Understanding philanthrocapitalism and its impact on private nature reserves: A case study of Gorongosa, Mozambique

Author: Tobias Ochs

Student ID: OCHTOB002

University of Cape Town

Faculty of Science

Department of Environmental and Geographical Science

A Minor Dissertation presented in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree of Master of Science in in Environment, Society and Sustainability in the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science University of Cape Town

December 2021

Supervisor: Dr Phililе Mbatha

Plagiarism Declaration

I know the meaning of plagiarism and declare that all of the work in this dissertation, save for that which is properly acknowledged, is my own.

Signature: _____Signed by candidate_____ Date: 30. December 2021

Acknowledgement

The greatest thanks go to my parents Erwin und Elisabeth Ochs, without whose support, love and sacrifices my successes and achievements would have never been possible. Thanks to my siblings Patricia und Christian for being the great role models that have always pushed me to do better. Thanks to all my friends that have supported me in this 2-year journey. You are much appreciated. Many thanks to South Africa for welcoming me and giving me the chance to live in this wonderful country. Thanks to the University of Cape Town for their financial support and providing me the opportunity to study at this magnificent academic institution. Many thanks to the whole EGS staff for the guidance and support of us students during the uncertain and tough times of the Covid pandemic. You have helped us a lot. In particular, I want to thank my supervisor Dr Philile Mbatha for her constant academic support and valuable advice throughout the Master course and writing of this thesis. And because I know that he would love to read his name in an academic paper, this one is dedicated to Kopano. You are truly a blessing to this world, and everyone is proud of the well-mannered and ambitious young boy that you are. Let this work inspire you to always reach for the top. You meant to be great, and for you, not even the sky will be a limit.

Abstract

An increasing body of literature reveals that powerful businesspeople have a long history of using their wealth for the benefit of the greater common good. With philanthrocapitalism, a new generation of hands-on donors that have made incredible fortunes within business sectors like information technology or finance, are taking on the world's most pressuring social and environmental problem, willing to change the way of giving and enhancing traditional philanthropy. The rich entrepreneurs turned philanthropists are applying their skills and talents that have made them successful in business and infusing the charity sector with corporate tools and strategies and are getting personally engaged and using political and social networks to leverage their efforts. Driven to find solutions to the world's most severe problems, philanthrocapitalists tend to target problems that cut across national boundaries, such as AIDS, Malaria, illiteracy, and population growth. Next to these familiar fields such as health and education, philanthropists are also increasingly engaging in nature conservation. By establishing private nature reserves or taking over failed state-run nature reserves, elite donors are increasingly featuring neoliberal conservation and intervene in political ecology particularly in biodiversity hotspots in the global South. Notwithstanding philanthrocapitalism growing prominence and significance, broader public debates and academic literature is just emerging in recent years and the impact on nature conservation has received little scholarly attention. By examining the case of the Gorongosa Project (GP), a transnational nature conservation project that was established by U.S. multimillionaire Greg Carr in Mozambique, this thesis seeks to illustrate: a) how philanthrocapitalism influences nature conservation, b) how philanthrocapitalistic conservation projects work in practice and, c) enhance understanding about the implications of philanthrocapitalism in conservation governance, recognising its advantages and limitations. The thesis further seeks to contribute to the academic discourse as the far-reaching ventures of Western philanthrocapitalists have provoked a controversial debate. Advocates such as economists, journalists and political organisations argue that the financial power, unique business skills, resources and networks enable philanthrocapitalists to contribute to solving global issues more efficiently than other stakeholders. In contrast, critics from political or social sciences or conservation point out the increasing influence that wealthy philanthropists have on global policymaking as well as social and political agendas and have raised concerns about democratic values and power and wealth inequalities.

Keywords: philanthrocapitalism, philanthropy, nature, conservation, reserve, biodiversity, global South, governance, neoliberalism

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Abbreviations

ADB	African Development Bank
AGRA	Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa
BioEd	Biodiversity Science Education Program
BioEx	Biodiversity Exploration Program
CBS	Columbia Broadcasting System
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CGI	Clinton Global Initiative
EOW lab	Edward O. Wilson Laboratory
GIS	Geographic Information System
GNP	Gorongosa National Park
GP	Gorongosa Project
GPS	Global Positioning System
GRP	Gorongosa Restoration Project
HHMI	Howard Hughes Medical Institute
LTA	Long-term Agreement
IPAD	Portuguese Institute for Aid and Development
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
MEL	Monitoring, Evaluation and Learning processes
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WEF	World Economic Forum
WHO	World Health Organisation

1. Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction

A relatively new and powerful stakeholder group which is determined to solve the world's most pressuring social and environmental problems has surfaced in the global political and public sphere. For example, this has been witnessed when billionaire and philanthropist Bill Gates received wide media coverage when he entered the global battle against the COVID-19 virus with immense personal commitment and financial investments through his foundation (Suzman, 2020; Twohey and Kulish, 2021). His engagement and increasing influence on the global health sector has generated various reactions that range from praise and support over justified criticism to abstruse conspiracy theories (see for example Levich, 2015; BBC News, 2021). Bill Gates hereby represents a figurehead of a fast-growing international trend that is defined as philanthrocapitalism. The principles of philanthrocapitalism have captured the attention of journalists, foundation professionals, and trustees at "mainstream" foundations, governments, and beyond (Jenkins, 2011). The movement of a small superrich and influential group of entrepreneurs turned philanthropists became the focus of a controversial academic and social debate (Rogers, 2011). Advocates of philanthrocapitalism argue that with their financial power, unique business skills and strong networks, philanthrocapitalists have the ability to contributing towards solving global issues more efficiently than slow working governments or traditional philanthropy. Critics from political science, sociology, law or conservation such as Jenkins, Rogers, Amarante, Edwards or Holmes are concerned about the increasing power that wealthy philanthropists have gained on global political and social agendas and are raising questions about transparency, accountability and legitimized (democratic) governance (see Edwards, 2008; Jenkins, 2011; Rogers, 2011; Holmes, 2012; Amarante, 2018). Next to prominent sectors such as health and education, philanthrocapitalists increasingly engage in global nature conservation. This thesis seeks to enhance understanding about this emerging trend and investigate how philanthrocapitalism affects nature conservation in the global South by examining the case study of Gorongosa Project (GP) in Mozambique. The GP is co-managed by American multimillionaire and philanthropist Greg Carr whose non-governmental organisation Gorongosa Restoration Project (GRP) has set the goal to rebuild and conserve the nature reserve and foster economic and human development in the region.

1.2. Definition of philanthrocapitalism

Philanthrocapitalism presents a relatively new and not universally defined concept. There are many definitions and understandings, but common meanings and characteristics can be found across the literature. First of all, the portmanteau describes the combination of capitalism and philanthropy (Jenkins, 2011) and thus indicates the approximation and adaptation of philanthropy to the predominant economic system in which control of production and consumption is regulated via the market and means of production are privately owned. Philanthrocapitalism is described as the part of a capitalism that recognizes that it must be socially and environmentally sustainable (Bishop, 2013). Philanthrocapitalism is considered a subcategory of social enterprise work and can be regarded as an improved form of traditional philanthropy (Jenkins, 2011). The term has been coined by one of the most famous advocates Mathew Bishop as an editor of the newspaper "The Economist" in 2006 (McGoey, Thiel and West, 2018) and became the title of the book – "Philanthrocapitalism: How the Rich Can Save the World" (Co-Author Michael Green) which represents the most comprehensive and depictive representation of the emerging trend. Philanthrocapitalism can be generally defined as the application of business techniques to philanthropy by a new generation of self-made, hands-on donors and strategic grant making, as new models of giving, have burst onto the scene, commandeering attention and potentially reshaping philanthropy (Jenkins, 2011). It is an ambitious new movement of charitable giving promoted by ultra-rich philanthropists applying the same big-business strategies and skill sets for business and problem solving to their philanthropically engagement that has made them become some of today's most successful entrepreneurs (Vallely, 2020). Their business methods to philanthropy are described as "strategic," "market conscious," "impact oriented," "knowledge based," often "high engagement," and always driven by the goal of maximizing the "leverage" of the donor's money (Bishop and Green, 2015). Philanthrocapitalism encompasses not just the application of modern business techniques to giving but also the effort to drive social and environmental progress by changing how business and government operate (Bishop, 2013). The movement started with a small group of initial practitioners, successful-entrepreneurs-turned-philanthropists and expanded to include hundreds of foundations and advisory firms that have become its most forceful advocates (Jenkins, 2011). Bill Gates, Warren Buffet or George Sorros are famous representatives of this movement of mega wealthy philanthropists taking their private sector expertise in managing organizations, developing technologies, and delivering outcomes to the realm of social good (Shi, 2016). Bishop and Green (2008) describe

them as a group that sees a world full of big problems that they, and perhaps only they, can and must put right. Seeking to improve efficiency, effectiveness, capacity and accountability of charity through hard-nosed strategy, performance metrics and cost benefit calculus (Vallely, 2020) they are determined to take on the biggest social and environmental challenges facing the planet. The movement became famous through reports about the "Good Club" or the private initiative "The Giving Pledge" and wide media attention (Rogers, 2011). The unprecedent scale of multimillion and multibillion dollar donations became most visible aspects of philanthrocapitalism together with notable global endeavours such as global health initiatives to eradicate diseases like malaria or tuberculosis, the Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa (AGRA) that aims to fight food insecurities or micro-financing systems to alleviate poverty. As hyper agents that are globally mobile, well connected to governments, private and non-profit sectors and endowed with a vast financial, philanthrocapitalists have the capacity to do some essential things far better than anyone else (Bishop and Green, 2015). In contrast to local governments, which are subject to certain regulations and voting pressure, or to traditional NGOs who have to allocate a large part of their capacities to fundraising they can take risks, back unpopular causes, challenge conventional wisdom, be contrarian and think long-term, take up ideas too risky for government, deploy substantial resources quickly when the situation demands it—above all, try something new (Bishop, 2013). Three central features of Philanthrocapitalism will be furthermore examined and applied to the analyses of the case study: (1) The high personal engagement by the funder, (2) the application of business principles to grant making and (3) the tendency of funders to seek leverage to expand their spheres of influence (Jenkins, 2011).

1.3. Philantrocapitalism and nature conservation

An increasing number of elite donors is entering the field of environmentalism and challenging conventional state-led and/or non-profit based nature conservation approaches by applying market mechanisms and business principles to realise conservation goals (Holmes, 2012; Jones, 2012). The business approach to conservation aims to make conservation projects capable of returning in both profits and positive biodiversity outcomes projects as well as making them "investable, scalable, and repeatable" (Dempsey and Bigger, 2019). Philanthrocapitalism reflects new conservation practices, where transnational philanthropists are bringing the networks, brand image, knowledge and language they acquired through making their fortunes in the business world to shape conservation policies and practices (Jones,

2012). Typical philanthropic engagements include purchasing land for conservation purposes, to establish and protect parks, conservancies and nature reserves, and to fundraise for conservation trusts and various kinds of conservation projects (Ramutsindela, 2015). With personal financial engagements and attraction of international funding significant amounts of money is invested to acquire considerable amounts of land to establish private protected areas (PPAs) to protect nature from human and industrial expansion, or to take over failed state-owned nature reserves, particularly in ecological hotspots in the global South. Key elements of those efforts are strong eco-protection approaches and strict conservation regulations to restore and protect local biodiversity as well as the promotion of business opportunities above all the establishment of high-class eco-tourism but also carbon trade, real estate development or paying science and research (Holmes, 2015). Through economic progress, job creation and support of local livelihood by providing health or education services the transnational conservation projects aim to combine conservation efforts with human development. While the conservation of species, habitats and ecosystems is the primary objective, public relations, consultation, revenue sharing, and the promotion of community development are often 'added on' to compensate for negative effects of living near a protected area (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet, 2013). Philanthrocapitalists as international donors therefore have gained a powerful role in stakeholder networks and have gained visibility and importance in the management of national parks especially in the global South (see figure 1).

Figure 1: International donors (Philanthrocapitalists) as new powerful stakeholders in the governance of a national park (source: own figure).

Various important implications arise from philanthrocapitalist engagement in nature conservation. First, it helps legitimating and promoting neo-liberalisation of nature conservation through privatisation, marketisation, and making component parts of nature more "sliceable-diceable-sellable" (Dempsey and Bigger, 2019). By creating new markets and making use of the economic value of habitats and species for ecotourism, ecosystem services, and other ways of paying to save nature, conservation philanthropy facilitates capitalism's expansion (Holmes, 2015). To add value to nature for global consumers, production of new commoditised spaces gets promoted and endangered biodiversity gets repackaged as images, symbols and spectacles such as pristine wilderness, charismatic endangered species and noble savages (Jones, 2012). Philanthropy furthermore promotes rollback of the state by providing new sources of money and expertise and assuming governmental task like nature conservation, job creation, healthcare or education. Philanthrocapitalism and nature conservation has many implications for the political ecology. Particular amongst donor darlings, financially struggling countries in the global South that are getting infused by foreign policies and capital, philanthrocapitalists are increasingly influencing government and policymaking (Diallo, 2013). Through their well-established networks and strong economic and political power they have become active and powerful stakeholder in governance and management of PPA's (see figure 7). By declaring and implementing conservation policies and establishing jurisdictions and borders that define exclusionary rights, they are actively exerting power over natural resources (Vaccaro, Beltran and Paquet, 2013). With prominent authority driven by economic incentives and legitimised through technological and scientific solution philanthrocapitalism is gaining advantage over local power and interests. By re-establishing colonial structures and power balances conservation, philanthrocapitalism can play a role in creating neo-liberal economic spaces for (white) capital and material and metaphorical 'landscapes of privilege' which suit the cultural and financial interests of global elites while excluding the local rural communities (Holmes, 2015; Ramutsindela, 2009, Jones, 2006). While in the past, native populations were expelled for the gratification of colonial elites and hunters, todays PPA's disadvantage local livelihood for the enjoyment of tourists and scientists (Jones, 2006). Philanthrocapitalism promotes private visions of the public good, confined to a small group of powerful people as the big donors presumed to choose causes which reflect their own personal interests, experiences and ideologies rather than wider visions of societal needs (Holmes, 2012). Led by a charismatic and successful entrepreneur and backed by celebrity support (such as actor Leon DiCaprio or renowned scientists like E.O. Wilson) and promotional materials, websites, film, and other publications philanthrocapitalistic projects promote Western values

and images of Africa and the global South (Brockington, 2008). By dominating the narratives about endangered biodiversity, ecological crisis and protecting a special kind of Eden, Western voices risk to drown the interests and opinions of affected local people (Jones, 2006). The Western wilderness ethic, which values pristine lands untouched and uninfluenced by people and charismatic endangered species is not compatible with local realities and environmentalists. It is predicated upon a separation of nature and culture which is not recognized locally (Brockington, 2008). While Western technical and scientific interventions are promoted as most efficient solutions, local livelihood practices are depicted as source of various inefficiencies and deficiencies, "irrational and environmentally destructive" and traditional knowledge vanishes and gets replaced by modern solutions (see (McKeown, 2015; Dempsey and Bigger, 2019; Singh and van Houtum, 2002). By removing histories of place-making, constructing social networks through imagery, protected areas can create a virtual landscape in which the social or political features are erased, and people come to be seen as out of place (Jones, 2012). Philanthrocapitalist engagement in nature conservation therefore cannot be isolated from the historical developments and cultural, political and socio-economic backgrounds of the landscape.

1.4. Study site

The Gorongosa National Park in central Mozambique is a former Portuguese colonial hunting reserve that became a famous national park during the 1960's that was renowned for its diverse landscapes and high density of large game (Muala, 2015). After a raging civil war from 1977 till 1992, the former flagship of southern African nature parks lay in ruins, large game was near to extinction and tourism was abandoned (Timeline | GNP, 2021). In 2008, American entrepreneur and multimillionaire turned philanthropist Greg Carr on governmental invitation got into a long-term agreement to co-manage the park together with the Mozambique state. He has pledged $40 million to rebuild the park to its former glory by restoring and conserving the important biodiversity and establishing high-class ecotourism. The transnational conservation project aims to achieve two goals simultaneously: conserving biodiversity and contributing to local development. Linking conservation recovery and poverty alleviation is achieved through the publicised aim of economic benefits for local communities located in the buffer zone (Diallo, 2015). The economic development and additional income opportunities, aiming to replace potentially nature harming livelihood practices of local communities such as hunting or burn-and-slash agriculture, the project tries to take human pressure off the Gorongosan

ecosystem. Figure 2 shows images of the stunning landscape and rich biodiversity of Gorongosa which has attracted the early African settlers and later the colonial powers. Today this natural richness is not only important for the heritage and life of the local population but also plays a major part in the advertising efforts of the Gorongosa Project and its tourism endeavours. In-depth information about the study site and the GP are further presented in chapter 4.

Figure 2: Gorongosa is referred to as "The place where Noah left his arc" (source: Carr, 2021).

1.5. Aim and objectives

1.5.1. Aim

The greater aim of the study is to investigate philanthrocapitalism and its impacts on nature reserves in southern Africa. First aim is to enhance the knowledge about philanthrocapitalism in greater detail and establishing main characteristics and point of criticisms. Based on the fact that philanthrocapitalism represents a relatively new field of academic research that was just emerging in the recent decade and clear definitions of the concept are still lacking, leading to confusion and misinterpretation (Haydon, Jung and Russell, 2021), this this study will start with a detailed definition and reflect on current discussions between advocates and critics of the trend. By bringing together multiple interpretations as well as positive and critical aspects and perspectives of relevant literature, the thesis will define philanthrocapitalism more closely and provide enhanced understanding that will be necessary to assess and interpret implications for nature conservation.

Second aim is to understand how philanthrocapitalism affects nature conservation by assessing the case study of the Gorongosa Project (GP) in Mozambique. By analysing the GP based on the main characteristics and points of criticisms of philanthrocapitalism the thesis attempts to demonstrate how the trend works in practice and what consequences occur on the ground and

outline the implications for nature reserves in southern Africa. The examination aims to find out how the GP affects the management practices, governance and policymaking, conservation practices and on local communities and thereby identify the opportunities and risks of transnational philanthrocapitalistic conservation projects. The author hopes to highlight the important role of elements of meta-level governance such as images, values, beliefs and tradition as well as consideration of complex histories, social, cultural backgrounds in the sustainable outcome of such projects.

1.5.2. Objectives

- Examine the impacts of Philanthrocapitalism on the governance of nature reserves.
- Understand how local communities are affected by analysing the GP based on the established main characteristics (personal engagement, appliance of business strategies, leverage through networking and hyper agency) and points on criticism (antidemocratic, paternalistic, amateuristic).
- Provide linkages between Philanthrocapitalism and neoliberal conservation.
- To identify opportunities and risks of transnational philanthrocapitalistic conservation projects in Mozambique/Southern Africa and indicate references and recommendations for future engagement.
- To use the Gorongosa Project in Mozambique as a lens to understand the nature of philanthrocapitalism in nature conservation, as well as its main characteristics and points on criticism.

1.6. Rationale for the study

Statistics and reports on private wealth show that we live in "global age of philanthropy" with an increasing number of super wealthy citizens establishing private foundations and which they invest higher amounts of financial assets particularly in Western countries (see Shorrocks, Davies and Lluberas 2021; Johnson, 202; Wealth-X, 2018). With more people becoming extremely wealthy (see figure 4) and engaging in philanthropic causes (Imberg and Shaban, 2021), philanthrocapitalism has become apparent in political and social discourses and is projected to become a greater force in the future (Holmes, 2012). Big philanthropy is recognized as a key player in international development by both governments and international

organizations like the U.N. (see Bishop, 2013; OECD, 2016) and is increasingly featured through private and political networks and social platforms. With rising influence on democratic and social decision-making of global reach ultra-rich philanthropists or "philanthrocapitalists" are becoming powerful stakeholders in national and global policy - shaping, the public sphere and finding resolutions for pressuring global problems. As the world of thought emerges from a fairly homogeneous group of super-rich entrepreneurs, predominantly male, white, and from the West, the trend represents a complex social and political context as the lives of a growing number of people is directly affected (Rogers, 2011). This issue is exacerbated on global scale when international projects intervene in spaces of very different historical, cultural, political, social and economic background. Philanthrocapitalism seems to change traditional philanthropy and also blur the boundaries between business and philanthropy, democracy and plutocracy, public welfare and an end in itself. As Scholars, politicians and international organisations highlight the important role that philanthrocapitalism will hold in the future of international development and the solvation of pressuring lobal problems, nuanced understanding of and critically reflective engagement with philanthrocapitalism tend to be lacking (Haydon, S., Jung, T. and Russell, S., 2021) this thesis will help to inform the academic debate by providing a deeper understanding of philanthrocapitalism and its implications on public and political spheres by outlining and discussing the main characteristics and points of critique.

Next to prominent fields like poverty alleviation, health or education an increasing number of philanthrocapitalists engage in nature conservation committed to preserve global biodiversity. As philanthrocapitalism is relatively new, the academic literature exploring its impacts on conservation is only just emerging. The literature thereby mainly focuses on the discourse and theory of philanthrocapitalism, rather than how it works in practice (Holmes, 2015). The Evergreen State College in Olympia in Washington in a call for scientific papers has stated: Philanthropic individuals and organizations affect conservation in profound ways, both through their funding decisions and direct engagement in conservation policy and practice. Despite its growing prominence, however, philanthrocapitalism and its voluntary contributions of money, property, or time in support of conservation—has received little scholarly attention (Evergreen State College, 2021). Holmes notes that there is a need to understand how philanthrocapitalistic projects work in practice, to understand the trend, its limitations, and consequences (Holmes, 2015). In order to address this omission, the thesis will analyse the interesting case study of the Gorongosa Project - a transnational philanthrocapitalistic nature conservation project in that

that American millionaire and philanthropist Gregg Carr, the state of Mozambique and an international network of donors have partnered up to protect the biodiversity and foster economic and human development for more than 200.000 people in central Mozambique (Diallo, 2015). The project has attracted wide international media and academic attention that have led to the emergence of sufficient literature and information that allow for an in-depth analysis based on the main characteristics and critique points of philanthrocapitalism. This analysis will show how philanthrocapitalist conservation projects work in practice, provide a deeper understanding of the trend and its consequences. Furthermore, achievements of the project regarding conservation and human development have been applauded by international media, while scholars who work in the area have been challenging the success of effectively engaging and partnering with local communities. The study is therefore expected to draw a controversial picture that helps to identify benefits and limitations and contribute to current scientific debates and existing literature about the emerging trend of philanthrocapitalism and implications of transnational philanthrocapitalistic engagements in nature conservation.

1.7. Structure of the dissertation

First chapter of the thesis provides an introduction into the topic and outlines the rationale as well as aim and objectives of this study. Chapter two discloses the methodology and sources that were used during the desktop study to collect information and data about philanthrocapitalism and the case study of Gorongosa National Park. Chapter three illustrates the historical development and premises of philanthrocapitalism, defines the trend in greater detail by specifying its major characteristics and points of criticism within an extensive literature review. Chapter four highlights historical context and developments of Gorongosa National Park and Gregg Carr's Gorongosa Project. Chapter five analyses the GP based on the findings about philanthrocapitalism from chapter three (main characteristics and critic points) to understand how the philanthrocapitalistic conservation project works and what implications emerge on the ground. Chapter six concludes the analyses and discusses the findings of chapter 3 and 5. Chapter 7 concludes the findings and provides an outlook and recommendations for the further development of philanthrocapitalism in regard to global nature conservation.

2. Chapter 2: Methods

This chapter outlines the research approach as well as the conducted methods that have been used to collect and analyse the data as well as the research limitations. Qualitative material

research in form a of an extensive desktop study and a case study approach will provide the information that is needed to understand philanthrocapitalism and its implications for transnational conservation projects. The data collection about philanthrocapitalism entails relevant literature of advocates and critiques of the trend while information about the GP is based on official documents of the park as well as ethnographical research of scholars with long-term living and working experiences in Gorongosa.

2.1. Case study approach

A case study is an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Yin, 1994). Case studies aim at a detailed understanding of the case that has been selected, both for its own sake and in order to add to broader theoretical understanding and generate theories about underlying issues (Newing et al., 2011). The case study method furthermore is a good way to define cases and to explore a setting in order to understand it (Cousin, 2005). Instead of a multiple case study that would facilitate better comparability and transferability of the results as well as stronger and more reliable evidence, this thesis relies on a single case study which allows to richly describe the existence of phenomenon and create a deeper understanding of the exploring subject (Gustafsson, 2017). Furthermore, are single case studies not as expensive and time-consuming as multi-case studies which suits the specifications of a limited scope and volume of a minor dissertation which this thesis presents. These features of case studies make them an ideal approach to understand the nature of philanthrocapitalism and put into the context of nature conservation as well as to analyse its practices using a current project. The thesis chose the case study of the Gorongosa as the GP's transnational setup between an American multimillionaire, an international network of donors (including governments, universities and other foundations), the government of Mozambique and the people of Gorongosa presents an intriguing example to analyse global philanthrocapitalistic conservation efforts. The GP is furthermore intended to be driven on the long term by capitalist forces and entails an "philanthrocapitalist" philosophy in that the link between conservation and development is achieved through economic efficiency. The work of the GP relies heavily on business-oriented approach, Greg Carr's connections (in the American private, academic, and aid sectors), and plays on its brand image to achieve its agenda. The endeavour operates in a southern African biodiversity hot spot and directly affects over 200.000 people in direct proximity of the park (Hanes, 2017). The project has drawn great international

media attention which has created a narrative of a successful restoration and human development project. However, its success at effectively engaging local communities and gaining their support for this boundary change, which has been applauded in the media, has been challenged by scholars working in the area (Koot, 2021). This complex and controversial setup is hoped to represent a case study that will allow to understand how philanthrocapitalist projects work on the ground and what consequences and implications for management and conservation practice, local communities and policy and governance emerge. By determining benefits and limitations of such projects the approach aims to contribute to academic knowledge and inform future research agendas.

2.2. Desktop study and qualitative material research

Desktop studies and internet-based research present research approaches that allows to conduct cost and time effective remote studies that can complement ethnographic field studies or other in situ research techniques (Rush et al, 2009). As the limitations during the current COVID-19 pandemic makes actual field studies and other on-site research approaches almost impossible to plan and conduct, this thesis is built upon an extensive desktop study and the use secondary data. The already existing data about philanthrocapitalism and information about its relation to nature conservation have been extracted from various different sources using a critical literature review and a comprehensive research search process. This included mainly internet search based on search engines such as google scholar and digital libraries like the UCT online library, Jstor, ResearchGate, Academia.edu etc. to identify relevant academic papers, journals, books, and other primary sources about philanthrocapitalism. The existing data has been collected, analysed and summarized to provide an in-depth understanding of philanthrocapitalism, its main characteristics and points of critique. Relevant statistical data about wealth developments have been sourced from reports and statistics by international organisations and privet firms. Information about the GP and its impact on Gorongosa was primarily sourced from official park documents and scientific papers, as well as international media coverage such as press releases, interviews, reports or documentation and literature that is based on ethnographic research by scholars working in Gorongosa to develop a comparative understanding between the academic and popular media discourse about philanthrocapitalism and its implications for nature conservation on the ground.

The thesis starts with providing a profound conceptual understanding of philanthrocapitalism that will be needed to understand its implications for nature conservation by critically analysing

relevant literature, the academic discourse and key debates on philanthrocapitalism. For that purpose, the paper begins with outlining the historical developments of Western philanthropy and the economical and structural premises that eased the emergence of philanthrocapitalism. These findings mainly rely on books and academic papers about philanthropy and its history, current reports on wealth and philanthropy, economic statistics, financial reports and economic journals. The thesis then identifies and specifies three main characteristics of philanthrocapitalism based on the findings of multiple literature mainly provided by scholars and authors advocating the trend including economists, political organisations or journalists. Additionally, three major points of criticism are established that emerge from critical literature including books, academic papers and essays written by law professors, political or social scientists, activists and environmentalists. Furthermore, various sources like international organisations, the private press and media have been used. The comprehensive analysis of philanthrocapitalism is followed by an illustration and description of the historical landscape of Gorongosa and the GNP to understand and put the following case study in context. To combine philanthrocapitalism and nature conservation, the prior established three main characteristics (personal engagement, appliance of business strategies, leverage through hyper agency and networking) as well as the three major points of critic (antidemocratic, paternalistic, amateuristic) are then applied to analyse the case of the Gorongosa National Park in Mozambique. First source for information about the GNP and GP are the projects official documentation including homepage, annual reports, newsletters, press releases, scientific papers as well as documentaries, movies and interviews of Greg Carr and other park actors. Second source of information came from non-park actors. This includes media coverage through press releases, reports and videos as well as academic dissertation that are based on the analysis of Portuguese colonial (archival) documents and Mozambique's post-colonial records, academic papers, information of nongovernmental organizations and bilateral donors as well as books written by historians and or journalists. Of particular importance for understanding the implications for local communities were academic papers and books that are based on ethnographic research and many years of residence and work experience and the participation in daily life in Gorongosa. Ethnographic research methods are used to portray people in a cultural setting and are referred to as the interpretive, constructivist, naturalistic or post-positivist approach that answers the questions about the challenging and complex nature of phenomena, with the aim of describing and understanding the phenomena from the informants' perspectives. The ethnographic approach that is used in the qualitative research design was adapted from the field of anthropology (psychology, sociology) as a way of

describing human behaviour, social life, and is centred on the study of different cultures of the group of people in their natural settings while using the historical, holistic, and comparative designs (Ejimabo, 2015). The relevant ethnographical studies aimed to understand different aspects of Gorongosa like understanding violence, security and justice in Gorongosa, the women's participation in religious movements, exploring the role of religion, rituals and spiritual leaders in disputing processes in Gorongosa, understanding the political and social landscapes, understanding past and present wildlife conservation in the region, understanding alternative perspectives on the Gorongosa region and its history, understand the impacts of philanthropic endeavours on the life of local communities or exploring different narratives that are used by different stakeholders involved. The ethnographic research included fieldwork, first-hand observations as well as interaction with main international and national actors, governmental representatives, evictees and other villagers, (former) park officials, staff and tourists will allow to obtain a comprehensive picture of the effects of the GP and will shift the perspective away from the international medias dominating narratives to the voices and perspectives of Gorongosan communities and the embedded historical, cultural and socio-political background. The last chapters of the thesis will discuss the results of the GP under the premisses of philanthrocapitalism and nature conservation and the links to neoliberal conservation and political ecology and will provide a conclusion and an outlook and recommendation for future engagement of transnational philanthrocapitalist conservation projects.

2.3. Data analysis

Qualitative data analysis in one of the most important steps in the qualitative research process because it assists researchers to make sense of their qualitative data (Leech & Onwuegbuzie, 2007). Qualitative data analysis is concerned with transforming raw data by searching, evaluating, recognising, coding, mapping, exploring and describing patterns, trends, themes and categories in the raw data, in order to interpret them and provide their underlying meanings (Ngulube, 2015). As this thesis relies on various different sources of data a number of different analysis approaches have been conducted. Firstly a ‘systematic search and review’ approach, that combines strengths of a critical literature review with a comprehensive search process (Haydon, Jung and Russell, 2021) was used find out “what is known” about the relatively new trend of philanthrocapitalism. Another important tool has been a thematic analyse. Thematic analysis is a qualitative research method that can be widely used across a range of

epistemologies and research questions. It is a method for identifying, analysing, organizing, describing, and reporting themes found within a data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Through its theoretical freedom, thematic analysis provides a highly flexible approach that can be modified for the needs of many types of studies (Braun & Clarke, 2020). The thematic analysis has helped to create the logical structure of the conducted research and has been conducted in various steps including searching related databases and citations, familiarizing with the topics of philanthrocapitalism, Gorongosa as a case study, neoliberal conservation etc., identifying most relevant authors and themes, analysing different contents and the documentation for the thesis structure. Furthermore, a content analysis, a research technique that collects and analyses data from texts and messages that are communicated in various ways, including books, newspapers and other physical media (Ngulube, 2015) has been conducted to establish the main characteristics and critiques voiced by famous advocates and proponents of philanthrocapitalism. Discourse analyses are based on social constructivism assumptions. The fundamental question is framed around how social reality can be understood and explained by investigating discourses about certain situations and processes (Ngulube, 2015). For that reason, a discourse analysis has been conducted to understand the effect of the Gorongosa Project for local communities and its implications for their livelihoods and access and control over the natural resources. Furthermore, the author put emphasise on the critical evaluation of how the used data was gathered, analysed, and presented in terms of plausibility, credibility and relevance. In a consistency check to establish reliability and validity, authors of used data and information were checked on their professional backgrounds and field of expertise, essential statements and arguments were cross checked, and their literature was assessed for their number of citations.

2.4. Research limitations

Due to uncertainties and restrictions of the current covid pandemic as well as the fear of communication problems, field studies and interviews of key informants were consciously avoided. Therefore, the thesis relied exclusively on a detailed desktop study and secondary data and does not produce primary data. Another aspect is the limitation of academic literature about Gorongosa that is not directly related to the park's official documents. First-hand experiences and ethnographic research of this literature reflects on the status during the mid-2000's and cannot reflect on current situations, newest developments and changes within the GP. A lack of latest findings might be related to difficult conditions for research in rural Gorongosa due to

ongoing conflict, natural disasters and the actual pandemic. The focus on a single case study that is examined in greater detail is limiting the general comparability and transferability to other projects. Philanthropy and philanthrocapitalism within this thesis are understood as the action of private (wealthy-) individuals and the supported foundations. Philanthropy of the masses or performed by companies are not meant or considered. The study draws only on the understanding of Western philanthropy and philanthrocapitalism as the scope of a mini dissertation allows only a certain scope of investigation, which would be exceeded by considering philanthropy from other parts of the world (the motives and effects of which differ considerably due to different cultural, religious or historical backgrounds). Furthermore, are North American ultra-wealthy the most actively engaged in philanthropy (Imberg and Shaban, 2021) and are responsible for the world's highest donations to philanthropic causes (Johnson, 2021). Furthermore, institutional philanthropy is highly concentrated globally, with 60 percent in Europe and 35 percent in North America (Johnson, 2021). Western philanthrocapitalism also has the widest attention in academic literature and media (Haydon, Jung and Russell, 2021). Moreover, the case study of Gorongosa Project is operated by American philanthropist and multimillionaire Greg Carr and his foundation.

3. Chapter 3: Literature review of philanthrocapitalism

This chapter outlines the historical development of Western philanthropy, describing the premises that have paved the way for the emergence of philanthrocapitalism and investigating the motives and incentives behind the trend. It also provides a detailed examination of three main characteristics (i.e., personal engagement, appliance of business strategies and tools, leverage through networking and hyper agency) and three main points of criticism (anti democracy, paternalism, amateurism) of philanthrocapitalism that are emerging from the literature.

Not only since the advent of the COVID-19 pandemic have rich philanthropists appeared in order to engage for the greater good. Wealthy entrepreneurs turned philanthropists have a long tradition in addressing societies most pressuring problems (Vallely, 2020). But much of traditional philanthropic behaviour is relatively passive that rather than instructing grantees on precisely how to spend a particular donation, the traditional philanthropist donates money and allows recipient organisations to determine how to manage and spend the donation. (Amarante, 2018). This passivity and lack of control over donor funding is regarded as a major flaw that is considered to make traditional philanthropy ineffective. The new wave of super-rich entrepreneurs instead is eager to personally engage and apply their unique business talents to their giving, convinced that profit-orientated approaches offer the best solutions (Bishop and Green, 2015). This new way of thinking – applying business and market approaches to philanthropy makes them philanthrocapitalists (Haydon, Jung and Russell, 2021). Traditional philanthropy therefore is ought to be revolutionised and improved by implementation of strategies and tools that stem from the corporate sector (Holmes, 2012). Personal engagement and efficient networking with the aim to leverage donor funding are key elements of the new trend. Well-known philanthrocapitalists include Bill Gates, Richard Branson or George Soros, who built up their wealth in the corporate or financial sector, in addition to many celebrities such as Angelina Jolie, Bono or Oprah Winfrey who are increasingly featured in the media (Koot, 2021; see figure 3)

Figure 3: Cover of Time magazine from December 2005 advertising famous Philanthrocapitalists as "The Good Samaritans (source: Horvath and Powell, 2016).

The vast volume of financial resources and good relationships into private and political sectors makes philanthrocapitalists powerful stakeholders. Within an increasingly neoliberal global agenda, the economic power and prospects for investments makes philanthrocapitalism an interesting partner for government institutions and NGO's for solving social or environmental problems (Bishop, 2013). Using their business networks and creating huge networks of donors, philanthrocapitalists can attract and pool large amounts of money allowing them to engage and establish capacities in any chosen field. Without any structural boundaries like national states and without any corporate or political ties they are globally mobile and can engage in any partnerships. Brand ambassadors like Angelina Jolie, Bono or Oprah Winfrey and close collaborations with media and the celebrity world give them the ability to raise immense political and public attention for topics like HIV/AIDS or poverty reduction (Vallely, 2020; Brockington, 2008). The increasing societal and political power of the new stakeholders has hereby sparked various criticism. As capitalistic practices aiming to maximise profits are considered to be a main cause and catalysator for ongoing global social and environmental problems it is questioned if business approaches can be effective in solving the same problems. Rather it might be precisely the same strategies that helped create the billionaires that have also exacerbated social injustice and inequality, malnutrition, and disempowerment for millions of poor people (Ramdas, 2011). One could ask how much philanthrocapitalists are incentive to transform a system from which they have benefited hugely (Edwards, 2008). The various critics are furthermore concerned about undemocratic, paternalistic and amateurish characteristics of

philanthrocapitalism. When just a handful of super wealthy entrepreneurs whose social-economic background much differs from the reality of ordinary citizens, determine without broader social consensus which are most pressuring problems to solve and define how they should be addressed, the result is a deficit of democracy. Paternalistic aspects come into play when philanthrocapitalists make use of top-down approaches by deciding what is best and imposing solutions on intended beneficiaries. Criticism about amateurism is based on the question whether business skills that have led to success in the corporate world are sufficient to solve the complex social or environmental problems (Amarante, 2018). Philanthrocapitalists have become a new and powerful stakeholder within the field of global conservation as they increasingly acquiring large areas for nature protection and taking over the management of nature reserves particularly in biodiversity hotspots in the global South (Holmes, 2012). With strong conservation policies and the focus on ecological aspects of conservation the risk arises that social realities and complex cultural, historical and political aspects of local communities are being neglected (Jones, 2012). Philanthrocapitalism and the influence on nature conservation is a relatively new field of scientific research that has received little scholarly attention. Existing research has investigated the role of philanthrocapitalism and market mechanism in relation to neoliberal conservation. But there is a lack of literature that examines how philanthrocapitalism works in practice (Holmes, 2015). Therefore, this thesis aims to understand philanthrocapitalism and analysing concrete implication for nature reserves in the global South.

3.1. Development of Western philanthropy

Since the emerging trend of philanthrocapitalism has its origins in philanthropy and thus shares its essential elements and characteristics, this chapter will first examine the origins and historical development of (Western) philanthropy. Understanding the roots will help to better understand the development of philanthrocapitalism in its social and political context. While philanthropy as love towards humanity and in especially towards the poor and needy, has been particularly coined within ancient Mediterranean civilisations, it seems to be a behaviour deeply rooted in human culture and has been an integral part of global societies and religions within them, more as a duty of all humankind (Bishop and Green, 2008; Christou, Hadjielias and Farmaki, 2019; Vallely, 2020). References to philanthropy and its concepts can be found in the teachings of Native American, African and Asian (nature-) religions and cultures as well as in the Jewish, Christian, Muslim, Hindu, Buddhism doctrines (Bishop and Green, 2008;

Christou, Hadjielias and Farmaki, 2019; Mottiar and Ngcoya, 2016; Vallely, 2020). The understanding of philanthropy in the European and Anglo-American cultural area is primarily based on the concept of *philanthropia* (old Greek: *φιλανθρωπία*, from *φίλος* phílos "loving" and *ἄνθρωπος* ánthrōpos "mankind") known from classical Greek humanism, that describes a general friendly thinking and behaviour (inner attitude) towards humans. Understood as a sovereign virtue and self-image of an educated and ruling elite, main aspect of antique philanthropy during the Greece and Roman times did not necessarily lie in charity itself but above all in the display of superior and noble attitudes towards the weak (patronage), and was expressed through benevolence and mildness (Vallely, 2020). The generous and patronizing manner of rich aristocrats and the beneficiaries' gratitude and deference illustrate how Greco-Roman philanthropy was a political instrument for strengthening public-spiritedness and social orders. Philanthropic practice was expressed through material donations in times of crisis as well as in support for public infrastructure like streets, wells, libraries or poor houses or public amusement like baths, statues and cultural events. However, ancient philanthropy was not necessarily directed towards the neediest, largely sponsoring prestigious activities such as art, culture or sport which would bring glory to the donor (Bishop and Green, 2008). Philanthropy was about prestige, status and reputation and sometimes more about the rich than the poor (Vallely, 2020).

The traditional Graeco-Roman notions of reciprocity and patronage was fundamentally reformed through Christianity as the principal religion in Western societies and the church becoming primary channel for assisting people in need (Bishop and Green, 2008). The commandment: "You shall love your neighbour as yourself" presents a Christian core virtue and biblical literature is filled with admonitions to care for the needy, the sick, poor, orphaned or widowed (Christou, Hadjielias and Farmaki, 2019). Jewish tradition and Christianity put the needs of the poor and vulnerable at the centre and alms giving and donation to the church became fundamental Christian obligation and instrument for spiritual relief and salvation (Vallely, 2020). Throughout the Middle Ages and birth of modern capitalism (Bishop and Green, 2008) describe five golden ages that have shaped philanthropy in Europe and America. These golden ages were marked by enormous economic output and private wealth creation, but also by poverty, inequalities and social unrest. Wealthy citizens answered with waves of charity and financial engagement to solve and mitigate most pressuring social problems. The 4th wave of golden philanthropy emerged during the 19th century in United States of America when the expanding US economy with strong industrial sectors like mining, oil or steel enabled

economic growth and private wealth on unprecedented scale. Successful American entrepreneurs and world's first ever billionaires John. D. Rockefeller, Henry Ford and William Carnegie became the world's biggest philanthropists whose voluntary engagements in education, health science, technology and culture are still known today. Institutionalizing philanthropy through private clubs, family traditions and foundations as well as the mindset, that successful entrepreneurs should apply their superior organisational and managerial talents and rational methods of business to the administration of charitable deeds, which they considered to be outdated and deficient, became inspiration and model for today's philanthrocapitalism (McGoey, Thiel and West, 2018).

3.2. Premises of philanthrocapitalism

3.2.1. Private wealth and institutionalised philanthropy

The way for the 5th and current golden age was paved by strong economic growth and booming (information) technology and financial sectors which created steady increasing number of rich and ultra-rich entrepreneurs since end of the 20th century, even throughout the financial crisis of 2008 or the current Covid-19 pandemic. Global economic integration, the emergence of new industries, privatization of state-owned enterprises, deregulations in the finance sector, tax cutting, and generational wealth transfer have contributed to enormous accumulation of private wealth which is the fundament behind today's robust philanthropic sector and the rise in institutional philanthropy (Johnson, 2021). Figure 4 shows how the number of billionaires has more than quintupled within the last 20 years. The Forbes List of the world's richest people accounts for 2755 billionaires with a combined net worth of around $13.1 trillion (Forbes, 2021). Furthermore, it is estimated that there are more than 56.1 million millionaires with a combined net worth of more than $ 191.6 trillion in 2020 (Shorrocks, Davies and Lluberas 2021).

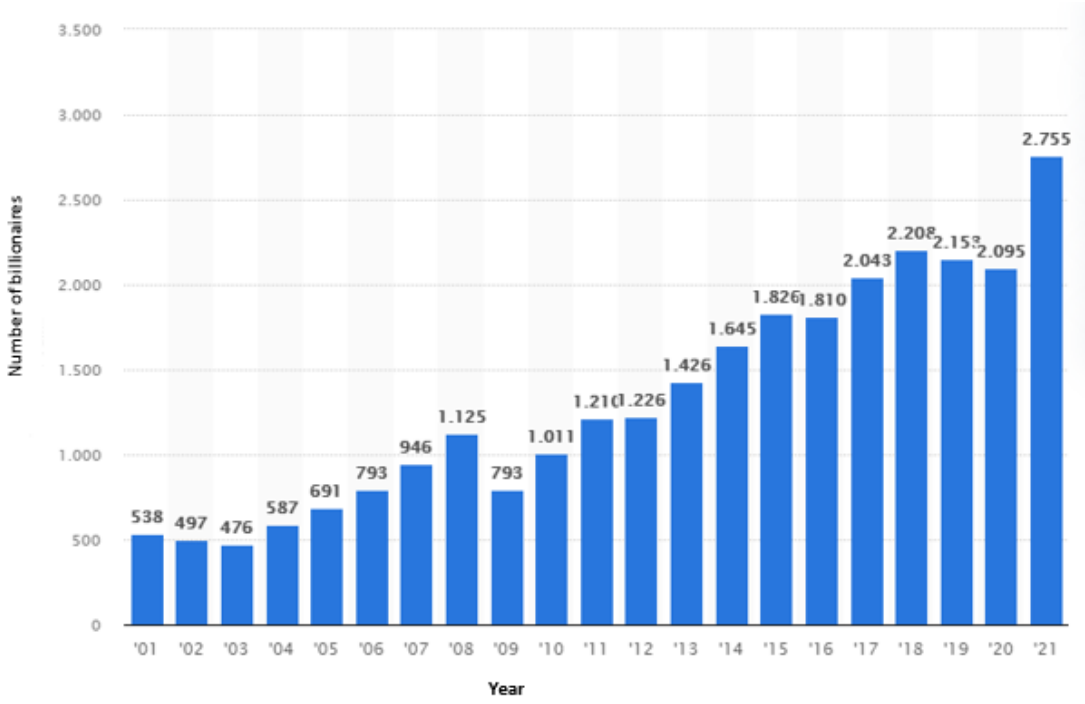

Figure 4: Number of billionaires worldwide (source: Statista, 2021).

At the same time there have been a number of governmental and private efforts to encourage private philanthropy and its institutions through policy reforms and tax-incentives. Political support and private initiatives such as the "Giving Pledge" of Bill Gates and Warren Buffet led to increasing number of ultra-rich devoting (large) parts of their assets to philanthropic purposes (Imberg and Shaban, 2021) and growing numbers of philanthropists are establishing foundations and other giving structures to focus, practice, and amplify their social investments (Johnson, 2021). The Global Philanthropy Report shows how Institutional philanthropy has a global reach, with more than 260,000 foundations in 39 countries, highly concentrated globally, with 60 percent of the total in Europe and 35 percent in North America. Using the World Bank's classification of economies, over 90 percent of the world's identified foundations are in the 25 highest-income countries and over 90 percent of expenditures are accounted for by European and US foundations. The total assets exceed USD 1.5 trillion and are heavily concentrated in the United States (60 percent) and Europe (37 percent) (increase of private foundation assets - see figure 5). Furthermore, the report shows that although the sector is quite young, it rapidly grows, with almost three-quarters of identified foundations established in the last 25 years.

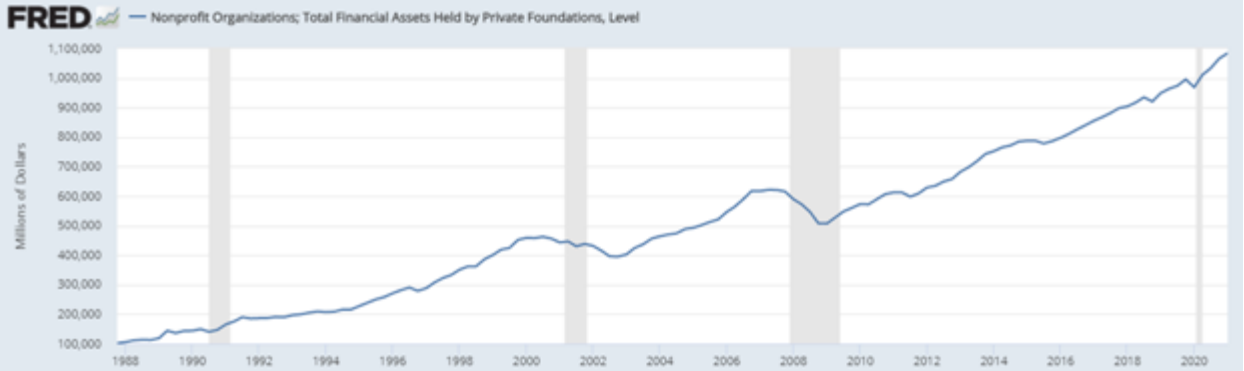

Figure 5: Assets of private foundations (shaded areas indicate US recessions) (source: FRED, 2021).

3.2.2. Neoliberal strategies

Governments, global organizations, non-governmental organizations attempt to find new strategies and seek new partnerships to address stagnating progresses in solving pressuring global social and environmental issues such as poverty, healthcare, education, pollution or biodiversity loss. Federal government then legitimated and incentivized philanthropy by - gradually, over the course of the twentieth century - legalizing and granting tax deductions for donations by individuals and corporations and recognizing non-profits as recipients of charitable giving, as well as providing non-profit status to charitable foundations, so permitting and encouraging philanthropy (Barman, 2017). Moreover, these past two decades have seen academics and policymakers embrace "third way" solutions that blend public and private regulatory modalities (Jenkins, 2011). Following the rise of neoliberalism as a dominant cultural and political ideology and its long-standing efforts to reduce the role of the state in governance and provision of services private actors became central to the growing embrace of market-based solutions to environmental, health, and social problems (Barman, 2017). Strategic thinking, respect for innovation, a belief in the values of measurement, accountability and return on investment became features of more strategic entrepreneurial approach that drives to do better across all activities (Wagner, 2002). First approaches of "social enterprise" or "social entrepreneurship" were business solutions to social problems of public charity and private for-profit sectors aiming to combine social goals with commercial business strategies by generating revenue in support of its charitable mission (Defourny, Nyssens and Thys, 2016). A social entrepreneur as works in an entrepreneurial manner, but for public or social benefit, rather than to make money (Edwards, 2008). Philanthropic foundations that make use of business and market methods to advance their social mission formed "venture philanthropy," generally considered as a form of engaged grant making loosely based on the practices of

venture-capital investing and a "better-funded doppelganger of 'social entrepreneurship' (Jenkins, 2011). Venture philanthropists did not only invest money, but also time, skills, talent, expertise and strategic thinking to create a leverage to investments (Defourny, Nyssens and Thys, 2016). In that same context philanthrocapitalism has evolved in order to employ similar practices and principles onto the work of private foundations. The trend thereby representing a second wave, that can be understood as an advanced version of venture philanthropy (Jenkins, 2011).

3.3. Incentives and motives

Philanthropy interweaves all with manner of motivations and intentions, personal and social, political and economic incentives (Vallely, 2020). This section will show three aspects of motivations that academic literature associates to philanthrocapitalism.

3.3.1. Rationale of gift giving and philanthropy

Literature reflects on various different motivations and incentives about gift-giving and philanthropy. Altruistic behaviour motivated solely by an interest in the welfare of the recipients that is based on virtues such as empathy, care, compassion and benevolence towards others and the society/environment (Christou, Hadjielias and Farmaki, 2019) represents one extreme. The other extreme the motivation purely out of self-interest and the utility from the act of giving itself as prosocial behaviours results in mental and physical well-being, through the positive feeling of “warm glow” (the good feeling after doing something selfless) and increases feelings of connectivity to and trust in others. Gift giving furthermore creates norms of solidarity, cements social relationships and brings prestige amongst peers (Evren and Minardi, 2013; Barman, 2017). Another motivation behind philanthropy and philanthrocapitalism can be found in religious faith and membership in a religious congregation (Bishop and Green, 2008; Vallely, 2020). Other authors highlight sociodemographic motives as philanthrocapitalism promotes establishment and reproduction of upper classes and the benefits of belonging to a (elite) social collective (Breeze and Lloyd, 2013).

3.3.2. Personal attitudes and mindsets of philanthrocapitalists

Other prominent motivations behind the engagement of philanthrocapitalism can be found in life experiences and personal attitudes of big donors. Source of their motivation reflects on their personal experiences, connections or particular interests – the urge to give something back

to the society that allowed them to succeed, their old school or university, the hometowns hospital or library, a charity conducting research into the disease which a relative suffered; their favourite arts or sports organization; personal encounters in tragic fates, inequalities or injustices as well as from values and norms that have been conveyed within one's own family or (Bishop and Green, 2008; Vallely, 2020). Bill Gates for example was encouraged by the social engagement of his parents and inspired by a World Bank about health issues in the developing world. Gates believed that a life in Africa is worth no less than a life in America, that "everybody on the planet deserves a basic level of health," and that through his vast wealth he could correct a huge injustice (Bishop and Green, 2008). An attitude that seems particular for elite donors: They have the money and resources; the see the problems that needs to be fixed; they know how to fix problems, for that is what they do all day in business (Bishop and Green, 2008). They are aware of what their contributions can accomplish, and they desire to personally make a difference and leave the world a better place (Duncan, 2004). After accomplishing a successful business career philanthropic engagement for many provides a new purpose in life. Helping people that have not been as fortunate, present an enjoyable new challenge that seems to enrich the lives of many philanthropists. (Vallely, 2020 and Breeze and Lloyd, 2013). Critical viewers furthermore see egoistic motives like vanity or arrogance or boosting the own social status behind elite philanthropy. They consider the engagement as ego-driven and self-righteous and see it as an act of pro-social dominance, a bid for status, as plain as the chest-thumping of rival silverback gorillas (Bishop and Green, 2008). George Bernhard Shaw, an Irish author and politician of the past century once said about the philanthrocapitalists of his time: "a millionaire does not really care whether his money does good or not, provided he finds his conscience eased and his social status improved by giving it away." (Vallely, 2020).

3.3.3. Economic incentives

Most Western countries encourage philanthropic engagement through tax-privileges and public sector subsidies. In America in 2003, for example, foundations gave away $30 billion, but also collected $5 billion from tax breaks on the gifts they received and $15 billion through tax relief on their investment income (Bishop and Green, 2015). In this context experts regard elite philanthropy as an instrument of wealth management of the ultra-rich that allows for tax avoidance strategies and protection of financial assets (Brehm, 2020; Sklair and Glucksberg, 2020). Money managers, investment house strategists, financial advisers, lawyers, consultants

become involved as new donors require and request in how to manage their assets, maximize their returns and minimize their tax burdens (Wagner, 2002). Other critics argue that elites engage in philanthropy to obscure from monopoly over resources and legitimate elites' possession of economic capital (Barman, 2017). Or how philanthropy presents a self-serving instrument by appeasing oppositions of the poor and to deterring efforts for the redistribution of wealth and power (Amarante, 2018). The pro-market rhetoric furthermore helps to legitimize business approaches and governmental policies that directly exacerbates economic inequality. Critics consider philanthrocapitalism as a form of ideological whitewashing that serves to reinforce the unjust power of plutocratic wealth elites and as a self-serving attempt to maintain an inherently unfair system (McGoey, Thiel and West, 2018). By commercialising charitable giving – one of the last untouched sectors of capitalism philanthrocapitalism helps to tap new markets for a wider neo-liberal agenda (Vallely, 2020).

3.4. Main characteristics of philanthrocapitalism

3.4.1. Personal engagement

An important characteristic of philanthrocapitalism is the high level of personal commitment and hands on mentality of the donor. Unlike traditional philanthropists who made their fortune towards the end of their careers and donated parts of their wealth to charity (sometimes until after their death) and left it to others how to spend and utilize their money, new generation of philanthrocapitalists want to have an active control and management over their social investments. These new philanthropists are not just wealthy; they are possessed of enormous personal drive and commitment. Their philanthropy is driven by their needs, desires, goals, and power (Jenkins, 2011) quirks and flukes of their own life story, personal experience, political convictions or business interests and they have dismissed the outmoded idea that a successful businessman or woman would 'give something back to the community' merely by writing a cheque to a worthy cause (Vallely, 2020). They become hands-on donors, personally involved, starting their own philanthropic ventures, helping directly run them, and are investing their time and energy to avoid waste, mismanagement and poor investments. They want to be involved in the decision making to make sure their investment makes a difference and leaves a sustainable impact. This approach is not limited to the youngest generation of philanthropists and has become a common trend in charity especially amongst elite donors (Wagner, 2018). Many of the new donors step down from their leadership roles in businesses to fully engage in philanthropy. Most foundations bear the names of their funders and thereby connecting their

successful business to charity (e.g., Bill and Melinda Gates, David and Lucile Packard Foundation). By lending their face and name to their philanthropic causes, philanthrocapitalists are branding their efforts with the characteristics of their own success, enhancing its reputations, profile and awareness levels. The biggest contribution of elite donors like Bill Gates might be that his vast resources and his prominent status has both raised the profile of giving and draw international recognition in a way that no one else could (Bishop, 2013).

3.4.2. Appliance of business-strategies

During the last decade, the non-profit sector has been prompted to take account of new approaches in order to achieve its goals and improve capacity, efficiency, accountability, and effectiveness. A central feature of philanthrocapitalism (and a key aspect of what supposedly makes it new and "improved") is the application of business thinking and strategy drawn directly from the funder's personal experience and success in the private sector (Jenkins, 2011). Philanthrocapitalism offers technological expertise and experience at running lean, efficient organisations to ensure money is spent efficiently and effectively. With the emerging trend foundations and other non-profit organizations operate like business and creating new markets for goods and services that benefit society and are increasingly adopting strategies, tools and procedures that stem from the business sector (Edwards, 2008). Important preferences within philanthrocapitalist projects are commercial management styles, short term targets, quantitative goals, and technical solutions for environmental and social challenge (Koot, 2021). Skilled management, process control, strategic goals, evaluation of performance by means of numbers, figures and indicators as well as periodic status reporting became key elements of philanthropic organisations (Wagner, 2002). A growing interest in impact evaluation and outcome measurement (Johnson, 2021) as well as strategy consulting, coaching, networking, fundraising, governance, financial management and marketing are qualities that philanthrocapitalism pours into the non-profit sector (Defourny, Nyssens and Thys, 2016). There is furthermore an increasing interest, not just in transferring corporate management skills to the non-profit sector, but also in bringing in corporate management experience through their hiring (Jenkins, 2011). Next to scientists and specialists from traditional fields of social and environmental sciences, more and more “non-specialist” experts from other disciplines such as management consultants, businesspeople, former industry leaders, lobbyists or media expert are employed within the sector (see Ramdas, 2011 and Wagner, 2002). A wide range non-profit boards of directors, who are largely made up of elites and individuals with corporate

backgrounds, are increasingly selecting individuals with significant private-sector experience when they make important personnel decisions (Jenkins, 2011). These highly qualified people bring in resources like leadership skills, experience, special knowledge and important networks into the work of foundations. The business approach also seeks to intensify the collaboration with the private sector, governments and multilateral organization through public-private partnerships, consulting contracts or other professional services in order to professionalise charity work.

3.4.3. Leverage through networking and hyper agency

The strategy to increase leverage of their philanthropic engagement can be regarded as one of the corner stone of modern philanthrocapitalism (Bishop and Green, 2008). By using the donors influence and personal access to people and resources philanthrocapitalism further advances philanthropic goals (Jenkins, 2011). Philanthrocapitalism brings hitherto unthought-of sums to philanthropy and uses its wealth and political influence to leverage even larger sums (Vallely, 2020). Making use of their private and business networks to leverage their own efforts is considered one of the most powerful strategies of today's philanthrocapitalists. Accordingly, super-philanthropists use their high-profile giving and "convening power" to form and strengthen a variety of linkages and relationships: connections with celebrity partners, contacts with current and former world leaders and public officials, and interactions with fellow titans of industry (Jenkins, 2011). Well-endowed foundations, assets of celebrity and powerful connections gives philanthrocapitalism the power to shape the problem-solving agenda in ways that small gifts cannot (Bishop and Green, 2008). Due to their position as some of the world's richest persons and founders of the most successful international businesses, philanthrocapitalists not only hold a certain level of awareness and reputation but also a certain access to political echelons. Through their role as a large employer, the size of tax payments and lobbying efforts gives them access to political realms and their decision-making. Based on their prominent status they are furthermore well represented in today's media world (see figure 6). Modern philanthrocapitalists effectively use these networks and platforms to leverage philanthropic engagement and promote its interest (Horvath and Powell, 2016). The Giving Pledge Project initiated by Melinda and Bill Gates and Warren Buffet, which invites billionaires to donate larger parts of their wealth to philanthropic purposes is one of the most notable leverage campaigns for philanthrocapitalism. The self-set goal of the initiative is to help shift social norms of philanthropy among the world's wealthiest people and inspire people

to give more, establish their giving plans sooner, and give in smarter ways (Giving Pledge, 2021). According to the campaign, around 223 billionaires have joined the Giving Pledge so far and the potential pledged value could be as high as $600bn by 2022 as estimated by the Wealth-X report (Wealth-X, 2018). Other important initiatives can be found in Bill Clinton's 'Philanthropy Oscars' (CGI) or the Skoll World Forum in Oxford were former heads of state, Nobel Prize laureates, leading CEOs, heads of foundations and NGOs, major philanthropists, celebrities and members of the media come together to make the world a better place (Nicholls, Paton and Emerson, 2017). These exclusive meetings serve the purpose of promoting and awarding charitable giving and give opportunities to exchange ideas and experiences, to make new contacts and establish strategic collaborations. Furthermore, did international meetings like the World Economic Forum (WEF), where just mentioned stakeholders meet to elaborate about the future of the world and sustainable strategies as well as to promote public-private cooperation and demonstrate entrepreneurship in the global public interest (WEF, 2021), became important leverage platforms. Additionally, media and today's film and music celebrities are becoming an important vehicle to increase the reach and acceptance of philanthrocapitalism amongst society. Rockstars like Bono, Tv stars like Oprah Winfrey or Angelina Jolie, ex-politicians like Bill Clinton or Al Gore embody this new nexus, linking together the worlds of celebrity, politics, philanthropy and citizens. (Vallely, 2020). By lending their face and brand, promoting campaigns of philanthrocapitalism through their massive media followings and becoming advocates on international meetings, celebrities bring a new dimension to philanthropy, raising public awareness and forging strategic alliances. A prominent endeavour for merging philanthropy and celebrities were the Live Aid concerts in Europe and America that brought the biggest music starts together to fight poverty and hunger in Africa. Ultimate goals of the mentioned networking and campaigning efforts is to attract far more capital, far faster, and thus achieve a far bigger impact, far sooner (Bishop and Green, 2015).

Figure 6: Famous philanthrocapitalists presented on the covers of various renowned magazines (source: Schuftan, 2015).

3.5. Critiques of philanthrocapitalism

As charity presumed to be beneficial, scrutinising do-gooders and their efforts for the common good can feel counterintuitive and critics of philanthropy might be labelled as lunatics who oppose goodness and reason, probably hate apple pie, and maybe kick puppies (Rogers, 2011). As big philanthropy has unquestionably helped to save or improve millions of lives and continues to solve global problems, critics emphasize that they don't want to discredit or denigrate its efforts. But with its increasing power on political and social discourses, critics point out numerous negative implications and concerns about the impacts on democracy, participation and policy making and ask question about the genuine effectiveness of elite philanthropy (Horvath and Powell, 2016). In that context have philosophers, politicians, and sociologists bemoaned philanthropy's inherent antidemocratic, paternalistic, and amateuristic aspects which are now are being exacerbated philanthrocapitalism (Amarante, 2018).

3.5.1. Philanthrocapitalism as antidemocratic

Several practices that are linked to the attitudes and styles of philanthrocapitalism are considered as a threat to the most essential benefits and values the non-profit sector brings to society, namely the role of non-profit institutions in social change, the promotion of democratic values, and the building of communities and social ties through empowerment and participation (Jenkins, 2011). Critics focus on policymaking and agenda setting power of the super wealthy that undermines main values of democracy and the equal voice of citizen (Rogers, 2011). Through their vast amount of donations and capacities as hyper agents, philanthropist have far bigger reach and potential influence than most other organisations let alone the ordinary citizen. Through their powerful grant making institutions they have the capacity to shape governance

and policymaking, to promote their interests and massively influence the organisation of the non-profit sector. Elite philanthropy therefore amplifies the voice of those who already wield substantial influence, access, and power (Jenkins, 2011). Through their engagements in public sectors like healthcare or education, big donor decisions affect millions of people and profoundly influence civic life. Although the engagements of philanthrocapitalists are of high public interests, they are unilateral and highly individually motivated and independent from electorates and public or political pressings as long as they abide the law. They are completely free to choose the problems they address and are unfettered in how they address the problems (Levine, 2016).

The public sphere and particularly people who are affected by the pressuring problems and their philanthropic solutions often remain outside of decision making. However, most pressing social problems such as environmental justice, human rights, healthcare, lie in highly contested areas where people hold differing perspectives on the underlying assumptions, root causes, and solutions, divisions which often pit business interests against other social goals. Successful entrepreneurs turned philanthropists are likely to hold views coloured by their corporate experiences and individual interests. Furthermore, the social, cultural, and economic experiences of the super wealthy often are not representative of that of the broader citizenry (Jenkins, 2011). When Elite donors decide not only which problem field should be addressed but also how without public participation, they risk working outside public needs and interest. This issue becomes further complicated as rich philanthropists have gained increasing influence in global policy making through selecting and funding global social or environmental initiatives. The voices of a homogenous circle of wealthy Western philanthrocapitalists (most of them white, male Christians) whose cultural and socio-economic backgrounds are widely different particular from affected people in the global South are risking to drowns diverse voices and interests of millions of people (Rogers, 2011). And when wealthy persons determine the best way to address societal problems without the input of either society at large or intended beneficiaries, the result is a deficit of democracy (Amarante, 2018).

3.5.2. Philanthrocapitalism as paternalistic

The paternalism critique focuses on the assumption that many of society's problems are born out of the personality faults of charity beneficiaries. Early nineteenth-century philanthropists like Rockefeller and Carnegie who became role models of modern philanthrocapitalists were influenced by Max Weber's "Social Darwinism" (Levine, 2016). For them, wealth and success

were a signs of social dominance and virtues of talent and skill, while poverty was regarded as symptoms of vice or laziness (Amarante, 2018). While the poor were perceived incapable to overcome their adversities, by virtue of their superior management and organisational skills, successful businessmen should be charge of problem solving. Instead of indiscriminate charity that only would encourage "the slothful, the drunken, the unworthy", the rich should provide a hand up, rather than a handout (Bishop and Green, 2008). Although such notions are no longer embraced, the philanthrocapitalist sector still shows such characteristics of paternalism as it is convinced that the big donor's visions and ideas, their business skills and science informed decisions will lead to the best solutions. Determining what is best and imposing measures and strategies without input and consensus, leaves beneficiaries as voiceless attendees of philanthropic engagement deprived of influence and self-determination. Rich foundations tend to follow a top-down approach to promote their own agendas instead of engaging directly with the opinions and interests of beneficiaries or cooperating with grassroots organizations that hold profound knowledge and experiences (Jenkins, 2011). Through international projects paternalistic aspects of Western philanthropic approaches become apparent on a global level. When implying their very own biased visions and strategies that are uniformed of local realities transnational donors' risk to ignore complex historical, political, social, and cultural realities of foreign countries. Western perspectives can easily dominate the narratives and big donors become the storyteller while the voices and opinions of affected people can go unheard (Amarante, 2018). The preference of Philanthrocapitalism for scientific and technological solution furthermore leads to risks of disregarding local knowledge and practices that have been proven to be successful for decades and centuries. Ignoring geography, cultures or social norms and distrusting local capabilities, imposing the Western perspective of the "right" way to do things as well as educating people about their own environments became contentious signs for the patronizing approach of various international philanthropic interventions (Hanes, 2017). As these numerous aspects have shown, although well intended, the very structure of philanthropy promotes the desires of a select number of wealthy individuals, ignores the self-determination of the recipients, and represents a disrespect for the ability of beneficiaries to order their affairs and prioritize their needs (Amarante, 2018).

Figure 7: Caricatures of William Carnegie and John Rockefeller (source: Schuftan, 2015).

3.5.3. Philanthrocapitalism as amateuristic

This accusation arises from the fact that philanthrocapitalism purports to improve traditional philanthropy and increase its effectiveness and efficiency through the competencies and skills of the elite donor and the application of instruments and strategies from the business sector. Critics lament the over-confidence of elite philanthropists arguing that successes in the corporate sector cannot be simply transferred to considerably more complex social and environmental issues (Amarante, 2018). Quick fix solutions of philantrocapitalism that seek for fast and visible results philanthrocapitalism risks failing to address underlying complex root causes. Technology or science-focused approaches alone cannot resolve the structural causes of problems like poverty, inequality, or environmental destruction. Hardnosed business assessments and performance metrics cannot easily or accurately measure social developments and outcomes and market values and human values not just different; they pull in opposite directions in many important ways (Jenkins, 2011). In the hands of a stern manager metrics can inhibit creativity, expression, compassion, justice, and community empowerment (Vallely, 2020). The narrow focus on market approaches and specific measurements may backfire and may inhibit learning from experience and degrade performance as the bigger pictures is getting out of sight (Edwards, 2008). If Philanthrocapitalism acts autonomously and does not engage with a crucial wider systematic change that involves social movements, grass root initiatives, politics, and the state it risks end up fighting symptoms rather than the underlying causes of most pressuring of social and environmental ills. What is more, philanthrocapitalists often have little or no expertise and experience in the sectors they support but draw on their own business accomplishments and personal ideas. Although they seek expert advice, they tend consulting

with professional voices that are corresponding to their own visions rather than engaging with opposing views and interests. This tendency risks monopolization of the philanthropic sector by building up echo-chambers where a chosen solution becomes the only solution considered and dissenting voices are overwhelmed and ignored. The result is that an amateur's instinctive solutions are artificially elevated to dominate the public discourse simply because of the amateur's financial support (Amarante, 2018; Bosworth, 2011). By disregarding various opinions and advice grant makers that think they hold all the solutions may end up imposing them on communities without the support or engagement necessary for sustained success (Jenkins, 2011).

3.6. Neoliberal conservation and philanthrocapitalism

The phenomenon of global neoliberalism, which revolves around the restructuring of the world to facilitate the spread of free markets became increasingly apparent in nature conservation and an emerging body of research has explored the trend of neoliberalisation of nature, it's logics, processes and implications (Holmes, 2015). Neoliberal conservation thereby presents an indefinite, heterogeneous concept, simultaneously a set of practices and an ideology, which play out in unique ways in individual contexts (Castree, 2008), aiming at saving nature in capitalist terms, and specific projects, structures, and techniques that use capitalist approaches to conserve biodiversity (Homes, 2015). A main driver behind the emerging trend can be seen in capitalism's constant demand for new markets and ways to accumulate capital in which conserving nature has been discovered as a new way of creating profits. Furthermore, have major stakeholders of conservation made use of neoliberal approaches as they are considered as the most effective and efficient way to foster nature conservation within a dominant global neoliberal agenda (Holmes, 2012). Although not conclusively defined, at its core, neoliberal conservation entails the deployment of the logics and tools of free market capitalism to save nature with two principal features emerging from the literature. Firstly, in the neoliberal context, conservation is increasingly turning towards market mechanism in order to protect nature and biodiversity. Instead of a threat, neoliberal conservation sees capitalist expansion and economic growth as the solution to nature protection. Existing practices and techniques to save nature by selling it, such as ecotourism, have been expanded, and new ones, such as payments for ecosystem services, bioprospecting, carbon trade or wetland banking, have been created (Holmes, 2015). By creating images that add value to nature for global consumers (e.g., pristine wilderness, cute and endangered animals) and creating and promoting the production

of new commoditised spaces, nature is turned into tradeable commodities to create incentive of profit for investors (Jones, 2012). Furthermore, neoliberal conservation is seen as a way to raise environmental consciousness of Western consumers through ecotourism and direct experiences with endangered nature (Igoe and Brockington, 2007). Within this neoliberal development major conservation players like international NGO's become like businesses in their structure and operations, developing closer links to corporations and including market practices in their conservation strategies (Holmes, 2011). Secondly, neoliberal conservation is promoting the roll back of the state replacing its function as the central player of conservation by NGO's, private enterprises, international donor networks and civil society (e.g., community-based resource management) which provide alternative sources of funding, technology and expertise for conservation purposes. Particularly in poorer parts of the world where states lack the resources and capacity to effectively protect biodiversity, neoliberal conservation is infusing state policies with their support and narratives (Diallo, 2015). In this context new types of "hybrid environmental governance," have emerged in which states, businesses, NGOs, and communities share responsibility for conservation. This type of governance holds the promise of being democratic, efficient, equitable, and profitable (Igoe and Brockington, 2007). In conclusion neoliberal conservation promises seductive win–win scenarios — to preserve endangered biodiversity, save habitats, through market-based processes such as payments for ecosystem services, biodiversity offsetting, and ecotourism, whilst simultaneously contributing to economic growth and prosperity (Holmes, 2015). In this context protected areas (PA's) are increasingly designed to provide mitigating services to offset the spread of environmentally destructive commercial activities, while simultaneously facilitating the spread of economic benefits from commerce to wider areas.

The rhetoric of creating win-win situations is highly contested by scholars and through empirical studies. Neoliberal conservation can benefit local people and the environment but are also being criticized for its detrimental impacts on people and nature (Igoe and Brockington, 2007). Individual projects have failed to deliver promised social and environmental benefits, or have exacerbated existing problems, whilst neoliberal conservation more broadly has been accused of facilitating the grabbing of land and resources by powerful actors at the expense of the most vulnerable and supporting an unjust and unsustainable economic system (Holmes, 2015). Studies show that profits often go to the hand of elites or private companies while local communities are getting excluded from tourists benefit and lose access and control of their land and being considered as a main threat to biodiversity. Furthermore, does the dependence of so-

called donor darlings, countries of lacking resources in the global South, on external funding, technology, and expertise also make them easier to penetrate by external actors and institutions which ultimately threatens state sovereignty and democratic legitimation (Diallo, 2015). The claim that conservation can be achieved without addressing the difficult and systemic inequities and power relationships that are inextricably linked to so many of our global environmental problems today is highly contested (Igoe and Brockington, 2007).

Analyses of the way in which biodiversity conservation is neoliberalizing in that regard have paid little attention to philanthropy and philanthropists (Holmes 2015). In their empirical analysis of philanthrocapitalists conservation projects, Holmes and Jones argue, that the trend of philanthrocapitalism is contributing and enhancing main features of neoliberal conservation as it supports state rollback by providing alternative financial resources and expertise, promotes business strategies, market approaches and economic incentives to realise conservation goals and fosters public private partnerships (Jones, 2015; Holmes 2015). The ideas of philanthrocapitalism are reflected in the discourse and strategies of conservation organizations and represent a further neoliberalisation of conservation philanthropy. By promoting capitalist solutions to environmental problems, philanthrocapitalism furthermore brings capitalism and conservation together, and allows conservation to support capitalism by giving it legitimacy and new market opportunities (Homes, 2012).

4. Chapter 4: Background and Context

This chapter will provide for the political, socio-economic background of the case study by looking into the historical development of Gorongosa and the Gorongosa National Park.

4.1. History of Gorongosa

Lying at the southern edge of the rift valley in Mozambique, the unique geography of the Gorongosa region with its mountains, wide valleys, water streams and abundant seasonal rainfall is particularly rich in varied plants and wildlife.

Figure 8: Map of Gorongosa National Park (GNP) (source: Hanes, 2017).

Different vegetation zones range from dense mountain rainforest and forests to vast savannas and floodplains. Scientists and conservationists studying the region of Gorongosa have claimed that its surface features are the richest in elevation gradients and in biodiversity in southern Africa (Muala, 2015). Immigrating Africans of Bantu or Khoisan heritage immigrating from West, Central and southern Africa, were the first people to settle in Gorongosa. First settlers

and their settlements were highly mobile as they had to always follow seasonal abundance of plant-based food and wildlife (Muala, 2015). Ancestral rituals (*Mbhamba* ceremonies) and animal totems played a key role in the cultural and spiritual lifestyle of indigenous Gorongosans and studying wild-life movements to avoid dangerous human-wildlife conflict as well as grouping for better exploitation of natural and cultural resources were important survival strategy (Muala, 2014; Idlib). Hunting, fishing, and harvesting different natural resources as well as clearing forests or burning plots for small scale farming provided livelihood. Political decision like dividing and allocating land to different clans and families were channelled through local headmen and traditional chiefs called s*apandas* and *mfumu*s who obtained high social powers. Due to its remote and strategic location, the Gorongosa area has a long history of sheltering and protecting resident population. The dense rain forest of Gorongosa mountain has always provide opportunities for either hiding from or ambushing hostile forces who would regularly raid the area. This fact has given the region his name - *goro ngosa* - beware the mountain (Hanes, 2017). Colonialists from Portugal became the first resource poachers and self-proclaimed resource owners and started to criminalize the Indigenous people and former owners, to prevent their access to the land and its resources (Idlib). A harsh taxing system was established, and local people were enslaved to work in mines, plantations, or as illegal poachers, leaving children behind who regularly became victims of sexual assault (Hanes, 2017). With the start of colonisation, three major groups competed and exploited natural resources in Gorongosa: entrepreneurs with the intention to gain profits, environmentalists with the aim to protect nature and biodiversity and native Gorongosans. The colonists simultaneously suppressed the worldview of local people and imposed the European ideal of a wild and pristine nature while exploiting natural resources of Gorongosa to mainly introducing them into the global market (wood, hides, ivory etc.), while Gorongosans were forced to increasingly utilize natural resources for their livelihood and satisfying colonial demand (Idlib). Entrepreneurs claimed that resources were to be extracted and transformed in order to improve living conditions. From their Western and paternalistic standpoint, material wealth was central to human wellbeing, development, and happiness. Preservationists on the other hand claimed that wildlife and natural forests (represented by the Mount Gorongosa rainforest), with their importance for ecological balance in the region had to be protected as local customs presented a major threat (Schuetze, 2015). This period of colonial oppression and exploitation destroyed social structures and alienated Gorongosans from their customary life which was rooted in nature and spirituality. Traditional leaders (*régulos*) were co-opted for colonial political auxiliaries, leading to a political dilemma as the headmen's

moral legitimacy declined in the opinion the peoples they represented. After World War II the external and internal pressure increased on Portugal to end colonialism in Mozambique. In 1964 FRELIMO (Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, Mozambique Liberation Front) started the liberation war against the Portuguese colonial power that lasted till 1974 and lead to the independence of Mozambique in 1975. The FREMLINO army based themselves on Mount Gorongosa and attacked Portuguese forces. After liberation Portuguese settlers were evicted from their former occupied lands and the new socialist government installed communal villages denying Gorongosans to return to their ancestral homelands and undermining their traditional political and social systems. In 1977, shortly after Portuguese colonial rule ended, Mozambique´s civil war broke out between the Mozambican Government (FRELIMO-controlled) and Mozambique National Resistance (RENAMO), a group which was funded and trained by the neighbouring countries Rhodesia and South Africa to protect white supremacy in Southern Africa. The civil war was furthermore referred as a proxy war between the Marxist Soviet Union and the Capitalistic West. The civil war raged in Gorongosa as the strategic location of mount Gorongosa was used by the RENAMO forces as their most important stronghold. The devastating effects of war left thousands of citizens either killed or displaced, communities impoverished, and the region infested with landmines. The war ended in a peace agreement and the establishment of a multiparty state in 1992, and the international community intervened by rebuilding Mozambique and helping to overcome consequences of the war. Nevertheless, Gorongosa still suffers poverty and tension between the former warring parties still exists. Times of foreign control and war not only physically impacted local communities but furthermore caused suspiciousness and natural opposition to any foreign interference in the region (Hanes, 2017). Tradition and culture of local people today are still deeply rooted in nature and ancestry. The believe in nature and spirits has a great influence on daily life of people and spiritual leaders such as rainmakers or healers hold high authority and influence social opinions and decisions. Political power and rights over land and resources are still all linked to ancestral tenure and autochthone which build the basis for legitimate claims to local land. The ancestral claims are embodied in the explicitly political figure of *mhondoro* spirits which represent spirits of the political leaders of the first settlers that reside on the mountain top exerting ongoing political authority through well-known regulations and prohibitions. *Mhondoros* are seen as the owners of the land who, when well respected, look after the well-being and prosperity of their descendants (Schuetze, 2015). As today, mining for sand or gold, producing charcoal from surrounding woods, burning small areas of land for (pastoral-) agriculture as well as hunting and trapping wildlife is an important means for livelihood support

of Gorongosans either for own consumption or as goods to sell at local markets (Muala, 2015). Most people live in small villages in rural structures, with little governmental support, services or infrastructure. This ongoing neglect and the unpopular policies of the FRELIMO government after the liberation from Portugal, which marginalized and undermined local tradition and livelihood, has led to rural alienation from the central state. This makes the region a stronghold of opposition with many locals still sympathizing with the RENAMO rebels (Diallo, 2015) and reluctant towards conservation policies. Around 2013 sporadic fighting in Gorongosa has sparked again between government forces and rebels from the main opposition RENAMO party.

Figure 9: A peasant in Cavalo, Sadjungira, Gorongosa. 12.09.2010; rural peasants focused on their day-to-day dynamics in the Gorongosa ecosystem. Nhancuco-Canda, Gorongosa. 20.6.2012. Photos by Domingos Muala (source: Muala, 2015).

4.2. History of Gorongosa National Park

In 1921, 'The Mozambique Company', a private business that colonized and managed central Mozambique for the Portuguese government, created the 1,000 km² Gorongosa Game Hunting Reserve to preserve the provinces game stock which was important element for colonial interest such as hunting and trading of ivory, horn, fur etc (Timeline | GNP, 2021). To accommodate hunters and colonial elites, local communities were evicted and forced to build infrastructures like roads and lodges (Schuetze, 2015). In the following decades, the park was continually extended its boundaries to include more wildlife habitats for hunting purposes and the extension of infrastructure. While wealthy foreign clients were able to use the reserve for their own recreational benefits, Gorongosans were evicted from their arable land and had to leave homes and cemeteries behind to resettle in other areas, loosing place and spiritual connections.

Figure 10: 1930 South African and Rhodesian sport hunters in Gorongosa Game Hunting Reserve. Photo courtesy by Andrew Misdorp (source: McKeown, 2015).

In the mountain regions settlers started to deforest areas for housing and shifted their focus from hunting to agriculture, using slash and burn practices. Their adoption of birds, trees, rainwater, and wildlife as totems presents indigenous knowledge, which promoted a human-wildlife balance, and created an indigenous sense of self-determination (Muala, 2015). Through the political dilemma based on co-opted traditional leaders, and the fact that rain became an essential aspect for emerging agricultural practices, rainmakers like the Samatenje family became the predominant spiritual power in the ecosystem. In 1943 the Portuguese colonial government took control over the hunting reserve and extended its boundaries to 5,300 km^2 to include new wildlife habitats and marketable game like gnus, lion, sable antelope and elephants while evicting more Gorongosans from their homeland. Acting more paternalistically than the commercial Mozambique Company, the Portuguese government coordinated evictions with its co-opted local auxiliaries and punished cultural practices (Muala, 2015). More local communities were expelled from the widening frontiers of the park to allow focus on fauna conservation, to the sole benefit of colonial elites and international tourists (Diallo, 2015). The Gorongosans responded evictions and criminalization of traditional practices by poaching, logging, trespassing, and arson, activities that became vital to their livelihood as they needed housing, land, furniture, and charcoal. The colonial power for their part reacted with imprisonment and fining of alleged perpetrators. Following the emerging American conservation model the former hunting reserve was declared a national park (Gorongosa National Park (GNP)), shifting the focus from hunting to photo tourism and preserving biodiversity in the need to commodify nature and human services for profit and boost

Portuguese economy. To make the GNP more attractive for tourists, the Portuguese government established more infrastructure like roads, bridges, tourism facilities and an airstrip, while misusing locals as cheap labour and denying their ownerships. Expanding infrastructure and technology lead to an increase in exploitation and extraction of natural resources like timber, ivory furs etc. in Gorongosa. Due to its unique landscape and wildlife the park quickly became a popular destination not just for hunters, photographers, and safari tourists but also for celebrities (famous actors like John Wayne, Joan Crawford, Gregory Peck or astronaut James Lovell) (Timeline | GNP, 2021). GNP was highlighted in international media as the jewel of southern Africa with breath-taking landscapes and ecosystems renowned for its abundance and diversity of wildlife. In 1966 during the liberation war, the still ruling Portuguese government reduced the Park's area to 3,770 km^2 to provide more land for local farmers. In 1969 Kenneth Tinley, a South African ecologist, conducted the first comprehensive scientific studies of the park and Gorongosa's first aerial survey for wildlife which counted about 200 lions, 2,200 elephants, 14,000 buffalos, 5,500 wildebeest, 3,000 zebras, 3,500 waterbucks, 2,000 impala, 3,500 hippos, and herds of eland, sable and hartebeest numbering more than five hundred (HHMI, 2014). His PhD thesis, "Framework of The Gorongosa Ecosystem" still stands as reference tool by Park Management today.

Figure 11: Tourism in Gorongosa before the Mozambican civil war (source: Carr, 2021).

While the liberation war had minor impact on Gorongosa and its wildlife, Mozambique civil war raged in Gorongosa when the rebel group RENAMO build its stronghold on Mount Gorongosa. During the war most social and economic infrastructure of the park was destroyed, tourism was absence, and the park was abandoned. Particularly RENAMO slaughtered elephants and used ivory to trade for weapons and supplies while soldiers and displaced people hunted large game to feed off the meat. War and the chaotic aftermath led to reduction in large mammal populations--including elephants, hippos, buffalos, zebras, and lions by 90 percent or more (Timeline | GNP, 2021). After the peace agreement in 1992 the African Development Bank (ADB) in collaboration with the European Union and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) started first restoration efforts (GNP, 2020). With help of foreign aid, the government started to clear landmines, restore destroyed infrastructure and hiring park rangers. Displaced communities started to resettle inside the park, restoring their home environments and re-establishing traditional lifestyles.

Figure 12: Devastation – historic Chitengo Camp in ruins (source: Carr, 2021).

In 2004 at invitation of the Mozambique government American multimillionaire and philanthropy Gregg Carr and his non-profit organization Gorongosa Restoration Project (GRP) teamed up under a memorandum of understanding to restore Gorongosa National Park. This partnership was consolidated in 2008 when Gregg Carr signed a 20-year agreement with the

Government to co-manage the GNP. The signing of this long-term agreement (LTA) marks the beginning of the Gorongosa Restoration Project (GRP, which later turned into the Gorongosa Project (GP)), a public-private partnership, supported by the funding of the Carr Foundation, United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the Portuguese Institute for Aid and Development (IPAD) (Diallo, 2015). At the beginning the GP had two major goals - restore the Gorongosa ecosystem and fostering economic development through eco-tourism. While the agreement has now been extended to 35 years, until 2043, a new focus lies on bringing human development services to the communities that live adjacent to the park (Carr, 2021). This approach aims to improve lives of local communities and taking pressure off the eco-system by offering local communities new income opportunities which are not detrimental to the ecosystem of the GNP (i.e., poaching, slash and burn etc.).

The GP has conducted a number of restoration projects including the construction of a wildlife sanctuary and the relocation and repopulation of several wildlife (elephants, hippos, elands, zebras, and buffaloes, wild dogs, leopards) in cooperation with other renowned national parks like South Africa's Kruger and Isimangaliso Wetland Park (Muala, 2015). The Park was able to build new infrastructure like roads and tourism facilities and extended tourism offers. The GP employs more than 700 permanent staff and about 400 seasonal staff members majorly coming from local communities. The park hired about 260 rangers that monitor compliance to the strict conservation regulations and protect wildlife and plants by removing snares and arresting poachers and illegal loggers. In addition, there are over 1,000 community volunteers who earn livelihood contributions in exchange for their help to the program. The project launched a comprehensive science program to study Gorongosa's biodiversity and monitor the ecology. To support the traditional communities (about 200,000 people live around the park, about 7500 people inside the park) the project helped to build schools, clinics and water pumps and runs different healthcare and educational programs. It furthermore offers economic support and opportunities for entrepreneurs and farmers to produce and sell goods (USAID, 2019; Community | GNP, 2021). Following the will of the GP, which stems from the long-cherished plan of the parks first ecologist Dr Kenneth Tinley, in 2010 the government of Mozambique incorporated Mount Gorongosa, which is crucial for the regions water supply into the park, increasing the park's size to 4,067 km^2 and allowing for afforestation efforts. Additionally, 3,300 km^2 buffer zone has been established around the park. The Park is not fenced and communities living within the borders are not being forced to resettle, but the GP aims to convince and nudge them towards a voluntary resettlement to the buffer zone, where its

establishing social infrastructure. Ultimate goal of the GP is to return a self-sustaining and self-financing park which can rely on multiplication of private concessions rather than donations, to the Mozambique government.

Figure 13: Clockwise from top left: A group of rangers on parade; Carol Wilson, activities coordinator at Gorongosa; Dominique Gonçalves at an elephant collaring exercise; a student researcher (source: Carr, 2021).

5. Results

After defining and conceptualising philanthrocapitalism and describing the social and historical context of Gorongosa, the thesis used the GP as lens to understand the nature of the trend and its characteristics and critiques. For this reason, the GP has been analysed using the main characteristics (**personal engagement, appliance of business strategies, leverage through networking and hyper agency**) as well as main points of criticism (**antidemocratic, paternalistic, amateurish**) of philanthrocapitalism as outlined in chapter 3. The findings will demonstrate how the trend works on the ground and help to determine the GP's impacts on management practices, governance and policymaking, conservation practices and local communities. Furthermore, the results will allow to discuss the linkages to neoliberal conservation and political ecology and identify opportunities and limitations of transnational philanthrocapitalistic conservation projects in Mozambique/southern Africa.

5.1. Personal Engagement of Greg Carr

Gregory C. Carr (Greg Carr in the following) born 1959 in Idaho, USA is a successful entrepreneur turned philanthropist. The Utah State and Harvard University graduate has made his fortune in the IT-business as a founder of Boston Technology (voice-mail systems) and co-founder and chairman of several internet services. He has a passion for human rights and philanthropy, and growing up near Yellowstone Park, he has a deep connection to nature and national parks. After resigning from his for-profit organizations in 1998 he dedicated himself to his philanthropic engagement and founded the Carr Centre for Human Rights Policy at Harvard University as well as the Gregory C. Carr Foundation, dedicated to environment, arts and human rights. At the age of 40, when intentionally looking for a concrete philanthropic project, he met a Mozambique ambassador in New York, who invited him to his country. After years of investigation and when overflying the country with a helicopter, Greg Carr stunned by the magnificently beautiful landscape of Gorongosa restoring the lost and forgotten national park became the ideal project to make the biggest impact (Carr, 2014). Economic development was the key driver and realising that southern and east African countries have a competitive advantage due to their megafauna which can attract multi-multi-billion-dollar safari tourism businesses, creating many jobs and bringing foreign currency into the country. By restoring the park and establishing high-class ecotourism he hoped that the GNP could become the economic engine of central Mozambique and a prime example of the win-win situation of nature restoration and economic development (Steele, 2021). By saving the national treasure's nature

and creating jobs within the conservation-, tourism- and science sector, he believes that the project would not only benefit global conservation of biodiversity but also help sustainably develop local economies and improve livelihood of communities living in and around the park. Gregg Carr not only engaged with a huge 40-million-dollar financial investment into the GP through his foundation but is also engaging personally in a hands-on mentality. He spends several months of the year working in Gorongosa personally involving him to the work of the GP. Back in America in takes opportunity of his social networks raising publicity and sharing his enthusiasm for the project through various channels like speeches, award ceremonies. The high level of personal engagement thereby has led to a branding with an almost inseparable affiliation between the successful entrepreneur and philanthropist Gregg Carr and the GP/GNP. This connection is becoming the main topic in media representation and reflects in headlines and subheading of press releases such as:

Ingenious: Greg Carr - The philanthropist explains his love affair with Mozambique's once-ravaged national park; *Greg Carr's Big Gamble - In a watershed experiment, the Boston entrepreneur is putting $40 million of his own money into a splendid but ravaged park in Mozambique*; *Saving Gorongosa - When Greg Carr decided to help restore the greatest wildlife park in Mozambique, he didn't just send a check. He traded his suits for shorts and Boston for the savanna. And what he's accomplished in just four years at Gorongosa is one of the unlikeliest—and most hopeful—stories in Africa*; *The Awakening: How Hope Was Reborn in Gorongosa – The African Version of Yellowstone bounces back and is featured in new PBS series. MOJO interviews Greg Carr who helped make the miracle happen* (see Steele, 2021; Hanes, 2007; Shacochis, 2009; Wilkinson, 2020).

His personal affiliation with the GNP therefore did not just bring financial resources but has helped to raise international (media) attention and create a branding or trademark that attracts additional funding opportunities and helps establishing a establish professional networks for conservation science and human development as the next chapter will show. Asked for his reason to turn to philanthropy and engaging in the Gorongosa National Park Greg Carr stated:

"I didn't want to make another computer company, mostly just because that would seem too similar to something I did. I enjoyed it, it was fun, and I liked the friends I made when I did that. So, I wanted to do something that seemed completely different. I think I'm having tons more fun than if I'd have made another computer company." … "I really wanted to roll up my sleeves, get out into the world, and direct my humanitarian activities to a project I could touch and feel. It was about that time—early 2000s—that everyone was talking about the health crisis

in Africa, and the poverty crisis in Africa; I thought, I want to go there and do something. Surely, I can be helpful. It was that simple. At that time Mozambique was dead last in the entire world. It was considered the single poorest nation in the world, and that's because it had 30 years of war and had been left in its post-colonial era with virtually nobody who'd even been to high school. Where do you begin? You hear that expression, "Well, these people live on $1 a day." I mean, Mozambicans did not have $1 a day—not rural Mozambicans. So, I was saying to myself, what's this country going to do? Then it popped into my head: Why doesn't Mozambique have a multi-billion-dollar safari tourism industry? That's the competitive advantage of an African country—southern or east African country; they've got the charismatic megafauna. I knew roughly in my head that Kenya and Tanzania and South Africa and Botswana all had these multi-multi-billion-dollar safari tourism businesses, creating a lot of jobs, bringing foreign currency into the country. So, I just wondered to myself, why doesn't Mozambique have that?" (Steele, 2021).

Carr's interviews how his engagement in the GP is highly motivated by his personal aspirations, attitudes and experiences. After championing a successful career in the business sector, he looked for an exciting new challenge. He has an optimistic and enthusiastic mindset and knew that through his financial support, experience, and networks he can help others and make a significant impact. He did not want to just write a cheque but had a hands-on mentality to get actively involved and invest his own time and skills. After seeing and researching about Gorongosa he realized the chances that could arise from rebuilding a lost and abandoned national park in central Mozambique. Driven by his entrepreneurial attitude and believing in human rights and the importance of nature and biodiversity, he saw in Gorongosa a perfect opportunity to combine economic development with nature restoration and human development. Helping Gorongosa for him became an "entire philosophy of existence" and he emphasises how the GP has benefitted himself by teaching him new things, forming new friendships and giving him a new purpose in live. Turning 40 and not knowing what to do next in life, Gorongosa saved him by giving him a "mission" for the rest of his life (see Carr, 2014; Carr 2015; Gourevitch, 2009; Steele, 2021; CBS, 2008; Smith, 2011).

Figure 14: Greg Carr then and now "Man on a Mission," from Onhine Cahane, "An Once and Future Eden," Condé Nast Traveler, December 2007; Greg Carr with Dominque Goncalves a Master student studying in Gorongosa (source: McKeown, 2015; Legends and Legacies Conservation in Africa, 2021).

5.2. Appliance of business-strategies

For Greg Carr, as well as for the other donors of the project, emphasizing economic efficiency is indeed the best strategy to achieve the goals of the GP, for it has already worked out for his own economic achievement (Diallo, 2015). Economic development presents one of the main pillars of the GP and reflects in the mission statement: "Unlocking economic benefits arising from tourism and sustainable natural resource use that focuses on forestry and agriculture" (Annual Report | GNP, 2020). The GP furthermore has adopted numerous corporate ideas and instruments from the business sector and is creating new markets to promote economic progress.

5.2.1. Corporation-like business operations

Corporate management styles reflect in the parks operational and organizational structure that typically allows for division and specialization of labour, high degrees of transparency and controllability, the setting of responsibilities and enables efficient communication (see figure 15).

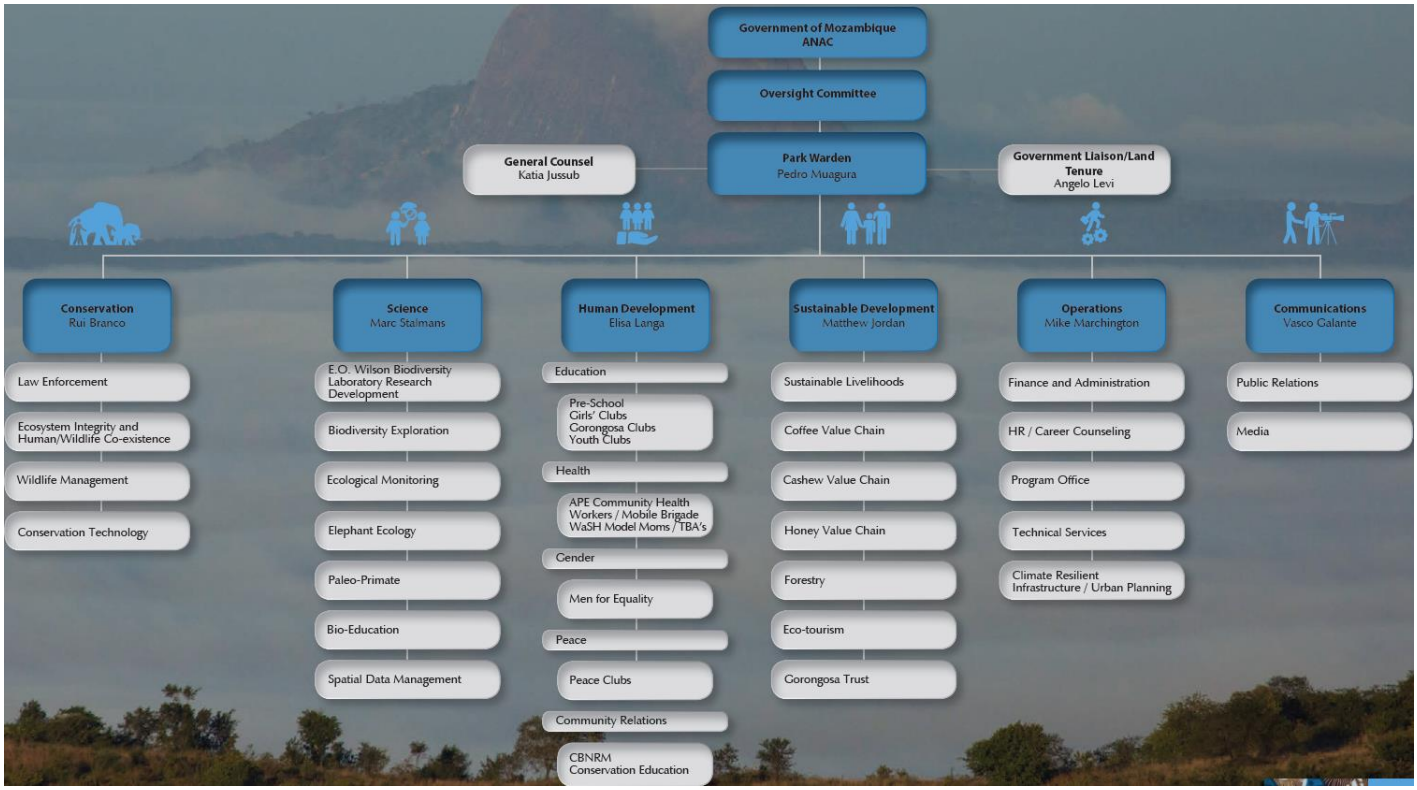

Figure 15: Organizational chart of the GP (source: Annual Report | GNP, 2020).

The park has furthermore established a team of highly qualified experts and scientists and builds on experienced professional of relevant sectors. The oversight committee consists of Greg Carr as the president and a representative of the state. At the time of writing, four national experts (namely Mohamed Harun (Oversight committee), Pedro Muagura (Park Warden), Angelo Levi (Advisor) and Katia Tourais Jussub (Attorney) represent the board. These experts have a strong background in the private or non-for-profit sector and strong connections to the Government of Mozambique. Appointing key positions with Mozambicans working with the Government is an essential means of asserting legitimacy, important political visibility, and some governmental credibility to the externally driven conservation apparatus (Diallo, 2015). According to the annual report of 2020 the GP achieves its mission through 36 programs that fall within six departments. A program, led by a manager, has a mission, budget, activities, outputs, outcomes, and impact. The organization compromises a highly qualified transnational administrative team and managing positions are either filled with international or national personal with strong academic and scientific backgrounds and substantial experiences in their respective field of work. The parks business objectives are realized through the Operations Department. The department uses strategic planning that ensures adequate financial resources, operating assets, well-trained staff, professional financial and administrative systems, and short, medium, and long-term plans that define the organization's operational requirements.

Goal of the GP is to use latest information technology and become a data-led organization providing operational, technical service, and financial oversight and controls to all project departments and furthermore use adaptive management to improve service delivery and efficiently manage financial resources. Other business-related strategic goals are to perform quarterly reviews of park operations and implement monitoring, evaluation and learning processes (MEL) to measure effectiveness and results of interventions to inform decision-making, linking outputs to desired outcomes and to provide timely feedback and reports to project management, the Government of Mozambique, and other project stakeholders (Annual Report | GNP, 2020).

5.2.2. Media and public relations

Another example of modern business instruments can be seen in the development of state-of-the-art public relation tools that inform, inspire, and educate interested people about the GNP. These tools help to attract potential customers, communicate newest developments and events that happen in and around the park and help to network and advertise the GP. This includes a functional, informative, and well-laid out website where all important facts, such as historical developments, mission statements and the team around the GP are well presented. The homepage accompanies information with impressive pictures and videos about the local wildlife, scientific work, conservation efforts and social projects in the community. In addition, the website provides information about the possibilities of existing ecotourism such as accommodations, safari activities, fees, and rules, etc. and allows interested visitors to make electronic inquiries (see https://gorongosa.org). The GP also successfully operates media channels in the world's largest social networks, Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram. Here, too, interested people are informed about key facts and latest developments and events of the park. The stories are backed up with high-quality photo and video contributions that reach many followers. Over 80,000 people have subscribed to the Facebook channel and about the same number of people liked it. The Twitter account has a little over 4000 followers with around 2500 tweets, while the Instagram profile with around 800 postings has more than 18000 followers. The GP is using the video sharing platforms YouTube and Vimeo. The YouTube channel has around 140 uploads with around 1,700 subscribers and almost 400,000 views. The smaller platform Vimeo contains over 300 videos and reaches over 200 followers (as from December 2021). The GP also operates an account with the LinkedIn business network to foster business relations and attract professional staff. Fans of the GP can subscribe to regular

bilingual electronic newsletters (email-based) that inform about newest developments and important achievements and an informative and well-presented annual report is provided on the website. Another important program is the in-house film production company Gorongosa Media which produces high-quality, educational, long-form and short-form films that promote public awareness of Gorongosa both around the world and within Mozambique. These efforts have helped to established world-wide brand recognition that attracts broad acclaim, donor funding, and paying socially and environmentally conscious visitors.

5.2.3. Driving sustainable economic development

5.2.3.1. Unlocking economic benefits through establishment of Eco-Tourism

Unlocking economic benefits arising from eco-tourism presents a main mission statement of the GP. The establishment of ecotourism can be seen as an important step and most visible part of commercialization and market mechanisms used to achieve the goal to deliver a 'self-functioning' and self-financing National Park to the Mozambique state at the end of the long-term agreement. Eco-tourism is projected to enable nature experiences for visitors, generate revenues, create jobs for surrounding communities and ultimately act as an engine for resilient and sustainable development. To appeal as many visitors as possible the GP has established modern eco-tourism facilities and programs. Accommodation ranges from luxurious premium villas to simple camping sites. Amenities include Mozambique and international food, a conference centre, laundry services, playgrounds, swimming pool and gift shops and therefore represent high-class services of state-of-the-art tourism facilities. High-class safari programs include a variety of activities such as guided safari drives, safaris by foot, boat, canoe, or bike as well as excursions to Mount Gorongosa or the neighbouring Revenues that come from tourists are used to hire and equip the park rangers and to support conservation programs that help protect the park's wildlife, resources, and its visitors. To create long-term revenues, the park was planned to be divided between several concessions that will be managed by private tourism providers. Every private concession is supposed to partly employ workers coming from the buffer zone, and pay taxes to the park administration, which would only focus on conservation activities (Diallo, 2015). The park's main camp Chitengo is already operated by the Visabeira-Group a globally active investment group that also works in the tourism and hospitality sector. Furthermore, there are regular public tenders to attract new investors and foster local economy. Furthermore, does the GP, as required by state legislation, allocates 20

% of its revenues to buffer zone communities and therefore provides financial support that contributes to community development (Diallo, 2013).

5.2.3.2. Unlocking economic benefits through establishment of community-based natural resources management (CBNRM)

Unlocking economic benefits arising from natural resource use that focus on forestry and agriculture is another key mission statement of the GP. Regional economic growth and sustainable development is a main goal of the GP that aims to generate income and improve local livelihood. For this purpose, the GP operates numerous community-based natural resources management programs (CBNRM) und micro-entrepreneur projects that aim to combine economic growth and nature conservation for sustainable development. In 2016 local community members received training in small business management and were equipped with grocery products to start micro entrepreneur businesses. Out of 47 micro entrepreneurs that started, one year later 38 were still in business. The programs also involve cultivation and production of coffee, cashew, honey, and fish farms while other opportunities like sustainable forestry management, community-based ecotourism and game meat production are currently being investigated (Community | GNP, 2021). To generate profits for local farmers, the GP facilitates increasing access to market value chains by either directly purchasing products for the use in the GNP or selling them via an e-commerce system The majority of vegetables that are consumed in the restaurant of the main tourism camp “Chitengo” and the cafeteria of the Community Education Center (CEC) are purchased from local farmers. In 2017 around 400 kg of honey were purchased from around 40 local beekeepers. Locally sourced coffee is sold via internet (see https://ourgorongosa.com). Long-term planning includes development of larger farms with some mechanization, creation of jobs in service industries, factories, and construction as well as investment and planning in clean, green communities in the underserved rural areas of Gorongosa.

5.2.3.3. Scientific and technology-based approaches

The GP has launched a comprehensive science program to reach its long-term conservation and sustainable development goals (Muala, 2015). The program aims to help understanding the diverse ecosystems of the greater Gorongosa region as well as to inform management decision-making. Scientific information is used to shape park policies, determine needs for interventions and to predict consequences of management actions. The scientific approach allows park

officials to adjust strategies based on results on the ground, to experiment and identify challenges and potentials. Programs are conducted through the GP's staff members in partnership with a wide range of external researchers and institutions, amongst them international renowned universities like Oxford or Princeton as well as private companies like National Geographic, ESRI Inc and Vulcan Inc. Exploring and monitoring are two major elements of the approach. The Biodiversity Exploration Program (BioEx) was established to address lacking knowledge on biodiversity in Gorongosa National Park (GNP) and aims to creating a detailed picture of the diverse life in Gorongosa. Long-term biological monitoring is being used to document properties of species and ecosystems over time. The GP observes a variety of both abiotic and biotic factors such as climate, biomass, hydrology, fire, and land use that contribute to ecological understanding and management of GNP. For this purpose, the GP applies a wide range of state-of-art conservation technologies and software. The parks surveys apply a range of advanced technologies like GPS-tracking of collared animals, trail cameras, aerial wildlife counts, infrared remote cameras, ultraviolet light trapping, wing tags and satellite transmitters, acoustic recorders to record wildlife soundscapes, automated motion-, heat-, and sound-detection cameras as well as field experiments, molecular biology, telemetry and mathematical modelling. Technologies such as automated weather station, flood meters, high-resolution satellite imagery or geographic information system (GIS) are being used for biological monitoring. In 2014 the GP established the Edward O. Wilson Biodiversity Laboratory (EOW lab), a state-of-the-art facility that offers research and training opportunities in biodiversity-related fields to international and Mozambique conservation specialists and students. The related Gorongosa Biodiversity Science Education Program (BioEd) aims to rebuild Mozambican science and research capacity and train Mozambican students in the theory and practice of biodiversity conservation. For this purpose, the project has furthermore introduced a master's program in conservation biology (Science | GNP, 2021).

5.3. Leverage through hyper-agency and networking

The philanthropic conservation project greatly benefits of the business experiences of its president and his networking capacities. The Foundation thus uses Greg Carr's connections (in American private, academic, and aid sectors), and relies on its brand image (Diallo, 2015). His capacity as a hyper-agent, enabled Greg Carr to establish an important transnational project of this magnitude. Due to his success in the private sector, he not only brings in necessary financial resources but also expertise to lead projects to economic success. He is globally mobile and

has excellent relationships in the private, public, and social sectors. Therefore, it can be assumed that the initial invitation of the Mozambican Ambassador, Carlos Dos Santos and the meeting with the then-President of the Country, Joaquim Chisanno, which ultimately led to the conclusion of the LTA and the emergence of the GP, happened due to Carr's capacity as a philanthropist, successful and wealthy businessman as well as an investor. The quickly established connection to highest political offices in Mozambique enabled and facilitated good cooperation with relevant government agencies such as Ministries of Land and Environment; Health; Education and Human Development; Agriculture and Rural Development; Culture and Tourism as well as their provincial and district directorates.

Due to Carr's reputation and good relationships, a huge global network of partners and donors could be established for the GP. This network includes actors from the private sector, the public sector, and the non-profit sector (see figure 16). The main actors are the Gorongosa Restoration Project (GRP, Greg Carr's non-profit organization) and the Government of Mozambique. The following renowned international institutions and organizations are listed as major funder of projects within the GP: the Government of Ireland and Norway, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), UN-Habitat, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), the Howard Hughes Medical Institute (HHMI), the Oak Foundation and National Geographic. Furthermore, the GP homepage lists many partners who provide support for the GP's success either through donations or through advisory and cooperation functions. The scientific research of Gorongosa is a main funding source attracting funding and support from international foundations, top universities and non-profits. Media and tourism partners are of great importance for increasing international publicity and advertising the GNP as a tourist's attraction.

Figure 16: Overview of some of the GP's partners and donors (source: Annual Report | GNP, 2020).

The collaboration with renowned American biologist Edward Osborne Wilson can be described as particularly important for the successful leverage work of the GP. E.O. Wilson is an internationally awarded biologist, natural scientist, and writer (inter alia, Pulitzer Price and Craaford Price) that became the GP's celebrity advocate advertising the merits of its landscape and restoration (McKeown, 2015). Being praised as one of the greatest biologists of the twentieth century, father of biodiversity or the heir of Darwin, E.O. Wilson can be considered as a celebrity in the world of nature science with enough publicity to draw international attention to any of his supported projects. Working closely with Greg Carr and the GP since 2011, the website refers to him as Dr Edward O. Wilson, a leading synergistic force that brought many scientists and conservationists together to focus their efforts on restoration projects in Gorongosa.

E.O. Wilson has been very committed exploring, describing, and protecting the vast biodiversity in Gorongosa and the GP´s named its own laboratory after him. He has inter alia conducted a BioBlitz on Mount Gorongosa with help of scientist and the local community (a rapid field-based assessment in which volunteers document as many species as possible in a defined location during a defined period and which is commonly used to achieve educational or public-engagement goals (Parker et al., 2018) and has inspired the BioEx program of the GP. After his first visit of the GNP E. O. Wilson was famously branding Gorongosa "ecologically the most diverse park in the world. Furthermore, he has written scientific reports for the renowned scientific journal National Geographic Magazine (see Wilson, 2013) as well as an own book about the GNP called the "A Window on Eternity: A Biologist's Walk Through Gorongosa National Park". His work has inspired articles about his work in Gorongosa in

renowned newspapers like The New York Times and widely read science journals like Nature. His engagement even became the theme of an educational movie by HHMI BioInteractive called: The Guide: A Biologist in Gorongosa. His collaboration can therefore be seen as an important multiplicator for the GP's international reputation.

Figure 17: Ken Tinley handing his valuable knowledge to Dominique Gonçalves, manager of elephant ecology in Gorongosa, in Perth (source: Carr, 2021).

Close collaboration with large media companies represents another key component. In cooperation with internationally known production companies such as National Geographic, PBS Distribution, HHMI Tangled Bank Studios, BBC or CBS, a number of high-quality films and documentaries that have attracted international attention, have been shot in the GNP. National Geographic distributes a range of documentation about the restoration efforts in Gorongosa, including the internationally award-winning special "*Africa's Lost Eden*". A television crew from CBS 60 Minutes produced a special report on the Gorongosa restoration story called "*Saving a Global Treasure*". In the BBC and Discovery channel co-production "*Africa*", Gorongosa National Park is featured prominently in the final episode of the series, titled "*Africa: The Future*". Gregg Carr considers film and television as an essential tool to educate, inspire and build political support for Gorongosa (interview). In addition, interviews with the charismatic president of the Foundation have multiplied and there are several articles and reports about Gorongosa who were featured in major international news outlets like The New York Times, LA Times, Washington Post, The Economist, Scientific American, Der Spiegel, The Kenyan Daily Nation etc. The GP furthermore tries to generate awareness and leverage at national levels, by inviting children to attend educational camps as well as hosting Mozambican top politicians and VIPs to remind them of their world treasure (Carr, 2014).

Within all these leverage efforts, endangered biodiversity is repacked as images and symbols to facilitate the diffusion and publicity around GP, for it to gain an international positive image and eventually more tourists (Diallo, 2015).

5.4. Gorongosa and antidemocratic features

Philanthrocapitalism is criticized for its undemocratic characteristics when wealthy individuals hold too much power in deciding which and how pressuring global problems are approached. This aspect gets exacerbated when there is a lack of societal participation and when people with less power of influence or people who are most affected have little influence on decision making and design of approaches. Examining the transatlantic GP for its anti-democratic characteristics provides a mixed picture. On one hand, authors point out the support for the democratic state and expanding its power of influence in rural Gorongosa, which still presents an opposition stronghold of RENAMO. On the other hand, the institutional setup of the transnational GP calls into question sovereignty of the state. Furthermore, authors show problematic circumstances in which Greg Carr's great power of influence and lacking participation in policy decisions by parts of the local population is being criticized.

Greg Carr’s engagement in co-managing the GNP happened at invitation of the Mozambique state which as still the owner of the park, overlooks all decisions of the GP. The GP’s oversight committee includes Mozambique citizens who supposed to represent the state and manage relationships to governmental institutions on national and provincial level. They assert some legitimacy to this externally driven conservation apparatus and can be described as “transfer brokers” or “hybrid actors” between the state and the donors (Diallo, 2015). The GP assumes important government's responsibility like infrastructure development, provision of healthcare, education and employment as well as nature conservation etc. that the government due to a lack of capacities otherwise could not provide for. These endeavours not only help the GP to establish positive perception amongst local communities, but they are also being perceived as governmental efforts within the traditional neglected area of Gorongosa and thus contributes to the state's local implantation. The GP tries to keep a close relationship with the government and enables state representatives to be present in local development. The development policies around the recovering park are utilised by the state to consolidate its local presence further expanding its power and control in rural areas. In that view, external constraints - namely external agendas tied to international funding - can be an instrument in state power, especially in areas where the state lacks political control (Diallo, 2015).

The GP continues to be involved in highly sensitive political operations aimed at democratic development and stability of the country by supporting the peace process between FRELIMO and RENAMO supporters. By employing members of both parties and bringing them together, the GP fosters to normalize the strained situation in the region. In 2019 the GP hosted a meeting were the Government of Mozambique and the opposition party RENAMO signed a permanent cessation of hostilities agreement in Gorongosa National Park. The GP further helps to reintegrate former combatants and their family members into GP's livelihoods, education and health programs and is developing Peace Clubs to conduct meetings and facilitate dialogues with ex-combatants and host communities (Annual Report | GNP, 2020).

In contrast to these positive developments, authors also point out a number of problems of the GP. Diallo illustrates problems that arise from the institutional structure of the GP and call into question sovereignty of the state. Contrary to requirements of the LTA, the donation network had covered all costs of the GP while the state did not cover any financial expenses. And although the LTA stipulates that half of the directors must be appointed by the state, in reality the foundation recruited and appointed all members and also paid their salaries (Diallo, 2015). This brings the directors into a kind of dichotomy, as they are supposed to represent the state and its interests on one hand but have to pursue interests of their employer GP on the other. And although the state is formally integrated into management of the GP at national levels through the Ministry of Tourism in Maputo and at provincial levels through district municipalities, this task is only performed to a limited extent. Hybrid governance of the GP challenges sovereignty by leading to roll back of the state and making him a partner and administrator rather an owner (Diallo, 2013).

Another example is the prison of Chitengo where in the project's beginning various governance and rule of law issues arose. Most of the prisoners are local citizens who were arrested by park rangers due to subsistence activities such as hunting or logging that violate the parks strict regulations. Although some of them were transferred to local jurisdictions in order to be judged, it regularly happened that GP staff pronounced its own ‘judgement’ and enforced a kind of forced work duty which included maintaining of roads or clearing bushes (Diallo, 2015). Furthermore, there were reports of prisoners who were physically abused and beaten by park rangers. The practice of work duty seemed like a pragmatic measurement for the park management that would ensure fair restitution and discourage further offenses, as convicted persons otherwise often get away unpunished as they are not able to pay imposed fines or being released by an under-resourced authority (Hanes, 2017). Nevertheless, judicial decision outside

formal legal structures of the state and the ill-treatment of prisoners are severe infractions of rule of law and democratic rights of citizens.

Expanding the park boundaries onto Mount Gorongosa and thereby putting it under administration of the GP regardless of strong opposition of mountain residents has evoked criticism about the parks power balances and local participation in decision making. The plan to incorporate Mount Gorongosa into the GNP was established by Tinley who was responsible for the parks first ever conducted holistic ecological study which found that soil erosion due to subsistence agriculture, logging and forest fires pose a major risk to the mountain's hydrological function (Muala, 2015). Because of the mountains vital importance for the regions water supplies and biodiversity, Tinley wanted to protect Mount Gorongosa. As Tinley's study still serves as an inspiration and blueprint for today's management of the GNP, Greg Carr followed recommendations for protecting the Mountain slopes and started lobbying for the inclusion of Mount Gorongosa. Not only would this help protect the environment and safeguard long/term water supplies for the region, but Mount Gorongosa with its dense rainforests and scenic waterfalls, could become an important touristic attraction (Schuetze, 2015). The parks plan to include Mount Gorongosa has caused strong resistance and protest of resident communities. For communities living on the mountain slopes, the area does not only mean home and livelihood but also presents an important spiritual and religious hub (Hanes, 2017). Influential traditional and spiritual leaders like the rainmaker Samatenje are based on the mountain, important spiritual places are located there, and a number of cultural rules exists that must be observed when entering the mountain, such as performing *mdorho* rituals (Muala, 2015). Local Communities base ownership and right of residence on ancestral political tenures and spirits of ancestors who still reside on the mountains and influencing their livelihood and well/being. They traditionally make use of the land by clearing small plots with fire for housing and subsistence agriculture, which is considered a major threatening practice to the mountain by the GP. Consulted about the parks plans, communities felt that their livelihood is being threatened and feared to get robbed of their land. This has evoked feelings about colonial pasts and war times, where outsiders ruled over the area and marginalised and expelled local people. The reaction was a unified and intense opposition to the suggested plans and protests at community meetings where members have gathered together to openly voice their concerns and anger and condemn the parks plans. Furthermore, have the traditional leaders (regulos and rainmakers) legitimacy been question by the local communities as they have been perceived to be corrupted by the park's authorities after being invited to park visits and helicopter flights,

and having received money and material gifts. This has led to the fact that communities partly would no longer follow advice of their traditional leaders and abandoning their community gatherings (Jacobs, 2010). Mountain residents' refusal to grant the park permission for land use was subverted by the GP by taking the request to the national government, which issued a decree that officially annexed the higher elevations of the mountain to the existing park (Schuetze, 2015). Despite the strong opposition of mountain residents, Greg Carr reached the long-pursued plan when the Government of Mozambique announced that Mount Gorongosa would be incorporated into the park in 2010 after longstanding lobbying efforts in the government in Maputo. This event has reaffirmed mountain residents' assessment of the national government as an illegitimate power which acts not to protect the interests of the people but only to generate wealth for a limited few (Schuetze, 2015). The clear ties the population observes between Park and government take away their trust in the capacities of government leaders to successfully negotiate their interest (Jacobs, 2010).

Figure 18: Indigenous subsistence activities on Gorongosa Mountain. Photo courtesy Vasco Galante (source: McKeown, 2015).

5.5. Gorongosa Project and paternalism

Paternalistic features of the GP can be found in paternalistic assumptions and depiction of Gorongosan people in the project's international media coverage as well as in interactions with local people regarding the park's planning scheme and its various programs. Particularly the early media coverage reinforces common Western paternalistic narratives of Africa's poor and helpless people that can only be lifted out of poverty by the help of Western development intervention. The CBS documentary "60 Minutes - Saving a Global Treasure" is representative of this dominant narrative. Journalist Scott Pelley opens with following announcement while the show continues to present a single narrative:

How much can one man do to save a desperate nation? American entrepreneur Greg Carr is finding out, throwing himself and much of his fortune into one of the poorest places on earth. Mozambique, in East Africa, is a country of spectacular beauty, but it's been laid waste by decades of war, by malaria and by HIV. It takes a lot of vision to see opportunity there, but… Carr thinks he's found it, in a wildlife park called Gorongosa, which he believes could be the salvation of a nation, and maybe a model for the world (CBS, 2008).

The story represents GNP as a lost Eden, a former paradise of wildlife that has been destroyed by war and inhabitants as people who suffer from poverty, hunger and disease. While Greg Carr is figured as the generous saviour with a hands-on mentality whose innovative plan to bring "entrepreneurship to charity" promises to "bring Gorongosa back to what it was, Gorongosa residents are not active protagonists but are presented as a passive audience to the unfolding events and raw material for directed interventions. Furthermore, in this narrative Greg Carr is depicted as a rockstar, uniformly depicting Gorongosa residents as silent and grateful recipients of his goodwill (Schuetze, 2015). This story became a main narrative and plays out in most external media coverage but also reflects in the park's public relations ventures and interviews of Greg Carr. These representations can strengthen the presumption that it is the responsibility of the civilized North to come and help the south and thereby encouraging and legitimizing land management practices, which further delineates boundaries between African people and their home environments (McKeown, 2015).

Likewise problematic are circulation of ideas and images of pristine wilderness which ignore realities and livelihoods of Indigenous communities located in the park boundaries. By depicting local livelihood practices as destructive forces to ecosystems (hunting as poaching, agricultural practices as slash and burn) and trying to lecture local Indigenous communities

about their own environments, the GP risks conveying impressions that locals need to be taught about values of their surrounding nature in order to recognize the benefits. This proceeding could replicate outdated narratives and criticized aspects of global conservation efforts in which Africa is in need of taming by culturally superior experts with African people depicted as savage, destructive, or naive to conservationist imperatives (McKeown, 2015). This becomes particularly problematic against the background that hunting efforts of native Gorongosans were not entirely responsible for the almost complete elimination of large fauna in Gorongosa (this became a result of external forces like colonial exploitation and civil war). And the fact, that scholars have discovered that rather than being the blunt tool of an undereducated rural peasantry, agricultural fire use in Gorongosa is a stunningly sophisticated tool to return nutrients and fertility back to ground while accounting for different needs of the ecosystem. Heidi Gengenbach contrary to assumption of the GP was convinced, that small farmers of Gorongosa instead of a threat to the environment were the true preservationists. The ecology of Gorongosa was still as rich as it was, not despite these peasants, but because of them (Hanes, 2017) while GP's scientists perpetuate the conventional view, that African agriculturalists are "incapable of acting as resource custodians" (Schuetze, 2015).

The GP is furthermore being criticized for its failing approach to integrate local interests and opinions into the parks planning scheme and economic- and human development programs. According to its own information, GP tries to establish partnerships with local communities in order to guarantee protection of the environment and promote regional sustainable development. For this purpose, the park management engages with local communities and holds regular meetings where interventions and programs are discussed and coordinated. The development programs undoubtedly aim to improve local living conditions, but they are criticized for insufficiently accounting voices of communities and thereby reducing them to silent beneficiaries. Different anthropologists who conducted studies and lived in Gorongosa for several years have noted cultural insensitivities to local residents by restoration project team members, as well as failing to effectively communicate policy change to local residents, let alone gain consensus in any meaningful way (McKeown, 2015). Community meetings were described as information sessions with no room for negotiation or joint decision making, local input was ignored, and the park plans, and interventions were carried on regardless of local resistance. Notable examples are the extension of the park boundaries to Mount Gorongosa, perceived bans of traditional livelihood practices or CBNRM measures like the reforestation of the mountain slopes or wildlife conflicts. Nudging local people with benefits such as social

infrastructure to reside in the buffer zones instead of the park itself seem to be a pragmatic solution but has questionable democratic implications. These findings indicate that the GP is at least partially pursuing a top-down approach, which uses scientific findings (from the West) to define which measures and interventions are good for the local population, without ensuring their right for participation and influence on decision-making and thereby depriving them of their right to self-determination. Stephanie Hanes in one of her interviews about the GP describes the common problem of paternalistic transatlantic conservation ventures that fail to incorporate local knowledge and interests as following:

"Somehow, our pattern, when we've gone into developing parts of the world, which also happen to be those parts of the world we often find our ecological hotspots in, we don't see the complexity there. We come in with an idea of what is good and what is effective and what we think should happen and often these thoughts are really well-meaning. But we don't realize that we're not going onto this blank slate, we're not going onto a place that just needs help. If only we could come and add our expertise. We're going into incredibly complex and very different places" (Curwood, 2017).

In this context, rather than engage with local residents as partners (although unequal ones) in conservation, the GP treats them as possible beneficiaries of conducted interventions. This paternalistic approach presents on of the essential criticisms voiced by both academics and residents living in and around Gorongosa National Park (McKeown, 2015). The analysis shows that the GP has paternalistic aspects, but these are not to be understood as a GP fault or personal trait of Greg Carr. Rather, it is a general and often criticized problem in neoliberal international nature conservation efforts and development cooperation.

5.6. Gorongosa Project and amateurism

Philantrocapitalism is criticized as success in the economic realm as well as business skills of the donors do not necessarily facilitate success in solving complex social or environmental issues. It is further questionable if philanthrocapitalist with little experience in relevant sectors and transferring business strategies into the international philanthropic sector without regarding geography, cultures or social norms can lead to long-term successes. Furthermore, philanthrocapitalist tend often neglect grass-root expertise relying on scientific experts that support their own solutions. These aspects also reflect in the work of the GP. Gregg Carr to his own statement had no prior expertise in conservation, eco-tourism, or other relevant sectors, particular in an international or African context. To tackle this problem, he has recruited a

highly professional team of international and local conservation scientist and established an international support network of universities and institutions which bring in expertise in conservation and development cooperation. Without former experience in conservation and no deeper understanding of the very complex social, economic, political, and cultural background of Gorongosa, Kinley's holistic thesis about Gorongosa ecology and schemed plan for the GNP from the 1970's, became the blueprint for the development of the GP. Just like Kinley's approach of conserving nature while safeguarding that rural communities, which depend on the land for subsistence and spiritual purposes should continue to have access to it and, to some extent, control over it (McKeown, 2015), the GP tries to combine conservation efforts with human development. However, Carr has been criticized for running each of these agendas in parallel to one another rather than entangling them in a holistic agenda (McKeown, 2015) as well as for failing to engage with critics who have a long history of living and working with local communities and a deeper understanding of the complex history of the region (Hanes, 2017).

While a strong focus on conservation efforts have led to impressive success in saving and rebuilding the local flora and fauna and has accomplished important conservation science research, the human development approach seems to have not reached the same success until now. While the GP could establish more than 1000 permanent and seasonal jobs, and is reaching thousands of people with its economic, education and health programs, for a majority of around 200.000 people living in the park's buffer zone, living conditions have not significantly improved. Most locals could not score jobs, education, or relationships with powerful figures of the West, and many of them may have actually seen their living situations deteriorate (Hanes, 2017). There have been reports in 2008 that over the prior five years the region had seen a dramatic increase in alcoholism, prostitution, violent property crime, domestic violence, and HIV infection, which of course cannot be solely traced on establishment of the GP. But for Harvard researcher Heidi Gengenbach, the GP's work has not ultimately helped everybody to become wealthier and healthier but with deprivation of traditional livelihood practices has played a role in making parts of the population hungrier, sicker, and poorer (Hanes, 2017). A key point of criticism is related to Carr's vision to restore a glorified past by selling Gorongosa as "Africa's Lost Eden. This glorified past relates to the variety and beauty of the landscape, dense biodiversity and high occurrence of large game like elephants, buffalo or lion and ultimately the parks status as a tourist magnet. While colonial elites celebrated the park and sought photogenic game and adventures, the experience has been

different for native Gorongosans. Their experiences with the park are related to displacement, discrimination and a brutal system of taxation and conscripted labour. Restoring colonial pasts of the park does not represent a positive goal for many Gorongosans and wakes memories in which foreign control has caused extremely high human costs in the park's creation (Schuetze, 2015). Thus, for many long-term Gorongosa residents, the rehabilitate project is re-creating, repeating, and extending the negative legacy of the park into the present (McKeown, 2015), and thereby rekindling long-standing opposition to external centres of political power (Schuetze, 2015). With the sense of powerlessness, anger, and immanent crisis local communities started to neglect their long-established resource management practices. Authors noted that locals had started campaigns of defiance by abandoning traditional fire control techniques, hunting limits, and monitoring of valuable tree species as well as engaging in illegal mining and logging activities as they feel that the land no longer belongs to them. This had led to increasing case numbers of illegal poaching, an increase of uncontrolled wildfires and visible increase in deforested areas on Mount Gorongosa. These actions have been attributed as to last-ditch efforts to accumulate money to buffer material devastation which would emerge from resettling to the lowlands, or as attempts to discourage and scare off the outsiders' interest in controlling the land, or as a form of retribution — to frustrate park officials and also give them the feeling of powerlessness in return (Schuetze, 2015). Strong conservation approaches and the use of narratives about restoring a threatened ecosystem to restore a glorious past, which disregards the political, cultural and social realities of native Gorongosa seem to complicate the GP's goal of conservation and human development. Economic progress as well as technological- and science-based approaches alone cannot solve Gorongosa's deep rooted issues of poverty and nature degradation. Sustainable development through the GP needs to integrate opinions and interests, cultural identities and indigenous knowledge and establish real partner and leadership for local Gorongosans (Muala, 2015).

The analysis of the GP based on the main characteristics of philanthrocapitalism has shown, how Greg Carr's personal engagement and his vision to restore Gorongosa have allowed for the establishment of such a high-profile project that is capable of conserving valuable biodiversity and helping thousands of people in central Mozambique and also his own life. It has shown how the entrepreneurial experience of its leader and the business approach have infused the GP's practices with corporate strategies and management styles, technological and scientific solutions and how the economic force behind the project led to the establishment of new markets and business ventures such as high-class eco-tourism or community-based

resource management practices. Furthermore, the results have shown how Greg Carr was able to use his networking and hyper agency capacities to build a huge international network of donors and supporting experts that leverage his engagement. But the results also reveal the antidemocratic, paternalistic and amateuristic features of the GP that cut off Gorongosa residents of the spheres of power, control and influence which are enjoyed by park officials, state actors and conservationists. And how the patronising and partly top-down approaches of the GP complicate Greg Carr's goal to promote human rights in the region and ultimately put the success in conservation in danger. The next chapter will discuss the GP's impacts on management practices, governance and policymaking, conservation practices and on local communities that have been established under the analysis based on philanthrocapitalism main characteristics and points on criticism. The results from this chapter will be considered and discussed under benefits and critical implications of the GPs work.

6. Chapter 6: Discussion

This thesis has presented a detailed picture of philanthrocapitalism and has investigated its impact on private nature reserves in the global South by analysing the case study of Gorongosa National Park in Mozambique. This chapter will initially be summarizing and discussing the established understanding and critiques of philanthrocapitalism from chapter 3. After that, the GP's impacts on management practices, governance and policymaking, conservation practices and local communities resulting from chapter 5 are presented and debated under beneficial and critical implications of the Gorongosa Project.

6.1. Philanthrocapitalism

To create conceptual clarity and a comprehensive understanding of philanthrocapitalism the thesis started with the historical development and illustrated how Western philanthropy was firstly shaped in ancient Greek where philanthropy was understood as virtue of rich and powerful aristocrats that was expressed through benevolence and sponsorship of prestigious causes, to gain honour and consolidating social and political structures (Vallely, 2020). This patronising understanding of Greek -Roman philanthropy was altered during medieval times, when through Christianity charity became a religious obligation, and church became the main channel of serving the poor. Since the middle age when rich trading dynasties emancipated from church and governments, remarkable economic progress and the creation of private wealth, have induced 5 golden ages of Western philanthropy (Bishop and Green, 2008).

American industrial tycoons of the 19th century, like Carnegie or Rockefeller, and their entrepreneurial way of professional and institutionalising philanthropy became the pioneers of modern philanthrocapitalists. The shift from industrial revolution to the information age has ignited economic growth and accumulation of private wealth particularly through thriving IT and financial sectors since the end of the 20th century. This development together with the predominant neoliberal agenda that promotes roll back of the state and is seeking market solutions and partnerships with the private sector have paved the way for institutionalise philanthropy and became the prerequisites for the emerge of philanthrocapitalism (Bishop and Green, 2015). Started by a small group of some of the world's richest entrepreneurs, who made their fortunes in the corporate world, philanthrocapitalism is determined to enhance traditional charity approaches and solve the world's most pressuring social and environmental problems by bringing corporate skills and talents and business strategies into philanthropy. By infusing the work of charity with corporate management styles, business tools and metrics to increase efficiency and effectiveness of traditional philanthropy, philanthrocapitalism is changing the way foundations and the non-governmental sector operate (Bishop, 2013). Philanthrocapitalists are passionate to bring change and leave big impacts and their efforts are highly inspired and motivated by personal attitudes, individual experiences and ideas. Through their hands-on mentality elite donors becoming increasingly personally engaged in their endeavours and by naming and branding their foundations and projects they are widen their reach. Keen to leverage the own efforts, philanthrocapitalist know how to use their public status and well-established networks. Promoted by media and celebrity support, philantrocapitalism is able to attract considerable amounts of funding and has gained an enormous political and social reach (Holmes, 2015).

6.2. Critiques of philanthrocapitalism

The increasing power and influence of a small group of wealthy elites on political and social discourses and the strategies for solving pressuring social or environmental illnesses thereby has raised concern about democratic aspects like participation and power balances (Rogers, 2011). By amplifying the voice of citizens that already wield substantial influence, access, and power philanthrocapitalism risks to prevail over the interests and opinions of the wider society (Amarante, 2018). By determining what is best and imposing interventions without the consent of the beneficiaries and using top-down approaches that deprive self-determination and influence on decision making philanthrocapitalism demonstrates its paternalistic aspects

(Edwards, 2008). Boasting with business skills and talents but lacking true experience in solving social or environmental issues philanthrocapitalists can be criticized for their amateurism. By oversimplifying complex issues and promoting quick-fix and fast results-oriented approaches and failing at inducing demanded systematic changes philanthrocapitalism risks fighting only symptoms instead of the manifold underlying root-causes of social and environmental ills (Jenkins, 2011). The strong focus on technological and scientific solutions and depending majorly on expert advice that is in accordance with the own ideas philanthrocapitalism risks creating echo chambers that dismiss opposing opinions and long-term established grass root knowledge and experiences (Amarante, 2018).

6.3. Philanthrocapitalism and nature conservation

The thesis has illustrated how philanthrocapitalism increasingly engages in nature conservation by establishing private nature reserves particular in biodiversity hotspots in the global South. By commodifying spaces and finding new market opportunities for capitalism through ecotourism and selling images of pristine and endangered wilderness to international tourists philanthrocapitalism becomes a vehicle for neoliberal conservation (Holmes, 2015). The examination of the Gorongosa case study has shown, how the GP promotes the neoliberalisation of nature conservation by using market mechanism and generation of revenues from international tourism to protect the ecosystem of Gorongosa. This is mainly happening through the establishment of ecotourism and the creation and commodification of images of wilderness and endangered wildlife. The parks revenues from tourism are used to restore and protect local biodiversity and financially support local communities. Furthermore, does job creation within and around the park increase the overall economic growth of the area and can take off pressure of the ecosystem if people will be less depended on the park's ecosystem services. However, the GP comes with negative implications for the local communities as well. Further privatisation through expanding the parks boundaries onto Mount Gorongosa, the ban of traditional livelihood techniques and excluding local communities from decision-making are negative aspects that put the long/term success of the Gorongosa Project at risk. As wealthy elites from the West become increasingly powerful stakeholders, their efforts in conservation have important implications for the political ecology as power imbalances in decision-making contest the access and control over natural resources of local communities (Jones, 2012).

6.4. Beneficial implications of the GP

By applying 3 main characteristics and critic points of philanthrocapitalism to the analyses of the case study of the Gorongosa Project this thesis combined philanthrocapitalism and nature conservation and illustrated how a transnational project works on the ground and what implications emerge for governance, conservation practices and the local communities. The entrepreneurial vision of Greg Carr to restore a "lost and forgotten" national Park in Mozambique trying to achieve simultaneously conservation of biodiversity and human development through economic development has proven to be an interesting setup to analyse the practices and impacts of philanthrocapitalism and nature conservation in the global South. Greg Carr's success in business, his subsequent status as a millionaire, and his philanthropic ventures have served to raise his public prominence and to strengthen the authoritative quality of his efforts (Schuetze, 2015). He was able to use his personal knowledge, status and brand image as well as networks to inform and shape the policies and practices of conservation in Gorongosa. The results have shown how the business approaches of philanthrocapitalism reflect in the corporate-like organisational structure and business administration of the GP, the professional and experienced administrative team, management staff and the data driven approach. The GP has furthermore implemented a stakeholder orientated reporting style and strategically uses media and internet as commercial tools to advertising and educate people and potential customers of the GP. The affiliation to celebrities and the media reflects in the engagements of famous ecologist E.O Wilson, the coverage renowned international media like the National Geographic, Nature, The New York Times and award-winning documentaries who have helped the GP to gain international reputation and popularity. Furthermore, has the results shown how the GP neoliberalizes nature conservation by establishing new enterprises and using market approaches like eco-tourism and CBNRM programs to finance the parks expenses and create economic opportunities for local communities. Although the GP is a not-for-(private) profit project it is intended to be driven on the long term by capitalist forces and the link between conservation and development is also achieved through economic efficiency (Schuetze, 2015). The examination has also shown how the GP could significantly benefit from Greg Carr's public profile and high tier networks as he was able to establish a network of mayor donors that have multiplied his huge financial engagement and a collaborating scientific network with high expertise in nature conservation and international development cooperation including renowned universities, governmental organisations, the private sector and other foundations. The donor network and huge financial resources have allowed to establish

important research projects and scientific studies that contribute significantly to academic and scientific knowledge and help Gorongosa becoming one of the most biologically and ecologically explored nature reserves on the continent. The donors' engagements have allowed to finance complicated and expensive conservation efforts such as the wildlife sanctuary, the restoration and relocations of wildlife populations or reforestation on Mount Gorongosa. The GP furthermore finances maintaining the well-equipped and trained ranger staff that oversee the strict conservation regulations as well as programs for monitoring and managing of wildlife with state-of-the-art technology. These efforts have contributed to significant achievements for nature conservation as nature and the wildlife populations in Gorongosa are recovering since the GP has started its work (Muala, 2015). The GP has furthermore successfully helped to improve the livelihoods of thousands of people in the buffer zone through the provision of jobs, economic benefits, provision of healthcare, education and infrastructure. This is a significant positive development for a rural region that is traditionally lacking resources and social infrastructure through the long-term neglections of the Mozambique government.

6.5. Critical implications of the GP

The analyses could furthermore show, how transnational conservation projects such as the GP have various critical implications for a region's political ecology and the governance of private nature reserves. The results have shown how on one side the GP supports democracy by helping the government of Mozambique to extend its power in the hinterland where it traditionally lacks influence and support by providing public platforms for the state and assuming governmental task such as job provision, economic progress, education or healthcare and appeasement of the two opposing political parties (Diallo, 2013). On the other side the GP challenges state sovereignty through its institutional setup, financial power and roll back of the state. Although the state still oversees all the parks decision, the GP became de facto regulator and is directly shaping and enacting policy that affects rural Gorongosans in the park and his buffer zone (Diallo, 2015). By discouraging or criminalising traditional livelihood practices such as agricultural slash-and-burn techniques, hunting or logging and thereby asserting control over access to natural resources regardless of local resistance power imbalances of the GP became visible. Most significant example thereby is the protection of Mount Gorongosa against the strong opposition of mountain residents (Hanes, 2017). The GP has promoted a dominating narrative about the ecological crisis, that emerges as local communities and their slash and burn practices are threatening to rapidly destroy the mountain forests which's hydrology is important

for the regions water supply. This sense of urgency, conviction, and righteousness that crisis evokes showed itself to be much more powerful than visions of undoing past wrongs and running conservation areas "with, for, and in some cases by local people" (Schuetze, 2015). Legitimised by the findings of Kinley's first ecological study of Gorongosa, the GP continued its political efforts and ultimately achieved its goal to put Mount Gorongosa under the parks management, regardless of the strong resistance of mountain communities and the concerns of different scholars. The early phase of the Carr Foundation's efforts in Gorongosa therefore reveals the dangers of conservation schemes in a context of severe power imbalances. It reveals how, in a postcolonial context, interventions that impact basic rights to control land and resources gain external legitimacy through crisis claims and calls for urgent action as well as through familiar development narratives that highlight the needs of recipients and the benevolent intent of interventions (Schuetze, 2015). Greg Carr, the GP and international media have furthermore represented the story of Gorongosa from the view of the North and have dominated narratives about the "lost Eden", and glorious pasts of the park which are not shared by native Gorongosans. While Greg Carr in the media's narrative is portrayed as the benevolent saviour, depicting native Gorongosans as grateful passive beneficiaries shows how the story of the GNP gives little voice to the people of Gorongosa, and how local identities are not equally represented. The GP therefore risks reviving colonial pasts and ignoring local experiences of foreign control, human loss, displacement and the marginalisation of local tradition and livelihood practices. By deciding what is best for the development of park and people while granting local communities' little power of influence over decision making or the design of measurements and ignoring local knowledge and neglecting opposing ideas and interests the GP is risking of establishing a top-down approach that contradict its own goals. By focusing on conservation science and running human development only parallel the GP compromises local support that will be necessary for sustainable achievements of the park and the region. While partly failing to foster real partnerships and giving Gorongosa the opportunity for influence let alone control, the GP ultimately putting its remarkable success at risk. As the Gorongosa case reveals, creating, circulating, and maintaining a 'single story' of conservation and development visions through tight control of park governance and public image does not, in the end, lead to greater control over complex situations but rather complicates social issues and threatens local support and long-term successes (Schuetze, 2015).

7. Chapter 7: Conclusion and Outlook

The thesis has pursued a profound understanding of the relatively new trend of philanthrocapitalism and its implications for nature conservation in the global South. By analysing the Gorongosa Project in Mozambique based on main characteristics and critics of philanthrocapitalism, the thesis tried to illustrate how the trend works on the ground, its practices and impacts on governance, conservation efforts, and communities around nature reserves.

7.1. Philanthrocapitalism

As the detailed examination of philanthrocapitalism has shown, wealthy entrepreneurs turned philanthropists, explicitly transfer approaches, techniques, and strategies from their successful businesses into their efforts for the common good. Through the appliance of market approaches and corporate management styles philanthrocapitalists are aiming to enhance efficiency and effectivity of traditional philanthropy and to leverage their engagements in order to achieve maximum impact. The efforts of wealthy philanthropists led to important developments and achievements such as helping to save and improve the lives of millions people around the globe through health or education initiatives. These ventures show that based on their vast amounts of resources, their hyper agency and well-established networks, today's elite donors undoubtedly have the capacity to drive change and support solving the world's most pressuring social and environmental issues. Philanthrocapitalists thereby are not only changing the way charity and non-for-profit sectors operate but they furthermore increasingly make decisions with far reaching effects on the public sphere and people's lives. They have become powerful stakeholders influencing political and social discourses and actively informing and shaping global policy making. Philanthrocapitalism amplifies the voices of people who already hold immense influence, access, and power. This power of influence concentrated in the hands of small group of ultra-wealthy potentially can threat and undermine democratic values. Furthermore, the social, cultural, and economic backgrounds of the super wealthy often are not representative of that of the broader citizenry, which may also influence their view on social problem solving. Although well intended, establishing solution and strategies and carrying out visions that are solely informed by own experiences, expertise and attitudes, elite donors creating the risk of failing to meet the needs of a wider society and the beneficiaries of their efforts. As their engagements are of high public interest, particularly as the state subsidises philanthropic engagements with public funding, society and particularly affected people need

to be equally represented in decision-making in order to gain acceptance and support that will be important for long term success. Philantrocapitalism need to commit to public reporting and social or political contracts in order to establish better transparency and accountability and although probably highly counterintuitive to former CEOs of most successful global enterprises, elite donors might need to give up power and control and transfer more accountability over their fundings into the hands of the public and the recipients in order to create a legitimate social license to operate. As the emergence of philanthrocapitalism not just goes hand in hand with economic inequality but also with immense power imbalances, elite donors need to acknowledge their own significant systemic role and need to engage with society on an equal footing. Philanthrocapitalism needs to engage in an honest public debate, attend to conversing opinions, and working together with a variety of experts particularly grass roots initiatives and worthy non-profits as they formulate and pursue their own solutions based on their experience, knowledge of problems, direct contact with beneficiaries, and visions for social change (Jenkins, 2011). It needs to give recipients and beneficiaries a real voice in governance and program strategy and supporting social movements and promote systematic change and long term social and economic transformation that will be necessary to solve deep root causes of issues such as poverty, diseases, inequality or environmental destruction.

7.2. Philanthrocapitalism and nature conservation

In context of nature conservation and the case of Gorongosa, philanthrocapitalism and its financial resources has proved that it can allow for critical achievements in protecting biodiversity particularly in places that through the lack of capacities or will wouldn't be protected otherwise. Carr, his donor network and his restoration team have accomplished significant achievements by establishing crucial scientific studies, restoring and protecting Gorongosa's biodiversity and raising international awareness that is needed to attract the tourism that ultimately will help to sustain the park. (Muala, 2015). Furthermore, has the GP through the establishment of job provision, health and education initiatives has helped improve the livelihood of many local people. Aspects of neoliberal conservation like the economic approach and market solutions create opportunities for Gorongosa to become a successful eco-tourism destination and economic engine of central Mozambique. Nevertheless, the analysis has shown that the GP's work also reflects on the limitations of philantrocapitalism through antidemocratic, paternalistic and amateuristic features and its severe implications on the political ecology of Gorongosa. As a foreign entity the GP became de facto regulator of the

GNP and is managing and enforcing conservation regulations that restrict local people from control and access to natural resources and land. True participation of local communities is denied by the partly top-down approaches of GP and decisions and interventions are being implemented despite various local opposition. The integration of Mount Gorongosa into the park thereby is the most apparent sign of the power imbalances and the neglect of local interests and identity. The GP and his media coverage furthermore is promoting Western visons about pristine wilderness and glorious past of the GNP that dominate the narratives about Gorongosa. The story of the GP thereby gives no room for the equal representation of people of Gorongosa that became silent bystanders of the project's endeavours. With its interventions the GP is furthermore reviving colonial pasts of the park, that for local identity entails experiences eviction, exclusion and marginalisation of traditional livelihood practices. The feel of neglect and powerlessness through foreign control over ancestral land and resources thereby has raised mistrust, resistance and retaliation measures of local communities that ultimately put the long-term success of the GP at risk. Muala in his revealing analyses of the historical landscape of Gorongosa argues, that because of this troubled relationship and the enduring violence, insisting on compulsory conservation laws will not build a healthy coexistence between park and people. Long-term sustainable development of the GP and the Gorongosa ecosystem can be achieved if the most powerful stakeholder namely the Gorongosa Restoration Project and the government of Mozambique will rely on both the indigenous and conventional knowledge and accomplish to integrate and promote local needs and interests in the management of the natural resources of the park. Integrating local communities into the conservation practices and allowing for increased sharing in leadership and control at all structural levels of the ecosystem and biodiversity management will help the locals to re-identify with their asset – the Gorongosa Park (Muala, 2015). By better combining the interests of conservation, eco-tourism and the local communities the unique Gorongosa Project will have the chance of becoming a lighthouse project and role model for other nature restoration projects.

7.3. Outlook for future engagements

Hanes in her interviews and book has valuable suggestions for future transnational conservation projects. For her, before engaging in foreign countries, developing individual visions, before finding (Western science and technology informed) solution and establishing plans to carry out, philanthrocapitalists should learn about the complex histories, get profound knowledge of local identity and social, cultural and political backgrounds of the area they are

engaging in. Before acting, they should engage with local communities' opinions and ideas and learn to value their perspectives, interests and needs, ask whether and what kind of help is desired (Hanes, 2017; Curwood, 2017). Furthermore, they should question own images, visions and values and rethinking the role and positions that they want to take in. Local interests as well as knowledge and practices need to be integrated in order to create common visions and find best-informed decisions and agreed approaches. More than just better access to participation and decision-making, local communities need to be involved in actual control and ownership over land and resources. In areas with large catchment areas such as the GNP with more than 200.000 people living in the buffer zone, definition of goals and their communication should be a sensitive topic. Setting improbable goals and raising expectations and demands amongst affected people that can't be met, can provoke backlashes later in the process. Therefore, setting realistic and achievable goals as well as meetable expectations might facilitate long-term local support. Although communities have been regularly treated as homogenous with members having complementary interests in 'community conservation' efforts, they are dynamic, factional, and internally differentiated by gender, caste, wealth, ethnicity, age and origin, etc (Jones, 2007). To solve complex social and environmental problems under such dynamic and diverse framework conditions, will always remain a challenging task, where one sided stories and solutions have the least chances for long-term success. To become successful in their endeavours and to meet their own high ambitions, philanthrocapitalists will have to commit to an continues learning process and be careful to not implement the same dominating resolutions, that have helped them to become successful in the capitalistic market systems, in their efforts to solve the world's most pressuring problems. In the case of the GP, this learning commitment fortunately is apparently recognisable. The projects focus has shifted over time from biodiversity and tourism to the sustainable development of the region and its people. Issues like the mistreatment of prisoners have been addresses and rangers are getting trained as law-enforcement officers by now. Also, the media ventures of the GP seem trying to give more room for representing the people of Gorongosa. It will be interesting to see how the GP will develop in future and if Greg Carr can achieve the goal of bringing together economic progress, nature conservation and human development. This thesis hopes to contribute to important research and emerging academic papers about philanthrocapitalism and its implications for nature conservation in the global South. Further profound public debates and academic discourse will be needed to emphasize the far-reaching influential role that philanthrocapitalism is gaining on social and political agendas and to find

the best ways in that philanthrocapitalism can support solving the world's most pressuring problems.

8. Literature

Amarante, E.F., (2018). The Perils of Philanthrocapitalism. Maryland Law Review. Volume 78, Issue 1, Article 2.

Barman, E., (2017). The Social Bases of Philanthropy. Annual Review of Sociology, 43(1), pp.271-290.

BBC News., (2021). Coronavirus: 5G and microchip conspiracies around the world. [online] Available at: <https://www.bbc.com/news/53191523> [Accessed 1 September 2021].

Bishop, M. and Green, M. (2008). Philanthrocapitalism - How the Rich Can Save the World and Why We Should Let Them. London: A & C Black.

Bishop, M. (2013). Philanthrocapitalism: Solving Public Problems through Private Means. Social research Vol. 80: No. 2.

Bishop, M. and Green, M., (2015). Philanthrocapitalism Rising. Society, 52(6), pp.541-548.

Bosworth, D., (2011) 'The Cultural Contradictions of Philanthrocapitalism', Society, vol. 48, pp 382-388.

Braun, V., and Clarke, V., (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3, 77–101. doi:10.1191/ 1478

Braun, V. and Clarke, V., (2020). Can I use TA? Should I use TA? Should I not use TA? Comparing reflexive thematic analysis and other pattern-based qualitative analytic approaches. Counselling and Psychotherapy Research, 21(1), pp.37-47.088706qp063oa

Breeze, B. and Lloyd, T., (2013). Richer lives – Why rich people give. London: Directory of Social Change.

Brockington, D., (2008). Powerful environmentalisms: conservation, celebrity and capitalism. Media, Culture & Society, 30(4), pp.551-568.

Carr, G., (2014). Interview: Mozambique's Gorongosa National Park – a phoenix rising from the ashes. [online] IUCN. Available at: <https://www.iucn.org/content/mozambiques-gorongosa-national-park-a-phoenix-rising-ashes> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Carr, G., (2014). Interview: Gorongosa: How Greg Carr found this project. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=cOMOV866QLE> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Carr, G., (2015). Honorary Doctorate Speech. [online] Youtube.com. Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SMlT4tgArdA> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Carr, G., (2021). The restoration of Gorongosa National Park - Africa Geographic. [online] Africa Geographic. Available at: <https://africageographic.com/stories/the-restoration-of-gorongosa-national-park/> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Castree, N. (2008) 'Neoliberalising Nature: The Logics of Deregulation and Reregulation', Environment and Planning A 40(1): 131–52.

CBS, (2008). CBS "60 Minutes" - Saving a Global Treasure. [online] Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qCaqcNfYEK8> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Christou, P., Hadjielias, E. and Farmaki, A. (2019). Reconnaissance of philanthropy. Annals of Tourism Research, 78, p.102749.

Cousin, G. (2005). Case Study research. Journal of Geography in Higher Education, 29(3), 421-427.

Curwood, S., (2017). Interview Stephanie Hanes Living on Earth: White Man's Game. [online] Living on Earth. Available at: <https://www.loe.org/shows/segments.html?programID=17-P13-00030&segmentID=5> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Defourny, J., Nyssens, M. and Thys, S. (2016). Venture philanthropy: When philanthropy meets social entrepreneurship. In: Tobias Jung, Susan D. Philipps, Jenny Harrow, The Routledge Companion to Philanthropy (Routledge Companions in Business, Management and Accounting), Routledge: London, 2016, p. 348-361.

Dempsey, J. and Bigger, P., (2019). Intimate Mediations of For-Profit Conservation Finance: Waste, Improvement, and Accumulation. Antipode, 51(2), pp.517-538.

Diallo, R., (2013). Conservation, international aid and state power. Case studies from Mozambique. LAM/Sciences Po Bordeaux, OXPO Visiting Research Fellow

Diallo, R., (2015). Conservation Philanthropy and the Shadow of State Power in Gorongosa National Park, Mozambique. Conservation and Society, 13(2), p.119.

Duncan, B., (2004). A theory of impact philanthropy. Journal of Public Economics, 88(9-10), pp.2159-2180.

Edwards, M. (2008). Just another emperor? New York: Dēmos, A. Network for Ideas & Actions.

Ejimabo, N., (2015). The effective research process: Unlocking the advantages of ethnographic strategies in the qualitative research methods. European Scientific Journal, 23, p.357.

Evren, O. and Minardi, S., (2013). Warm-Glow Giving and Freedom to Be Selfish. SSRN Electronic Journal.

Evergreen State College, (2021). Evergreen State College. [online] Available at: <https://sites.evergreen.edu/mesweekly/call-for-papers-conservation-philanthropy-conservation-science-and-practice/> [Accessed 6 December 2021].

Forbes.com. (2021). [online] Available at: https://www.forbes.com/billionaires/ [Accessed 2 September 2021].

Fred.stlouisfed.org. (2021). Nonprofit Organizations; Total Financial Assets Held by Private Foundations, Level. [online] Available at: <https://fred.stlouisfed.org/series/BOGZ1FL164090015Q> [Accessed 6 September 2021].

Galaskiewicz, J. (1997). Why the Wealthy Give: The Culture of Elite Philanthropy. By Francie Ostrower. Social Forces, 75(4), pp.1470-1473.

Giving Pledge (2021). About - The Giving Pledge. [online] Available at: <https://givingpledge.org/About.aspx> [Accessed 2 September 2021].

Gorongosa National Park (GNP), (2021). Science | Gorongosa. [online] Available at: <https://gorongosa.org/science/> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Gorongosa National Park (GNP), (2021). Conservation | Gorongosa. [online] Available at: <https://gorongosa.org/conservation/> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Gorongosa National Park (GNP), (2021). Community | Gorongosa. [online] Available at: <https://gorongosa.org/community/> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Gorongosa National Park (GNP), (2021). Timeline | Gorongosa. [online] Available at: <https://gorongosa.org/timeline/> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Gorongosa National Park (GNP), (2021). Our Mission | Gorongosa. [online] Available at: <https://gorongosa.org/our-mission-2/> [Accessed 20 September 2021]. (Our Mission | Gorongosa, 2020)

Gorongosa National Park (GNP), (2020). Annual Report | Gorongosa. [online] Available at: <https://gorongosa.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/12/12-10-2020-Eng-Highlights-document-reduced-size.pdf> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Gourevitch, P., (2009). The Monkey and the Fish. [online] The New Yorker. Available at: <https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2009/12/21/the-monkey-and-the-fish> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Gustafsson, J., (2017). Single case studies vs. multiple case studies: A comparative study. Academy of Business, Engineering and Science Halmstad University.

Hanes, S., (2007). Greg Carr's Big Gamble. [online] Smithsonian Magazine. Available at: <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/travel/greg-carrs-big-gamble-153081070/> [Accessed 26 December 2021].

Hanes, S., (2017). White Man's Game – Saving animals, rebuilding Eden, and other myths of conservation in Africa. New York: Metropolitan books.

Haydon, S., Jung, T. and Russell, S., (2021). 'You've Been Framed': A critical review of academic discourse on philanthrocapitalism. International Journal of Management Reviews, 23(3), pp.353-375.

Holmes G, (2011), "Conservation's friends in high places: neoliberalism, networks, and the transnational conservation elite" Global Environmental Politics 11 1–21

Holmes, G., (2012). Biodiversity for Billionaires: Capitalism, Conservation and the Role of Philanthropy in Saving/Selling Nature. Development and Change, 43(1), pp.185-203.

Holmes, G., (2015). Markets, Nature, Neoliberalism, and Conservation through Private Protected Areas in Southern Chile. Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space, 47(4), pp.850-866.

Holmes, G (2015) Philanthrocapitalism, biodiversity conservation and development. In: Morvaridi, B, (ed.) New philanthropy and social justice: Debating the conceptual and policy discourse. Contemporary issues in social policy: Challenges for change. Policy Press, 81- 100 (20).

Horvarth, A., Powell, W. W., (2016). Contributory or Disruptive: Do new forms of philanthropy erode democracy? Harvard University

Howard Hughes Medical Institute (HHMI), (2014). Gorongosa: Restoring Mozambique's National Treasure. [online] Available at: <https://www.biointeractive.org/sites/default/files/gorongosa.pdf> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Igoe J, Brockington D, (2007), "Neoliberal conservation: a brief introduction" Conservation and Society 5 432–449

Imberg, M. and Shaban, M. (2020). Billionaire Census 2020, Wealth-X report, Wealth-X applied Wealth Intelligence

Imberg, M. and Shaban, M. (2021). Interests, passions and hobbies of the wealthy 2021, Wealth-X report, Wealth-X applied Wealth Intelligence.

Jacobs, C., (2010). Navigating through a Landscape of Powers or Getting Lost on Mount Gorongosa. The Journal of Legal Pluralism and Unofficial Law, 42(61), pp.81-108.

Jenkins, G.W. (2011). Who's afraid of philanthrocapitalism? Case Western Reserve Law Review (Vol. 61, Issue 3). Case Western Reserve University School of Law

Johnson, P. (2021). Global Philanthropy Report - Perspectives on the global foundation sector. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government.

Jones, C., (2012) Ecophilanthropy, Neoliberal Conservation, and the Transformation of Chilean Patagonia's Chacabuco Valley. Oceania Volume 82, Issue 3 Pages: 217-329

Jones, S., (2006). A political ecology of wildlife conservation in Africa. Review of African Political Economy, 33(109), pp.483-495.

Onwuegbuzie, A. J., & Leech, N. L. (2007). Validity and Qualitative Research: An Oxymoron? Quality & Quantity, 41(2), 233–249.

Legendsandlegaciesofafrica.org. (2021). Legends and Legacies of Conservation in Africa. [online] Available at: <https://legendsandlegaciesofafrica.org/gregcarr.php> [Accessed 8 December 2021].

Levich, J. (2015). The Gates Foundation, Ebola, and Global Health Imperialism. American Journal of Economics and Sociology, 74(4), pp.704-742.

Levine, M. (2016). Andrew Carnegie and Bill Gates: Philanthropy and oligarchy, then and now. American Journal of Orthopsychiatry, 86(1), pp.1-9.

Koot, S., (2021). Enjoying extinction: philanthrocapitalism, jouissance, and 'excessive environmentourism' in the South African rhino poaching crisis, Journal of Political Ecology Vol. 28

McGoey, L., Thiel, D. and West, R. (2018). Philanthrocapitalism and crimes of the powerful, Politix, vol. 121, no. 1, pp. 29-54

McKeown, K., (2015). Tracking Wildlife Conservation in Southern Africa: Histories of Protected Areas in Gorongosa and Maputaland. The University of Minnesota.

Mottiar, S. and Ngcoya, M. (2016). Philanthropy in South Africa. Cape Town, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Muala. J., Domingos, (2014). Mbhamba: African Belief, Its Changes, and Continuities in Landscapes: The Case of Gorongosa

Muala, D. J., (2015). Gorongosa: A History of an African Landscape, 1921-2014, Utah State University, All Graduate Theses and Dissertations. Paper 4636.

Naidoo, R. et al., (2019). Evaluating the impacts of protected areas on human well-being across the developing world. Science Advances, 5(4).

Newing, H., Eagle, C., Puri, R. and Watson, C., (2011). Conducting research in conservation. London: Routledge.

Ngulube, P. (2015). Qualitative data analysis and interpretation: systematic search for meaning. Addressing research challenges: making headway for developing researchers, 131-156.

Nicholls, A., Paton, R. and Emerson, J. (2017). Social Finance. Oxford University Press.

OECD (2016). Philanthropy - Issue Brief Series, Inter-Agency Task Force on Financing for Development: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Parker, S., Pauly, G., Moore, J., Fraga, N., Knapp, J., Principe, Z., Brown, B., Randall, J., Cohen, B. and Wake, T., (2018). Adapting the bioblitz to meet conservation needs. Conservation Biology, 32(5), pp.1007-1019.

Pringle, R., (2017). Upgrading protected areas to conserve wild biodiversity. Nature, 546(7656), pp.91-99.

Ramdas, K. (2011). Philanthrocapitalism Is Not Social Change Philanthropy (SSIR). [online] Ssir.org. Available at: <https://ssir.org/articles/entry/philanthrocapitalism_is_not_social_change_philanthropy#> [Accessed 2 September 2021].

Ramutsindela, M., (2009). The interconnections between environmental philanthropy and business: Insights from the Southern African Nature Foundation. Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa, Number 70, pp. 54-69

Ramutsindela, M., (2015). Extractive philanthropy: securing labour and land claim settlements in private nature reserves. Third World Quarterly, 36(12), pp.2259-2272.

Rogers, R., (2011). Why Philanthro-Policymaking Matters. Society, 48(5), pp.376-381.

Rush, S., et al. (2009). Internet-Based Research for the Desktop and Beyond: Building a Foundation of Excellence for Information Design on the Web

(Rush et al, 2009)

Schuetze, C., (2015). Narrative Fortresses: Crisis Narratives and Conflict in the Conservation of Mount Gorongosa, Mozambique, Conservation and Society 13(2): 141-153

Schuftan C. (2015). Philanthrocapitalism. The Gates Foundation. Beware geeks bearing gifts. World Nutrition May 2015, 6, 5, 402-407

Shacochis, B., (2009). Saving Gorongosa. [online] Outside Online. Available at: <https://www.outsideonline.com/outdoor-adventure/environment/saving-gorongosa/> [Accessed 26 December 2021].

Shi, H., (2016). The Era of Philanthrocapitalism | Opinion | The Harvard Crimson. [online] Thecrimson.com. Available at: <https://www.thecrimson.com/column/consider-the-rangoon/article/2016/12/2/era-of-philanthrocapitalism/> [Accessed 3 September 2021].

Shorrocks, A., Davies, J., and Lluberas, R. (2021). Global Wealth Report 2021, Credit Suisse, Research Institute.

Singh, J. and van Houtum, H., (2002). Post-colonial nature conservation in Southern Africa: same emperors, new clothes? GeoJournal, 58(4), pp.253-263.

Sklair, J. and Glucksberg, L., (2020). Philanthrocapitalism as wealth management strategy: Philanthropy, inheritance and succession planning among the global elite. The Sociological Review, 69(2), pp.314-329.

Smith, N., (2011). Interview with Greg Carr. Engineering & Technology, 6(1), pp.46-49.

Statista. (2021). Anzahl der Milliardäre weltweit bis 2021 | Statista. [online] Available at: <https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/220002/umfrage/anzahl-der-dollar-milliardaere-weltweit/> [Accessed 6 September 2021].

Steele, J., (2021). Ingenious: Greg Carr. [online] Nautilus. Available at: <https://nautil.us/issue/28/2050/ingenious-greg-carr> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

Suzman, M., (2020). Why we're giving $250 million more to fight COVID-19. [online] Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation. Available at: <https://www.gatesfoundation.org/ideas/articles/coronavirus-funding-additional-250-million-suzman> [Accessed 10 January 2022].

Twohey, M. and Kulish, N., (2021). Bill Gates, the Virus and the Quest to Vaccinate the World (Published 2020). [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/11/23/world/bill-gates-vaccine-coronavirus.html> [Accessed 10 January 2022].

USAID, (2019). The Integrated Gorongosa and Buffer Zone Program (IGBZ), The Gorongosa Project Factsheet. USAID Mozambique

Vaccaro, I., Beltran, O. and Paquet, P., (2013). Political ecology and conservation policies: some theoretical genealogies. Journal of Political Ecology, 20(1), p.255.

Vallely, P. (2020). Philanthropy from Aristotle to Zuckerberg. London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc.

Wagner, L., (2002). The ‘new’ donor: creation or evolution? International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing, 7(4), pp.343-352.

Wagner, L. (2002). The ‘new’ donor: creation or evolution? International Journal of Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Marketing, 7(4), pp.343-352.

Wagner, L. (2018). Today´s major donors: Preferences and behaviours. Journal of Applied Christian Leadership, Vol. 9 [2018], No. 2, Art. 3

Wealt-X, (2018). Billionaire Census 2018, Wealth-X report, Wealth-X applied Wealth Intelligence

Wilkinson, T., (2020). The Awakening: How Hope Was Reborn in Gorongosa. [online] Mountainjournal.org. Available at: <https://mountainjournal.org/how-an-african-national-park-offers-hope-for-the-world> [Accessed 26 December 2021].

Wilson, E., (2013). The Rebirth of Gorongosa. [online] Available at: <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/magazine/article/gorongosa-park> [Accessed 7 December 2021].

World Economic Forum, (2021). Our Mission. [online] Available at: <https://www.weforum.org/about/world-economic-forum> [Accessed 3 September 2021].

Yin, R. K. (2009). Case study research: Design and methods. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.