 by leaders of the vast majority of countries of the world, Agenda 21 is not a legal document. It does, however, emphasise the need for everyone to pull together to create a better future for the world in its entirety ("Agenda 21", 1999).

Unfortunately, the Convention was considerably weaker than what was hoped for. It does not require countries to set specific targets or policy measures, only to report on the measures that they choose to undertake. Reporting will be to the Sustainable Development Commission (SDC), a new body with junior status within the UN system and with few resources or powers (Glover, 1992). The most notable of the UNCED's successes was probably the renewal and budgetary expansion of the Global Environment Facility (GEF), a program managed by the United Nations Environment Program, and the World Bank and financed by donor agencies in the North. In the end, a great deal will depend on what follows UNCED. The SDC, is relatively powerless, but there will be subsequent opportunities to strengthen it as decisions are reached in the UN about its implementation.

The World Commission on Environment and Development has defined sustainable development as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987:8). It requires meeting the fundamental

needs of food, clothing, shelter and jobs and extending to all the opportunity to satisfy their aspirations for a better life. Thus, the strategy of sustainable development promulgates harmony among humans and between humanity and nature (WCED, 1987). The concept of sustainable development assumes that individuals and countries should not consume at the expense of worsening environmental conditions for other individuals or countries. In a word, all these assumptions are grounded on notions of fairness or equity (Summerton, 1993). The Brundtland is concerned with securing intergenerational equity, in other words relative redistribution of resources to the poor (Müller, 1997). The Brundtland statement concentrating on the satisfaction of human needs clearly displays a people-centered stance, as opposed to deep ecology or pantheism. Deep ecology is a bio-centered philosophy, which would emphasize the intrinsic value of all natural things and the bio-centric equality of all species. The philosophy was coined deep ecology by the Norwegian philosopher Arne Naess in his 1973 article in the philosophical journal *Inquiry* (Müller, 1997). According to Müller (1997) for most the ideals of sustainable development is not in direct conflict with the environmentalist assumptions and ecophilosophies, except those environmentalists who reject the term because it appears to license economic growth. Thus, the possible contradictions that will arise concern the people-centered or bio-centered tinted glasses through which the environment is observed.

However, the implications of a full meaning of the concept of sustainable development leaves much room for debate. For environmentalists, sustainable development may simply mean ecologically balanced environmental management. The employment of such a meaning may constitute the relegation of the need for economic growth and development for the preservation of a healthy physical environment even at the cost of economic stagnation. On the other hand it may mean more economic growth and rising personal incomes with little emphasis given to sound environmental management (Attiga, 1992). According to Attiga (1992) the core of the problem may therefore lie in the ambiguity of the concept of sustainable development. Maybe economic growth and sound environmental management are contradictory and inevitably conflictive. If they are contradictory how can approaches to economic development be changed so as to promote sound environmental management? Or on the other hand, how can sound environmental management be used to sustain sound development? If, however, the pursuit of development and the desire for environmental preservation are not

contradictory, then where is the common bond that holds them together? According to Attiga (1992) development and environmental preservation are both separable and inseparable, contradictory and non-contradictory, depending on the time horizon from which these questions are viewed.

The primary accomplishment of this discourse was to systematically combine a number of issues that have been treated in isolation or as competitors: development (especially of the Third World), global environmental issues, population, peace, and global equity, of which all can be maintained in the long run (Dryzek, 1997). But, included in the weaknesses of this discourse is a lack of practical steps to bring about this vision (Dryzek, 1997). Their purview is global dealing with global ecosystems, but sustainability is an issue at regional and local levels, too, where practical solutions will need to be found. This discourse regards economic growth, environmental protection, distributive justice, and long-term sustainability as mutually reinforcing. Thus it proposes co-operation. It does however, recognise the hierarchy which places human beings above the natural world (Dryzek, 1997). Thus it fits within Robyn Eckersley's (1992) anthropocentric distinction.

People need to change their way of regarding the relation between development and the environment. An essential requirement for such a desirable outlook is the perception of development and environment as inseparable components of sustainable development. Gro Harlem Brundtland emphasized this point in her foreword to *Our Common Future*, "the 'environment' is where we all live; and 'development' is what we all do in attempting to improve our lot within that abode. The two are inseparable." The report's definition of sustainable development defines development in terms of the present and future needs of people. It combines narrow and broad time zones, yet leaves room for debate concerning the kind and extent of people's needs and value systems. In a global context, sustainable development would require a certain level of equity of potential opportunity and a degree of interdependence between nations and different regions of the world (Attiga, 1992). Sustainable development is a long-term concept. It is highly complex, and is viable only in a global context of interdependence, requiring regional and global co-operation.

In conclusion, Southern Africa stands at a defining moment in history. We are confronted with a perpetuation of disparities between and within nations, a worsening of poverty, hunger, ill health and illiteracy, and the continuing deterioration of the ecosystems on which we depend for our well-being. However, integration of environmental and development concerns and greater attention to them will lead to the fulfillment of basic needs, improved living standards for all, better protected and managed ecosystems and a safer, more prosperous future. No nation can achieve this on its own; but together we can - in a regional partnership for sustainable development. Thus, the next chapter will delve deeper into the theories of sustainable development and co-operation as foundations for the assessment of the transborder initiatives in Southern Africa.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: POLITICS, THE ENVIRONMENT AND CO-OPERATION

"It is questionable whether the environment can be understood and modified without reference to political decisions" -United Nations Environmental Programme (1981:31).

1. INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will: firstly, discuss the changing nature of the global political economy (GPE), giving accentuation to the need of environmental ethics and sustainable development in the field. Throughout my discussion I emphasise the fact that cultivating an ethical perspective on environmental affairs, an area previously given scant attention, has ramifications for policy. I further accentuate the necessity for such issues to be included in the policies made by decision-makers. The theory of sustainable development is given much attention in this chapter, especially given its benefits for developing countries. The development of the strengths and the reduction of the weaknesses of developing countries requires a quantum increase in support for the development of their human resources and related institutional capacities. The importance of developing these capacities is as crucial for environmental protection as it is for development: it is the indispensable key to sustainable development. Secondly, I give an explanation of how interdependence is to be handled, giving emphasis to the route of co-operation. The very transboundary nature of TBCAs necessitates state-to-state co-operation. Thus the theory of co-operation is an integral part of studying TBCAs, since the successful formation of TBCAs is dependent on this co-operation. This chapter will serve to highlight the advantages in co-operation as well as the hurdles associated with interdependence that need to be overcome. These approaches to the GPE will be presented so as to form a foundation, on which the phenomenon of TBCAs in Southern Africa will be approached. Since the area of study is focussed on Transborder Conservation Areas in Southern Africa the theoretical basis will be occupied with developing countries.

2. THE CHANGING GLOBAL POLITICAL ECONOMY AND THE ENVIRONMENT

Thomson (1986) states that we seem to be content to build upon the foundations laid by others rather than examining the substance of those foundations. Instead we should constantly try to remember that those foundations may have been constructed in another era, in a time when conditions were very different from those which exist today, and their original purpose may no longer be applicable. The changing nature of the global political economy is one such area, which needs re-evaluation with the increasing interdependence of politics, economics and the world's environment. Since ecosystems and environmental processes do not respect state borders it is necessary to build a global political economy which includes the environment. An examination of the interrelations between the environment and politics is required, an issue that as yet lacks a coherent conceptual framework. The problems of the physical environment need to be viewed through the spectacles of the political economy. As does the political economy need to take cognizance of its environmental components.

The acceleration of the interdependence of the world's economy and environment and increasing public and political awareness of environmental issues are beginning to produce necessary and salient changes in global relations. The GPE of the 1990s was chiefly controlled by the paradigm of the Industrial Revolution (Glover, 1992). With the rise to dominance of instrumental systems such as the world economy and global system of states has come globalisation and the global spread of values like equality and progress. The fundamental changes of social structures and ideas that emanated in Western Europe has had as one of its chief outcomes the spread of key aspects of modernity to encompass the entire globe, particularly a world capitalist economy. There is practically no part in the world where the money economy does not operate; no land that is not under sovereign jurisdiction. These elements of the global economy have significant effects on the overwhelming majority of our lives and on the non-human world around us. Among the negative repercussions are vast inequalities in wealth, power, life-opportunities; greatly exacerbated population growth; and the significant alteration of the physical environment (Beyer, 1992). The depletion of the paradigm of the Industrial Revolution and the difficulty of making the transition to sustainable development therefore require attention.

The survival of local, regional and international communities may depend on public leadership toward a fundamental societal change in belief regarding the requisites for a sustainable future for human life on earth. But, misinformed and misdirected conservatism may destroy the conditions that it wished to conserve. Up to now our policies and institutions have generally been based on assumptions and objectives that cannot be sustained indefinitely (Caldwell, 1997). The environment is still not perceived in political circles as the central issue it should be. How can it be, when politicians think in terms of a few years and environmentalists in decades or more? (Vidal, 1992) This needs to be changed since politicians are often the policy-makers whose policies have immense effects on initiatives such as the development of TBCAs.

2.1 ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS: THE INTERNATIONAL LIBERAL TRADITION

The transboundary character of air, water, and migratory animals, for example, creates collective-goods problems and implicates power relations as an entire host of actors attempt to address regional and global environmental challenges. It is evident that the dominant economic, political and social systems are responsible for the misfit between the earth (nature) and the world (humanity). According to Kirkby, O'Keefe & Timberlake (1995) it is clear that either gradually through small changes or radically through large structural changes, the functioning of the world system must change. These writers believe that changes to such human systems can only be attained on the basis of changes to ethical value systems; changes in what is considered acceptable behaviour in relation to the environment and people. Two approaches to achieve this have been proposed: the first, is through a centrally-driven, directive, command economy and society, dominated by a central government advised by experts. The second, or possibly additional approach, places the emphasis on social movement action at grassroots level, using the abilities of individuals, households and small communities (Müller, 1997). I propose a culmination of both these approaches.

According to Wapner (1997) thus far scholars have generally failed to raise, in a sustained manner, issues of moral duty, principled understandings of appropriate conduct, or simply the challenge of moral deliberation. This is unfortunate, since the tradition of global relations scholarship actually does have intellectual resources to engage the ethical dimension of transboundary environmental politics. Scholars have yet to use these resources, because they understand environmental issues in a limited

way: largely as a matter of how humans treat nature. Establishing moral reflection requires reframing the way we perceive environmental issues (Wapner, 1997).

Cultivating an ethical perspective on transnational environmental affairs is not simply a philosophical exercise but has ramifications for policy. Ethical principles, although not nearly as powerful or persuasive as other governing discourses, partially shape political understanding and practise. They appeal to one's sense of duty and thus introduce a concern for justice into one's deliberations as well as, by extension, into international policy debates. Such introduction does not solve environmental issues nor even facilitate increased international co-operation. Negotiations can become more complex the more ethical concerns are considered. However, it does shift the terms of debate by expanding the discourse on which co-operation can draw. It encourages perspectives that consider how specific people fare, from an ethical point of view, into the process of identifying and designing responses to environmental collective-goods problems (Wapner, 1997). The conventional understanding of the dynamics of environmental harm need to be reframed so as to enlist the liberal moral tradition of transnational relations in the pursuit of global environmental governance. An underlying assumption made is that morality is basically how humans treat each other. This assumption is essentially embedded in liberal political thought (Wapner, 1997).

Liberal thought, is arguably, the source of most ethical discourse in global relations. Liberal scholarship has however, failed, as yet, to articulate an ethical perspective with regard to environmental challenges. It is necessary to understand why. The core of liberal thought rests on a concern with human liberty. Since people are rational beings and able to make choices, they enjoy the right to will for themselves. Preserving this freedom is paramount to the liberal approach. Throughout most of liberalism's history, such freedom was expressed as a natural right that is independent of government and that ought to be protected by and against government. International liberalism extends to all people (Wapner, 1997). Therefore, much of international liberalism concerns itself with the ways in which trade, international co-operation, transboundary cultural exchange, and the presence of democratic governments can create conditions in which people can freely exercise their freedom. Ironically, the tradition's regard for human freedom, while fundamental to its concerns with distributive justice, just war, and human rights, blinds it to environmental issues. For liberals, human freedom is often understood

as a matter of subduing nature. Nature, in other words, is often an obstacle to human freedom, and thus it is no coincidence that it becomes a casualty to human enterprise.

Despite liberalism's problematic orientation to nature, Wapner (1997) believes that it can nevertheless be enlisted to heighten ethical concern about environmental issues. Environmentalism is not simply about nature. Rather it involves humans every step of the way. Thus, the notion that ethics must stop at the human / nature boundary is fundamentally incorrect. From this perspective environmental destruction stems from a blatant disregard for our fellow human beings, not a distorted relationship with nature itself (Wapner, 1997).

The ethical dimension of transboundary environmental issues is neglected because international relations scholars incorrectly conceptualise the nature of environmental degradation. This results in overlooking the ethical dimensions; in the liberal tradition, nature has no moral standing, thus the exploitation of nature requires no ethical reflection. As a moral tradition, international liberalism has evolved a set of arguments and positions that aims to both identify moral shortcomings in international relations and to provide some reasoning to encourage greater ethical behaviour (Wapner, 1997).

Heightening the ethical liberal dimension of transnational environmental issues and engaging the liberal tradition have a number of *policy implications*. Firstly, simply identifying and articulating moral sensibilities can advance the influence moral arguments have in a multilateral context. The moral thinker can help people regain sight of their desires. By reframing transnational environmental issues so that the moral element becomes evident, one increases the possibility that states will recognise the opportunity to act morally within an environmental context. One clarifies for states how ethical consideration can be brought to bear on transboundary environmental issues.

A second implication concerns the view that the most durable and effective international agreements are those that include a moral dimension. Any negotiation, treaty or accord that is considered by various parties as unjust will be inherently unstable. Implementation of such an agreement would rest partially on coercion or the threat of coercion rather than full consent and would thus lack an element of legitimacy. However, this certainly does not mean that introducing a concern for justice will make international

negotiations on environmental issues easier or that it will solve collective-action problems. In fact, it will probably complicate negotiations insofar as it may broaden participation and create the need to entertain additional concerns. Nonetheless, an agreement that possesses an element of equity will, more likely than not, find widespread support and enjoy validity. By identifying the moral dimension of environmental issues, one raises the possibility that environmental accords will be heedful of how specific people or peoples will fare with regard to the terms of agreements and, by addressing this, will increase the effectiveness of multilateral environmental protection efforts (Wapner, 1997).

Finally, introducing moral considerations into international environmental affairs enables new stakeholders to emerge who were formerly outside the policy process, and this can enhance further the quality of agreements. The way issues are defined has much to do with who is involved in the negotiation process as well as the post negotiation stage of multilateral action. When one identifies the moral aspect of an issue, new actors automatically are implicated and thus become deserving of participation. This will later be illustrated in chapters three and four, where I emphasise the importance of actors like local communities being actively involved in the TBCA formation process.

2.2 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

Of the required global changes is a need to form close linkages between the environment and development. Sustainable development does this. The emerging conception that the environment and development are very closely linked shows that the world is increasingly confronted with issues that affect people as a whole. It also shows that most of these issues are interlinked and multidimensional. They cannot be solved by fragmented sectoral or national approaches alone. Their solutions therefore require multidisciplinary joint undertakings (Kirdar, 1992).

It is recognised that interdependence is not a complete blessing, especially when it intensifies the vulnerability of the weak and increases their dependence on events they cannot control. The international economic environment has clearly contributed to the gross imbalances between North and South that have weakened the economies of developing countries during the past decade. These imbalances present a primary

barrier to the revitalisation of the development process, which is the key to the future of all developing countries (Strong,1992). Interdependence has made the fragile economies of developing countries highly vulnerable to changes in the world economic conditions (Strong, 1992). It compels them to compete in a global market place in which the principal sources of added value and comparative advantage are technology, capital, management and marketing skills and scientific knowledge. In all of these areas developing countries are seriously handicapped (Strong,-1992). Real socio-economic progress is still very slow or non-existent in many developing countries. This means that the depletion of physical resources and the deterioration of the environment have often occurred without achieving significant levels of development. At this point development and environmental protection get locked in a vicious circle. No marked economic development on a sustainable basis can be achieved without major improvements in the environment; at the same time, such improvement cannot be established without the necessary resources associated with rapid economic growth and development. What can be done to break this cycle? In the short run and on a strictly national basis, environmental preservation and development have been and are still largely separable and distinct. However, in the long run, and in the regional and global context, they are inseparable (Attiga, 1992). Contrary to conventional wisdom, the integration of the environment and development is, if anything, even more urgent for those caught up in the vicious cycle of poverty than for those countries at more advanced stages of economic development. It is developing countries, which have the most pressing need to effect the transition to sustainable development, since environmental vulnerability intensifies and compounds their economic vulnerability (Strong, 1992).

The development of the strengths and the reduction of developing countries' vulnerabilities requires a quantum increase in support for the development of their human resources and related institutional capacities, especially in the fields of science, technology, management and professional skills. A sustained commitment to building indigenous human and institutional capacities is needed (McNeely, 1988; Strong, 1992). This is essential for breaking out of the present deeply entrenched patterns of environmental economic deterioration, dependency and vulnerability. It is imperative that this is approached through a combination of both modern and traditional knowledge and methods. The foremost and most sustainable development is that in which the processes and techniques of modernisation are assimilated sensitively into present

social and value systems without destroying or undermining them. The importance of developing this capacity in each country is as critical for environmental protection as it is for development: it is the indispensable key to sustainable development. The economic crisis which developing countries face provides a unique opportunity to break with the traditional development modes that have produced the present impasse and institute a new development model embracing basic values, needs and interests as well as building on its unique endowment of natural and human resources (Strong, 1992).

External pressures cannot impose sustainable development; it must be rooted in the culture, the values, the interests and the priorities of the people concerned. The transition to sustainability may require a supportive international economic environment, but it must not provide the basis for the external imposition of new conditions or constraints on development. Developing countries cannot be denied their right to grow, nor to choose their own methods of growth (Strong, 1992).

Even if all the major external problems facing developing countries were suddenly solved, most of these countries would still have to undertake basic internal institutional and economic reforms before they could attain sustainable development. Their political systems have to be made more participatory and democratic, allowing for greater individual freedom in politics as well as economics. Their economic institutions have to be made more efficient, accountable and responsive to the social needs and the enhanced welfare of their people, regardless of whether they are public or private. Their educational systems have to be upgraded and expanded. Domestic reforms not only need political will and popular support, they also require the necessary resources and professional expertise to formulate and effectively implement the various policies and programmes associated with such reforms (Attiga, 1992).

2.2.1 Economic sustainability and sustainable development: Making economic accounts reflect environmental realities

One must never lose sight of the fact that at its most basic level the environment is the lifeblood of human life and is thus essential for our survival. TBCAs show that the environment even goes beyond this to be a vital impetus for state co-operation and a foundation for peaceful relations. Thus, the sustainable utilisation of natural resources can be used for generating and establishing peaceful international relations. This is

especially important for developing countries. There must however be a paradigm shift in the perception of nature, its utilisation and its relation to man. A cost-benefit analysis of natural resources is required. If natural resources (e.g. water, land, wildlife, game parks) are given an economic value they become an invaluable bargaining tool, especially in the hands of economically impoverished countries, communities and individuals. It is essential to give the environment an economic value, thus bringing the environment back into the definition of the economy. We need to move from pure conservation to sustainable utilisation (McNeely, 1988; Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

Calculating the economic benefits of conservation areas, i.e. protected areas, is a necessary step towards reversing an age-old trend of pitting humanity against nature. Traditional thinking has taken the stance that saving the environment implies sacrificing the economy. This simply means that today's knowledge-based industrial economy is unable to perceive the economy as a whole. Thus the linkage between economic productivity and ecological productivity has become less visible, and ostensibly less plausible. Fortunately there is an emerging view that considers protected areas and national parks to represent an increasingly valuable source of economic activity which more than compensates for their costs ("Development, Cultural Diversity and Peace", 1996; Swanson and Barbier, 1992). In fact, it is more beneficial, in terms of economic, political and ecological gains, to preserve nature than to destroy it. If natural resources are given an intrinsic value they will become an essential factor for encouraging international and transnational co-operation. For example, I contend that ecotourism², should be one of Southern Africa's primary sources of income and thus economic development. If the states of Southern Africa recognise these potential benefits to be gained from ecotourism in the form of TBCAs the more willing they will be to co-operate in this arena and with this will come improved international and transnational relations.

² It is only through the proper application of ecotourism that economic development for all will be achieved. Ecotourism is "an enlightening, participatory travel experience to environments, both natural and cultural, that ensures the sustainable use, at an appropriate level, of environmental resources and, whilst producing viable economic opportunities for the tourism industry and host communities, makes use of these resources through conservation beneficial to all tourism role players" (Centre for Ecotourism, 1998).

In these expositions it is nevertheless recognised that there is a tendency to subsume under the banner of sustainability a comprehensive list of worthy but sometimes conflicting values for human society. Humans are at least in part material beings who inevitably consume physical resources. There is an inherent difficulty in meeting the aspirations of this generation and future generations. There is considerable evidence that the human inclination for material consumption is virtually limitless. *Our Common Future* struggles to reconcile desired economic growth and the imperative of environmental conservation. The Brundtland Commission emerged stressing economic growth within the constraints of essential conservation of the environment: "The Commission's overall assessment is the international economy must speed world growth while respecting the environmental constraints" (WCED, 1987:89). Thus, while environmental factors are gaining increasing concern and awareness, it is in fact economic growth that continues to be the dominant political concern of the vast majority of people in both the developed and developing worlds. Some within the environmental movement stress the importance of preserving the environment for its own sake rather than humanity's. But the fact remains that of all creatures, humans remain unique in possessing the ability to manipulate the character of their environment and to impact upon it rationally. It is therefore, their perceptions of the value of the different components of the environment that determine the shape of their utility function: this is what gives practical expression to the term sustainable development (Summerton, 1993).

But again I stress that the problem is that the economic significance of natural resources is not adequately reflected in economic accounting systems. Natural resources are not consistently treated in economic accounting systems as economic assets. Like other forms of capital, natural resources provide a flow of economic benefits over time (Repetto, 1992). A widely accepted definition of income, fully consistent with the Brundtland Commission's concept of sustainable development, is the maximum amount that can be consumed in the current period without reducing potential future consumption (Repetto, 1992). Market and policy failures in developing countries distort the incentives for conservation of natural resources. Yet, paradoxically, excessive exploitation of the environment leads to the loss of important economic values. As these values are "socially beneficial", appropriate public policies must be designed to ensure the protection and sustainable

management of natural resources. There are several reasons why efficient and sustainable management of natural resources should be an important development goal, particularly for developing countries. Many of the current low and lower-middle income economies of the world are presently dependent, and will continue to be dependent, on natural-resource based commodities for the largest share of their export-led development efforts – in terms of both economic growth and meeting debt repayments. Many of these economies rely on only one or two commodities for the majority of their export base; their comparative advantage will most likely lie in the development of other natural resource-based products. Sustainable management of the environment will figure prominently in providing these products. Even if natural resource systems do not directly provide additional products for developing economies, they have important indirect use value in supporting and maintaining economic activity. The role of natural systems and resources in protecting watersheds, maintaining soil fertility, controlling flooding, preventing storm damage and mitigating pollution is often essential to human welfare and economic production in developing regions (Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

The vast majority of the rural 'core' poor live in ecologically fragile areas, cultivating marginal lands of low agricultural potential and directly dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods. Dependence on wild foods of the poor increases when cultivated food and market supplies are scarce and during times of emergency brought on by drought, war and famine. Thus, more often than not the sustainability of the poor is dependent on the sustainability of the natural resource systems. Sustainable management of these assets may therefore be just as important for intragenerational equity – the need for the poor to gain better livelihoods – as it is for intergenerational equity – meeting the needs of future generations, or alternatively, the future needs of the present generation (Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

Thus it is my assertion that the transition to sustainable development requires much more effective use of resources and accountability for the environmental as well as the economic impact of such use. This must depend largely on the provision of necessary incentives to change rather than regulatory measures. The operation of market forces can and must be a powerful ally in providing the incentives to change. It is after all, fully consistent with market economy principles that every economic transaction and product must absorb the full costs to which it gives rise, including environmental costs (Strong, 1992). This change is as imperative in terms of our environmental security as it is in our moral and humanitarian terms. It will require fundamental changes in attitudes, values

and social priorities as well as in the development of the necessary scientific, technological and professional skills. Of especial significance is the need to integrate the ecological dimension into education and economics. Economics must truly become economics (Strong, 1992).

Swanson and Barbier (1992) set forth several contributions that economics has to make in redressing the balance between conservation and development: -

- Proper economic analysis of the market and policy failures affecting resource use and degradation is required in order to understand better the distortions that work against efficient and sustainable resource management.
- Better economic analysis of the full economic values that natural resources afford developing countries is required. It is only through this proper evaluation of natural resources that developing societies can make appropriate decisions as how best to allocate these resources. The species, ecosystems and ecosystem services, which are most over-exploited, tend to be the ones with the weakest ownership.
- The distributional implications of resource loss need economic analysis. Who gains and whom loses when the natural areas are appropriated or depleted? Too often, it is assumed that conversion or appropriation of natural areas leads to greater economic benefits for all, yet often the case is otherwise. Because the social benefits of conserving biological resources are often intangible, widely spread, and not fully reflected in market places, the benefits of protecting natural areas are in practice seldom fully represented in cost-benefit analysis;
- Through economic analysis of the allocative distortions affecting natural resource use, the proper valuation of these resources and their distributional consequences we can start to understand the important range of economic incentives governing wildlife and natural habitat exploitation. The discount rates applied by current economic planning tend to encourage depletion of biological resources rather than conservation. Conventional measures of national income do not recognise the drawing down of the stock of natural capital, and instead consider the depletion of resources, i.e. the loss of wealth, as net income (McNeely, 1988).

Recognising the economic benefits of conservation through the means of sustainable utilisation is important, but it also necessary to be aware of the potential dangers and obstacles to such methods. The fundamental obstacle is that some people / businesses / governments earn immediate benefits from exploiting biological resources without paying the full social and economic costs of resource depletion; rather, these costs (to

be paid either now or in the future) are transferred to society as a whole. Plus, those countries with the greatest natural wealth are often those with the fewest economic means to implement conservation programs. They need to use their biological resources to generate income for their growing populations, but problems arise when these resources are abused through mismanagement rather than nurtured through effective management (McNeely, 1988).

Effective systems of management can ensure that biological resources not only survive, but also increase while they are being used, thus providing the foundation for sustainable development. Conservation is a precondition for sustainable development, which unites the ecological concept of carrying capacity with the economic concepts of growth and development. According to McNeely (1988) ample guidelines exist for the management of biological resources, but political will has been insufficient to ensure the effective implementation of these guidelines. Conservation of biological diversity requires appropriate government policies in many sectors. In developing such policies, economic approaches can help clarify issues and indicate costs and benefits of alternative courses of action, but decisions about allocation of resources are perhaps even more dependent on the political and social objectives of the nation involved. Economics is thus just one tool available to concerned governments, and most resource problems require a variety of tools and ingredients to build the most efficient solutions (McNeely, 1988).

To the extent that resource exploitation is governed by the perceived self-interest of numerous individuals or groups, behaviour affecting maintenance of biological diversity can best be changed by providing new approaches to conservation which alter people's perceptions of what behaviour is in their self-interest. Since self-interest today is defined chiefly in economic terms, conservation needs to be promoted through the means of economic incentives.

2.2.2 Sustainable Development and Community-based Conservation

The sustainable utilisation of the environment cannot be separated from the human element. Thus what is needed is community-based conservation and thus a people-centered development as opposed to production-centered development. Conservation

requires an approach that extends beyond park boundaries and encompasses national policies as well as programs affecting surrounding communities (Wells et al, 1992).

National parks, wildlife reserves and other types of protected areas have come under increasing pressure from the expansion of human activity outside and sometimes inside their boundaries. Consequently, conflicts of interest have arisen between protected areas and local people. Traditional approaches to these areas were largely unsympathetic to the constraints facing local people, relying on guard patrols and penalties to exclude local people. Recognition is growing that the success of long-term management of protected areas depends on the co-operation and support of local people, and that it is neither politically feasible nor ethically justifiable to exclude the local communities from parks and reserves. In response to previously unsuccessful attempts to solve this dilemma, a new set of initiatives has arisen –community-based conservation (CBC)³. The aim of this initiative is to ensure the conservation of biological diversity by reconciling the management of protected areas with the social and economic needs of local people (UNEP, 1981; Wells et al, 1992). However, local participation viewed as a process goes well beyond simply sharing in social and economic benefits. Local participation has been described as “empowering people to mobilise their own capacities, to be social actors rather than passive subjects, manage their resources, make decisions and control the activities that affect their lives” (Cernea in Wells et al, 1992: 42). For a developing region like southern Africa, an African position on the conservation of flora and fauna should be defined, based on both traditional attitudes and an investigation into various possible ecological or economic uses, as well as the need to combat the damaging effects of imported technologies. This conception should take stock of prospects for production, and not simply limit itself to aesthetic or sentimental consideration, as is the case elsewhere in the world (UNEP, 1981).

³ Wells et al (1992) in their book *People and Parks* investigate the Integrated Conservation-Development Projects (ICDPs) approach. Much of their research has been adapted to aid my study of the community-based conservation approach. However, it must be noted that these two approaches to community involvement in conservation do have fundamental differences, and are therefore not the same in all respects. I have thus been selective in the elements of ICDPs used for the purposes of this study.

Community-based conservation is indicative of the greater emphasis now placed on the broader societal role of protected areas and their potential contributions to sustainable development. The promotion of social and economic development among communities is the central concern of the community-based conservation approach, but it must ensure that the development activities are consistent with the overall aim of conserving biodiversity. Policy-makers must promote development strategies that improve local living standards as well strengthen management of protected areas. Unfortunately even people who are better off as a result of a development project may still resort to illegal exploitation of a nearby-protected area (Thomson, 1986). Therefore disincentives for such behaviour is often still necessary, but such enforcement activities must be integrated with genuine local development efforts and earnest attempts to improve local people-park communications through educational campaigns.

Local social and economic benefits derived through CBC should be concentrated in five areas: (1) Natural resource management outside protected areas, e.g. water control, forestry; (2) community social services; (3) nature tourism (ecotourism); (4) road construction for market access; and (5) direct employment opportunities. The critical element of CBC therefore is establishing explicit linkages between the projects' development components and conservation objectives. The development process must not only be economically and biologically sustainable, but must also conserve the ecosystem of the protected area (Wells et al, 1992).

2.2.2.1 Approaches to Wildlife Management: Community-based Wildlife Management

There are two possible approaches to wildlife management concerning the local communities, they are top-down or participatory. Wildlife management is generally approached top-down, characterised by the establishment and expansion of protected areas, wildlife legislation enforcement and the assumption of ownership of wildlife resources by the state. Top-down projects establish centralised decision-making bureaucracies that fail to involve –or be sensitive to the interests of –stakeholders (the intended project beneficiaries). These projects tend to rely too much on project “blueprints” that demand adherence to a rigid –and usually short –project cycle. Although this approach has ensured the survival of wildlife and ecosystems, and

generated foreign exchange earnings, it has often had a critical impact on the food security and livelihoods of local people (Wells et al, 1992; IIED, 1994). With rising human populations has come the increase of pressure on remaining resources, leading to environmental degradation and further conflict. This has, in turn, reinforced the protectionist argument. Top-down approaches entail high management costs for governments, with most of the benefits accruing to external interests (IIED, 1994).

A new approach to wildlife management has evolved with the growing realisation of the necessity of understanding the needs and perspectives of local people and of strengthening local institutional capacity. The variations of participatory approaches range from passive to active. The characteristics of *passive participation* include centralised decision-making, dominated by foreign and national technocrats, with local community participation being limited to labour and the provision of information. These projects do provide more benefits to the communities than top-down approaches but they are rarely subjected to full cost-benefit analyses, undertaken from a community perspective. These projects attempt to compensate local people for the loss of access to a natural resource by providing an alternative livelihood source, with the intention of removing the community's incentive to exploit the wildlife. However, often the benefits are not equally distributed, compensation is disproportionate to the income foregone and the service provided does not address the needs of the people. This method removes the sense of ownership and thus local commitment to the maintenance of the area. Thus, this approach still separates the communities from their environment they once owned and serves to accentuate the powerlessness of local people to influence what happens in the protected areas (IIED, 1994). Under such circumstances, participation by the local communities tends to be unsustainable and ineffective.

The *active participation* approach seeks to get the local communities directly involved in the generation and distribution of benefits. But this proves difficult if stable local institutions are absent. This emphasises again that the institutional capacity-building at a local level must be addressed. Projects of this nature have shown that when they are initiated by high-level patronage without support from all government agencies concerned problems arise. It often creates a dependency on outside funding which stifles attempts to make management more self-supportive (McNeely, 1988). Thus the community's rights to ownership of wildlife resources must be secured for sustainable

wildlife management. In practise, however, bringing together management, ownership, tenure rights and equitable distribution of costs and benefits is complex. A decentralisation of control is required with the development of legislation and policy frameworks (Swanson and Barbier, 1992). The International Institute for Environment and Development (1994) proposes three broad principles to guide action towards achieving community-led initiatives: *recognition of community rights to tenure of wildlife resources; building on formal and informal structures that facilitate community participation in management; and developing effective mechanisms for the sharing of benefits of wildlife resource management.* People are more likely to choose community wildlife management where the value of wildlife is perceived to be high compared with alternative land uses. For community wildlife management to be ecologically, economically and socially sustainable it must be made sufficiently attractive to local people for them to adopt the practise as a long-term livelihood strategy (IIED, 1994).

I believe that for TBCAs to be successful there must be evidence of the active participation approach in the management process. I will deal with this issue in chapter four looking at the present lack of active community participation in the Kgalagadi TBCA.

2.2.2.2 The Role of organisations in establishing community-led wildlife management

In the promotion of effective community participation, organisations should:

- conduct participatory rural appraisals to understand natural-resource endowments, how they are managed and the socio-economic make-up of the communities;
- analyse existing community institutions to discover the extent to which they are already managing wildlife resources and identify conflict resolution mechanisms for conflicts over wildlife resources within and between the community and state structures; and
- develop formal structures for distributing benefits from the successful management of wildlife resources.

Organisations can encourage community management by:

- assisting in the development of national policy and legal frameworks;

- supporting the development and claiming by local communities of legal rights to make use of wildlife resources;
- encouraging community institutions and community-oriented public bodies;
- developing on local systems of knowledge and locally supported decision-making structures and initiatives;
- supplying programmes of human-resource development;
- the promotion of collaboration between government, NGOs and the private sector; and establish effective mechanisms for monitoring and evaluating projects.

In the promotion of collaboration amongst the relevant actors, support could be provided so as to:

- encourage the devolution of planning and implementation to local people
- avoid creating the dependence on external funding;
- avoid the relocation of people and denying them rights to wildlife resources;
- generate long-term commitment by the government and supporting agencies.

(IIED, 1994)

In conclusion, it is evident that the difficulties experienced in introducing environmental issues into the global forum stresses the lack of congruence between existing institutions and the problems they face. This introduction of what was previously considered of domestic relevance into the global arena is a result of and a contribution to the globalisation of the world economy. In the case of environmental issues, it reflects, in addition to a growing awareness of ecological interdependence, the global ramifications of national environmental practises. As we enter the new millennium our global system and its institutions must undergo a transition. The more we focus our attention directly on the symptoms of environmental problems, rather than on transforming the institutions and values that cause them, the more certain we can be that the crisis will deepen for lack of appropriate action (Müller, 1997). It is realised that there is probably a better chance of modifying the mandates of existing institutions, and shifting the allocation of resources among them, than there is of creating new ones.⁴ I

⁴ In the preamble to the part of the Final Act of the GATT accord of December, 1993, setting up the World Trade Organisation, there is reference to the objective of sustainable development and the need to protect and preserve the environment. However, at the moment it is difficult to see the practical implications of these statements; nor does the reference directly address previous GATT weaknesses with respect to trade and the environment. Yet, clearly, there is the

therefore propose a **two-pronged approach** to enable actors, like states, to adapt to the increased interdependence of politics, economics and the world's environment. Firstly, we need to cultivate an *ethical perspective* on transnational environmental affairs. We need to change what is considered acceptable behaviour in relation to the environment and people, especially local communities. Thus liberal scholarship must begin to articulate an ethical understanding of environmental challenges. This will come through recognising that environmental destruction in fact stems from a blatant disregard for fellow human beings.

Secondly, development and conservation, especially in the developing world, must be based on *sustainable development*. Environmentalists may differ in their positions, but a commonly shared awareness is that undefined endless growth assumptions that still dominate government and economic policies are impossible in the long-run and destructive in the short-run. Thus the attainment of a sustainable economy of high environmental quality is a necessity for both the developed and the developing world (Müller, 1997). Sustainable development, involves a process of deep and profound change in the political, social, economic, institutional and technological order, including the redefinition of relations between developing and more developed countries. The changes, which must be made in our economic life and our global relations, are fundamental in nature and will be difficult to achieve. It is imperative that we mobilise our capacities for politically, economic and social innovation and leadership. This must be manifested at every level – from the behaviour of individuals to global co-operation. In many cases, agreement at the global level on basic principles, criteria and targets will be necessary to provide the context for national and local action (Strong, 1992). Governments must take the lead and establish the policy framework incentives and infrastructures required for sustainability. However, the primary actors are people, acting through non-governmental organisations and citizen groups through which society functions (Strong, 1992). Sustainable development can only succeed if it has a sound base in the awareness and engagement of people. The effectiveness of such systems,

opportunity to address these weaknesses, perhaps by creating a specialised branch of the WTO with adequate environmental expertise. (Glover, 1992) This is but one example of an international organisation in which the environment is starting to have its salience recognised. There are many more and hopefully many more to come.

however, depends on supporting policies from local and national government (McNeely, 1988). The importance of the state in terms of policy making has become evident in the prior discussions, but its role and importance extends further into the international arena, especially when we consider TBCAs. For these initiatives to be realised there is a need for state-to-state co-operation.

3. CO-OPERATION

We are in a transformational phase in history, the outcome of the Industrial Revolution, namely a world of complex interdependence. Complex interdependence concerns transnational, intergovernmental, and transgovernmental relationships among countries, therefore multiple issues and multiple channels of contact among societies (Keohane and Nye, 1977). A relationship of dependence between actors is grounded in two conditions: firstly, a scarcity of resources which promotes competition amongst those who need them; and secondly, an uneven allocation of resources that makes it possible and potentially beneficial for actors in competition to exchange the different resources they each need (Lawler and Bacharach, 1986). This dependence thus creates a mutual vulnerability between the respective actors. Because of this complex interdependence within the global political economy, there is a need for transnational co-operation to manage it so as to prevent conflict and instead derive mutual benefits. Transborder Conservation Areas are a recent example of the potential for governance of the transboundary nature of the environment. They provide an example of the managing of complex interdependence within Southern Africa, through co-operation between the respective states and other actors, which include local communities, with the intention of deriving benefits, such as ecotourism, peaceful relations, community upliftment and conservation of natural resources (Thorsell, 1990). Thus the challenge lies in the need for more regional co-operation and co-ordination in the environmental field.

In this world of complex interdependence it is important that environmental conservation be recognised as a global and regional responsibility involving multiple actors, thus requiring co-operation. I use the term co-operation as defined by Robert Keohane (1984:31): the mutual adjustment of state policies to one another. Co-operation is a process through which policies actually followed by governments come to be considered by their partners as facilitating the accomplishment of their own goals, as a result of policy co-ordination. Policymakers view co-operation less than an end in itself but rather

a means to a number of other objectives. To delve into the moral value of co-operation is partly to inquire about the desired ends. Thus, it is recognised that the consequences of co-operation can be adverse. It is naïve to assume that increased co-operation among any group of states will foster humane values in world politics, but more effective co-ordination of policy among governments will often help (Keohane, 1984).

Interdependence transmits bad and good conditions: unemployment and inflation can be exported as well as growth and prosperity (Keohane, 1984). Discord is more common than co-operation because of the increased number of areas of potential friction caused by the rapid growth of international economic interdependence since 1945, and the broadening involvement of governments in the operation of modern capitalist states. Some observers compare world politics to a "state of war". States must rely on "the means they can generate and the arrangements they can make for themselves" (Waltz, 1979). This results in war and conflict as each state is judge in its own cause and can use force to enforce its own judgments. The resulting discord being accounted for by basic conflicts of interest (Waltz, 1959). But the fact is that despite the persistence of discord, world politics is not in a state of war. If it were, then co-operation would be derived from overall patterns of conflict. This explains alliance co-operation, but not patterns of co-operation that benefit many countries without being tied to an alliance. The extensive patterns of international agreement that we observe on issues such as health, telecommunications and environmental protection would be absent (Keohane, 1984).

Keohane (1984) feels it necessary to distinguish between harmony, co-operation and discord. Harmony refers to "a situation in which actors' policies (pursued in their own self-interest without regard for others) automatically facilitate the attainment of others' goals" (Keohane, 1984). In this idealised world, where the Invisible Hand ensures that the pursuit of self-interest by each contributes to the interests of others, there are no negative externalities. Where harmony rules there is no need for co-operation. Thus harmony and co-operation are very different and should not be confused with one another. On the other hand co-operation requires that actions of separate individuals or organisations –not in pre-existent harmony – be brought into conformity with one another through negotiation, often referred to as "policy co-ordination". Thus co-operation occurs when "intergovernmental co-operation takes place when the policies

actually followed by one government are regarded by its partners as facilitating the realisation of their own objectives, as the result of a process of policy co-ordination" (Keohane, 1984). Discord occurs when governments regard each other's policies as hindering the attainment of their goals, and hold each other responsible for these constraints. Discord may lead to efforts to induce others to change their policies; when such attempts meet resistance, policy conflict results. But when these attempts at policy adjustment succeed in making policies more compatible, then co-operation results. In co-operation each government pursues what it considers as its self-interest, but seeks bargains that can benefit all parties to the deal, though not necessarily equally. Harmony is apolitical. There is no communication required and no influence need be exercised. Co-operation on the other hand is highly political: patterns of behaviour must be changed. Such an alteration may be achieved through negative or positive inducements. Studies of international crises as well as game-theoretic experiments and simulations, have shown that under a variety of conditions strategies that include threats and punishments as well as promises and rewards are more effective in attaining co-operative results than those that rely completely on persuasion and good example. Thus co-operation does not necessarily exclude conflict. It is instead typically mixed with conflict and often reflects successful efforts to overcome conflict (Keohane, 1984). For example governments may desire high status (Hirsch, 1976) and may therefore resist even mutually beneficial co-operation if it helps others more than themselves. Even when neither power nor positional motivations are present discord tends to dominate over harmony due to independent government action. This is because ultimately some groups or industries will incur adjustment costs and the governments may respond to pressure for protection. Thus, Keohane's (1984) definition of co-operation is not of the mythological world of relations among equals in power, but rather of a world in politics where harmony vanishes and the attainment of the gains from pursuing complementary policies depends on co-operation. Therefore states co-operate towards a shared benefit.

International co-ordination of policy seems highly beneficial in an interdependent world economy, but co-operation in world politics is especially difficult since interdependence in the world political economy produces conflict. Non-hegemonic co-operation is complex because it must occur among independent states that are motivated more by their own conceptions of self-interest than by a devotion to a common good. But, the fact is that as hegemony erodes so the need for transnational co-operation increases. Non-

hegemonic co-operation is possible through international regimes. Co-operation is possible after hegemony not only because shared interests can lead to the creation of regimes, but also because the conditions for maintaining existing international regimes are less demanding than those necessary for creating them (Keohane, 1984).

Rhodes (1992: 228) emphasises an awareness of "shared geographical responsibility", thus calling for an equation between ecological interdependence and international political co-operation. He suggests that because ecologically interdependent regions are politically interdependent they will co-operate politically. Thus he draws a positive correlation between ecological interdependence (the given law of nature), to political and economic interdependence (the human factor) and finally to political co-operation (international regulations and laws created by humans). However, Tudyka (1992) is concerned with the cliché that environmental policy must be international because problems are international. He asserts that states are more likely to co-operate in situations where some economic activities might show some damaging effects for the environment, with all countries being equally effected and requiring co-operative international action (Tudyka, 1992). This can be taken further to include, instead of damaging effects resulting in co-ordinated action, the recognition of positive economic benefits coming from the environment (for example, ecotourism) through state co-operation. Therefore states co-operating towards a shared benefit. Co-operation will therefore be based on common interests. Nevertheless, it is insufficient to merely claim that because most environmental problems have a transboundary nature, they require collective regional action. It must be pointed out that environmental objectives are only a part of the entire socio-economic policy and that they can and must be used as a means to alleviate domestic inequalities. Further it must be stressed that a call for action at regional or even global level does not necessarily mean the removal of the state. In fact, as we will see with TBCAs, states play a pivotal role, in terms of endorsing co-operation and in the negotiating process.

Hurrell and Kingsbury (1992:5) point out the limitations of such co-operation in that interdependence may generate both collective action to problems and incentives to co-operate. But, "it also creates new elements of instability (because the increased susceptibility of domestic politics to external shocks leads to new sources of conflict because the costs and benefits of managing interdependence have to be distributed

between states), and opens up new sources of power and leverage (because it exposes states to external vulnerability, is rarely symmetrical, and introduces new connections between international and domestic policies).”

The above arguments introduce us to the problems associated with interdependence, which need to be explored more fully. The opening of borderlines and establishing TBCAs, which can be seen as “no man’s land”, involving a number of stakeholders, brings us to the “Tragedy of Freedom in the Commons” (Hardin, 1968). The implications of this scenario presents unique challenges to states and other actors, which all have vested interests in the protection and proper management of the shared natural area.

3.1 TRAGEDY OF THE COMMONS

Traditional forms of national sovereignty raise particular problems in managing the ‘global commons’ and their shared ecosystems. They are increasingly challenged by the realities of ecological and economic interdependence. ‘The global commons’ – are those parts of the planet that fall outside national jurisdictions. Here, sustainable development can only be secured through transnational co-operation and agreed regimes for surveillance, development, and management in the common interest. But at stake is not just the sustainable development of shared ecosystems and the commons, but of all nations whose development depends to a greater or lesser extent on their rational management (WCED, 1987).

Garrett Hardin’s essay, “The Tragedy of the Commons” (1968), presents the situation of a medieval cattle herder who, along with his neighbours, has free access and equal rights to graze his cattle on commonly owned pasture. It is expected that each herdsman will try to keep as many cattle on the commons as possible. To begin with the arrangement may work reasonably well. However, the day comes when the herdsman reasons that if he adds one more cow, then further benefits will accrue to him, while the costs will be spread over all the herdsmen. However, his fellow rational herdsmen share these conclusions. Consequently the commons become overgrazed and are destroyed. What makes this a tragedy, according to Hardin (1968) is the inevitability of the destruction of communally owned resources if humans are left to act freely. “Each man is locked into a system that compels him to increase his [use of the commons] without limit – in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination to which all men rush, each pursuing his own best interest in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons.

Freedom in a commons brings ruin to all" (Hardin, 1968:1244). To couple the concept of freedom with the belief that everyone has an equal right to the commons is to bring the world into a tragic course of action. Hardin believes that it is a mistake to think that we can control the actions of mankind in the long run by an appeal to conscience. He asserts that an alternative to the commons need not be perfectly just to be preferable. The alternative is not prohibition, but the offering of carefully biased options - coercion. Hardin defines this type of "soft" coercion as mutual coercion, coercion that is mutually agreed upon by the majority of the people affected. It does not constitute force, but is rather a moral coercion encouraged through incentives. In other words mutually beneficial co-operation. "Individuals locked into the logic of the commons are free only to bring on universal ruin: once they see the necessity of mutual coercion, they become free to pursue other goals" (Hardin, 1968, 1248). Thus, to avoid the tragedy of the commons in TBCAs co-operation and thus mutually agreed upon regulations between the different states and stakeholders is a necessary requirement for the long-term conservation of these natural areas. In the case of TBCAs we see later that the agents of coercion are not necessarily states, but are often individuals or non-governmental organisations (for example the Peace Parks Foundation). The stakeholders (which includes states) are not forced to become involved in the establishment of TBCAs but are instead coerced, through incentives like increased ecotourism, economic benefits and the combining of resources. It is therefore in the interests of the stakeholders to co-operate in the conservation and collective management of these natural areas.

Despite the potential problems associated with natural areas which are shared by two or more countries or other resource-owning jurisdictions, it is important to realise that in a world of complex interdependencies states and other actors have two choices: co-operation or destruction. Thus, assuming that these actors would choose co-operation I will now look at the routes to co-operation.

3.2 THE ROUTES TO CO-OPERATION

James A. Caporaso (1993:56-57) proposes three routes to multilateralism, which I have adapted to "three routes to co-operation". The first route is the individualist paradigm in which "states enter into contractual relations with other states in a rational, self-interested way". The second route, called the social-communicative approach, focuses

on the identities and powers of individual states, with the “interaction repertoires” of states including communication, persuasion, deliberation, and self-reflection. The third perspective, which I will focus on, is an institutional approach.

The need for developing an institutional paradigm arises from dissatisfaction with rational choice, pluralist and international systemic approaches to international relations theory. Choice-theoretic approaches take preferences and rules as given, neglecting the ways in which institutions shape preferences. International systemic approaches help in understanding how states overcome collective action dilemmas, but tell little about the content of that solution. Pluralism, helps in the understanding of the social forces which underlie decision-making, but consider political institutions as transmission belts instead of independent variables in their own right (Caporaso, 1993).

Caporaso (1993: 75-78) sets forth three fundamental components of the institutional approach. First, the *ontological* component, in which the approach, accepts elements of methodological holism. It explains the behaviour of individuals by referring to “institutional facts” as opposed to characteristics of individuals per se. Institutional theory is about purposeful, goal-oriented behaviour “in which the identities, preferences, beliefs and behaviour of micro-units are given a structural determination” (Caporaso, 1993:75). Structures are considered necessary because they are more enduring than individuals and provide consistency. Institutions may be distinct from the sum of individuals composing them, but they do rest on the basis of human actions that are perpetually contested and reflect a tension between the desires of individuals and the needs of institutions.

The second component is *theoretical* in nature and considers the relationships among preferences, norms and ideas. Individuals bring to politics their preferences for specific outcomes, and their shared and divisive values and beliefs about the political process. The political process provides a forum within which their preferences and beliefs change. Institutions help shape preferences by providing an environment in which socialisation and learning can occur. They also provide information, increase trust and reduce uncertainty about the actions of others. In this, they expand the capacity of separate agents to achieve interdependent goals by alleviating co-ordination difficulties.

The third component is *interpretive* and aids in the understanding of co-operation. Institutional theorists see complex patterns of co-operation as already embedded within states and the interstate system. This includes shared elements of international society (for example, common language), diplomatic rules, and rules prescribed by the very concept of sovereignty. Rules, norms and habits of co-operation are therefore not external to agents (states), but are often constitutive of the identities and power of agents in the first place. However, institutions are not necessarily rationally chosen, but may arise from unconscious trial-and-error activity, coupled with selective pressures in the environment.

Thus, the global system is “a forum as well as a chessboard, its actors debate, argue, and justify as well as signal moves” (Caporaso, 1993:79).

3.3 UNITS OF ANALYSIS: INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS AND CO-OPERATION

The institutional approach shows that co-operation needs to be analyzed within the context of international institutions, thus in terms of practices and expectations. Each act of co-operation or discord affects the beliefs, rules and practices that form the context for future actions (Keohane, 1984). Since international regimes such as the TBCA regime reflect patterns of co-operation and discord over time. Such a regime consists of injunctions at various levels of generality, ranging from principles to norms to highly specific rules and decision-making procedures. Regimes can be viewed as intervening variables between basic characteristics of world politics such as the international distribution of power on the one hand and the behaviour of states and non-state actors on the other. (Keohane, 1984)

International institutions, “persistent and connected sets of rules (formal and informal) that prescribe behavioral roles, constrain activity and shape expectations” (Keohane and Murphy, 1992:871) can be classified into four categories: intergovernmental organisations (IGOs); international non-governmental organisations (INGOs); international regimes and conventions (Keohane and Murphy, 1992). Institutions are required in order to achieve state purposes, thus not necessarily for the euphorial “world welfare”. Institutions facilitate co-operation when it is in the interest of each state. It is recognised that states will not be forced to behave in ways that are contrary to their

own interest. But, as societies around the globe become enmeshed in a web of economic and social connections, the costs of disrupting these ties will effectively preclude unilateral state actions, especially the use of force. (Walt, 1998).

3.3.1 Liberal Institutionalism

Liberal Institutionalism seeks to explain the presence of institutions in terms of ends that they help to achieve. This perspective asserts that states can work together and do so especially with the assistance of transnational institutions. These institutionalists do not expect co-operation to always prevail, but they are aware of the flexibility of interests and they argue that interdependence creates interests in co-operation. International institutions also do not need to be integrated into one coherent network. Co-operation is generally fragmentary in world politics. There are almost always conflictual elements in these relationships. Most of these situations will be “mixed-motive games”, characterised by a combination of conflicting and complementary interests (Schelling, 1966). Co-operation can under some conditions develop on the basis of complementary interests, and institutions affect the patterns of co-operation that emerge. TBCAs and the actors involved in their establishment are an example of this phenomenon at work in Southern Africa.

Keohane (in Cox and Sinclair, 1996) has constructed an argument that suggests that existing forms of co-operation may indeed survive because they continue to provide states with cost-saving, uncertainty-reducing, and flexible means of achieving the results of co-operation. Institutions create the capability for states to co-operate in mutually beneficial ways by reducing the costs of making and enforcing agreements – what economists refer to as “transaction costs”. States seldom engage in centralised enforcement of agreements, but they do reinforce practices of reciprocity, which provide incentives for governments to keep their own commitments to ensure that others do so as well. It is often in the interest of states to follow the rules of well-established international institutions, since general conformity to rules makes the behaviour of other states more predictable. Rather than imposing themselves on states, international institutions should respond to the demand by states for co-operative ways to fulfil their own purposes. By reducing uncertainty and the costs of making and enforcing agreements, international institutions help states achieve collective gains. (Keohane,

1998). These institutions facilitate the interaction of states and components of civil society within their spheres. (Cox and Sinclair, 1996)

Such institutions generate the conditions for orderly multilateral negotiations, they legitimate and delegitimize different forms of state action, and facilitate linkages between issues within regimes and between regimes. By clustering issues together in the same forums over an extended period of time, they help to bring governments into continuing interaction with one another, reducing incentives to cheat and enhancing the value of reputation. Thus comes in the benefit of global institutions in helping to recognize common interests in world politics. Whether there will be co-operation or discord will depend upon how well governments take advantage of established international regimes to make new agreements and ensure compliance with old ones. Institutions that facilitate co-operation do not mandate what governments must do; instead they help governments pursue their own interests through co-operation. Co-operation can under some conditions develop on the basis of complementary interests, and institutions affect the patterns of co-operation that emerge. (Keohane, 1984; Keohane, 1998)

3.3.2 Limitations of Liberal Institutionalism

Liberal Institutionalists realise that co-operation will not always prevail, but they are aware of the flexibility of interests and they argue that interdependence creates interests in co-operation. International institutions are becoming increasingly important, but Keohane (1998) recognises that they are not always successful. Critics have focussed their arguments on three perceived limitations. Firstly, Cox and Sinclair (1996) argue that the problem with Liberal Institutionalism is that new regimes or international institutions may be more difficult to initiate or even change in the absence of a dominant power able and willing to invest resources in them. States hold the real power making international institutions inconsequential. Examples given are the failures of the United Nations and the League of Nations to achieve international peace and security. Any successes were attributed to the states backing the institutions. It is recognised that powers such as the United States do wield considerable influence, but their policies are often affected by international institutions. Where many states must come to an effective

agreement on a policy, states may resort to compromise. Thus, decision-making procedures and general rules of international institutions are important. (Keohane, 1998)

The second, the relative gains argument, focuses on "anarchy": "the absence of a world government or effective international legal system to which victims of injustice can appeal" (Keohane, 1998). Because of anarchy states will protect their power and will resist mutually beneficial co-operation if the other state will benefit more than they will (i.e. relative gains are preferred to absolute gains). However, most areas of potential co-operation, including the establishment of TBCAs, involve multilateral negotiations where relative gains are difficult to assess. Therefore states will probably aim to enhance their own well-being without being overly concerned with the other's gains. This argument therefore points out the difficulties associated with co-operation but does not exclude the possibility for co-operation. (Keohane, 1998)

The third counter argument comes out of the theorists of co-operation own recognition that co-operation is not harmonious. Nevertheless, the potential joint gains from such co-operation explained the dramatic increases in the number and scope of co-operative multilateral institutions. However, critics highlight that bargaining problems could produce impediments to achieving joint gains. Taking tough bargaining positions can hinder efforts at credible compromise. Consequently possible joint gains does not assure that co-operative solutions will be reached. Institutions may aid in providing "focal points", on which competing actors may agree, but new issues often lack such institutions. This effects both the pace and the extent of co-operation.

3.3.3 State-to-State Co-operation

An essential element of TBCAs is that they cross borderlines, since nature does not recognise man-made borders. Thus states are integral to the establishment of TBCAs. A state, being defined as a "distinct set of political institutions whose specific concern is with the organisation of domination, in the name of the common interest, within a delimited territory" (McLean, 1996: 472). The necessity, but limits of state-to-state co-operation must be given consideration. According to Birnie (1992:84) "states have the will to protect the environment on their terms and by the methods preferred by them... they are not yet ready to abandon theoretical notions of sovereignty .. in favour of amorphous demands of future generations or allegedly vested environmental rights of

an indeterminate and limitless character...". Within Southern Africa, these peace park projects are grounded in the mutual dependence of the countries of this region and the recognition that the development of one's neighbours is a condition for one's own. Regional co-operation in TBCAs is recognised as a further step along the path set by the Southern African Development Community (SADC). (IUCN Conference Report, 1997)

Even though I recognise the dominant role which states still play I contend that it is necessary to create a more functionalist division of responsibilities between various levels of governance, as is demanded by the need for "authority" to be exercised at different levels. Fortunately, as van der Lugt (1997:289) points out that what appears to be emerging is a concept of "reasonable sovereignty" or "responsible sovereignty". States are therefore learning to function within an international and transnational system and to take into account the behavior of other 'like-units' when making their own calculations. This is an important development, especially in the area of developing TBCAs where more than just international co-operation is needed, but transnational co-operation is required. For the moment the environmental agenda will largely be determined by the government (or more specifically the environmental departments), nevertheless, the influence of environmental pressure groups campaigning issues of interest to their members for strategic reasons in some or other coalition, should not be underestimated. (Müller, 1997)

The *African Competitiveness Report* (Schwab and Sachs, 1998) suggests two key prerequisites for competitiveness in the region: *minimising* and *reforming* of the role of the state. Governments must instead focus on their primary business –establishing the infrastructure and institutional capacity necessary to attract investment. As the state pulls back, so the private sector, private-public sector ventures, and self-help community schemes will have to play a far greater role. The Report further suggests that South Africa's role is pivotal for Southern Africa – not just as an exporter to the region and importer of raw materials, but also as a foreigner investor, largely in hotels and services. (Schwab and Sachs, 1998) As Southern African countries become more integrated into the global economy a reassessment of their relations with the rest of the world regarding their own prospects for a sustainable future is necessary. Thus the concerns underlying

the environmental discussion are as much about the structures of their societies as they are about the environment, internationally as well as locally.

There are a number of organisations involved in the establishment of TBCAs –national, international, governmental, non-governmental, private, community-based and individuals. Because the successful implementation of a TBCA needs environmental, conservationist, political, social and community development expertise, it is imperative for a number of organisations, alongside the state, to be involved in the process.

In conclusion, improvements are more likely to be gradual, building on the knowledge of one another created by successful co-operation. “The trick is not to ignore self-interest but to redefine it, to make it less myopic and more empathetic. ...Abstract plans for morally worthy international regimes, which do not take into account the reality of self-interest, are like castles constructed in the air, or if implemented in a fit of absentmindedness by governments –on sand” (Keohane, 1984:257). The ideals of morality are more likely to be promoted by modifying present international regimes than by abandoning them and trying to start all over.

If global ideological confrontation and narrow nationalism are out of date, then there is a pressing need for worldwide recognition of the necessity for global co-operation for sustainable development based on a spirit of transnationalism in place of nationalism, and multilateralism instead of bilateralism. And, in order to effectively participate in this global political economy developing countries need to promote viable regional and local institutions. (Attiga, 1992)

According to Thorsell (1990) the nature of transboundary environmental concerns underline the fact that the ability of national governments to deal with these issues on a unilateral basis is inadequate. However, the problem is not so much an inability to deal with environmental concerns, but the fact that national policies are ill suited to deal with them. These problems will be illustrated in chapters three and four, which illustrate such problems in the establishment of TBCAs – for example, the weaknesses in top-down approaches and the difficulties associated with differing legal systems. Thus, the problem of co-operation is raised and the need to co-ordinate policies. The challenge therefore lies in the need for more international co-ordination in the environmental field.

Hurrell (1994:146) recognises this as the “striking dichotomy between the seamless web of ecological interdependence on the one hand and the fragmentation of the international political system on the other”. This need for co-operation results from the increasing interdependence of politics, economics and the world’s environment and a decreasing relevance of national borders. Within Southern Africa, increased interdependence may make the states more vulnerable to each other’s domestic concerns, but it also provides the impetus for co-operation. It will be shown, in chapter three, that there are numerous potential benefits to be derived from such co-operation in the establishment of TBCAs, thus providing incentives for states to co-operate in this arena.

CHAPTER THREE

TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREAS

"Peace Parks can never hope to be a panacea for all of the problems of isolated "island sanctuaries" struggling to survive in a sea of poverty and environmental degradation. However, the linking of these "islands" will make a significant difference to biodiversity conservation and to the economy and ecological integrity of the areas concerned."

-Dr John Hanks, Executive Director: Peace Parks Foundation

1. INTRODUCTION

Southern Africa boasts a variety of ecosystems ranging from desert to rainforests, from grasslands to wetlands. Its biological diversity and wealth stands out in comparison to other areas of the world. Historically, wildlife and migratory people ranged widely without heed to national borders, with migratory routes stretching vast expanses of undeveloped and unfenced land. With the establishment of man-made political borders and the intensification of competition for land resources, free ranging wildlife and migration patterns have been restrained and animal populations have dramatically declined. The national borders and the incompatible land use in between them have destroyed and are destroying the natural migration routes of wildlife. Further impeding the natural lifestyles of communities, especially nomadic people like the San. As has been previously discussed such destruction of the environment is in fact a culmination of people's disregard for their fellow man. These developments affect natural resources, transboundary people, as well as economic and social structures of the respective countries. These progressions could have dire consequences for Southern Africa thus it is in the common interest of these countries to co-operate in their approach to this problem through policy co-ordination. Transborder Conservation Areas provide a potential "cure" to halt and reverse these developments. They serve to highlight the immense potential value of these areas to the developing countries of Southern Africa. The opportunities for self-sufficiency and economic upliftment are diminishing for many rural people in the agricultural sector of Southern Africa, whereas employment opportunities within the nature-based tourism industry are increasing. Thus, the conservation of ecosystems in Southern Africa has social and economic benefits that extend beyond wildlife protection. It is my assertion that for TBCAs to be successful the approach to their establishment requires transnational co-operation and must be based

on the guiding principles of sustainable development. This chapter will introduce TBCAs in more detail, giving a brief historical overview and appraising their potential benefits and constraints. Thus determining why and if states and other actors should co-operate in their development. TBCAs will then be assessed through the lens of sustainable development in the last chapter using the Kgalagadi TBCA as the case study. For it is my predication that the success of TBCAs depends on their implementation of the principles of sustainable development.

2. TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREAS (TBCAs) / TRANSFRONTIER CONSERVATION AREAS (TFCAs) / PEACE PARKS

Transborder Conservation Areas have been used in over 60 countries to protect habitats and animal species and are often called peace parks because they require or lead to peace and co-operation between the participating countries. They overcome the global problem of national boundaries often dividing natural systems, leading to inadequate or incompatible conservation of wildlife and the environment. TBCAs are a very exciting development in the environmental and political world. According to the World Conservation Union (IUCN, 1991) these border parks have 3 primary functions: the promotion of peace; the improvement of resource management and protection; and the preservation and enhancement of cultural values, especially the protection of transboundary people. As will be illustrated the benefits are by no means limited to these three main functions, for example economic development is a further benefit. However, before they can be realised co-operation between the respective states and institutions is required.

Some potential parks are owned by two or more nations, others are owned by no one. In some areas the territory is disputed in others sovereignty is clear and agreed. What is clear is that the very nature of TBCAs requires co-operative management. TBCAs may be developed at a local level, at a regional government level or at a national government level, or a combination of the above. There is no universal model and different agreements are established to suit the particular circumstances at hand. Co-operative management will involve an agreement between two or more parties and it may be instigated as a consequence of:

- The practical on-ground management needs of the local managers;

- The practical requirements of research, especially where research into species, habitats, and ecological processes would otherwise be constrained by administrative boundaries;
- Diplomatic negotiations at ground level;
- NGOs providing a catalyst role to transboundary co-operative management;
- Practical management resourcing issues such as the potentially greater opportunity for success for securing international funding as a co-operative funding proposal; and
- The voluntary application of international conventions by Governments (e.g. CITES).

The types of TBCAs can, however, be divided into: formal and informal agreements. Transboundary co-operative agreements may initially be developed on an informal needs basis and may progress to a more formal arrangement. This was the case for the Kgalagadi TBCA between South Africa and Botswana. They typically have a number of common elements, which may include:

- Enhanced conservation of the natural and cultural heritage of the transboundary protected areas;
- Respect for the sovereignty of the individual governments and agencies involved;
- Enhancement of co-operative management and research and the development of comparable methodologies; and
- Co-operation, which is equitable, mutually beneficial and responsible and is driven by shared values and visions. (IUCN, 1985)

There are a number of possible bases for classification. The IUCN classifies these protected areas in terms of management objectives. [See Table 1] McNeil (1990) classifies the proposed and existing parks according to their presumed control, ownership or sovereignty, and secondarily according to who has or might have an interest in an area's possible status as a park. [See Table 2] The objectives of TBCAs are however, not so clear cut, but instead are often a combination of objectives. I have provided a brief summary, in the form of tables, of both classifications.

Table 1: Protected area categories and management objectives

Category	Type	Objective
I	Scientific Reserve / Strict nature reserve	Protect nature and maintain natural processes in undisturbed state. Emphasize scientific study, environmental monitoring and education, and maintenance of genetic resources in a dynamic and evolutionary state.
II	National Park	Protect relatively large natural and scenic areas of national or international significance for scientific, educational, and recreational use.
III	Natural monument / Natural landmark	Preserve nationally significant natural features and maintain their unique characteristics.
IV	Managed Nature Reserve / wildlife sanctuary	Protect nationally significant species, groups of species, biotic communities, or physical features of the environment when these require specific human manipulation for their perpetuation.
V	Protected landscapes	Maintain nationally significant natural landscape characteristic of the harmonious interaction of people and land while providing opportunities for public recreation and tourism within the normal life-style and economic activity of these areas.
VI	Resource reserve	Protect natural resources for future use and prevent or contain development that could affect resources pending the establishment of management objectives based on appropriate knowledge and planning.
VII	Natural biotic area /	Allow societies to live in harmony with the environment

	anthropological reserve	undisturbed by modern technology.
VIII	Multiple-use management area / managed resource area	Sustain production of water, timber, wildlife, pasture, and outdoor recreation. Conservation of nature orientated supporting economic activities (although specific zone can also be designed within these areas to achieve specific conservation objectives).

Source: International Union for Conservation of Nature and natural resources (IUCN 1985).

Table 2: International Parks Classified Primarily by Sovereignty secondarily by Interest (with parenthetical example)

I International: clear and undisputed sovereignty status	
A	Unclaimed, unowned, no national sovereignty (deep ocean resources, moon)
B	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. broad international interest (World Heritage Sites) 2. primarily narrow foreign interest
C	<p style="text-align: center;">Multiple sovereignty</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. global, or world interest (none presently; possibilities such as Antarctica) 2. Limited interest (none presently; possibilities such as Machias Seal Island)
II International: unclear and / or disputed sovereignty	
A	Multiple or global interest (Antarctica)
B	Regional interest (Korean Demilitarised Zone)
III Transnational: adjacent and co-operatively managed protected areas	
(Belgian-German Nature Park)	
IV Border: potential transnational parks	
Source: McNeil (1990)	

2.1 HISTORY OF TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREAS

The First Global Conference on *Tourism –A Vital Force for Peace* held in Vancouver, Canada in October 1988, presented a sympathetic forum for the further exploration of the role of transborder areas. Within this Conference IUCN's Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas (CNPPA) was asked to co-ordinate a separate workshop on the topic. The workshop produced a summary two-page digest of 'Guidelines for Promoting Effective Management of Trans-Frontier Parks and Reserves'. Its background papers provided a wealth of experience on border parks from several parts of the world (Thorsell, 1990). The IUCN –The World Conservation Union – founded in 1948, is a membership organisation consisting of governments, non-governmental organisations, research institutions, and conservation agencies in 120 countries. The Union aims to promote and encourage the protection and sustainable utilisation of living resources. One of its six Commissions is on protected areas, namely the IUCN Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas (Thorsell, 1990).

At least 100 Transborder Conservation Areas have been designated throughout the world, involving 65 countries and several separate states. Examples of such Peace Parks from around the world are: Hohe Tauern National Park (three Austrian states of Tyrol / Salzburg / Carinthia); Mercantour / Maritime Alps National Parks (France and Italy); Kkonose/ Karkonosze National Parks and Biosphere Reserves (Czech Republic and Poland); and Australian Alps National Parks (New South Wales / Victoria / Australian Capital Territory). The Waterton Lakes National Park (Canada) and Glacier National Park (United States) were joined by legislation as the world's first international peace park (IPP) in 1932. Each national park was established separately by the two respective national governments as a result of lobbying efforts by citizens. It was primarily the work of Alberta and Montana chapters of Rotary International, the Canadian Parliament and the United States Congress that designated the two national parks as Waterton-Glacier International Peace Park (IPP). This is a land of high mountains and deep valleys, of alpine meadows, dense forests and prairie grasslands; a combination that provides habitats for a spectacular array of plants and animals, unrestricted by the political boundary of the international boundary. Although administratively separate, the two parks promote the peace park image through

literature and signage, exchange of interpretive staff, uniform insignia, and special events. The parks cooperate in emergency responses, staff training, and resource management. Both areas have been designated international biosphere reserves by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO). The result of this cooperation is the protection of an international ecosystem while the parks have become a drawing card and gateway to international tourism. The 4 450km² IPP is an attempt to lessen the effects of this arbitrary border, to build a bridge between two nations and protect a natural area or habitat. This area was originally the home of Indian tribes; now the Blackfeet live on the plains on both sides of the international border and are Peace Park neighbours (Hamilton et al, 1996; Lieff and Lusk, 1990; Thorsell, 1990). There are many more opportunities for such Transborder Conservation Areas, especially in Southern Africa, and the World Conservation Union (IUCN) has long been promoting their establishment.

2.2 PARTICIPATING ORGANISATIONS

An analysis of TBCAs inevitably necessitates an identification of the actors and the roles they play, which either complicate the situation or contribute to the development of TBCAs, as well as the interests of certain groups, which influences these decisions.

i) Local Communities

Two principal approaches to organising and sustaining community participation in peace parks projects can be identified from the literature: employing agents of change and building local institutions. Ideally, agents of change do not act as leaders and do not tell the community what to do. They are also referred to as field workers, extension workers, community organisers or animators. Their task is to foster grassroots participation and build local institutions. It has been argued that participation through institutions or organisations is more likely to be effective and sustained than individual participation. Local institutions can act as a focus of mobilization among local people and as a link between local people and external organisations, whether governmental or non-governmental organisation. Institution building has been described by Midgeley (in Wells et al, 1992:45) as “the creation of procedures for democratic decision making at the local level and the involvement of local people in these procedures to the extent that they [come to] regard them as the normal way of conducting community affairs”. People

within the community who represent special interest groups, such as women, the landless, or other minority groups should be encouraged to participate. Broad participation helps ensure that a project's activities are relevant for the greatest number, and fit with the local culture, organisation, interests and level of skills (Ack, 1991). It is important for projects to work with local leaders who can both further the goals of the project and represent the needs of particular interest groups. Involving more people directly in decision-making within a project encourages leadership. It fosters development of people with skills and knowledge to help manage the project, and helps extend the project's benefits and information to more people. Over time local leaders sustain the activities of the project. They can become employed by the project as it grows, as they are often the most qualified people for the jobs created as projects expand their scale and scope. An additional benefit of leadership development is that as people become participants and leaders in project activities, they are more likely to become active in other issues and organize their community to confront new problems (Ack, 1991).

ii) Governmental agencies

Protected area management agencies are generally found in the ministries responsible for forests or wildlife. Their challenging mandate – managing large areas of land for conservation – is frequently out of all proportion to their negligible resources, inadequate legal powers, and lack of political influence. Consequently, these agencies tend to appear ineffectual in managing and protecting their parks. Outside park boundaries the situation is worse. Park managers tend to be poorly placed to address the problems confronting local people. Few park management agencies have jurisdiction outside park boundaries, and the legal authority over lands adjacent to parks is shared between local government and several ministries. Most of the agencies lack equipment and the most basic technical expertise. Field staff are often poorly paid, ill-equipped, ill-trained, lacking opportunities for advancement, and isolated from their families for long periods. In combination with the traditional orientation toward an enforcement role, these constraints ensure that most park management agencies lack the inclination or capacity to respond constructively to local people-park issues. Unsurprisingly, this has culminated in conflicts of interest between park managers and local communities, leading to resentment, hardship, and sometimes violence (Wells et al, 1992).

Government authority is sometimes delegated to a non-governmental organisation. Governments can also facilitate, authorise, or at least tolerate projects without actively participating. One of the most important ways for governments to help TBCAs is the passage of legislation to establish multi-use areas or to clarify jurisdiction outside the boundaries of existing protected areas. Projects with activities in different sectors (for e.g. tourism, education, and forestry) often have to reach agreement with several government agencies.

iii) Non-governmental organisations

The World Bank describes NGOs as “private organisations that pursue activities to relieve suffering, promote the interests of the poor, protect the environment or undertake community development” (Cernea in Wells et al, 1992:51). Another basic distinction is between national and international NGOs. The national NGOs tend to be either development- or conservation-oriented, but generally not both. The international organisations’ principal role has been to contribute or raise funds and to provide expatriate technical assistance.

Annis (in Wells et al, 1992) has written that the strengths for which NGOs are acclaimed can also be serious weaknesses –that “small-scale” can merely mean “insignificant”, “political independent” can mean “powerless” or “disconnected”, and “innovative” can simply mean “temporary” or “unsustainable”. These potential weaknesses suggest a need for some caution in assessing the capacity of any NGO to execute TBCAs unassisted. Another constraint facing NGOs is the resistance of some governments and their agencies to NGO involvement in development projects. Governments frequently feel threatened by the growth of NGOs and often react to their activities with suspicion and hostility. Some governments may regard NGO activities as an unwelcome intrusion in politics. In turn, NGOs sometimes face the dilemma of accepting some government funds and putting their credibility or future autonomy at risk. Finally, the reports and literature emanating from some of the NGOs sponsoring the projects suggest confusion between what has been planned and what has been achieved. In some cases the public relations effort has been set in motion too early. This has several undesirable effects:

- It suggests that the TBCA approach is relatively quick and easy, when in fact TBCAs are complex and long-term commitments;

- It overrates some weak projects, rather than concentrating on needed improvements;
- It places unrealistic expectations on some promising projects too soon;
- It inhibits the experimentation and learning that are essential in such innovative ventures; and
- It can lead to large numbers of visitors, all requiring the valuable time of project managers.

The strengths and weaknesses of NGOs participating in TBCAs can be summarised as follows:

Comparative advantages

- Reaching the rural poor, particularly in remote areas
- Facilitating local resource mobilisation and promoting rural participation
- Delivering services at relatively low cost
- finding innovative solutions

Comparative Limitations

- Limited ability to scale-up successful projects
- Limited ability to develop community organisations that are self-sustaining after special staff and resources are withdrawn
- Lack of technical capacity for complex projects
- Lack of strategic perspective and linkages with other important actors
- Limited managerial and organisational capacities

[Source Brown and Korten (1989) in Wells et al, 1992]

2.2.1 Which organisations should be involved?

Top-down initiatives are associated with governments and with international organisations, and bottom-up initiatives are associated with NGOs (Greeff, 1998). Government agencies interested in, or responsible for, conservation frequently lack financial resources and enough trained personnel, and are orientated away from community involvement in natural resource management. On the other hand, many projects implemented by NGOs have been tolerated rather than encouraged by government. Although this may result in projects that facilitate local decision-making, are sensitive to local community needs, and are independent of ponderous bureaucracies,

there are three problems. First, conservation and development NGOs alone often lack the necessary expertise to identify, design, implement, or evaluate integrated projects. Second, NGO operations are unlikely to be permitted by most governments to reach a scale large enough to make a meaningful difference to the conservation of biological diversity and community development. Third, the prospects for project success are limited without the active participation of government in establishing a policy and legislative environment supportive of TBCAs. It could also be argued that without the basic services that only government can provide on a significant scale – such as education, health care, and infrastructure – there is little chance of instigating major, sustainable change in remote and poor communities. The above factors point to the need for partnerships between different types of organisations and communities (Greeff, 1998; Wells et al, 1998). Participation in the establishment of TBCAs must therefore come from all levels, in order to create a sense of ownership. In order to do this there is a need for policy co-ordination and institution building.

3. THE BENEFITS AND LIMITATIONS OF TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREAS

3.1 THE VALUE OF TBCAS

The pertinent question is: why should and do actors like states encourage and endorse the establishment of TBCAs? If they are not beneficial, be it politically, socially, economically or environmentally, then why establish them at all? As previously mentioned, the attainment of such political, economic, social and environmental gains depends on co-operation at all levels, and co-operation depends on perceived common interests (Keohane, 1984; Strong, 1992). Effective communication about the benefits of TBCAs and actions need to be a continual process to decision and policy makers of the responsible countries. Only by achieving a high level commitment to the process can many of these benefits be realised. It is also of extreme importance that the benefits be demonstrated to local people within, or neighbours to, the parks.

Using studies (Kalpers and Lanjouw, 1997; Hamilton et al, 1996; Shine, 1997) conducted on existing and potential TBCAs from around the world and, using their core benefits as a base, I will look at the numerous benefits to be derived from TBCAs. These core benefits include:

- Reduction of political tension and / or the promotion of peace

- Better management of natural resources and environments
- Economic development
- Local community participation and development, and the preservation and enhancement of cultural values and, in certain cases, the protection of transboundary peoples (Shine, 1997; Thorsell, 1990).

While the first three goals are more obvious and attainable as products of the establishment of TBCAs, the fourth –that of community participation and development is more indistinct. In all the documentation concerning Peace Parks much mention is made of the associated benefits for communities adjacent to the proposed TBCAs, with very little concrete detail of how this is to be achieved. Using the Kgalagadi TBCA I will delve deeper into this dilemma in the fourth chapter.

3.1.1 The Promotion of Peace and Co-operation

The United Nations Secretary General, Kofi Annan stated that “safeguarding the environment ...is a guiding principle of all our work in support of sustainable development; it is an essential component of poverty eradication and one of the foundations for peace” (1997). TBCAs provide an opportunity to address the concerns of increasing unemployment and poverty, the rising loss of biological diversity and civil unrest across international boundaries. As Claire Shine (1997) puts it: “whatever the main objective, the potential benefits of transboundary protected areas are closely inter-related: prospects for peace are most likely to be strengthened if natural resources are sustainably used and the interests of local populations are taken fully into account”. David McDowell, the World Conservation Union’s (IUCN) Director General, noted the links between transboundary co-operation and human insecurity. He acknowledges that although environmental scarcity is not usually the exclusive cause of conflict and human insecurity, when it interacts with ethnic, political, economic and / or social factors the combination is volatile (IUCN, 1997:40).

Peace Parks can promote peace and co-operation through:

- i) Intensifying the contacts between the national protected area authorities

Contacts established under the name of a Peace Park represent a remarkable opportunity for the intensification of regional co-operation in the field of biodiversity

conservation. This will also enable the harmonisation of conservation policies, not only for the parks concerned, but also at a national level in each of the countries involved. (Kalpers and Lanjouw, 1997) In general law enforcement activities and policies, there needs to be co-operation for effectiveness. Joint patrols, sharing of the intelligence database and monitoring methods and co-ordinated customs and immigration activities benefit parks and people. Joint training of park staff can produce economies and foster exchange of varied experience of field staff. This applies to law enforcement, park maintenance, fire control, environmental education and many other management activities (e.g. Hohe Tauern, Lanjak Entimau / Bentuang Karimun). Joint research programs bring the benefits of different perspectives, eliminating duplication, providing more scientific interchange and opportunities for standardising methodologies so that research data and results are more meaningful. Improved staff morale seems to go hand-in-hand with transboundary co-operation. This may be partly through reduction in the feeling of isolation for parks in remote areas. It also reflects the sharing of experiences with other professional who grapple with similar problems. Similarly, the cultural differences can make for enriching interaction and camaraderie. (Hamilton et al, 1996)

ii) Easing international tension

In chapter two we saw that intergovernmental co-operation occurs when the policies followed by one government are regarded by its partners as facilitating the realisation of their own objectives. This is a result of policy co-ordination (Keohane, 1984). When these attempts at policy adjustment succeed in making policies more compatible, then co-operation results. This is what we see to have occurred in numerous examples from around the world, where TBCAs formed the common ground for co-operation. Tension over unusual border situations following wars have been eased, for example the Cracow Protocol in 1924 recognised the value of an international park between Poland and Czechoslovakia. Where relations have been somewhat strained, the creation of parks such as the Finnish / Russian Karelia Friendship Park, encourages friendlier interaction between countries. In situations of armed conflict, buffer-zone parks can reduce military presence, demonstrate the effectiveness of non-military methods of dispute resolution and even lead to the solving of boundary disputes (McNeil, 1990). The SIAPAZ Park between Nicaragua and Costa Rica comes close to this. The demilitarised zone between North and South Korea is a *de facto* nature reserve and has immense potential to become a peace park.

iii) Being a toll for political stabilisation in the region

A peace park could represent a symbol of the respective countries desire to take the path of co-operation. A peace park represents a “cornerstone in the building of long-term peace” and its value, albeit symbolic, should not be underestimated (Kalpers and Lanjouw, 1997: 2-4). Within each of the respective units, a more holistic and more regional or global perspective develops with a broad spectrum of advantages.

iv) Technical and non-political interaction

Such interaction promotes greater understanding and trust. The non-political technical exchanges and co-operation can lead to other types of transborder exchanges and build trust between countries or competitive states.

These parks can *precede*, *lead to*, and *result in*, as well as *maintain*, peace among nations and communities. Thus, TBCAs can be categorised by the nature of the relations of the countries. Four levels of social conditions present quite different opportunities for the development of international parks.

- **Peaceful relations preceded the establishment:** The Glacier / Waterton Park is an example of where peace came to countries which did originally have excellent relations. Where strong, long-term, very friendly relationships exist, it is more likely to be possible to use ecological barriers and cultural criteria than political boundaries to control management practices. Sharing of funding and staff, joint interpretation and educational activities, and enhanced and efficient use and management of park resources are possible. Thus, co-operation has occurred as a result of policy co-ordination (Keohane, 1984). These situations can also be excellent demonstrations and examples for other parts of the world showing the benefits to be derived from co-operating. In this case we see that in co-operating each government pursued what it considered as its self-interest, but at the same time seeking bargains that could benefit both parties to the deal.
- **Relations neutral, but ‘cool’ or peaceful but still bearing the possibility of a more friendly interaction between countries:** Examples may be, La Amistad National Park in Costa Rica and its proposed partner park in Panama, or Finland’s potential park on its eastern border and a possible Soviet partner. Where relationships are satisfactory but not excellent, important values and effects may include the building of bi-national confidence and goodwill; the improvement of international understanding; increase in the sense that international activities offer

positive possibilities; and generally further movement toward peace not simply as the absence of war but as a positive relationship and set of activities.

- **Parks created or proposed after a war or where there have been tensions or boundary disputes:** For example the German-Dutch, German Belgian, and German-Luxembourg Parks, while growing partly from earlier work, seem to be primarily an attempt at reconciliation and improved international relationships following World War II. Similarly, the Czechoslovakian-Polish parks are primarily a result of unusual border situations, which followed World War II. In the aftermath of war or other conflicts, rebuilding confidence and goodwill are important. The reduction of uncertainties for people living near borders and the protection of the interests of minorities or powerless people can occur. Demonstrations of successful and peaceful interactions between former antagonists are possible with the creation and management of border parks.
- **Parks created where tensions or hostilities are present:** A primary goal of such parks may be the fostering of peace. An example is the effort of Nicaragua and Costa Rica to create and manage co-operatively a series of protected areas on their common border. Where conflicts are present, the establishment of parks can encourage a reduction or removal of a military presence, reduce scale of military operations or tend to move them to less damaging or less inflammatory areas, demonstrate non-military methods of dispute avoidance and resolution, lead to the eventual resolution of boundary disputes, and generally lead antagonists to the realisation that peace is possible (McNeil, 1990).

3.1.2 Management and Conservation of Natural Resources

The management and conservation of natural resources essentially comes down to the conservation of biological diversity. Biological diversity - or "biodiversity" - is the number and variety of living organisms on earth, the millions of plants, animals, and microorganisms, the genes they contain, the evolutionary history and potential they encompass, and the ecosystems, ecological processes, and landscapes of which they are integral parts (DEAT, 1997). Biodiversity thus refers to the life-support systems and natural resources upon which we depend. Biodiversity conservation is, at base, concerned with the world's continuing losses of genetic capital, i.e. the amount and extent of genetic variety within the earth's ecosystems (McNeely, 1988). The motivation to conserve biological diversity is

not an altruistic one. There are clear and positive links between biological diversity and human development. At the global level, the loss of diversity means the loss of options for all of us and for future generations. In addition to any yet-to-be-discovered economic values, there is also the very real dependence of our ecosystems, and hence our economies, on the diversity that exists. The crops and animals that we currently rely upon are continually under threat from outbreaks of pests and disease, and it is the diverse strains that exist in the wild that we must ultimately rely upon in these circumstances to provide more resistant strains (Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

There is also the very tangible value obtained by those persons who rely upon the diverse products of our earth for their subsistence and development. Most of these people belong to groups who have traditionally used and consumed the products of natural habitats, and to them "biodiversity" represents real and concrete resources. It should not only be for our appreciation and enjoyment of nature that we conserve it; but also for our "self-interest". This is true not only at the local level of communities that are dependent largely upon the diverse products of natural habitat for subsistence purposes, but it is also true at the global level for the insurance and options that biodiversity preserves for us all (DEAT, 1997; Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

The conservation of natural resources and the provision of opportunities for tourism and recreational use are often considered somewhat contradictory and yet central reasons for many national parks. International approaches to policy making and management can enhance both. Above the efficiency provided by co-operation and the increased conservation opportunities inherent with larger park units, transnational co-operation almost always improves the opportunities to manage according to nature's units – populations and ecosystems – rather than according to politically determined boundaries (McNeil, 1990).

The provision of transborder parks will serve the interests of improved resource management by:

- i) Enabling a homogenous and concerted approach to management and conservation of the transborder area

The management of the parks is often based on principles that are very different. A peace park provides a mechanism whereby these differences can be minimised in order to arrive at a uniform management system. The advantage of such a system is to

weaken the “virtual barriers” separating the parks and to find a common approach to management.

ii) Authorising the development of true regional tourism

A peace park would be beneficial in enabling the development of regional tourism circuits bringing together the countries involved, based on a diversification of ecotourism attractions. A consequence of such a concerted strategy would be to “dilute” the pressure on natural resources from tourism by dividing the demand more equitably between the countries involved. (Kalpers and Lanjouw, 1997)

iii) Maintaining biological diversity, by means of:

- Promoting ecosystem-based management for plants and animals where populations occur both sides of an ‘artificial’ boundary, or for migratory wildlife species that cross a jurisdictional boundary. For example, the Huemul populations in southern Chile and Argentina share home ranges in both countries; ibex and mouflon have seasonal movements between Maritime Alps and Mercantour; tiger populations get more varied ecosystem in the two Manas border parks of India and Bhutan.
- Better response to pest species (insect pests or alien species) through joint action for control or there remains an adjacent source of the problem (e.g. alien plant species control in Krkonoše / Karkonosze, and wild pig cross-border control in the Australian Alps).
- A larger contiguous protected area co-operatively managed reducing the risk of biodiversity loss from different policies applied on smaller areas with respect to harvesting levels, enhancement measures and differing protected status of laws protecting rare species; there is less “island” effects; there is more genetic exchange. (E.g. more viable populations are maintained in the whole complex of areas even though Makalu-Barun, Langtang and Sagarmatha on Nepal side are each rather small, they abut the large Qomolangma).
- The reintroduction of wildlife requiring large habitat range, such as top carnivores, is more successful if two abutting wild core areas exist and the project can be done jointly (e.g. bearded vulture reintroduction in Maritime Alps / Mercantour).
- For rare plant species and ex-situ seed bank and nursery may be needed. Having one such facility serving two or more areas gives a desired economy by sharing the costs (e.g. Krkonoše / Karkonosze share one on the Czech side) (Hamilton et al, 1996)

3.1.3 Economic Development

“The challenge facing nations today is no longer deciding whether conservation is a good idea, but rather how it should be implemented in the national interest and within the means available in each country” (WCED, 1987). To these ends the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) suggests that national accounting systems should incorporate the value of biological resource stocks, and advocated a series of economic measures to support conservation. The International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) has taken up these challenges by attempting to design specific mechanisms that governments, NGOs, and development assistance agencies can use to promote the conservation of biological diversity. One mechanism, which has received insufficient attention, has been economic factors. Effective systems of management can ensure that biological resources not only survive, but in fact increase while they are being used, thus providing the foundation for sustainable development and for stable national economies. Experience has shown that too little biological diversity will be conserved by market force alone, and that effective government intervention is required to meet the needs of society. Economic inducements are likely to prove the most effective measures for converting over-exploitation to sustainable use of biological resources (WCED, 1987). Human decision-making is inevitably based on economic thinking, irrespective of whether it is labeled as such. Conservation policies must demonstrate in economic terms the value of biological diversity to the country’s social and economic development, so as to compete for the attention of government decision-makers. Conservation does not mean non-use, but rather wise use, which contributes to sustainable development (McNeely, 1988).

In terms of economic development, besides the above mentioned attractions, TBCAs serve to do the following:

- i) By merit of its prestige and institutional foundation, a peace park constitutes a pole of attraction for the outside world

Peace Parks will draw the attention of external donors and, hopefully, render other sources of potential funding available.

- ii) Encourages ecotourism

Natural areas are major attraction for tourists. Tourism can bring numerous socio-economic benefits to a country, in terms of creating local employment, stimulating local economies, generating foreign exchange, stimulating improvements to local

transportation infrastructure, and creating recreational facilities. Positive effects on the environment often derive from these socio-economic benefits. Such positive effects may include:

- Sensitively managed, wildlife tourism offers a nation the opportunity to develop a high value-added industry that simultaneously protects wildlife by removing, or reducing, the incentive to develop land for agriculture or other uses and / or exploit wildlife for consumptive uses. Sensitive tourism needs to take into account the following factors: tourism needs to be sensitive to the scale of tourism, which can both threaten wildlife and give rise to stress in animal populations (Swanson and Barbier, 1992);
- Wildlife-based tourism is a non-consumptive means of using wild resources to benefit human populations. International tourism offers substantial returns for developing nations that place a high premium on earning foreign exchange (Swanson and Barbier, 1992);
- Encouraging productive use for conservation objectives of lands which are marginal for agriculture, thereby enabling large tracts of land to remain covered in natural vegetation;
- Promoting conservation action by convincing government officials and the general public of the importance of natural areas for generating income from tourism; and
- Stimulating investments in infrastructure and effective management of natural areas (McNeely, 1988; Scace, 1990).

Nature-based tourism opportunities and resulting benefits are enhanced in several ways:

- It is more cost-effective and satisfying for the tourist to be able to visit more than one park from a base, and even to pay one admission fee (e.g. boat trips across the border on Waterton Lake for Glacier / Waterton etc.)
- Joint approach in marketing is more likely to attract tour operators as an economy of scale and provides more of a level playing field when dealing with the tourism industry (e.g. Australian Alps national parks)
- Collaboration on such matters as entry fees (not too disparate), tour operator training and numbers limitations can make for more cost-effective and orderly nature tourism.
- Information and educational materials can be jointly developed and produced at cost savings. Common maps, brochures, video material and even joint interpretive outings on both sides of the border are hallmarks of effective TBC. (E.g.: the joint

superintendents' transborder walk in Glacier/ Waterton; the National Parks Horse Riding Code and several other brochures, for all partners in the Australian Alps). (Hamilton et al, 1996)

In short, tourism and conservation of biological resources can be natural partners, and each can benefit from the other if both are properly managed. It is in the interest of both tourism and conservation that governments are convinced of the need to devote sufficient resources to natural areas.

3.1.4 Local Community Participation and Development

Biological resources are often under threat because the responsibility for their management has been removed from the people who live closest to them, and instead has been transferred to government agencies located in distant capitals. But the costs of conservation still typically fall on the relatively few rural people who otherwise might have benefited most directly from exploiting these resources. Changing these circumstances requires first examining government resource management policies to determine how these policies may stimulate a villager's poaching and encroachment. Economic incentives designed to reverse the effects of these policies may provide the best means of transforming an exploiter into a conservationist. Which members of a population have their access to biological resources enhanced and which members have it restricted by government policies is of profound importance in determining whether the resources will make a sustainable contribution to society (McNeely, 1988).

Where indigenous minorities live on both sides of a border, or habitually move across it, a transboundary park may, by involving them in planning and decision-making, have benefits that sustain these peoples as well as the natural resources (Hamilton et al, 1996). For a TBCA to be truly successful the local communities must be involved from the beginning. These people must also be able to see direct benefits from such areas. These benefits can be accrued from the protection of their natural habitat, the preservation of cultural values and from economic gains through funding and ecotourism. These TBCAs can thus be transnational in a second sense, that is, where people living on the territory of, and subject to the sovereignty of a nation state, understand themselves to be a part of quite a different political and legal entity. The

security, economic conditions, social status and the stability of social conditions of these people can occur with the creation of TBCAs (if properly applied). The Maasai of Kenya and Tanzania could definitely benefit from an improved capability of visiting, exchanging information and conducting ceremonies with friends and relatives across the border. Sahelian cattle-and-camel herders will be able to better manage their herds if their movements can be directed primarily by availability of food and water, instead of political boundaries (McNeil, 1990).

Incentives to conserve biological resources at the local level can address a number of objectives:

- i. Build the capacity of communities adjacent to protected areas to develop productive activities which do not deplete biological resources
- ii. To reduce agricultural pressure on marginal lands
- iii. Conserve traditional knowledge about the use of biological resources, and to re-establish common property management institutions where these have been effective in the past
- iv. Compensate villagers for possible income lost through restrictions on utilisation of protected biological resources (McNeely, 1988)

3.2 IMPEDIMENTS TO TRANSBORDER CO-OPERATION

Although the benefits are numerous the establishing of TBCAs must not be taken lightly, nor should they be approached with blind idealism. It is often more complicated to reach agreement between two or more distinct entities, than to take unilateral action. Transborder co-operation brings with it many inevitable impediments. This explains to a large extent why there are many types of transborder co-operation. It is unavoidable that protected areas that share common borders also share common problems. Strong nationalism, isolationism, or different political ideologies can make it impossible for a high level of transborder co-operation to prevail. In some open hostility and even conflict hinders any level of co-operation. Even where there is not open political hostility, just the existence of different languages, cultures, currencies, laws and a number of other differences that exist between nations may make transborder co-operation difficult to accomplish (Hamilton et al, 1996). Thus, it is important to assess the difficulties in establishing TBCAs.

One of the fundamental constraints is that some people earn greater immediate benefits from exploiting biological resources than they do from conserving them, and the society at large often pays the costs of such resource depletion. Highlighting again the "Tragedy of the Commons" Thus, stressing the need for coercion in the form of incentives as opposed to enforcement. [Refer to chapter two]. It is apparent that conserving biological resources requires appropriate policies in many sectors, and that using economic incentives alone will not bring about miraculous cures to society's conservation ills. However, economic approaches can help clarify issues and indicate costs and benefits of alternative courses of action, providing an important tool to governments that are concerned about managing biological resources more effectively. Since governments establish the policy framework within which individuals and institutions operate, they should ensure that the resource management agencies have the policy support, which will enable them carry out their assigned responsibilities. Because human decision-making is usually based on economic thinking, the benefits of linking economics more explicitly with the conservation of biological resources are evident (McNeely, 1988).

Different and occasionally conflicting laws with respect to such things as illegal drug crops, wildlife harvesting, wildlife trade (one may be a signatory to CITES and one not), customs and immigration, use of firearms, timber theft, all make co-operative law enforcement difficult. Religious / cultural differences may result in different attitudes toward nature that have to be recognised and provided for. These attitudes range from eradicating 'pest' animals to dress codes for the visitors. Most importantly, differences can often result in misunderstandings. Fortunately, communication associated difficulties are being addressed by modern technology. There is however, always the problem of insufficient funds for communication.

The level of political commitment may differ on either side, causing a "weaker vs a more dominant partner". This may result because the structure and degree of professionalism present in the different agencies may make the establishment of equal partners difficult; or due to the countries being at different levels of economic development resulting in different goals. A further difficulty is the inconsistency of involvement with international protocols or conventions (World Heritage, Conventions on Migratory Species) will prevent their being used as transborder support (Hamilton et al, 1996).

Some of the more specific lessons learned from the National Parks, of Cameroon and Nigeria (Gartlan, 1997) include:

- There should ideally be ethnic and economic homogeneity on both sides of the border. Economic conditions on both sides should be similar (if there is imbalance there will be infiltration from high to low). Population pressures should also be roughly similar. If not, there will be infiltration from high to low. Therefore, there should be compatibility of way of life between the two sides.
- National parks in sub-Saharan Africa lack sufficient budgets. In areas of potential conflict transnational protected areas require higher budgets. It would seem that increased policing rather than community management are needed in these circumstances.
- The colonial boundaries of post-colonial Africa have been maintained with rigor by African governments. The concept of a buffer-zone causes some disquiet; since it appears to indicate a loss of sovereignty. It is also suspect from a military strategic point of view.

Failure is more visible and this can make it more difficult to risk co-operating on the next issue. Sans clear objectives and enlightened leadership, co-operation can lead to weak compromise, indecision or inaction. The greater the number of states involved, the more likely will be differences in environmental preferences (and policies) and therefore the more difficulty expected in agreeing on appropriate action. This underlines the need for international co-operation in the form of policy co-ordination, of which the harmonisation of environmental standards would be one option.

4. HISTORY OF TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREAS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

In the last forty years the African continent has witnessed a growth of African nationalism. In February 1990 Nelson Mandela was released from prison and the ban on the African National Congress lifted. The year nineteen-ninety four heralded the culmination of the African drive for independence, as Mandela became South Africa's first black president. The transition to true democracy provided the impetus for co-operation between South Africa and its immediate neighbours. This marked the end of South Africa's policy of destabilizing its neighbours, although the effects of this policy are still present today. However, this part of the continent has arguably become one of

the most peaceful regions in Africa, with immense potential for regional co-operation on Transborder Conservation Areas (Hanks, 1997).

Within Southern Africa TBCAs are the embodiment of some of the primary aims of the Southern African Development Community, namely: the promotion of self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance, and the inter-dependence of member states; and the achievement of sustainable utilisation of natural resources and effective protection of the environment (SADC, 1999). TBCAs also give impetus to increased tourism, in the form of ecotourism thus advancing the economies of those participating countries. South Africa became a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in 1994, joining Angola, Botswana, Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The objectives of the Peace Parks are reflected in the aims of the Treaty establishing SADC, and are as follows:

- (a) Deeper economic co-operation and integration, on the basis of balance, equality and mutual benefit, providing for cross-border investment and trade, and freer movement of factors of production, goods and services across national boundaries;
- (b) common economic, political social values and systems, enhancing enterprise competitiveness, democracy and good governance, respect for the rule of law and human rights, popular participation, and the alleviation of poverty; and
- (c) Strengthened regional solidarity, peace and security, in order for the people of the region to live and work in harmony (Hanks, 1997; SADC, 1999).

The above developments laid the foundations for the realisation of TBCAs in Southern Africa, with the initial initiatives emanating from South Africa. Dr Anton Rupert, the President of the World Wide Fund of South Africa (then called the Southern African Nature Foundation) had a meeting with Mozambique's President Joaquim Chissano on 7 May 1990, in order to discuss the possibility of the establishment of a permanent link between some of the protected areas in southern Mozambique and their adjacent counterparts in South Africa, particularly the Kruger National Park. The WWF carried out a feasibility study, which they presented early the next year to the government of Mozambique. The report covered the preliminary plans for the establishment of transborder parks involving Zimbabwe, South Africa, Swaziland and Mozambique. This was followed by a major World Bank / Global Environmental Facility mission, and in

June 1996 the Bank released its recommendations in a report entitled: *Mozambique: Transfrontier Conservation Areas Pilot and Institutional Strengthening Project*. It suggested an important conceptual shift from the idea of strictly protected national parks towards greater emphasis on multiple resource use by local communities by introducing the Transborder Conservation Area (TBCA) concept (Hanks, 1997).

Dr Pallo Jordan, former Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism for South Africa, noted at the *International Conference on Transboundary Protected Areas as a Vehicle for International Co-operation* in 1997 that “[Peace] Parks will be a token of shared commitment by the peoples and governments of Southern Africa to strive for peace and to pursue the option of peaceful resolution of conflict as an intrinsic condition for the welfare and development of our region”. Traditionally both human and mammal populations would have migrated across or straddled the man-made boundaries of Southern Africa. Thus an aim of the initiative of TBCAs is to support the management of existing national parks, as part of a wider “conservation zone” of different land uses that extend across national borders, thereby advancing ecologically based regional land use. It requires co-ordinated regional and local community-based natural resource management activities. This co-ordination is essential for the creation of integrated land-use conservancies that merge wildlife management programs with the needs of local communities. TBCAs can help bring together Southern Africa’s nations in a network of sustainable economic and ecological partnerships, protecting their unique natural wealth for present and future generations (Peace Parks Foundation, 1998).

4.1 SOUTHERN AFRICA’S NEW PRIORITIES

In Southern Africa the environment is generally not afforded a very high status for a number of reasons, which will be discussed below. The promotion and establishment of TBCAs in this area may (and will have to) serve to change these perceptions. The initial approach to wildlife management, which has its roots in the Western environmental movements and ideology of the past century, saw the establishment of large areas of national parks and reserves as the foremost priority for African conservation. Ownership, control and management were to be handled by the government. For most Southern African countries, the policy was a direct legacy of the colonial era; for others it appeared to be a “successful” approach to wildlife management worth adopting. For example, in South Africa, the fragmented, polarised, and

inefficient administrative and legislative structures created by apartheid resulted in no fewer than seventeen government departments having a primary responsibility for nature conservation prior to the April 1994 election. This situation did not improve with the establishment of new provinces and government structures. Divided responsibilities, together with a duplication of effort, a profusion of laws, and most importantly a lack of co-ordination, have been major factors hampering the effective conservation of biodiversity in South Africa. Aggravating this has been a lack of integration of biodiversity considerations into national decision-making, weak political will with regard to environmental conservation, and the insufficient and declining allocation of resources to conservation (DEAT, 1997).

As with the case of South Africa the establishment of many of the protected areas in Southern Africa frequently worked against the direct economic interest of local communities. It meant that many communities no longer had access to resources they had traditionally used for years. Often, the gazetting of land for these "preserved" areas led to the displacement or enforced relocation of rural communities with little real compensation for the loss in traditional livelihoods or resources. Any subsequent use of the land and wild resources from these areas was deemed illegal, yet at the same time; many neighbouring communities had to bear the full brunt of crop and other economic damages from marauding wildlife or their frequent migration. This resulted in local communities losing their traditional management and use rights to local wild resources and seeing little incentive, and indeed a major cost, in conserving them (DEAT, 1997; Swanson and Barbier, 1992; Thomson, 1986). The situation has deteriorated due to rising rural populations, scarcity of arable land and increased urbanisation. Direct land use conflicts over protected areas and their resources are now the norm in many parts of Southern Africa. With the poverty endemic in many of the rural areas, illegal encroachment, hunting and harvesting in protected areas is often the only available source of living. Local people may not be directly involved in these activities, but their complete alienation from or disinterest in wildlife conservation generally translates into little opposition to or concern for the depletion of local wild resources by others. With the limited financial resources, trained manpower and equipment at their disposal, the national and local authorities responsible for protecting and maintaining these preserved areas are often powerless to control the problem. Low morale and wages sometimes leads government officials and park employees to participate in the lucrative, illegal exploitation of protected areas (Swanson and Barbier, 1992).

Most Southern African countries have also had to contend with high levels of military expenditure during the 1980s due to the confrontation with South Africa over apartheid. These pressures resulted in Southern African governments cutting imports to save foreign exchange, while trying to expand exports to repay the debts. As a result, internal investment and government expenditure dropped, especially for education, health and social welfare. With debts increasing and commodity prices dropping, the developing countries tried to produce more agricultural and mineral commodities to acquire foreign exchange, leading to over-supply and further price drops (SARDC, 1994). This preoccupation with military threats has resulted in the perils of environmental degradation being ignored (Renner, 1989).

The environment of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries is presently undergoing substantial change. With economic development, local people are moving from preserving resources to mastering resources, a consequential change in the people-environment relationship that parallels industrialisation and urbanisation. These changes have resulted in political concern at an international, regional, national and local level, but, as yet, minimal political action to resolve these environmental problems (Moyo, O'Keefe and Sill, 1993).

It has become abundantly clear that the state of the regional environment determines our level of prosperity, in the short-term and for future generations, in the long-term. We have had to exploit our environment and natural resources to alleviate poverty and raise the standard of living of people. But, such exploitation of our natural resources is not without large cost. Not only has it led to environmental degradation, but it will also exacerbate the poverty we seek to alleviate. Abuse of Southern Africa's natural resources will not only slow our progress but it will jeopardise security for future generations (SARDC, 1994). Widespread poverty, a result of massive unemployment and a chronic lack of skills, leaves people living in overcrowded areas with little alternative than to destroy the very resource base on which they survive (Rupert, 1998).

- These difficulties arising from past conservation policies and increasing economic pressures on wild resources have led to a rethinking of wildlife management strategies in Africa. In some instances, de-gazetting of some reserves and parks has been advocated. A more direct and applicable approach to reconciling rural development and conservation has been proposed

through community-based wildlife management (Swanson and Barbier, 1992). Unless the local communities can derive a positive benefit from wildlife outside game reserves, then the future of the wildlife resource outside such sanctuaries will last just as long as one cannot catch it, kill it and eat it. This means that unless we put away our out-of-date emotional bandwagon and begin to rationalise the wildlife resources of southern Africa in a practical and logical manner, and devise mechanisms that will encourage people to look after their natural resources, because it is in their interest to do so, wildlife is doomed outside sanctuary areas (and possibly inside them too) (Thomson, 1986). If our administrations continue to force people to “look after” their wildlife heritage it will disappear all the more quickly. The public is already rebellious to this attitude and as a consequence many people have already turned their backs on wildlife. Wildlife agencies and governments, therefore, should devise legislation that is mutually coercive, in other words mutually agreed upon (Hardin, 1968). They should concentrate more on providing an advisory and extension service to the public rather than furthering their “big bad wolf” image as law enforcers (Thomson, 1986). License fees and other financial benefits, which can be derived from the use of wildlife, should accrue to the rural man, and to society at large. Regulation needs to be applied through the understanding and willing co-operation of the participating public and the land-owner, for no matter how good our legislation and our policies may be on a paper, unless the man in the street gives them his voluntary support they will not achieve their objectives.

In conclusion, in an uncertain Southern Africa Peace Parks may have as much to contribute to domestic harmony as to international peace and co-operation. Established and potential sites around the world have demonstrated the potential for TBCAs to fulfill multiple roles. Due to their immense potential these areas are eliciting increasing attention and creating numerous incentives for co-operation. Their significance is viewed both as an expression of peace and understanding between nations and as a means to facilitate co-operative approaches and shared responsibilities in conservation of natural resources and local community upliftment and preservation. These roles are respectively symbolic and practical in orientation, providing both challenges and opportunities for the countries of Southern Africa. We will now delve deeper into the complexities of TBCAs as we look at the Kgalagadi TBCA between South Africa and Botswana. This will

provide an evaluation of the practical application of a peace park in terms of the criteria set out by the theory of sustainable development.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE K GALAGADI PEACE PARK

"This is a very important breakthrough for the growth and development of peace parks in the rest of Africa." - Dr. Anton Rupert (1999)

1. INTRODUCTION

The first peace park ever promulgated, the Glacier-Waterton Peace Park (1932), is different from the peace parks in Southern Africa for one primary reason: they did not have a problem with starving people. They had a problem with inappropriate land use. Thus the park was basically established for conservation reasons. In Southern Africa peace parks are established for slightly different reasons, according to March Turnbull of the Peace Parks Foundation "you don't have an international border agreement just for animals it is not a good enough reason" (1998). Dr Hanks (1998) of the Peace Parks Foundation notes that it is important to look at the difference between a developing and a developed country, because developed countries are more easily able to set aside a park on their border since they have the money to maintain it. "The common interest is poverty. I firmly believe the solution that is going to save Southern Africa is tourism," says Hanks (1998). Nevertheless, as compelling as the rationality of development is it remains to be seen whether the community will get anything in the trickle-down process. Noel de Villiers ("Conservation", 1997) states that the thesis of his *Open Africa Initiative* is that it is "an affront to expect someone whose children are starving to worry about elephants and butterflies, and that by making conservation pay, it could both work and spread wealth". It is in light of these comments that I will evaluate the recently established Kgalagadi TBCA between South Africa and Botswana – the first Southern African Peace Park. In this developing region of the world there is far greater pressure on and necessity for TBCAs "to perform". It is my assertion that for meaningful benefits to be derived from these initiatives they must be approached using the guidelines of sustainable development. The Kgalagadi Peace Park will therefore be evaluated using the yardstick of sustainable development. Its success and potential success will therefore be assessed in terms of its application of the key elements of sustainable development. However, it is recognised that each TBCA is unique and therefore not universally applicable. The Kgalagadi does set a precedent for future TBCAs in

Southern Africa thus it makes a worthwhile study, but its uniqueness must be remembered.

2. CASE STUDY: THE K GALAGADI TRANSBORDER CONSERVATION AREA

The Kgalagadi TBCA was the first Peace Park to be established in Southern Africa. On the 7th of April 1999 a bilateral agreement was signed between the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) and the South African National Parks (SANP) recognising the Kgalagadi TBCA. The Kgalagadi is unique in that it has been *de facto* in operation since 1948 through a verbal agreement between the conservation bodies of Botswana and South Africa. The TBCA covers an area of approximately 38 000km² and includes the existing Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in South Africa (9 591km²) and the Gemsbok National Park in Botswana (28 400km²) (Peace Parks Foundation, 1998). The two parks have been operating unofficially as a single unit for over half a century. There has never been any physical barrier preventing wildlife from crossing between the two parks. This has allowed for an increasingly rare phenomenon in the world - a vast ecosystem relatively free of human influence. The absence of man-made barriers except to the west and the south has created a conservation area large enough to maintain two ecological processes once widespread in the savannas and grasslands of Africa. The two processes are the large-scale nomadic and seasonal movements of wildlife, and predation by large free-roaming carnivores such as lions, leopards and cheetahs. These processes are extremely difficult to maintain except in the largest of areas, and their presence in the Kalahari makes it a valuable area for conservation (WildNet Africa News, 1999).

The agreement protocol was endorsed by the National Assembly and the National Council of Provinces in October 1999 as required by the South African Constitution. The Presidents of the two countries will formally open the Park in February 2000. The bilateral agreement establishes the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park Foundation (KTPF), as a section 21 company under the South African Companies Act, to promote conservation through the joint management of the area and to develop the potential of the Park as a tourist destination. South African National Parks (SANP) spokesperson, Adele Smit, stated that "This is the first formally declared Transfrontier Park in Africa and it will hopefully be a model for conservation in the 21st Century". The agreement has taken ten years to make since it was first suggested by a Botswana Fact Finding Study on

Tourism Developments in Southern Africa. In 1989 the Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Commerce and Industry commissioned a Fact Finding Study on Tourist Developments in South Africa. This led to the formal agreement that the Department of Wildlife and National Parks of Botswana (DWNP) and the National Parks Board of South Africa (NPB), would develop a collaborative management plan for the two national parks. A permanent Transfrontier Management Committee (TMC) was formed in 1993 to co-ordinate management and supervise the preparation of a Management Plan for the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP). The DWNP recognised the need to consult the District Authority and involve them in the Transfrontier Park activities. To this end there has been full consultation with the Kgalagadi District, involving the Council and Land Board, which consulted with the District Council. The TMC drafted the management plan and policies for the area, which have been accepted and will be regularly revised and updated (WildNet Africa News, 1999; Department of Wildlife and National Parks, 1996).

The Kgalagadi TBCA will continue to be managed co-operatively by both nations but policies and management decisions will be made by the Transfrontier Management Committee which will also be responsible for managing the combined area as one unit. Tourists will be able to buy permits to travel throughout the park, an area almost twice the size of Israel, without being constrained by the national border (Environmental News Service, 1999). Both countries will now pool their conservation expertise and experience to maintain the area's integrity, and jointly work towards raising the international profile of the area, enhancing its status and potential as a tourist destination. Entrance fees to the park will be pooled and shared equally by both countries, but other revenue such as money earned from accommodation and camping will be kept in the country where it was generated. The two parks will also operate autonomously in the running of their own internal affairs and in the development of their own tourist facilities. Both countries recognise the sovereign equality and territorial integrity of the other, but have undertaken to harmonise their national legislation to remove any legal obstacle that may impede the integration and management of the two parks as a single ecological and tourism unit (Bilateral Agreement, 1998).

"This is a very important breakthrough for the growth and development of peace parks in the rest of Africa," said Dr. Anton Rupert (Environmental News Service, 1999). The completion of the new park agreement will "show the world that Southern African

countries are genuinely committed to making the dream of a network of peace parks become a reality," he said.

Remembering that co-operation depends on the perception of mutual interest and thus before South Africa and Botswana entered into the Bilateral Agreement, they must have recognised clear benefits. Ultimately the benefits will arise through the sustainable utilisation of the area, which will be illustrated later. The core benefits for South Africa and Botswana are outlined in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park Management Plan (1997), and include:

- Full actualization of the economic potential of the transborder park and surrounding areas which will bring economic benefits to both countries, especially their surrounding local communities.
- Sharing of entrance fee revenue.
- The co-operative development of promotional campaigns that stimulate a two-way flow of tourists, thereby increasing the tourism potential of both countries.
- Increasing the international profile of this important conservation area, thus enhancing its potential as a tourist destination.
- Guaranteeing essential long-term conservation of the wildlife of the Southern Kalahari will help to maintain the integrity of the entire Kalahari ecosystem.
- Pooling of expertise and experience between the conservation authorities of the two countries.

Because of these benefits and the potential for many more, and because of the multidimensional nature of such an initiative there are a number of actors involved. The success of the TBCAs relies on the development and capacity building of enduring institutions. The Kgalagadi TBCA provides a good example of this element of TBCAs.

2.1 ORGANISATIONS INVOLVED: AN OVERVIEW OF THEIR ROLES

The strength and capacity of the institutions managing and involved in the peace park, in planning and management, fundraising etc., strongly influences the success of the projects themselves. The relationship of things such as institutional structure, management, decision-making structures, staff satisfaction, administrative capacity, and planning to success in field projects has been proven through experience. It is

necessary to develop institutional capacity at the same time as the project is being developed. As a project grows so its institutional capacity will be tested and often changes will be necessary. Supporting institutions and organisations at the community or village level are also necessary. Ultimately, these organisations will be responsible for the local economic development and resource management. Local NGOs and community organisations have proven themselves to be particularly effective at mobilizing communities around concrete projects and issues. Strengthening these organisations, and developing partnerships with them, are mechanisms for expanding community participation, making projects more effective, and strengthening local ability for self-reliance (Ack, 1991).

As the environment is a system of interdependent relationships cross-cutting all sectors of human and natural activity, an integrated approach must be developed in order to respond to developments such as peace parks. There are and have been a number of organisations involved in the establishment of the Kgalagadi TBCA. These organisations –national, international, governmental, non-governmental, private, community-based – and individuals are, for the most part supportive of the idea and / or have facilitated the process in some way. The organisations will be described in order to give an idea of the broad spectrum of organisations, and the various initiatives that they are involved with, as well as an assessment of the roles they have played and continue to play. Amongst the non-governmental organisations involved in its recent establishment and development are the Peace Parks Foundation, the Open Africa Initiative, the World Conservation Union (IUCN), the Transfrontier Conservation Area Working Group and USAID. Those primarily concerned with supporting community development are the Group for Environmental Monitoring (GEM), African Resources Trust (ART), TRANSFORM (“Training and Support for Resource Management”), the South African San Institute and the San Association. Amongst the governmental and parastatal organisations are the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), the South African National Parks (SANP), the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Southern African Development Community (SADC). This list is not exhaustive and some of those named are only involved in a limited way (Greeff, 1998). The organisations described below are largely from and involved in South Africa. More detail is given to what I believe to be the key role-players.

2.1.1 Non-Governmental Organisations

2.1.1.1 The Peace Parks Foundation

According to March Turnbull (1998) the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) acts as the middle-man and facilitator in the whole process. They are involved with the consensus-building. The Foundation's objectives are to facilitate and fund the development of transborder conservation areas in Africa, involving Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe, stressing the importance of regional cooperation, job creation and biodiversity conservation. The Foundation was constituted and established in South Africa as an Association incorporated under Section 21. It therefore has all the powers of a normal company, except that it cannot have shareholders and no profits can be paid to supporting members (Peace Parks Foundation, 1998). The Foundation's initial objective is to enter into a partnership with the representatives from the conservation agencies of Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe in order to:

- identify land to be acquired for the development of TBCAs. Once identified the Foundation will then, purchase the land for leasing to the various conservation agencies, or negotiate with private landowners and residents of communal lands for leasing on a contractual basis;
- allocate available funds to approved projects, negotiate loans to the conservation agencies;
- negotiate with government bodies concerning political and land tenure / legal issues associated with TBCAs;
- promote the development of TBCAs on a commercial basis; and
- promote the case for TBCAs nationally and internationally in terms of their economic viability, ecological sustainability and their overall contribution to the conservation of global biodiversity. (Peace Parks Foundation, 1998)

The overall aim of the Foundation is to fund and facilitate the creation of TBCAs, giving emphasis to the promotion of regional peace and stability, the establishment of jobs due to the anticipated growth in ecotourism, and the conservation of biological diversity. It therefore, aims to act as an "umbrella organisation". The Foundation provides practical assistance and resources to people involved in the development of these areas, and in 1998 it allocated over R5,000,000 to wildlife and community-based activities in proposed

transborder conservation areas. Funding is raised from private and public institutions worldwide (Environmental News Services, 1999).

Regarding the Kgalagadi TBCA the Peace Parks Foundation funded a vegetation study for the whole KTP giving the new Transfrontier Management Committee reliable and compatible information from both sides of the border. Preliminary work has also been sponsored by the Foundation to design the first joint entrance gate for the KTP. This gate will be located on the Nossob River and its integrated park and customs facilities will enable visitors to enjoy a unique wilderness experience unhindered by the existing national border (Environmental News Services, 1999).

President Festus Gontebaye Mogae of the Republic of Botswana and the past President Nelson Mandela of South Africa are among the eight heads of state and heads of government who are honorary patrons of the Peace Parks Foundation. "This exciting initiative of the Peace Parks Foundation has my fullest support," past President Nelson Mandela has said (Environmental News Services, 1999).

2.1.1.2 Open Africa Initiative

Open Africa is an African non-governmental organisation tourism initiative. In 1994, Noel de Villiers (the founder) proposed the idea of contiguous protected areas from South Africa to the equator and from east to west across the continent (Peace Parks Foundation, 1998). It is a registered not for gain organisation and aims to establish a continuous network of natural and cultural "Afrikatourism" routes and advertise them to the world through the development of an interactive website (see: www.openafrika.org). It is based on the twin principles of sustainability and community participation (de Villiers, 1994).

2.1.1.3 IUCN –The World Conservation Union

The IUCN was formed 50 years ago with the aim of promoting the conservation of nature and natural resources in the context of people and sustainable development. Their mission is to influence, encourage and assist societies throughout the world to conserve natural diversity and ensure that natural resource usage is ecologically

sustainable (Hamilton et al, 1996). They reach their goals through forming partnerships with governmental and non-governmental role-players. They have shown their commitment to TBCAs in Southern Africa by establishing the Southern Africa Sustainable Use Group (SASUSG) (Greeff, 1998).

2.1.1.4 USAID

USAID was responsible for initiating a study into the establishment of TBCAs in Southern Africa, providing an assessment and initial analysis of issues, approaches and targets of opportunity. The study will include assessing global experience, the role of technicians, existing policy, legal and institutional arrangements and the involvement of stakeholders, beneficiaries and the private sector. The findings will enable USAID to develop a proposed set of co-ordinated programme activities relating to the establishment of a regional strategy for TBCAs, and provide a foundation of background information for regional discussions on TBCAs and wildlife resources (USAID, 1998).

2.1.2 Community-based Organisations

2.1.2.1 Transform – “Training and Support for Resource Management”

This is a pilot programme under the department of Land Affairs and the German Government Technical Support Agent, aiming to support natural resource management. Its main objective is to assist disadvantaged communities living in and adjacent to protected areas to manage their land and natural resources sustainably, and to derive benefits from the land and resources (Greeff, 1998).

2.1.2.2 South African San Institute (SASI)

SASI came into operation in 1997. Its work covers three main areas: land claims and legal rights; cultural survival and alternative income generation projects. SASI gets its mandate from the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities In Southern Africa's (WIMSA), the San networking organisation in the region. SASI is a service and support organisation to WIMSA and other San-based organisations (SASI, 1998).

2.1.3 Governmental and Parastatal Organisations

2.1.3.1 Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism (DEAT)

DEAT is the national department, which heads up the government's custodianship of the environment and champions biodiversity conservation. Its role includes promoting national cooperation with regard to the conservation of biodiversity, and formulating policy and facilitating communication with the various levels of government. Many role-players believe that DEAT should play the role of facilitator of the TBCA process. It presently does not even have a formal role with regard to the transborder parks process (Greeff, 1998).

2.1.3.2 Department of Land Affairs (DLA)

This national department is responsible for the formulation of restitution policy and represents the state in land restitution cases. The DLA is a major stakeholder in the TBCA process since many of these areas included have unresolved land or resource claims, which need to be clarified. This is especially so with the San people's land claim (Greeff, 1998).

2.1.3.3 South African National Parks (SANP)

The SANP is the South African national conservation body. It is a parastatal body rather than a state organisation. The SANP has been established as a statutory body in terms of the National Parks Act, 1976, with powers limited to the "control and management" of national parks (de Villiers, 1998). The SANP therefore does not have the legal basis to engage in activities outside of South Africa or to conclude an agreement with a neighbouring country. On the other hand the SA government does not have the technical expertise or capacity to execute the provisions of the bilateral agreement. From a legalistic approach SANP's role is determined in terms of section 238⁵ of South Africa's constitution. The Department of Foreign Affairs appoints an agent to manage a conservation area and execute responsibilities on behalf of the state. The SANP is in

⁵ Section 238 of the South African constitution states: "An executive organ of state in any sphere of government may –(b) exercise any power or perform any function for any other executive organ of state on an agency or delegation basis".

accordance with Section 238 of the Constitution an “organ of state” since it is an “institution exercising a public power in terms of legislation” (de Villiers, 1998). In practise, as happened with the Kgalagadi TBCA, initial discussions started with the conservation agencies of the two countries, without the states’ involvement. Thus informal co-operation was attained between the South African National Parks Board and the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks. Bertus de Villiers (1998) of the SANP states that technically it is the state signing a legal agreement but from a practical day-to-day point of view it is the conservation agencies driving it. The SANP has therefore not acted on the basis of its own statutory powers, but as an agent of the South African government in the execution of the Bilateral Agreement.

2.1.3.4 Department of Foreign Affairs

The multilateral branch dealing with Environmental, Scientific and Technical Affairs of the Department has jurisdiction over the Peace Parks. Any international agreement between South Africa and another country must go through this department. Their involvement with the TBCAs is however, limited to technical issues. The Department must ensure that South Africa’s policy with regards to the Peace Parks must be coherent with SA’s other international involvements. The Department has supported the Peace parks Foundation through the use of overseas embassies and the provision of useful contacts. Mr Nacerodien (1998), Deputy Director for Environment Conservation of the Department of Foreign Affairs recognises that the fact that the department has no clear cut role is an “institutional problem which we are grappling with at the moment”. The Department is in favour of the idea of a framework to facilitate the uniform processing of TBCAs (Greeff, 1998).

2.1.3.5 The Southern African Development Community (SADC)

The opening of membership by the Southern African Development Community to South Africa, has influenced the emphasis on activities in SADC. Initially a predominantly anti-apartheid economic co-ordination forum it has become a vital instrument for Southern African economic co-operation and integration (de Villiers, 1998). There has been growing awareness of the potential of ecotourism to become an “engine” to drive economic growth and empowerment in Southern Africa (Hanks, 1998). Within Southern

Africa TBCAs are the embodiment of some of the primary aims of the Southern African Development Community, namely: the promotion of self-sustaining development on the basis of collective self-reliance, and the inter-dependence of member states; and the achievement of sustainable utilisation of natural resources and effective protection of the environment (SADC, 1999).

Many role-players agree that the Wildlife Component of the SADC should be more vocal in its support of TBCAs as this would aid in facilitating agreement processes and speed up the political wheels (Greeff, 1998).

2.1.4 Evaluation

Through my own investigations and interviews, also indicated in others' reports (Greeff, 1998), it is evident that the organisations and individuals involved are not communicating effectively with one another. The different actors appear largely unaware of one another and of the role that the other participants are playing. Many of the different organisations and actors do not even seem to have clarity on their own roles in this initiative. The institutional capacity is evident, but it is not being fully or constructively utilised. A sustained commitment to building indigenous human and institutional capacities is needed (McNeely, 1988; Strong, 1992). Since governments establish the policy framework within which individuals and institutions operate, they should ensure that the resource management agencies and other actors (e.g the San) involved in the TBCAs have the policy support, which will enable them to carry out their assigned responsibilities. What is lacking, I believe, is a designated lead agent or facilitator, to effectively co-ordinate activities, in order to prevent overlapping and to ensure that all voices (especially those of the communities) are articulated and heard. At present, the Peace Parks Foundation appears to be playing the role of facilitator, but it has no official mandate to lead, nor is its role as facilitator recognised by all the actors involved.

3. TBCAS AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT: A CLOSER LOOK AT THE KGALAGADI TBCA

As previously discussed in Chapter Two it is my assertion that the success of TBCAs depends on the application of the principles of sustainable development. It is therefore

necessary to evaluate TBCAs using these criteria. If these criteria are adhered to, then ideally what should result is "development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987: 8). I have chosen three elements of sustainable development, which I consider to be the most pertinent for such an evaluation, and for Southern Africa:

- 1. Community Development and Community-Based Environmentalism**
- 2. Close linkages between the Environment and Development**
- 3. Co-operation at all levels**

3.1 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

Community development and community-based environmentalism includes the building of indigenous human and institutional capacities. It requires that the processes and techniques of modernisation be assimilated into present social and value systems without destroying or dominating them. A sustained commitment to building indigenous human and institutional capacities is essential to break out of the present deeply entrenched patterns of environmental and economic deterioration, dependency and vulnerability. The importance of developing this capacity is as crucial for environmental protection as it is for sustainable development: it is the cornerstone of sustainable development. Thus, external pressures cannot impose sustainable development it must be rooted in the culture, the values and the interests of the people.

Dr Pallo Jordan (1997), past Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism of South Africa, claimed that South Africa was "executing a paradigm shift in our conservation policy which entails drawing local communities into the management and protection of the conservation estate." This meant the promotion of a co-operative arrangement between communities in the vicinity of the TBCAs in order to address their needs for land, resources, employment and income. He also asserted that ways of restoring the pride of communities in their natural heritage were being sought by giving them access to the substantial benefits of tourism (Jordan, 1997).

The local communities of the Kalahari Desert are the San or otherwise known as the Bushmen. It is generally accepted that the San were the first known human inhabitants

of Southern Africa. They are an egalitarian society that has traditionally survived by hunting and gathering in the Kalahari Desert. Their unique culture is based on principles of sharing, community and co-operation. In a rapidly changing world, the San people are facing the dilemmas of poverty, unemployment, abuse and exploitation. They have been reduced to cheap labour, often farming communities dependent on government handouts, since all attempts at self-support have failed due to a lack of water, overgrazed land and the absence of game. No more than 2, 000 traditional San exist today. Most San people have been driven to the periphery of the countries where they reside. Their hunting and gathering livelihoods have been replaced first by cattle-rearing dominant cultures and then by colonial and post-colonial economic changes including farming, mining and the creation of National Parks (SASI, 1998). Since 1986 the Botswana government has been trying to force the San from their lands to make way for wildlife and tourism adventures. Environmentalists pressured their government to eject the San from their only dedicated land in Botswana, a 32, 000 square mile reserve specifically created for them in 1961 by the British leading up to Botswana's independence in 1966. They have also lost lots of their land outside the reserves to environmentally destructive cattle. This is encouraged by the World Bank but especially by the European Union through their "sweetheart" beef contract with Botswana. Botswana is 80% desert unfit for domestic cattle. Yet it has one of the highest ratios of cattle per capita in the world. Further, to protect the beef from the possibility of importing to Europe the wild game's hoof-and-mouth disease, the European Community insists on the installation of cordon fences that have killed tens of thousands of migration animals. Botswana's wildebeest (Gnu) population is estimated to have declined from 500,000 to 3,000 in recent years due to the fences. If there is no immediate action, the world faces a dustbowl Kalahari and a community driven to extinction. The loss of land is a key factor in the disintegration of the communities physically, culturally and spiritually (SASI, 1998). Thus, the Kgalagadi TBCA could be the saving factor for the San people.

However, the San people declare that they have been excluded from the negotiations of the Kgalagadi. This is contrary to the World Conservation Union's policy that indigenous peoples should be involved in the management plans for TBCAs. A further concern has been raised over the name of the TBCA, since *Kgalagadi* is a Tswana name. They believe that it should have been given a San name as they were the original inhabitants of the land. This again contravenes the United Nation's international committee's policy

on place names, which is to bring back indigenous names (Gosling, 1998). John Hardbottle, a member of the San community, warns: "Only if we can come together as a nation, only if we can get recognition and put decision-making squarely in the hands of our people, will we survive. But if things carry on the way they are, with top-down development and no consultation whatsoever, it's the end of the Bushmen people" (Armstrong, 1999).

At the *Parks for Peace International Conference on Transboundary Protected Areas* in Somerset West in 1997, a broad range of TBCA stakeholders recognised the importance of effective community involvement and a need for an enabling framework to secure economic and social welfare of communities. This was evidenced in their "Declaration of Principles". Based on their wealth of worldwide experience they were convinced that: "Such areas can bring benefits to local communities and indigenous peoples living in border areas as well as national economies through nature-based tourism and co-operative management of shared resources...". They affirmed that the management and planning of the areas should "fully engage local communities and indigenous peoples and ensure that they derive tangible long term benefits from the establishment and management of transfrontier conservation areas". They also recognised the need to "build strategic partnerships between governmental agencies, NGOs, private sector and local communities...". The United Nations has further affirmed the special rights of indigenous minorities through declaring the Decade of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (SASI, 1998).

With the implementation of South Africa's first democratic rule, in 1994, the government passed legislation to return land to those from whom it was taken under colonialism and apartheid. South Africa now has a restitution act that obliges it to deal with land claims through the process of law. It also has a constitution, which cannot be contravened as far as human rights are concerned. Section 6.2 and Section 6.5 of the constitution recognise the cultural and language rights of indigenous minorities. The Bill of Rights further secures and protects their rights (SASI, 1998). The =Khomani San of South Africa have recently received 25,000 ha of land next to the park under the Restitution Land Act 1994. In a ceremony held outside the Kalahari Gemsbok National Parks on 21 March 1999, the South African vice-president formally handed over the papers to the =Khomani representatives. The =Khomani will now be able to hunt without fear of

persecution and to initiate their own self-help projects. The next phase of their claim is to win back their land inside the national park, a claim that is ongoing. Saliem Fakir, IUCN Country Co-ordinator, expresses concern that through such initiatives South Africa may estrange its Botswana counterparts who do not give full recognition to the San (Greeff, 1998). This serves to emphasise the difficulty of countries entering bilateral agreements, which do not have harmonised legislation, where the treatment of human rights differs. But, more importantly, it has the potential to encourage countries that would like to enter into bilateral agreements with South Africa, to introduce a more people-centered approach to conservation, and to establish mechanisms to include community participation into decision making processes (Greeff, 1998). This land claim has the advantage of the South African Constitution as a framework, with the provisions of the Restitution Land Act 1994 enabling a statutory land claim framework (DEAT, 1997). It was not necessary to frame the claim as an aboriginal land claim, and it will hopefully set the precedent for the equitable resolution of aboriginal land claims in neighbouring states, like Botswana (SASI, 1998). Thus, international co-operation through stronger policy co-ordination.

A further exciting initiative with immense potential for positive spin-offs is that of the South African San Institute (SASI) and the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities of Southern Africa (WIMSA) facilitation of the San's involvement in international law and practice on indigenous peoples. They have sent delegations to attend and contribute towards the Working Group on Indigenous Peoples, a working group of the influential UN Human Rights Commission. The speeches of the San at the Working Group have made the governments of Namibia, Botswana and South Africa more sensitive to the power of international bodies to establish codes and conduct binding on the international family of nations. This has been central to the founding of an organisation with the objective of co-ordinating and advancing the rights of indigenous people across Africa. The formation of the Indigenous Peoples of Africa Co-ordinating Committee (IPACC), operating under SASI for the first two years, is an exciting development with potential to exponentially expand the influence of indigenous peoples in Africa (SASI, 1998).

The present reality of the Kgalagadi TBCA is that community participation is very low and an enabling guiding framework is urgently needed (Greeff, 1998). Further concern has been raised by many role-players that the development of the TBCA has been very

top-down with political support leading straight to implementation by-passing the community level. There is a gap in the process at the moment because there is little grassroots participation. However, the areas of concern regarding TBCAs can be turned into areas of opportunity –such as for community involvement and empowerment, the formation of partnerships at various levels, a more creative approach to land restitution with conservation benefits and regional development. The restoration of the San's land rights is resulting in a reawakening of the San culture, and the reuniting of dispersed and marginalised San spread over South Africa, Botswana, Namibia and Angola. According to Greeff (1998): "it is still early enough in the process of formulating TFCAs to play a significant part in facilitating the bringing together of people, and this bridge-building role should be incorporated into a regional framework".

3. 2 CLOSE LINKAGES BETWEEN THE ENVIRONMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

Close linkages or the potential for close linkages between the environment and development must be evident. The most vital point of instruction which TBCAs can give us in terms of the environment is that the environment does not exist as a sphere separate from human actions, ambitions, and needs. The 'environment' is where we all live; and 'development' is what we do in attempting to improve our lot within that abode (Our Common Future, 1987).

The integration of the environment and development is even more necessary for developing countries such as those in Southern Africa struggling with poverty, since environmental vulnerability intensifies their economic vulnerability. Thus, what is required is a development of strengths and a reduction of vulnerabilities.

Fortunately, Southern Africa as a whole is now beginning to be seen as a tourist destination, not just South Africa or other countries on their own (de Villiers, 1994; Pinnock, 1996). According to the *Africa Competitiveness Report* (Schwab and Sachs, 1998) Southern Africa's competitive advantage is almost entirely resource-based. However, if ecotourism is to be given higher status in government plans, considerable effort must be made to effectively involve local inhabitants in the tourism industry. Tourism does have the advantages of generating local employment; stimulating profitable domestic industries; generating foreign exchange; diversifying the local

economy; stimulating improvements to local transportation and communication infrastructures; and at the same time prompting conservation by convincing government officials and the general public of the importance of natural areas (McNeely et al, 1992).

The establishment of peace parks is not a short-term aid program. It is a way of creating long-term sustainable employment opportunities through nature-based tourism and wildlife protection. By fostering regional sustainable tourism through TBCAs like the Kgalagadi TBCA Southern Africa has the potential to capture an increased share of the world tourism market, and to capitalise on the economic and social benefits from increased regional management of natural and wildlife resources. There are an estimated 350,000 jobs in tourist related activities in South Africa alone. Nature-based tourism is statistically the biggest drawcard for the region and tourism is expected to double in the medium term. However, research has shown that the peace parks regions will have to take on hundreds of thousands of jobs to achieve this growth (Peace Parks Foundation, 1998). In 1998 travel and tourism (encompassing transport, accommodation, catering, recreation and services for travelers) provided 231 million jobs throughout the world (Peace Parks Foundation Annual Report, 1998). Nevertheless, Africa has only 1% of world travel and tourism economic output but it has enormous potential to increase this output. South Africa's tourism industry is expected to generate US\$ 13.1 billion of economic activity in 1998, increasing to US\$ 30 billion by 2010, creating 516 000 new jobs. Thus, surpassing all other industries in employment potential. (Rupert, 1998). In 1997 tourism accounted for 4.5% of South Africa's GDP. If we could increase that to 10%, the tourism industry could generate R40 billion annually and create two million jobs (Jordan, 1997: 33). As Dr Pallo Jordan, former South African minister of the Department of Environment and Tourism, states (1997): "No other industry has such potential". It is in these ways that the Peace Parks will create dignified and commercially viable relationships between Southern Africans and their environment, preserving the region's natural assets for the benefit of all (Peace Parks Foundation, 1998).

In terms of natural wealth the Kalahari Desert represents a large ecosystem relatively free from human influence, a rare phenomenon in Africa. The absence of fences between the two areas of the TBCA provides a conservation area large enough to maintain significant nomadic and migratory movements of wild ungulates, and predation

by large mammalian carnivores, two rare biological features that were once widespread in the savannas and grasslands of Southern Africa. Arid regions such as this are very sensitive and increasing desertification has led to the global recognition of the significance of animals and plants which can adapt to such conditions. Thus the area is a valuable storehouse of such fauna and flora (Gelderblom et al, 1998; Hanks, 1998).

In Botswana the main factor competing with wildlife is the increasing development of livestock herds, which are favoured by subsidies in a society where cattle have both market and non-market (cultural) significance. The main cattle holdings belong to the relatively wealthy: some 8% of farmers held 45% of cattle in 1984. Not only are ranches in competition for wildlife areas, but also ranching itself is widely held to be responsible for land degradation in several areas. The "trade off" between cattle ranching and wildlife utilisation favours cattle ranching because of price and input subsidisation. Without subsidies, cattle ranching would appear to be financially non-viable in many areas. Additionally, the land degradation associated with over-grazing means that the social rate of return to cattle ranching is even lower than the private non-subsidised rate of return. Adequate protection for wildlife thus requires some outright protection for critical wildlife areas, but also a level playing field between ranching and wildlife utilisation options. It is through the proper design of economic incentives, and the removal of economic distortions, that wildlife protection can best be advanced. (Swanson and Barbier, 1992). The Kgalagadi TBCA will ideally provide an example of a viable alternative to cattle-ranching which will provide both income and conservation.

Under the Transfrontier Management Plan the two respective conservation agencies agree to jointly manage the area. It is noted that the park is extremely fragile and that proper tourism planning is essential (Gelderblom et al, 1998). The Plan identifies the following conservation objectives:

1. To preserve the diversity of organisms indigenous to the Southern Kalahari;
2. To maintain in particular those ecological processes which characterise the Kalahari ecosystem;
3. To provide facilities and opportunities for research and monitoring;
4. To mitigate the less desirable impacts of existing and potential land-use conflicts;
5. To provide educational and interpretative programmes for visitors; and
6. ***To realise economic returns from tourism associated with the Kgalagadi Transfrontier park, while safeguarding its ecological integrity and pristine wilderness quality*** (NPB, South Africa and DWNP, Botswana, 1997).

The Plan provides the basis for co-operative tourism ventures and the sharing of entrance fees equally by both countries. However, each side will be responsible for maintaining its own tourism facilities and infrastructure. At present there are three rest camps on the South African side of the TBCA, including chalets and camping facilities, while on the Botswana side there are only camping facilities. The Plan acknowledges the necessity of expanding visitor facilities, and the situation is under investigation (Hanks, 1998). According to March Turnbull (1998) of the-PPF the sharing of revenues is a "generous gesture from South Africans" since South Africa receives the majority of visitors because of its facilities and greater abundance of natural game. Thus the motivation for co-operation is two-pronged: for the protection of a natural asset, and for financial benefits.

TBCA projects such as this one are grounded on the mutual dependence of the countries of this region and the recognition that the development of one's neighbour is a pre-condition for one's own development. This recognition encourages policy co-ordination such as seen between South Africa and Botswana. There are, at this point, no concrete figures, to illustrate the economic benefits accruing to Botswana and South Africa due to the conservation of the Kalahari area, however the potential is evident.

3.3 CO-OPERATION AT ALL LEVELS

Transborder Conservation Areas are clearly multifaceted; therefore approaches to their establishment must be multidisciplinary. They cannot be solved by fragmented sectoral or national approaches alone. Instead, what is required is co-operation on all levels and between all levels of actors. There is consensus that around the world, parks on the borderline, in their own small way can encourage co-operation among nations (Hamilton et al, 1996; IUCN conference report, 1997; Thorsell, 1990). At the *International Conference on Transboundary Protected Areas as a Vehicle for International Co-operation* held in Somerset-West, 16-18 September 1998, participants from thirty-two countries declared their commitment to further the notion of TBCAs as a vehicle for closer internal co-operation which in turn could lead to economic growth and creation of employment opportunities. At the conference it was recognised that TBCAs could result in increased regional stability, co-operation and peace through the sustainable utilisation of resources, increased tourism and economic growth. The governments of the

Southern Africa region were called upon to “strengthen collaboration with their neighbours” in the establishment of TBCAs (de Villiers, 1998).

The establishment of the Kgalagadi TBCA offers the opportunity for South Africa and Botswana to co-operate on matters of conservation, tourism and community development, while respecting each other’s national sovereignty and legal systems. The Kgalagadi TBCA serves as a catalyst and encouragement for further co-operation networks and peace parks to be established in Southern Africa.

I have adapted de Villiers’ (1998) four “models” of TBCAs to four levels of co-operation in order to illustrate the stages of co-operation the Kgalagadi TBCA has moved through:

Exchange of information: At this initial stage of co-operation countries or conservation agencies share ideas, exchange information and data. These exchanges occur on the level of field staff, rangers and operation persons requiring no formal interaction from government. This level of co-operation functioned between the two Kalahari Parks for a number of years after 1948. The area has been operating as a *de facto* integrated ecological unit. The staff of the parks have been co-operating on the basis of a “gentlemen’s agreement” on a range of matters since 1948.

Formal consultation: At this next level of co-operation conservation authorities engage in formal interaction concerning the management and control of their respective conservation areas over matters of mutual interest. In 1964 the park warden and certain senior staff members of South Africa became honorary rangers in Botswana, allowing them easy accessibility into the park and facilitation of joint activities. Their anti-poaching programmes and conduction of an annual game census are examples of such joint co-operation. Co-operation has further been aided by the fact that their respective headquarters are situated adjacent to one another at *Twee Rivieren*. Co-operation as illustrated in this TBCA is based on good will and a spirit of voluntary interaction.

Formal co-operation: Such co-operation occurs within the framework of an international treaty or agreement. This stage includes the formalisation of co-operation by means of an international agreement to which the governments of the countries are signatories. Formal institutions, consultation and joint projects and / or structures within the parameters of national legal systems and territorial integrity are established with formal co-operation. In 1992 a Transfrontier Management Committee was formed to investigate possibilities for further co-operation between the two Kalahari Parks with the

intention of setting up a joint management plan with a monitoring institution which could provide basic guidance to the respective park authorities. The foundation for the establishment of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Conservation Area on the 7th of April 1999 is found in three documents namely, the **Bilateral Agreement** [see Appendix 3] between the two states; a **Record of Understanding** [see Appendix 4] between the respective conservation agencies and a **Management Plan** according to which area will be managed on a day-to-day basis. Through the signing of the Bilateral Agreement the governments of Botswana and South Africa under section 2 agree to co-operate. Section 2.2.1 states that the parties undertake to “procure the co-ordination of the management, control and the development of the Parks”. Section 5 makes provisions for the establishment of a Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park Foundation to direct the activities of the Kgalagadi TBCA. However, the agreement is very explicit concerning the recognition of the respective states’ sovereignty. Section 7 states: “this Agreement shall in no way be construed as derogating from any provision of the respective laws of the parties or any other agreement entered into between the parties”. Thus the TBCA does not constitute a new legal entity but in essence will be two national parks being run in accordance with a joint management plan. The Agreement does determine that the two governments undertake to harmonise their national legislation as far as possible and to remove legal and practical obstacles.

According to de Villiers (1998), in all of the above stages, a TBCA does not have any legal identity besides that which is provided for in the legal systems of the respective states. This means that in terms of national legislation the TBCA has the same status and / or protection as any other conservation area within the country.

International agency: This stage occurs when the respective countries develop an independent international agency with exclusive jurisdiction over the conservation area, thus making the TBCA a “no state land”. All management and control functions fall under the authority of the international agency. This agency being responsible for all matters, such as regulating access into the area, generating income and marketing, which would normally fall under governmental responsibility. The Kgalagadi TBCA has not reached this level of co-operation nor is it likely to, since the practical viability of this option is questionable due to the unlikelihood of states to cede part of their territory to an international agency with its own legal status. There is at the moment no international precedent for such an advanced stage of a TBCA.

On the state-to-state level, and between agencies like the respective conservation bodies, co-operation is evident. However, when recognising that the ultimate success of the TBCA requires multiple levels of co-operation there appears to be a gap on the community level. There is much horizontal co-operation but little diagonal co-operation. The previous discussion on community development indicates that the San community is not being effectively involved in the processes of TBCA formation. There seems to be unanimous support from all the role-players but limited opportunities to constructively participate. March Turnbull (1998) of the Peace Parks Foundation recognises that the more people and organisations that work together, the greater the likelihood of success. There is however no clarity on how this is to be achieved.

Further concern has been expressed that the development of the Kgalagadi TBCA was very top-down with political support leading directly into implementation, bypassing the community level. With the political wheels in motion it is difficult for effective participation at this late stage (Greeff, 1998).

The signing of the bilateral agreement between the two states certainly heralded a new form of cross border co-operation in Southern Africa and is serving as a stimulus for further similar developments in the sub-continent, like the recent signing of the Trilateral Agreement between South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. But, the Kgalagadi TBCA is unique in that the area has been functioning as a single unit for over fifty years. In that time there has been no fence dividing the area. Thus relatively few changes have had to be made except for the formal recognition of the TBCA. It is unlikely that other TBCAs like the recently signed Agreement between SA, Mozambique and Zimbabwe will run so smoothly. One of the main reasons being that the Kgalagadi TBCA consists of two state-owned national parks, whereas this new proposed TBCA comprises communal land, privately owned game conservancies, wildlife utilisation areas and state owned national parks. The far greater number of actors involved will certainly make co-operation and policy co-ordination more complicated. The Kgalagadi TBCA does show the immense potential for co-operation though. It is a remarkable achievement, and sets a valuable precedent for future TBCAs.

4. AREAS OF CONCERN AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 COMMUNICATION

It is apparent that the Kgalagadi initiative, even though a notable breakthrough for conservation, is not without its problems. Miscommunication and a general lack of communication have characterised much of the process. On the grassroots level it is questionable whether the question of community rights has been adequately addressed or the concerns of the San people heard. Saliem Fakir, Country Programme Co-ordinator, IUCN (1998), expresses his concern that in some quarters these TBCAs can be regarded as “parks without peace” since some of these parks could potentially incur the displacement of communities and place undue limitations on people’s access to essential natural resources. Since the Kgalagadi TBCA will set a precedent for similar initiatives, it is essential that as a model to be emulated it should be a sound one. Anna van Wyk (1998), MP of the New National Party, voiced her concern over the handling of the initiative, asserting that it “has marginalised the San even more than the government has done to date, particularly because they were not involved in the discussions”.

Further miscommunications have occurred at the international level. “There may be a suspicion, which is part of the legacy of the bad old days, that this is a kind of neocolonial takeover,” says Dr Hanks (“Conservation”, 1997). These fears were fueled by the production of maps, which indicated land to be included in the TBCAs other than the Kgalagadi TBCA, without any prior consultation with important stakeholders, including landowners and government departments (Greeff, 1998). South Africa’s former minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Dawie de Villiers and National Parks Board’s chief executive Robbie Robinson emphasised that SA has no intention of trying to force its neighbours into establishing the proposed transborder parks. They stressed that each country must make its own evaluation of the projects and reach their own conclusions on whether to join. The reason behind this approach involves concerns over a possible backlash within the neighbouring countries to what might appear as undue SA influence in their domestic affairs (Ryan, 1995). The PPF and the SANP are now careful to stress, when negotiating with other countries that the proposals aim to link conservation areas, not to take them over under South African control.

4.2 THE POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

The political environment can have a major impact upon the success or failure of the project's efforts. The political environment can be defined as the set of institutions, actors, special interests, policies and laws that interact to determine who controls what and how they do so (Ack, 1991). The political environment incorporates local, regional, national and international issues. Ample guidelines exist for the implementation of sustainable development but, the political will has been insufficient to ensure the effective implementation of these guidelines (McNeely, 1988). The international nature of these agreements highlights a number of concerns over managing conservation areas jointly. The Kgalagadi TBCA raises the need for harmony with respect to human rights and community involvement in the approaches of the two governments. Salim Fakir (1998) Country programme Co-ordinator, IUCN, states that the Kgalagadi TBCA emphasises the "difficulty of creating transfrontier initiatives where two or three countries entering into multilateral agreements do not have harmonised legislation, where the treatment of human rights differs between the countries and where the culture of democracy and community participation also varies". Ultimately it is hoped that South Africa's human rights oriented approach to conservation will "spillover" into those countries entering into agreements with it to establish TBCAs. If this happens the security of the local communities, like the San in Botswana, can be ensured.

The above illustrates that it is necessary for project planners and managers to be fully aware of the political environment, both local and international, and its impacts on their activities. While project managers may only be able to control a small part of their operating environment, there is a larger environment that they may be able to influence, and an even greater environment that they must understand, in order to mitigate, or compensate for, the impacts upon their activities and objectives. Government policies and legal issues from the local to international level can have tremendous impacts on peace parks and their objectives. Policies include more direct policies, such as the rules and regulations governing resource ownership and use in protected areas, or less direct, such as road construction to a neighbouring area, pricing policies for timber, exchange rate policies, or subsidies for cattle ranching (as found in Botswana). One activity of project managers should be to identify all relevant policies and legal issues, analyse their economic and environmental impact, and press for legal and legislative changes where necessary and possible.

Threats to parks and their neighbours often originate far from park boundaries. Local people, the intended beneficiaries, are commonly the most visible agents of park degradation; however, their actions are often attributable to laws, policies, patterns of resource access, social changes, and economic forces. Field experience has highlighted certain aspects of this external environment that appear fundamental to project effectiveness. These can be used to derive a series of project preconditions. These preconditions include:

- Realistic institutional arrangements for project management: Where appropriate, new management structures should be empowered to represent different national and local interests involved in the TBCA, including collaboration with the protected area management agencies, if local park management is to remain administratively separate from the project.
- Compatibility with regional development: project development components should ideally be co-ordinated with regional development initiatives. At the very least there should be effective communication between regional planners and the TBCAs.
- Systematic attention to land ownership and other resource access rights of the projects' intended beneficiaries: Lack of secure tenure discourages settlers or recent migrants from adopting a long-term perspective toward land management, including more intensive cultivation outside park boundaries. Priority should be given to

clarifying or establishing secure land tenure and resource access for individuals and communities living adjacent to park boundaries.

- Commitment to institutional reorientation: government agencies responsible for traditional-park management face considerable constraints in implementing TBCAs or supporting TBCAs implemented by other organisations, even with funding and technical assistance from international organisations. Many of these agencies require strengthening and reorientation towards a more people-centered approach. (Wells et al, 1992)

It may often be beyond the capacity of participating organisations to change or affect laws or government policies, which influence the project's activities. But, it is still essential to identify these relationships and understand how they affect the area and the project's objectives. In certain occasions the opportunity may arise where other institutions are similarly negatively affected by the same policy, to join forces to effect the desired changes (for example the different community organisations representing the San people). There may even be organisations already working in the policy arena on legislative agendas, which may be willing and able to join forces to push for reforms in specific laws or policies. Occasions to promote dialogue between local and international institutions and government policy-makers may also be available (Ack, 1991). The problem of a lack of communication has already been highlighted in the case of the Kgalagadi TBCA, but then so should the advantages of communication between the different actors. If the community-based organisations form a united front the louder their voice will be.

Therefore it is imperative to know all of the institutions and actors in an area that could positively or negatively affect the work of the project. This can be done through co-operative agreements, partnerships, joint projects or simply through informal exchange programs. Combining and building upon the resources and skills of different institutions can substantially benefit projects, strengthen the capacity of the different institutions and provide a broader base of support to projects. It is vital to be aware of institutions, which have missions, or objectives, which are in conflict with those of the project. Common ground can be sought through encouraging communication and engaging in dialogue about resources or other conflicts.

Sharing information with relevant government institutions and NGOs is important – the type of work USAID is attempting to do. Providing these agencies, or key individuals within them, with information about the project and enlisting their support, especially in the early stages of project development can help avert problems if there is controversy about the project. This is an important lesson to be learnt from the Kgalagadi. The San people should have been involved in the negotiations from the outset. If agencies and relevant communities know about the activities of a project, and have been consulted along the way, they are more likely to provide support if problems or opportunities arise. They may become inclined to get involved directly or adopt successful activities of the project (Ack, 1991).

In conclusion, the Kgalagadi serves as an example to learn from for future TBCAs in Southern Africa. By highlighting the weaknesses in its approach we can search for solutions. And, by emphasising its benefits we can advocate the role of TBCAs in the region. Greeff (1998) recognises that a champion for the process is urgently needed. Greeff suggests that the leadership should reside in the government. Proposals include DEAT or even a regional SADC structure or programme (Greeff, 1998). I agree that there is definitely a need for a **lead agent**, but unlike Greeff I believe that the agent should act as a facilitator and that it should be a non-governmental organisation. The governments of the respective countries must certainly play a bigger and more defining role in the process, but they do not (especially in developing countries) have the technical or financial capacity to fulfill such a role. It is in my opinion that the PPF is at present the only organisation, which could viably perform this role. A further weakness is a lack of a **guiding framework**. The absence of such a framework opens the doorway for communities to be excluded, for the conservation agencies to establish TBCAs without proper co-ordination, and for creating confusion in terms of roles of stakeholders and miscommunication. Without this framework there has been insufficient co-ordination, resulting in duplicity and a lack of coherence. Thus, a guiding framework would serve to create constancy and soundness, as well as a form of protection for the stakeholders (especially the communities), in the process of developing a TBCA.

CHAPTER FIVE IN CONCLUSION

TBCAs - "the concept of a string of cross-border game reserves tied to community development schemes, connecting countries in a web of mutual self-interest that will not only save their heritage but generate vast income"

- "Conservation" (1997)

1. CONCLUSIONS

The countries of Southern Africa are presently dealing with the effects of increasing mutual vulnerability - economically, politically and ecologically. As has been shown this increasing interdependence can be approached in two manners either through conflict and mistrust or through transnational co-operation. It has been my assertion that it is in the mutual self-interest of states and other actors (e.g. NGOs) to approach this dilemma through *transnational co-operation under the ethical umbrella of sustainable development*. Pursuing conservation or development as separate goals I do not believe will solve Southern Africa's economic, social or environmental problems. Conservation that operates "outside of politics" and removed from development disregards human needs, rights and dignity. And development without conservation is short-term focussed and unsustainable.

As stated in my introduction it has been my intention to answer three main questions with regards to TBCAS, which I feel that the present literature does not adequately deal with. TBCAs are a recent phenomenon in Southern Africa so it is important for stakeholders and policy-makers to have a greater understanding of them. Before delving into these issues I considered a number of concerns in chapters one and two which I believe were needed to form the foundation of my discussion. Firstly, there must be a paradigm shift in the perception of nature, its utilisation and its relation to man. Natural resources, like TBCAS, must be given an economic value. If they are given such a value they become invaluable bargaining tools, especially in the hands of economically impoverished countries,

communities and individuals. It is imperative that we give the environment an economic value thus, bringing the environment back into the definition of the economy (McNeely, 1988; Swanson and Barbier, 1992). Thus, I contend that we need to move from pure conservation to sustainable development and utilisation. If natural resources are given an intrinsic and extrinsic value they will become an essential incentive for encouraging international and transnational co-operation. However, in my thesis I do recognise the potential dangers of giving natural resources an economic value. The chief concern is that some people / businesses / governments earn immediate benefits from exploiting biological resources without paying the full social and economic costs of resource depletion; instead these costs are transferred to society as a whole, this is the potential "Tragedy of the Commons". This all serves to stress the need for effective and accountable institutions and proper policy formulation. According to McNeely (1988) there are ample guidelines for the effective management of natural resources, but insufficient political will to ensure proper implementation of these guidelines. Therefore proper conservation and sustainable development implementation requires appropriate government policies. The second area, which I dealt with, concerned the increasing interdependence of politics, economics and the world's environment. I proposed a two-pronged approach for policy-makers and other actors to effectively adapt to these developments. They must firstly cultivate an ethical perspective on environmental affairs. The environment cannot be separated from the human element, thus what is needed is people-centered development and community-based conservation. And, secondly, development and conservation must be based on sustainable development.

After setting these foundations I dealt with the three issues for consideration. The main concern of the *first issue* was whether TBCAs are good examples of sustainable development. Thus, *if sustainable development is the way forward for Southern Africa, do Transborder Conservation Areas reflect and fulfill the criteria as set forth by sustainable development?* The three primary criteria, which I highlighted, were **community-based development, close linkages between the environment and**

development, and co-operation on all levels. During my discussion of these three criteria I also continually highlight the importance of institutional capacity building. Using the recently established Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park as my case study it was evident that its goals and its initiatives are based on the principles of sustainable development as set out at the *International Conference on Transboundary Protected Areas as a Vehicle for International Co-operation* (1997) and as written in the *Bilateral Agreement* (1998) and *Management Plan* (1998). Whether these guidelines are being properly applied is however an area of concern. The main criticisms include a lack of local community involvement in the process and a lack of communication between the different role-players. A further concern has been the political environment. Ample guidelines exist for sustainable development but, the political will has been insufficient to ensure the effective implementation of these guidelines (McNeely, 1988). It is recognised that developing countries need to undertake basic internal institutional and economic reforms before they can attain sustainable development. Their political systems have to be made more participatory and democratic, allowing for greater individual freedom in politics as well as economics. As an innovation in development and conservation, TBCAs cannot just offer a technical solution, there must be democratic understanding supported by rural civic organisations and other role-players. The best intentions of TBCAs could be undermined through the destruction of mechanisms for community consultation by war and conflict, the mistrust of whites, foreigners and local conservation bodies, due to our historical precedent. These are the ill-effects of politics. A major flaw of previous development planning has been its basis on rigid procedures and top-down strategies (these strategies were still evident in the establishing of the Kgalagadi TBCA) which have prevented people at the grass roots level from learning by their mistakes or capitalising on the right moves. ("Conservation", 1997) The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) further stresses that sustainable development depends on a political system that ensures effective citizen participation in decision-making (in other words, human rights and democracy), an economic system able to generate surpluses on a sustainable basis, and an administrative system that is flexible (Mac Neil et al, 1991).

Thus, we see how the issues become interlinked as the focus of the *-second issue*, centers around the observation that although TBCAs should ideally be community-based they are dependent on states as the main legal negotiating mechanism for their

establishment. Herein comes the theory of co-operation and how to prevent the "Tragedy of the Commons" (Hardin, 1968). It was recognised that sustainable development, the basis for the development of TBCAS, can only succeed if it has a sound base in the awareness and engagement of people. In the case of the Kgalagadi the direct participation of the San people in the negotiations and formation process of the TBCA was required. The effectiveness of such systems however depends on the supporting policies from local and national government. South Africa's human oriented legal system does make provisions (e.g. constitution) for this but is presently not being effectively utilised. On the other hand, Botswana's legal system does not make sufficient provisions for the protection of its indigenous communities. But it is hoped that through policy co-ordination Botswana will be "inspired" to revisit its laws. This is the essence of co-operation: *the mutual adjustment of states' policies in the accomplishing of their goals* (Keohane, 1984). Institutions such as TBCAs create the opportunity for states and other stakeholders to co-operate in mutually beneficial ways. Throughout I have emphasised the importance of institutions in the effective formation of TBCAS, thus my support of Caporaso's (1993) institutional approach to co-operation. It recognises the preferences, norms and ideas of individuals. It is institutions, which help shape preferences, norms, and ideas by providing an environment in which socialisation and learning can occur. A further contribution which institutions make which is important for co-operation is that they provide information, increased trust and they reduce uncertainty about the actions of others. Institutions are further needed to achieve state purposes. They facilitate co-operation when it is in the interest of the state. It is recognised that states will not be forced to behave in ways in which are not in their interest, but as societies become enmeshed in a web of economic, political and ecological connections, the costs of disrupting these ties will effectively preclude unilateral state action. Therefore, institutions that facilitate co-operation do not mandate what states must do; instead they help states to pursue their own interests through co-operation. It is therefore important to illustrate the benefits, and thus incentives, to be derived from TBCAs (economic, political, social and ecological) for states to support these initiatives.

To overcome the above weaknesses inherent in TBCAS, like the Kgalagadi, and for consideration for the development of future TBCAs in Southern Africa, I make two suggestions: the assignment of a **facilitator** and a **guiding framework**. If these

suggestions are applied they should ensure proper channels for communication and thus the protection of all role-players and stakeholders, and thus the insurance of sustainably developed peace parks. A guiding framework will also provide a secure setting for institution building.

Despite the above limitations, the benefits of such initiatives to Southern Africa are numerous (conservation, tourism, local community upliftment, regional harmony, policy co-ordination etc.), stressing the mutual interests to be gained by states and other organisations if the ethics of sustainable development are pursued. These benefits will in turn provide the impetus for transnational co-operation. The benefits include: the promotion of regional peace and co-operation; more effective and efficient management and conservation of natural resources; economic development through initiatives like ecotourism and local community participation and development.

This brings me to the *third issue*, how best can decision-makers go about establishing TBCAS? Herein lies my advocacy of TBCAS. The logic of an advocacy paper is to *produce data concerning the possibilities of certain courses of action resulting in consequences that are valuable to some individual, group or society as a whole*. Once, the alternatives have been assessed recommendations for policy actions must be made. Southern Africa's dilemmas have been discussed and the options available for overcoming these economic, political, social and ecological dilemmas have been put forward. Growing interdependence in all these areas cannot be ignored so the best possible way of approaching them is required. The consequences of interdependence can either be destructive or they can be properly used to the advantage of Southern Africa. The choices, which I discussed included: conflict versus co-operation; and unsustainable development versus sustainable development. My recommendation to Southern Africa is to pursue the route of transnational co-operation based on sustainable development. Therefore this paper is ultimately a call to Southern African countries to embrace this new form of utilising the environment. Transborder Conservation Areas provide a viable alternative to natural resource destruction and depletion, poverty, local community corrosion, regional conflict and economic stagnation. TBCAs will clearly not solve all the problems of this region, but the potential benefits to be derived from them make them initiatives worthy of serious consideration. And, if the TBCA model is properly presented and advocated it will be more easily

adopted in the countries of Southern Africa. A present example is the Maputo reserve in Mozambique. The land, which could possibly become a TBCA stretches south of Maputo to KwaZulu-Natal. The Mozambican government recently approved the building of a port just south of the reserve, which does not make economic sense. According to Helena Motta, coastal adviser at Mozambique's Ministry of the Environment: "the port and ecotourism cannot co-exist here. It has got to be one or the other" (Sayagues, 1999). The area is recognised for its unparalleled beauty. But, Mozambique needs to earn resources from its uniqueness. Herein comes the potential benefit of the advocacy of TBCAS.

In conclusion, I present a summary of a proposed strategy for the creation of a TBCA and make recommendations for future research, thus recognising the limitations in my own study.

2. STRATEGY PROPOSED FOR THE CREATION OF A PEACE PARK

(Adapted from Kalpers and Lanjouw's (1997) strategy for a peace park in the Virungas and using my own case study of the Kgalagadi TBCA). Some of these steps can overlap in timing, some needing to be started in the early phases others needing to be finalised at a later stage.

2.1 Designation and endorsement of a facilitator

The establishment of a peace park needs a neutral body, able to play the role of catalyst and facilitator throughout the preparatory process and establishment of the park. Westing (1993) suggests following the model developed for the Indochina reserve for peace and nature. The neutral body could be a NGO (e.g. IUCN, Peace Parks Foundation), an operational programme or a United Nations agency (e.g. UNEP or one of its dependent structures such as the Global Environmental Facilitator (GEF)). The study of the Kgalagadi indicates the importance of establishing this facilitator and giving it legitimate authority at the outset of the project. Leaving it too late makes it difficult to give one body "special status" without it offending other actors I also contend that the facilitator

should preferably not be governmental so as to maintain objectivity in the whole process and, because in Southern African countries governmental agencies generally do not have the funds or the expertise for such projects.

2.2 Drawing up of a guiding framework

The facilitator should be instrumental in this, using previous case studies and expertise, preferably from areas sharing similar characteristics (e.g. political systems, economic status). The guiding framework must ensure the protection of all stakeholders and present opportunities for contributions to the process. The guiding framework must however remain relatively flexible, since each situation and project will have its own unique characteristics.

2.3 Informal contacts

Informal contacts can be initiated before an official facilitator is designated. As happened between the conservation agencies of South Africa and Botswana since 1948. Such contacts may pave the way for the development of regular collaboration. This can be done so as to "test the waters", but before entering formal negotiations and as soon as is viable a facilitator should be assigned. Informal contacts can be made between the official protected area authorities in the respective countries at both local and central administration levels. Equally, at this stage attempts can be made to harmonise the status of the protected areas. Serious political commitment to the project: explicit commitments to support, or at least co-operate with, the TBCA must be obtained in advance from local authorities, from influential local leaders, and from high levels within appropriate agencies of the national government - including all agencies with relevant interest and authority (Wells et al, 1992). The Kgalagadi shows the importance of gaining local community involvement and therefore support at the early stages of the development. If people are left out of the process or invited to join when most of the decision-making has taken place the less likely they are to support the initiative. A sense of ownership of the project and thus a vested interest in its success must be created.

2.4 Initiate joint activities

Collaborative activities can be extended to include the following aspects:

- Planning and development of integrated conservation strategies
- Joint patrols for surveillance
- Implementation of an ecological monitoring programme
- Development of a communication network
- Development of an integrated tourism strategy
- Allowing free passage to tourists and field-based personnel across borders
- Implantation of a common regional training strategy
- Development of a common methodology for data analysis
- Implementation of similar community-based conservation strategies

2.5 Extending discussions to other authorities / departments

These ministries will include the ministries responsible for the environment and protected areas, the ministries of foreign affairs, the presidential offices, legislative bodies and so forth. Legislation must be conducive to the achievement of TBCA objectives: jurisdiction over lands outside park boundaries is often unclear and can provide a significant barrier to TBCA implementation. Legislation which recognises and protects the rights of local communities is also needed to ensure that the approach to the TBCA is people-centered (e.g. South Africa's constitution). Legislative reform will often be needed:

- to give TBCAS, park management agencies, or both, the authority to act outside existing park boundaries;
- to clarify overlapping authorities over lands adjacent to parks among local governments and national government agencies;
- to establish multi-use areas that include conservation (protected) and development (human-use) zones;
- to establish buffer zones outside the boundaries of existing traditional parks; to delegate government authority over a traditional park of multi-use area to separate a TBCA management organisation-,
- or to provide for a share of park entry and concession fees to go to the parks system, or to be passed through the TBCA to local communities (Wells et al, 1992).

2.6 Signature of a "Memorandum of understanding"

The objective is to draft an interim "memorandum of understanding" signed between the governments (Westing, 1993), that will pave the way for the actual agreement establishing a peace park. It will describe the parties and endorser, define the Peace Park and list the interim steps that will lead to the formal agreement, subject to the ratification of the respective countries.

2.7 Preparation of a formal agreement

This vital and delicate step must include. (a) drafting of a formal agreement: (b) identification of funding mechanisms; and (c) setting up the structures for a peace park. (Kalpers and Lanjouw, 1997) [Refer to the Bilateral Agreement and the Management Plan of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park] All relevant role-players and stakeholders must be involved in the drawing up of the formal agreement, so as to prevent it from being staled or even halted by stakeholders, who were initially alienated from the whole process.

3. MEASURING EFFECTIVENESS

Evaluating the effectiveness of a TBCA project requires comparing initial goals with subsequent progress toward them. These steps are recommended:

- Assess the effects of TBCA activities on people outside protected area boundaries.
- Assess the status of the plants and animals inside the protected area, and changes in their status since the TBCA was established.
- Attempt to identify any causal links between changes in conditions inside protected areas and project initiatives outside -in particular the extent to which changes inside are attributable to project activities as opposed to erogenous events and processes (Wells et al, 1992).
- The implementation of the criteria as set out by sustainable development: community-based development; close linkages between the environment and development; and co-operation at all levels.

It is however, recognised that intangibles like peace are hard to measure. In the case of the Kgalagadi and Southern Africa, Dr Hanks, states that "the extraordinary thing is to go back 15 years to the time when all these borders were war zones with huge security fencing and heavily armed troops: nobody could even think about transfrontier co-operation for the sake of conservation" ("Conservation", 1997).

4. FUTURE RESEARCH

Being such a new phenomenon especially in Southern Africa, the treasures of Transborder Conservation Areas are still largely to be discovered. I believe that it is an exciting topic with many avenues to be pursued, especially for those with a desire to see Southern Africa reach its true potential. The possible fields of study include economics, politics, social studies and nature conservation. Future studies could include the following topics:

- Economic accounting: a measuring instrument is needed to determine the economic benefits of TBCAS. States and other actors are more likely to support such initiatives if the economic benefits are measurable and therefore visible.
- Legal studies: The problems with incongruencies in states legal systems were only briefly touched upon in this study. Will South Africa's human rights-oriented legal system serve as a precedent for its neighbours?
- Social studies: How are and will the communities surrounding and in these TBCAs be affected? What are their responses to such initiatives? Will the San people be brought into the decision-making processes of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park? Are the benefits of the TBCA reaching the local communities? Who constitutes the "community"?
- Political studies: Is there a correlation between these peace parks and peace? Must peace precede the TBCAs or can TBCAs contribute to peaceful relations? How do you measure peace?
- Environmental studies: What are the effects of tourism on the environment? What are the effects of increased community involvement on the environment?
- Comparative studies: How does the Kgalagadi TBCA compare to other potential Southern African TBCAS? It was briefly recognised that the Kgalagadi TBCA although it sets an important precedent for future TBCAs it is unique in the fact the land on both sides of the border are state-owned, which is rare. How do Southern

African TBCAs compare with those from those in more developed countries? The developed world have more funds and are not always dealing with same issues such as the problem of poverty and creating the balance between conservation and development.

My thesis only touches on the above issues. TBCAs are an amalgamation of economic, social, political and environmental issues. These initiatives serve to show that these issues are interlinked and multidimensional. They cannot be solved or addressed by sectoral and unilateral approaches alone. Their solutions require multidisciplinary Joint undertakings. Thus, I suggest that for an adequate study of all the facets of TBCAS, a holistic approach is needed requiring a multidisciplinary group of researchers from the following fields of study: economics, politics, law, environmental sciences and anthropology.

In conclusion, it is clear that much of Southern Africa's wealth lies in its natural resources. It is this potential that needs to be tapped and wisely utilised. It is not in the interest of the region to see this unique commodity being plundered and destroyed. Southern Africa has the difficult task of having to create a balance between conservation and development, especially where poverty is of primary concern. Having discussed the above in detail it has become clear that sustainable development must be pursued. I believe that transborder conservation areas in their aims and potential outcomes embody sustainable development. Being such a new initiative however, makes it impossible to give definite facts and figures regarding its successes in these areas. The study therefore based largely on theory assumes that these new areas will be beneficial to Southern Africa in the long-term and in encouraging transnational co-operation. It is conceded that it is only with time and further research that the true results will be discovered, nevertheless the potential is undeniable.

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APPENDIX ONE:
LIST OF ORGANISATIONS TARGETED
FOR RESEARCH

TARGET ORGANISATIONS FOR RESEARCH:

The following organisations were either contacted telephonically, in writing, via e-mail or in the form of interviews. Documents, pamphlets and articles from these organisations were also used as references.

1. Governments of South Africa and Botswana

Departments of Foreign Affairs

Departments of Environmental Affairs

2. Non-governmental organisations

In South Africa:

Peace Parks Foundation

Open Africa Initiative

In Botswana:

The Kalahari Conservation Society

The Botswana Society

3. Parastatal Organisations

Regionally:

The Southern African Development Community

Internationally:

The World Conservation Union (IUCN)

World Tourism Organisation

USAID

4. Environmental Agencies

In South Africa:

The South African National Parks Board

Conservation International

In Botswana:

The Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks

5. Community-based Organisations

The South African San Institute (SASI)

TRANSFORM (Training and Support for Resource Management)

APPENDIX TWO:
LIST OF INTERVIEWEES AND EXAMPLE OF
QUESTIONNAIRE

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES AND THEIR ORGANISATIONS

Dr John Hanks	Chief Executive: Peace Parks Foundation
Mr March Turnbull	Executive: Peace Parks Foundation
Mr Werner Myburgh	Consultant: USAID
Dr Bertus de Villiers	General Manager: Legal Services: South African National Parks
Dr Peter Novellie	South African National Parks
Mr Farrel Nacerodien	Deputy Director of Environment Conservation: Department of Foreign Affairs
Dr Pieter Botha	Acting Director: Natural Environment: Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
Dr Lee Hannah	Researcher: Conservation International

QUESTIONNAIRE:

(Questions were adapted according to the interviewee and their field of expertise)

BACKGROUND:

- What is / has been / will be your role in the establishment of TBCAs in Southern Africa?
- What role does / will / has your department / organisation play(ed) in the establishment of TBCAs in Southern Africa?
- In your experience, who have been the most influential actors in the process of establishing TBCAs within Southern Africa?
- What role does the Southern African Development Community play? What could / should its role be?
- Has there been any international pressure?
- How does an issue, such as a TBCA, get onto the agenda of states?
- What are the benefits of establishing a TBCA (e.g the Kgalagadi TBCA)?
- Do TBCA's encourage international co-operation?

SHOULD THE ENVIRONMENT BE CONSIDERED AS A VITAL ELEMENT OF THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF STATES:

- What functions do / should TBCAs fulfil?
- What benefits do TBCAs provide?
- Do you think that TBCAs can foster peace between countries? Or, do you think that peace is a prerequisite for the establishment of TBCAs?
- How beneficial are TBCAs to local communities? Especially in terms of development?
- Do you think that the perceptions of the environment and conservation need to be altered? Why? And, how so? Should the state initiate this change?

ASSESSMENT OF TBCAS:

- Are they a viable economic option for South Africa and her neighbours?
- Do you think that natural resources should be given an economic value? Why?
- How does one give natural resources an economic value?
- What developments have been made in terms of the other TBCAs between South Africa and her neighbours?
- What do you think the future holds for TBCAs in Southern Africa?

APPENDIX THREE:
BILATERAL AGREEMENT OF THE KALAHARI
TRANSFRONTIER PARK

BILATERAL AGREEMENT

BETWEEN

BOTSWANA AND SOUTH AFRICA

ON THE RECOGNITION

OF THE

KALAHARI TRANSFRONTIER PARK

BILATERAL AGREEMENT

entered into between

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

(herein represented by

and

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

(herein represented by

(hereinafter jointly referred to as "the Parties")

for the recognition of the KALAHARI TRANSFRONTIER PARK

PREAMBLE:

The Government of the Republic of Botswana (hereafter referred to as "Botswana") and the Government of the Republic of South Africa (hereafter referred to as "South Africa") -

RECOGNISING the principle of sovereign equality and territorial integrity of their states;

CONSCIOUS of the benefits to be derived from close co-operation and the maintenance of friendly relations with each other;

ACKNOWLEDGING the necessity to preserve the environment and in particular the unique ecosystem of the Kalahari for the benefit of all the people of Southern Africa; and

DESIRING to extend, maintain and protect the flourishing ecosystem in the Kalahari through the recognition of the Kalahari Transfrontier Park,

NOW THEREFORE AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

1. RECOGNITION OF THE KALAHARI TRANSFRONTIER PARK

South Africa and Botswana hereby agree to jointly recognise the Kalahari Transfrontier Park in a manner that the area which is composed of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park on the side of South Africa and the Gemsbok National Park on the side of Botswana shall be retained in its natural state as an undivided ecosystem for the benefit of biodiversity conservation, research, visitors and the larger community.

2. CO-OPERATION

2.1 The parties undertake, respectively, to procure that the KALAHARI GEMSBOK NATIONAL PARK and the GEMSBOK NATIONAL PARK ("the Parks") be managed and controlled in accordance with the management objectives contained in this Agreement in general and in particular the management plan as agreed to between the Botswana Department of Wildlife and National Parks (hereafter referred to as the "Wildlife Department") and the South African National Parks Board (hereafter referred to as the "National Parks Board").

2.2 The parties undertake to

2.2.1 procure the co-ordination of the management, control and the development of the Parks;

2.2.2 to consult, assist and support each other in the implementation of the management objectives;

2.2.3 to use their best endeavours to harmonise their national legislation and remove legal and practical obstacles or impediments where possible in order to facilitate the integration of the management of the Parks into a single ecological and tourism unit; and

2.2.4 to achieve an equitable apportionment of revenues generated by the parks i.e. the gate

tourism and commercial revenues shall accrue to the park generating such revenue unless otherwise agreed.

- 2.3 The Parties undertake, from time to time, to enter into further agreements which may be required to give effect to the spirit and intent of this Agreement.

3. MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES

- 3.1 The management objectives of the creation of the Transfrontier Park, shall be to:

- 3.1.1 guarantee the long term conservation of the wildlife resources in the southern Kalahari which will help to maintain the integrity of the Kalahari ecosystem;
- 3.1.2 share and pool expertise and experience between the National Parks Board and the Wildlife Department on a good neighbourly basis;
- 3.1.3 increase the local and international profile of this important conservation area , thereby greatly enhancing its potential as a tourist destination;
- 3.1.4 encourage the full realisation of the economic potential of the Parks and surrounding areas which will bring economic benefits to both countries, especially to the local communities adjacent to the Parks;
- 3.1.5 develop joint promotional campaigns that will stimulate the two-way flow of tourists, thereby increasing the tourism potential for both countries and taking steps to facilitate the freedom of movement within the Kalahari Transfrontier Park;
- 3.1.6 comply as far as possible with requirements of international law regarding protection of the environment; and

3.1.7 ^{Stellenbosch University <http://scholar.sun.ac.za>} integrate the managerial reservation, research, marketing and other systems of the National Parks Board and Wildlife Department as far as the Parks are concerned, as far as possible.

3.2 The Management Objectives shall, in the first instance, be implemented through the National Parks Board and the Wildlife Department concluding a record of understanding in which provision is made for a detailed Management Plan specifying practical steps for the achievement of the objectives. The record of understanding shall also provide for the Kalahari Management Agency which shall administer the Management Plan.

4. IMPLEMENTATION

4.1 South Africa hereby:

4.1.1 appoints the National Parks Board to act as its agent for the purpose of co-ordinating the management of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park with that of the Gemsbok National Park and to ensure the implementation of the Management Objectives; and

4.1.2 delegates such powers and functions to the National Parks Board as are required for the implementation of the Management Objectives, including, but not limited to, the power to enter into further agreements with the Wildlife Department.

4.2 Botswana hereby delegates such powers and functions to the Wildlife Department as are required for the co-ordination of the management of the Gemsbok National Park with that of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park and for the implementation of the Management Objectives, including, but not limited to the power to enter into further related agreements with the Wildlife Department.

5. KALAHARI TRANSFRONTIER PARK FOUNDATION

5.1.1 A Kalahari Transfrontier Park Foundation (hereinafter referred to as "the Foundation") is established which shall in a manner provided for by this Agreement, direct the activities of the Kalahari Transfrontier Park. The Foundation shall provide the representatives of Botswana and South Africa with the opportunity to share ideas, develop proposals, give general direction to the park and take steps that are in accordance with this Agreement to facilitate the integration and joint management of the two parks. The object of the Foundation shall be to promote the conservation of the natural environment of the Parks and to develop the potential of the Parks as a tourist destination.

5.1.2 The parties hereby respectively nominate the following persons as founding members of the Foundation:

On behalf of Botswana:

.....
.....
.....
.....

On behalf of South Africa:

Mr V Msimang

Dr A Hall-Martin

Mr RM Rammutla

Dr J Hanks

5.1.3 The founding members may, by consensus, co-opt further persons as founding members.

5.2 The founding members shall proceed, without delay, to register the Foundation as an association not for gain in terms of Section 21 of the South African Companies Act on the basis that such a company enjoys legal personality in both the countries. In view of the joint sponsorship of the Foundation, the Founding Members shall secure the authority of the South African Reserve Bank for the disbursement of funds of the Foundation to promote the financing of both parks in an equitable manner. The National Parks Board shall for as long as the parties deem fit, provide the secretarial services to the Foundation whose administrative address shall be the same as that of the National Parks Board.

5.3 The object of the Foundation shall be to promote the conservation of the natural environment of the parks and to develop the potential of the parks as a tourist destination.

5.4 To implement its object, the Foundation shall:

5.4.1 monitor the implementation of the Management Plan;

5.4.2 render advice on matters arising from this Agreement;

5.4.3 initiate steps that will facilitate further co-operation and integration of activities as may be delegated to it from time to time by the parties;

5.4.4 receive donations dedicated to the implementation of this Agreement from third parties and distribute these equitably to the National Parks Board and the Wildlife Department.

5.5 The chairperson shall annually rotate between the parties with a representative of Botswana acting as chairperson for the first year.

5.6 A quorum for a meeting of the Foundation shall be four members, provided that at least two members nominated by each of the parties shall be present.

5.7 Decisions of the Foundation shall be taken by consensus.

5.8 Subject to this Agreement, the Management Agency (herein after referred to as “Agency”) which shall be established in accordance with the Record of Understanding concluded between the Department of Wildlife and National Parks Board, shall determine its own meeting times, rules and procedures.

5.9 Meetings of the Agency shall take place at such venue decided upon by the Agency.

6. FINANCIAL IMPLICATIONS

6.1 In order to discharge their obligations under this Agreement, the Parties shall annually make available sufficient funds to cover any expenses that may arise from the implementation of this Agreement, provided that the National Parks Board, the Wildlife Department and the Foundation shall use their best endeavours to obtain financial and other means of support from their own as well as from other sources for the implementation of the management objectives and the Management Plan.

6.2 Donations received by the Foundation shall be paid into a bank account and equitably allocated between the parks in accordance with the priorities as identified by the Kalahari Management Agency.

6.3 The Foundation shall annually submit audited financial statements of its affairs to the parties.

7. RESPECT FOR NATIONAL LEGISLATION

This Agreement shall in no way be construed as derogating from any provision of the respective laws of the parties or any other agreement entered into between the parties.

APPENDIX FOUR:
RECORD OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE KALAHARI
TRANSFRONTIER PARK

RECORD OF UNDERSTANDING

BETWEEN

**THE BOTSWANA DEPARTMENT OF WILDLIFE
AND NATIONAL PARKS**

AND THE

SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL PARKS BOARD

ON THE

CONTROL AND MANAGEMENT

OF THE

KALAHARI TRANSFRONTIER PARK

RECORD OF UNDERSTANDING

subscribed to by

THE DEPARTMENT OF WILDLIFE AND NATIONAL PARKS OF BOTSWANA
(hereinafter referred to as "the Wildlife Department")

and

THE SOUTH AFRICAN NATIONAL PARKS BOARD
(hereinafter referred to as "National Parks Board")

and jointly referred to as "the Parties".

PREAMBLE:

- A. WHEREAS the Governments of the Republic of Botswana and the Republic of South Africa have entered into an international bilateral agreement to co-ordinate the management of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park on the side of South Africa and the Gemsbok National Park on the side of Botswana, to be jointly referred to as the Kalahari Transfrontier Park, so that the natural environment of these parks will be retained in its natural state for the benefit of biodiversity conservation, research, visitors and the larger community;
- B. AND WHEREAS the two Governments have agreed to management objectives for the two Parks;

- C. AND WHEREAS the two Governments have appointed the parties as their agents to implement the co-ordinated management of the Parks and the management objectives;
- D. AND WHEREAS the parties have in accordance with the management objectives, agreed to a management plan for the Parks;
- E. AND WHEREAS the parties desire to further regulate their co-ordinated management of the Park,

NOW THEREFORE THEY DECLARE THAT THEY WISH TO REGULATE THEIR RELATIONSHIP AS FOLLOWS:

1. INTERPRETATION:

In this agreement, unless inconsistent with the context, clause headings are for convenience and shall not be used in its interpretation, words denoting the singular shall include the plural and vice versa, words denoting a natural person shall include an artificial person, words denoting any gender shall include the other gender and the following words and expressions shall bear the meanings assigned to them below with cognate words and expressions bearing corresponding meanings:

- 1.1 "the Agency" the Kalahari Management Agency, established in terms of clause 4;
- 1.2 "this Agreement" this record of understanding entered into between the parties and all annexures hereto;
- 1.3 "the Foundation" the Kalahari Transfrontier Foundation established in terms of the International Agreement;
- 1.4 "Wildlife Department" the Department of Wildlife and National Parks of the Government of the Republic of

- 1.5 "Effective Date" the date upon which the international agreement comes into operation;
- 1.6 "the International Agreement" the international agreement entered into between the Republics of Botswana and South Africa on 20 September 1997 for the recognition of the Kalahari Transfrontier Park;
- 1.7 "Management Objectives" the management objectives of the Park contained in the International Agreement:
- 1.8 "Management Plan" the management plan for the Park jointly agreed to by the Wildlife Department and the National Parks Board in September 1997, and attached to this agreement as Annexure "A";
- 1.9 "National Parks Board" the South African National Parks Board established in terms of the National Parks Act, Number 57 of 1976 with its head office at 643 Leyds Street, Muckleneuk, Pretoria, South Africa, 0001;
- 1.10 "Park" the Kalahari Transfrontier Park, being the area contained in the Gemsbok National Park on the side of Botswana and the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park on the side of South Africa, which area shall not constitute a new park and which shall not imply any legal personality;

- 1.11 "the Parks" the Botswana Gemsbok National Park and the South African Kalahari Gemsbok National Park.

2. MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY:

- 2.1 The Wildlife Department and the National Parks Board shall, despite entering into this agreement, respectively remain responsible for the management of the Gemsbok National Park and the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park and shall continue to do so under the legal dispensations in terms of which they respectively operate.
- 2.2 The Wildlife Department and the National Parks Board hereby undertake to co-ordinate their management of the Parks as set out in this agreement.

3. MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES:

The parties shall manage and control the Parks in accordance with the Management Objectives, and more particularly in accordance with the Management Plan.

4. KALAHARI MANAGEMENT AGENCY:

- 4.1 The parties hereby establish the Kalahari Management Agency as a liaison body to co-ordinate their management and control of the Parks.
- 4.2 The Agency shall consist of four members, and each party shall nominate two members to the Agency, provided that the respective park wardens shall be one of the persons nominated by each party.
- 4.3 Every member may, by notice to the chairperson, nominate any other person to be his or her alternate and may at any time terminate such appointment. An alternate member shall exercise all the rights of the member to whom he or she is an alternate in the absence or incapacity of that member.

- 4.4 The Agency may co-opt further members, provided that the principle of equality of representation between the parties shall be adhered to at all times.
- 4.5 The Agency shall annually elect a chairperson from amongst its own ranks, provided that the chairperson shall annually rotate between a member appointed by the Wildlife Department and a member appointed by the National Parks Board.
- 4.6 A quorum for a meeting of the Agency shall be two members, provided that a member nominated by each of the parties shall be present.
- 4.7 Decisions of the Agency shall be taken by consensus.
- 4.8 Subject to this agreement, the Agency shall determine its own meeting times, rules and procedures.
- 4.9 Meetings of the Agency shall take place at such venue decided upon by the Agency.
- 4.10 The National Parks Board shall until such time as another arrangement is made, provide secretarial services to the Agency.

5. FUNCTIONS OF AGENCY:

The Agency shall:

- 5.1 act as a liaison forum between the parties for all matters pertaining to and arising from the implementation of the Management Objectives and the Management Plan;
- 5.2 recommend to the parties policies and actions necessary to implement the Management Objectives, the Management Plan, and any other aspect of the International Agreement which may be assigned to the parties, and also policies and actions which, in the opinion of the Agency, are necessary to maintain the cohesiveness and unity of the Park;

- 5.3 recommend amendments to the Management Plan to the parties, provided that such amendments comply with the Management Objectives;
- 5.4 make recommendations to the Foundation regarding matters which will further the implementation of the Management Objectives and which require co-operation between the parties and their respective Governments;
- 5.5 make recommendations to the Foundation regarding the allocation of funds to the respective parties;
- 5.6 make recommendations to the Foundation regarding further agreements to be entered into between them;
- 5.7 make recommendations to the Foundation regarding the harmonisation of statutes, regulations or any other law, rule or procedure which may apply to the Parks and which require a co-ordinated approach throughout the Park; and
- 5.8 annually report to the Foundation on its activities and the implementation of the International Agreement.

6. FINANCIAL MATTERS:

Each party shall be responsible for the costs of its participation in the activities of the Agency. Should the parties jointly incur any costs flowing from the activities of the Agency or the implementation of this agreement, these shall be shared by the parties according to a formula agreed to by the parties. The gate fees for entry into the parks shall be shared equally between the parties, while all other tourism and commercial revenues shall accrue to the park generating such revenue unless otherwise agreed.

7. CO-OPERATION:

The Parties hereby undertake to perform all such acts as may be required to give effect to the import or intent of this agreement or any agreement concluded pursuant to the provisions of this agreement.

