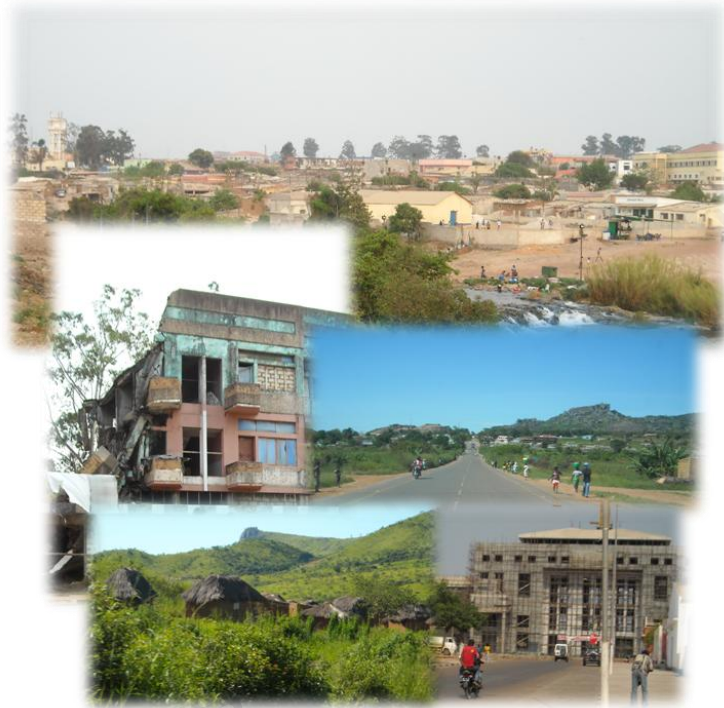


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# **RENEWED PROMISES: CONSERVATION FOR DEVELOPMENT IN THE KAZA, ANGOLA**



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**Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of**

**Master of Science in Environmental Science**

**Department of Environmental and Geographical Science**

**University of Cape Town**

**October 2012**

'I know the meaning of plagiarism and declare that all of the work in the dissertation (or thesis), save for that which is properly acknowledged, is my own'.

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D'Jenane Dias

## Abstract

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Since the end of white minority rule in southern Africa in the 1990s, transfrontier conservation initiatives have become the dominant conservation strategy in the region and have received international support. This dissertation focuses on the Kavango Zambezi TFCA involving Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The general objectives of TFCAs – conservation of biodiversity, socio-economic and tourism development and peaceful political cooperation – have been under scrutiny. Literature has paid attention to these TFCAs because of the promises made by supporters of these initiatives on the one hand, and reports and experiences on the ground that suggests that there are political and economic interests in TFCAs, on the other hand. Critical literature has highlighted the effects of TFCAs on local populations. This dissertation addresses two research questions, the first being the rationale for Angola’s involvement in the Kavango Zambezi TFCA initiative and the country’s modes of participation. Second, it seeks to highlight the place of local communities in this initiative and how it affects these populations. These questions are addressed in the context of the transition of the Angolan state, especially the end of civil war and the process of reconstruction which often neglects people living in remote provinces such as Kuando Kubango. Roughly 45 % of this province forms part of the KAZA TFCA and is where the legacy of civil war continues to affect local populations. This dissertation adds to the debate on whether TFCAs ultimately benefit or marginalize local populations. It also questions ‘the one model fits all assumption’ that underlies TFCAs.

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## Abbreviations

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ACADIR	Association of Environmental Conservation and Integrated Rural Development
ATFC/TFCA	Transfrontier Conservation Area
BMZ	German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Program for Indigenous Resources
CBC	Community-based Conservation
CI	Conservation International
CIM	Inter-ministerial Commission of the KAZA TFCA
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
DGIS	Netherlands Directorate-General of Development Cooperation
FAA	Angolan Armed Forces
GII	Office of International Exchange
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
INAD	National Demining Institute
KAZA	Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area
KFW	German Bank for Reconstruction and Development
KK	Kuando Kubango
Lda	Luanda
M'BAQUITA	Local based NGO working for the rural populations of Kuando Kubango
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MgM	People against Landmines – Humanitarian Demining
MINADER	Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development
MINAMB	Ministry of the Environment
MINARS	Ministry of Assistance and Social Reinsertion
MINDEF	Ministry of Defense
MINFAMU	Ministry of Family and the Promotion of Women
MINHOTUR	Ministry of Hotels and Tourism
MINAT	Ministry of Administration of Territory
MININT	Ministry of the Interior
MINGMI	Ministry of Geology and Mines
MoU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPLA	Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola
NBSAB	National Plan of Action for Biodiversity 2007-2012
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OGE	General State Budget of Angola
OKACOM	Permanent Okavango River Basin Water Commission
OUZIT	Okavango Upper Zambezi International Tourism Initiative
PGFA	Angola Border Police
PPF	Peace Parks Foundation
RETOSA	Regional Tourism Organization for Southern Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SADCC	Southern African Development Coordination Conference
TBNRM	Transboundary Natural Resource Management
UNITA	National Union for the Total Independence of Angola
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WWF	World Wildlife Fund for Nature International

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# CHAPTER ONE

## *Orientation*

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### **1.1 Introduction**

The links between biodiversity conservation and development have been a focus of social science research, including human geography (Adams and Hulme 2001; Zimmerer 1994). These links have been understood differently in the history of nature conservation. For example, in Africa the political history of colonial occupation and conservation through the establishment of protected areas limited the access and use of natural resources by the black majority (Ramutsindela 2007). Because of this, the creation of protected areas was associated with the impoverishment of local populations. In the past 20 years or so there have been attempts to link nature conservation and local economic development through tourism hence the emphasis on parks and people (Ramutsindela 2004). This was necessary to balance the needs of the disenfranchised black majority and global environmental interests (Magome and Murombedzi 2003; Duffy 2002).

Since the 1990s these links have been 'officially' explored through *transboundary natural resource management* (TBNRM). TBNRM is not a novel concept but has simply evolved from natural resource management approaches to encompass a larger scale while the objectives, beneficiaries, and the political economy of local development remained the same (Dzingirai 2004). The emergence of *transfrontier conservation areas* (TFCAs) as a form of TBNRM in the southern African region in the 1990s came at a time of geopolitical changes following the end of the Cold War, the adoption of neo-liberalism, and the pressure to maintain the ecological integrity of species and landscapes while addressing the social challenges in areas of high conservation potential (Ramutsindela 2007; Büscher and Whande 2007; Wolmer 2003).

The vision and objectives of TFCAs appear philanthropic and attractive as they seek to drive conservation and socioeconomic development in ecologically rich areas that endured socioeconomic marginalization. As regional conservation policies of the SADC, TFCAs are highly politicized regional initiatives. They help to promote 'private and foreign' conservation and socioeconomic development interests and to forge conservation and development policies at a regional level. Others see TFCAs as programmes leading to the re-colonization of nature at the international level (Dzingirai 2004; 2003).

The character and aggregated objectives of TFCAs have raised important questions and introduced complexities to the practice of conservation. Questions are raised by some

researchers about the motivations, objectives, and effects of TFCAs on conservation, social, and political realms (see Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008; Duffy 2006; Draper et al. 2004). While the complexities of the TFCAs process relate to the number of stakeholders, questions of how the process unfolds and the interests it promotes have come to the fore. This dissertation analyses the questions and complexities of *the creation of the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area* with a focus on the Angolan side of this area.

## 1.2 KAZA TFCA

The Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (henceforth referred as the KAZA) (Figure 1.1) evolved from the Okavango Upper Zambezi International Tourism Initiative (OUZIT)<sup>1</sup> of 1993 and the Four Corners Transboundary Natural Resource Management<sup>2</sup> initiative of 2001.

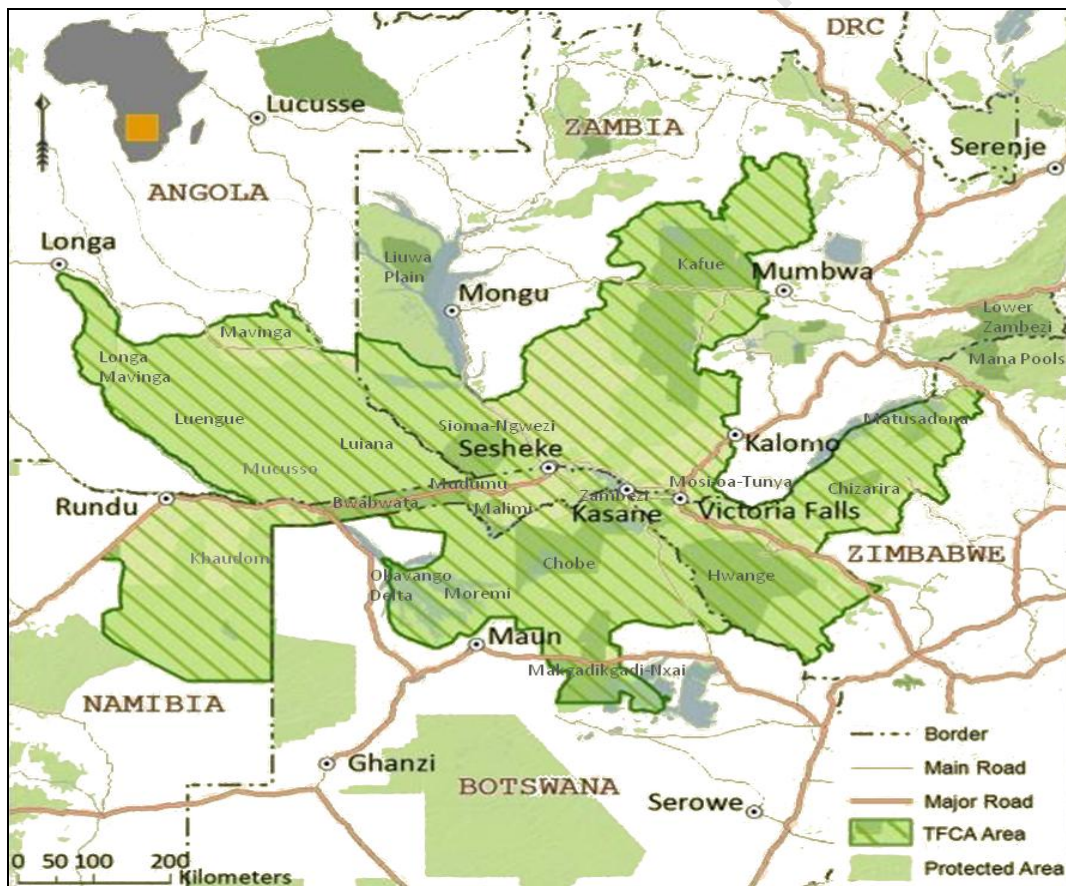


Figure 1.1 KAZA TFCA

Modified from: <http://peaceparks.org/story.php?pid=1008&mid=1073>, accessed 04 May 2012

<sup>1</sup> Integrated tourism development strategy to establish a tourism and resource development zone in the SADC.

<sup>2</sup> Sustainable management strategy for shared resources to promote increased cooperation among partners.

Its emergence was associated with the availability of resources favoring conservation and tourism in addition to the reduced development and urbanization of the area. Five states are involved in the KAZA, namely, Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. State partners face common challenges of the shared management of transboundary resources (protected areas, wildlife and rivers), rural poverty, limited infrastructural development, and international pressures to maintain the ecological integrity of ecosystems against threats<sup>3</sup>. The interests of partners relate to regional integration, socioeconomic development through tourism, and the prospect of foreign investment (SADC 2012).

The KAZA is to become the largest TFCA spanning an area of approximately 287,132 km<sup>2</sup> hence a flagship TFCA for the southern African region (Transfrontier Conservation Consortium 2006). It is located in the heartland of the Kalahari basin involving parts of the Okavango and Zambezi basins. It includes 36 areas classified as national parks, game reserves, tourism concessions, communal areas, and wildlife management areas in addition to the prominent ecological and tourism areas of Victoria Falls, Okavango Delta, and the Caprivi Strip. It includes diverse ecosystems, namely, woodlands, dry deciduous forests, grasslands, and wetlands. It is home for 3,000 plants of which 100 are endemic, 601 birds of which 500 are endemic, 128 reptiles, 50 amphibians as well as significant aquatic biodiversity, invertebrates and soil fauna (Transfrontier Conservation Consortium 2006). The mammalian fauna is estimated at 197 species that are concentrated in Botswana, Namibia, and Zimbabwe (since Angola experienced higher incidence of poaching due to civil unrest while parks in Zambia were not well managed). The KAZA is an area with large-scale migrations of African elephants (*Loxodonta africana*) estimated at 200,000 that are important drivers for conservation (KAZA TFCA 2011). The area is rich in hydrological resources, namely, the Chobe, Okavango, and Zambezi rivers with a transnational character (Hall-Martin and Modise 2002). There are approximately 2 - 2.5 million rural people living in the area who face reduced state support (capacities and opportunities), human-wildlife conflict, and high poverty (KAZA TFCA 2011).

The goal of the KAZA is to sustainably manage the Kavango Zambezi ecosystem and cultural heritage. According to the KAZA Treaty, the objectives of this TFCA are to:

1. Support healthy and viable populations of wildlife species by establishing a network of protected areas to promote the management of shared natural and cultural resources;
2. Transform the KAZA into a premier tourism destination in Africa by providing opportunities, facilities and infrastructures. Facilitate regional tourism by creating a competitive economic environment that enables public-private partnerships, private investment and regional economic integration;

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<sup>3</sup> Habitat fragmentation due to settlement and cultivation, human-wildlife conflict, disruption of migratory routes.

3. Implement programs to enhance the sustainable use of natural and cultural resources to improve the livelihoods of local populations and contribute to poverty alleviation. Build capacity through training, enterprise development, and mentoring to facilitate stakeholder participation in the planning, development, and management of processes and resources of the KAZA;
4. Promote research and sharing of experiences to increase the knowledge base within the TFCA to prevent animal diseases and increase control, also include emerging environmental and social issues - climate change and HIV/AIDS - in the overall development of the KAZA;
5. Harmonize legislation, policies, and management to facilitate development and ensure compliance with international protocols for conservation and sustainable resource use.

The KAZA contains multiple resource use areas with conservation as a primary form of land use and tourism as a product thereof. It is recognized by the SADC as a legitimate program and the stakeholders in this TFCA are state partners<sup>4</sup>, local communities, private donors, and the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) as the organization promoting the establishment of TFCAs in the SADC. The KAZA has secured the support of several international donors, namely BMZ, KFW, DGIS, Rufford Foundation, Dutch postcode lottery, and Swedish postcode lottery (Peace Parks Foundation 2012). The process to establish the KAZA started in December 2006 with the signing of the MoU<sup>5</sup> by partners. It was formally established in August 2011 through the KAZA Treaty that was followed by the establishment of the KAZA Secretariat in Kasane, Botswana and the official launch of the KAZA TFCA on 15 March 2012 in Katima Mulilo, Namibia.

### **1.3 Rationale**

The complex nature of TFCAs as regional initiatives in southern Africa demand a thorough understanding of how these initiatives unfold on the ground; and the consequences they might have on biodiversity and people hence the need for this study. The number of TFCAs in the region continues to increase with similar patterns of implementation, especially in relation to the limited empowerment and socioeconomic development of rural populations. Yet, they continue to be marketed as conservation initiatives for socioeconomic development in marginal areas focusing strictly on benefits.

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<sup>4</sup> Angola (Ministry of Hotels and Tourism; Interministerial Commission comprising 8 ministries), Botswana (Ministry of Environment, Wildlife and Tourism; Department of Wildlife and National Parks), Namibia (Ministry of Environment and Tourism), Zambia (Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources; Zambia Wildlife Authority), Zimbabwe (Ministry of Environment and Tourism; National Parks and Wildlife Management Authority).

<sup>5</sup> Memorandum of Understanding.

The SADC as a regional body and the states as partners are attracted and expected to take part in TFCAs responsibly; however, there are doubts about this. International and regional NGOs promote TFCAs and encourage state participation, exerting their influence through the state (see also Wolmer 2003). The objectives of TFCAs rekindle romantic ideas of 'wild Africa' and TFCAs are expected to be a 'quick fix' to socioeconomic and conservation problems in the region (Draper 2004; Duffy 1997). Linking biodiversity conservation to the development of local people introduces politics to conservation (Wolmer 2003; Duffy 2002); this in turn generates conflicts at the local and national levels due to competing interests and the unequal distribution of benefits. There is therefore a need to continuously study and assess TFCAs, especially their impacts on local populations. The impacts are likely to vary by country due to differences in state policies, capacities, and cultures.

This study of the KAZA presents an opportunity to analyze the political environment of TFCAs and its motivations, and could also shed light on the (positive or negative) impacts of TFCAs as they develop. The states involved are at different stages of development, vary in their human capacities, and local conditions; all of which have an impact on the mode of TFCA implementation, project goals, and the designation of beneficiaries. Furthermore, participants are likely to interpret TFCAs in terms of their own national interests. Angola is the most inexperienced partner with community conservation initiatives and TFCAs in addition to its fragile political climate. It is for this reason that this dissertation focuses on Angola; the intention being to evaluate the Angolan component of the KAZA independently of other partners against the assumptions and expectations related to TFCAs.

#### **1.4 Aims and objectives**

This dissertation aims to explore the reasons why Angola is participating in the KAZA and the consequences of the TFCA process on local populations in Kuando Kubango. On a broader level, it also analyses the issues present in the KAZA in order to determine if these resonate with emerging concerns associated with the implementation of TFCAs in southern Africa.

The following research questions are posed:

1. What are the motivations for Angola to participate in the KAZA?
2. What role are the local populations playing and how are their livelihoods affected by the KAZA?

The four objectives of the study are to:

1. Analyze the unfolding of the KAZA TFCA process;
2. Explore the reasoning behind the involvement of Angola in the KAZA, from the perspective of the Angolan national and local governments;

3. Determine the level of knowledge and engagement of local populations in the KAZA process; and
4. Explore how the KAZA TFCA affects local populations in Kuando Kubango.

### **1.5 Dissertation structure**

This dissertation is organized into five chapters. *Chapter Two on Boundless Conservation* discusses the history and characteristics of transfrontier conservation initiatives in a southern African context while evaluating the concerns raised around the expectations, implementation and local population issues. *Chapter Three* presents the *Local Setting and Methods* used in the study in Angola in addition to the limitations encountered. *Chapter Four* maps the responses collected from interview and document analysis that engaged with the research questions. *Chapter Five* brings the findings of the study and literature into discussion and also presents concluding thoughts from the dissertation. The concluding part of the dissertation compares TFCA objectives with those of the KAZA and also makes recommendations for the KAZA in Angola and TFCAs in general.

# CHAPTER TWO

## *Boundless Conservation*

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### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter explores transfrontier conservation as both a symbol of integration and a project for socioeconomic development in the context of post-independence conditions in southern Africa. It draws on critical literature on TFCAs to understand and evaluate experiences with the unfolding of transfrontier conservation as a backdrop for interpreting experiences in the KAZA case study (see *Chapter Four*). As will become clear in *Chapter Five*, the KAZA case study adds to the general literature on TFCAs. The chapter is organized in three sections focusing on particular sub-themes. The first section briefly introduces the move towards transfrontier conservation, before exploring the evolution of TFCAs in the southern African context in the second section. The third section reflects on the current assessment of transfrontier conservation initiatives by analyzing case studies in the region relevant to the objectives of this dissertation.

### **2.2 Towards transfrontier conservation**

Concepts associated with TFCAs have evolved over time mainly as a result of the challenges experienced in managing protected areas and in local development (Ferreira 2004; Wolmer 2003). These attempts are clear from discussions and resolutions taken at World National Parks Congresses. For example, the Third World Congress on National Parks<sup>6</sup> under the theme 'Parks for Development' reflected on the concerns of managers and conservationists regarding incursion pressures, resource extraction, transboundary migration, and operational costs. The congress raised awareness of environmental degradation and its impacts beyond borders. It resolved to promote inter-state cooperation and mechanisms for working with local populations in conservation which can be interpreted as an attempt to break away from *fortress conservation*. This was captured by the concept of sustainable development that appreciated the links between protected areas, human survival and development. The Fourth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas<sup>7</sup> under the theme 'Parks for Life' maintained this compromise by further acknowledging the ecological, cultural, and economic interdependence of states. These congresses took place under the backdrop of a new found sense of global and regional integration to face the uncertainty of environmental challenges

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<sup>6</sup> Held in Bali on 11-22 October 1982.

<sup>7</sup> Held in Caracas on 10-21 February 1992.

such as climate change that had global repercussions (Brock 1991). In the southern African context the conservation challenges of wildlife preservation and changing conservation landscapes were directly associated with issues of governance, population growth, and the pressing need for poverty alleviation. The flora and fauna of the region were seen by officials and conservationists as an opportunity to generate wealth for African states while supporting international conservation efforts.

Following the UN Conference on Environment and Development<sup>8</sup>, tourism was adopted as the vehicle to achieve sustainable development, and was viewed as efficient, fair, and constituting a sustainable form of resource use. In southern Africa the SADC and NEPAD have embraced tourism as the vehicle for development for similar reasons. Sustainable development was intended to benefit populations involved in resource conservation by making them partners hence *community-based conservation* (CBC) (Western and Wright 1994). CBC presents communities as champions of conservation. Southern Africa became an ideal test site for CBC due to the history of community exclusion from conservation under colonial rule. The intentions of CBC, namely, participation, creation of opportunities and access to resources, faced challenges from increased state control over resources, resulting in further community disenfranchisement in the form of lack of equity in revenue distribution and insufficient support (Dzingirai 2004; Metcalfe 2003; Murombedzi 1999).

CAMPFIRE was introduced formally in 1988 by the government of Zimbabwe, while at times regarded as one of the most successful CBC initiatives in Africa, it was not without its challenges. CAMPFIRE attempted to establish strong tenure over wildlife resources in communal areas but without addressing the pre-colonial allocation of land in the post-independence era (Murphree 1997). It granted rural district councils (RDCs) as the communal authorities the right to regulate resource use while ownership remained with the state. This happened in areas of no private freehold or leasehold tenure since in these cases RDCs provided services rather than management of land. Communities did not possess the right to use wildlife but only the right to benefit from its use by others which led community members not to view themselves as joint owners, since conservation costs were higher than benefits (Murombedzi 2007). While CAMPFIRE led to community organization for wildlife conservation which was beneficial and innovative, it lacked a clear definition of community rights which led to the alienation of traditional institutions in land and resource management. The mission of CAMPFIRE, while noble, perpetuated top-down wildlife management by ignoring local rights and knowledge systems due to limited rights (Murombedzi 2007).

The challenges faced in CAMPFIRE, and international pressures for broader conservation schemes, led donors and practitioners to adopt transboundary conservation as the new

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<sup>8</sup> Held in Rio de Janeiro on 3-14 June 1992.

paradigm. CBC evolved into TBNRM at a broader scale and combining more and more political, economic, social, and environmental objectives as well as regional institutions. The adoption of TBNRM was expected to apply the lessons learned from CBC, use regional cooperation to promote natural resource management and development, and serve as a fundraising platform for initiatives in the region (Wolmer 2003), this did not happen.

Efforts towards decentralization were compromised by attempts to promote nature conservation at a region-wide scale in line with the Caracas Action Plan<sup>9</sup> developed at the Fourth World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas. The region-wide scale was expressed through the establishment of TBNRM schemes that involved cooperation across borders to facilitate and improve the management of natural resources to benefit all involved. The types of TBNRM initiatives implemented in the southern African region are *transfrontier parks (TPs)*, *transfrontier conservation marine areas (TFCMAs)*, and *transfrontier conservation areas (TFCAs)*. These were based on cooperation across national borders for conservation and management of natural resources with the inclusion of local populations. Accordingly, TFCAs are defined as 'an area or component of a large ecological region that straddles the boundaries of two or more countries encompassing one or more protected areas as well as multiple resource use areas' (Hall-Martin and Modise 2002, p.9). TFCAs proponents promote tourism in these areas as part of a strategy to alleviate poverty, encourage conservation, and promote peace and cooperation among nations in an effort to attract foreign investment to achieve development (Hanks 2003; Hall-Martin and Modise 2002). They became very popular because of increased interest and funding for implementing bioregional approaches to conservation, but also because it became widely accepted that connecting landscapes support more species due to increased diversity and ranges, an issue of concern in national parks (see also Zbicz 2003).

### **2.3 The time for TFCAs in southern Africa**

Transfrontier conservation initiatives emerged in southern Africa in 1925; supported by the then Union of South Africa to establish national parks contiguous to the Kruger National Park, in what is now the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. These earlier attempts advocated for collaboration in conservation with neighbors<sup>10</sup> but were complicated by suspicions of domination by South Africa, the incidence of disease, and the economics of tourism versus cattle economies since the latter was more predominant at the time (Mavhunga and Spierenburg 2009; Katerere et al. 1998). While transfrontier conservation had support, it could not be separated from the fear of regional domination (Ramutsindela 2004). The debates

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<sup>9</sup> Planning actions for establishing a network of protected areas from 1992-2002 to cover at least 10% of the major biomes.

<sup>10</sup> Mozambique and Zimbabwe.

between and within states regarding sovereignty, benefits and associated risks in transfrontier conservation remain through their present establishment.

A number of reasons can be advanced to account for the acceptance of TFCAs in southern Africa. From a political perspective, the space for TFCAs was created by the end of the Cold War and apartheid. 'The template for nature conservation policies and direction [was] built during political transition when a government in waiting [was] highly focused on gaining the political power of the state' (Ramutsindela 2004, p.57). This template continues to be alien to Africa as it supports foreign values and practices of conservation that were overlooked by the government of independent states, raising doubts. The seed for TFCAs in southern Africa was sowed on the Mozambique-South Africa border with the support and legitimacy of important leaders such as Mr. Nelson Mandela of South Africa and Mr. Joaquim Chissano of Mozambique as well as Afrikaner business man turned conservationist Anton Rupert in the 1990s. The second reason why TFCAs emerged in southern Africa has to do with the need to expand the tourism market; i.e. using tourism at a regional level as an engine of development. Others have associated this expansion as an outcome of neoliberal policies that swept through the region and the dominance of the World Bank and bilateral aid agencies that tend to impose their own view of development that is market-oriented (Büscher and Whande 2007; Wolmer 2003; Weeks 1996).

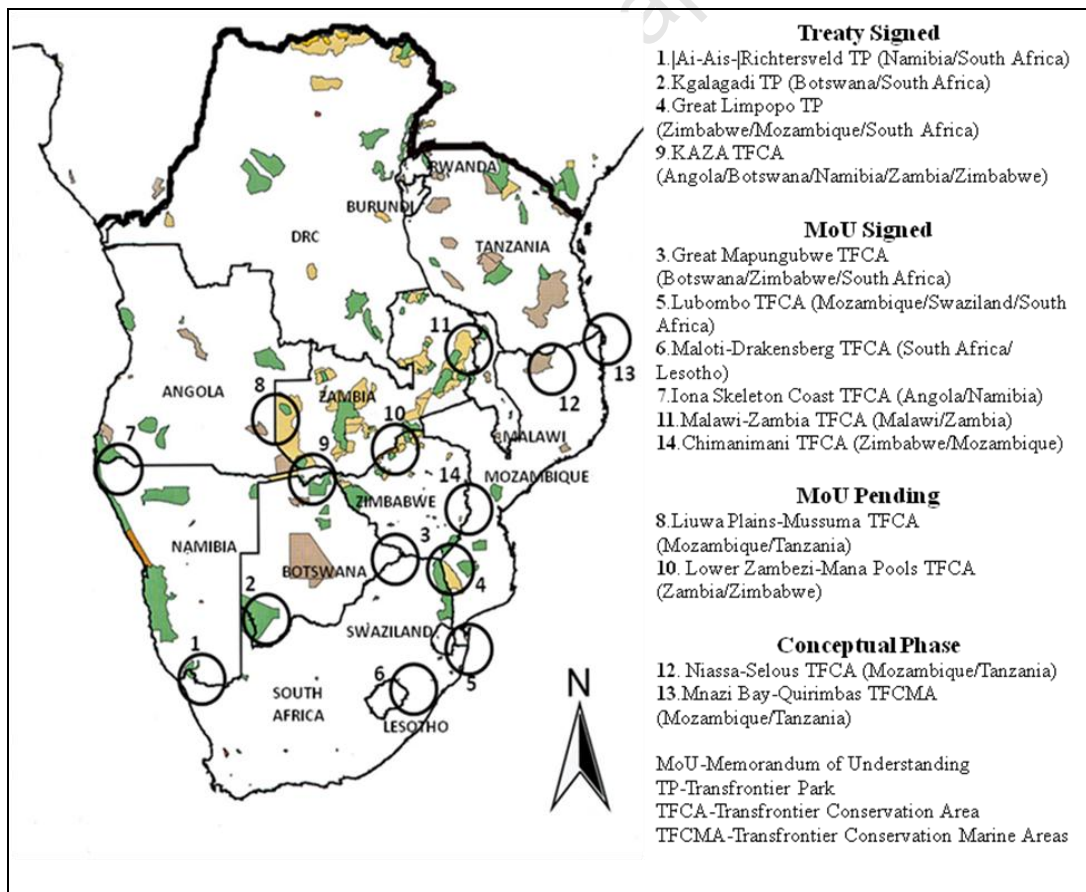
The potential for conservation and tourism make southern Africa an ideal ground for TFCAs, as do the problems faced in the region that TFCAs hope to address. Their launch in the early 1990s was associated with the 'demand for socio-economic development to address the devastating effects of the wars of liberalization in the region, management of protected areas and the overpopulation of elephants in South Africa, and the lack of funds and capacity for biodiversity conservation' (Ramutsindela 2004, p.125). Today these conditions are not so different: there is habitat fragmentation, landscape development, an increasing rural population (31%) in the region dependent on resources for survival, high rural poverty, and infrastructural and development needs (Hanks 2003). The motivations to participate in TFCAs are a combination of individual state needs and the lure of expected gains, and a platform from which to lobby for support in the political, social, economic, and environmental sectors (Ramutsindela 2004). TFCAs required a regional outlook, promoting co-operation to fulfill transfrontier resource conservation objectives and benefit from funding more readily available for regional or bio-region focused initiatives. They will continue to be enticing due to their marketability in areas of unique landscapes and high ecological diversity where populations face hardships, providing an alternative where conservation encompasses social needs and state wishes.

The creation of TFCAs in the region compromised existing CBC initiatives such as CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe. TFCAs are intended to ameliorate and address common regional problems of

poverty, low private investment, and weak social services and infrastructure. They present opportunities in key areas of conservation and resource use to foster development. TFCAs support the vision of common destinies of the SADC and aid in the fulfillment of the MDGs through the tourism sector. TFCAs place a greater focus on biodiversity and ecosystem conservation through tourism at the expense of socioeconomic objectives for local populations. Framed as development initiatives, they promote the socio-economic upliftment of historically marginalized populations through conservation (Draper et al. 2004; Wolmer 2003). Biodiversity conservation through tourism is used to achieve the socio-economic development of local populations, whether or not this is realistically achieved is debatable (see also Arsel et al 2012; Büscher 2011). TFCAs are expected to promote business opportunities, as a means towards socio-economic development and poverty alleviation. This is to be achieved through the tourism sector which is expected to generate benefits from employment for local populations and infrastructural development for the state. It is assumed that socio-economic development will benefit populations in underdeveloped areas by providing training and capacity building; improvements in the use of resources; and promoting the cultural re-linkage of populations to reinforce peace and stability between states (Hanks 2003; Hall-Martin and Modise 2002). A provision of socio-economic development is community participation in TFCAs which though important is often incidental rather than its focus.

Tourism as an important contributor to the gross domestic product of a few countries in the region, is the industry through which TFCA expectations are to be fulfilled. It is said to be the fastest growing industry and the foremost job creator in the SADC (Hanks 2003). It is based on marketing bio-regions and the non-consumptive sustainable use of resources as attractive features for visitors by providing a vision of the 'heritage of Africa' that visitors are accustomed to (Spenceley 2008). It is expected to deliver direct benefits through employment and indirect through a trickle-down effect in critical sectors. Tourism is the anchor for development for local populations in vulnerable areas, though is not without its challenges. The industry is vulnerable to national and global crisis as seen in Zimbabwe where political instability and the current global economic crisis have slowed down growth by reducing visitor numbers. The lack of infrastructure development of ecotourism hubs, the limited capacity of locals, and the equitable and transparent share of benefits are challenges that will need to be overcome for industry success (Spenceley 2008). It is safe to say that the basis for the establishment of TFCAs in the region involves the need to control the use of biodiversity and natural resources, the convenience of incorporating conservation and human welfare for legitimacy, and the economic interests associated with tourism (Murphy 2008; Neba 2007; Ramutsindela 2004). Transfrontier conservation also gained momentum due to changes in conservation biology, neo-liberal reforms, international cooperation for conservation, and the limitations of states (Wolmer 2003; Duffy 1997).

Conservation biology emphasizes the need to conserve or recreate bioregions. In this sense, TFCAs are bioregion-focused conservation strategies which attempt to recreate an African landscape without colonial borders. Such strategies make sense in southern Africa where 50% of the vegetation regions in Africa have a high rate of endemism, with 20% of the region's land area declared as protected areas of which a high proportion lies across international boundaries (Hall-Martin and Modise 2002). Transfrontier conservation intends to standardize natural resource management and land use practices across borders and the rationale for TFCAs creation is influenced by the resources present (Duffy 2005). Examples include the IAIs/Richtersveld Transfrontier Park that contains the Succulent Karoo biome and the Fish River Canyon; the Kgalagadi and Great Limpopo Transfrontier Parks that are important due to the abundance and diversity of biodiversity species especially elephants and rhinos; the Maloti-Drakensberg TFCAs that spans the Thukela catchment and includes the Ukhahlamba Drakensberg World Heritage Site; and the KAZA TFCAs that contains the largest contiguous population of elephants and the Okavango Delta (Peace Parks Foundation 2012). There are 22 potential TFCAs sites identified in the SADC of which 14 are active (Figure 2.1).



**Figure 2.1 Proposed TFCAs in the SADC**  
 Modified from: Map 7, van der Linde et al. 2001

## 2.4 TFCA objectives and support base

The reasons for embracing TFCAs in the region discussed above are expressed through the objectives of these initiatives; often making it difficult to separate objectives from rationales. I try to draw the lines between the two for analytical clarity and to understand the involvement of Angola in TFCAs. Transfrontier conservation embodies three interdependent components of sustainable development namely economic development, social development, and environmental protection (Spenceley 2008), as well as the interests of various stakeholders forming the support base of TFCAs. While a 'dynamic, exciting and multi-faceted approach' (Peace Parks Foundation 2012), the TFCA process is challenging. This is due to difficulties in defining common objectives and paths for their attainment due to multiple interests. The collaboration needed at different scales effectively presents another challenge as it is difficult, if not impossible, to harmonize all policies, let alone at different scales. Furthermore, the promotion of TFCAs by the PPF as a South African organization that defends conservation wishes alien to Africa and not led by black Africans presents some political challenges which require careful negotiation (Ramutsindela 2004). The inclusiveness and mode of implementation defended by TFCAs is claimed to be adaptable to local settings and stakeholders (Hanks 2003), though the structure of the PPF is not a reflection of this and concerns are emerging regarding implementation strategies.

TFCA objectives are linked to the availability of natural resources, their market and ecological value, and the interests of partners. As noted above, these are identified as conservation of biodiversity, socio-economic development through tourism, and political cooperation between nations. Regional integration and cooperation as part of the TFCA rhetoric are aimed at assisting peripheral regions to balance national development efforts in order to obtain a uniform spatial pattern of development (Atkinson 2008).

Proposals for TFCAs in the region suggest that biodiversity conservation is by far the most important objective in these initiatives. The SADC region is a repository of abundant biodiversity in the continent (Hall-Martin and Modise 2002). The ecological justifications for TFCAs are to re-join previously fragmented landscapes and migration corridors to reduce species vulnerability. It is also said that TFCAs are intended to reduce the political and environmental impacts of colonialism by restoring cultural linkages between artificially divided populations, in an effort to achieve 'unity'. However, there are no frameworks or clear set intentions to unite populations across boundaries as they remain bound to the laws of respective states (Ramutsindela 2004). With the increasing human population in southern Africa pressures are mounting to transform conservation areas into land use areas to benefit populations, currently wildlife is being negatively affected due to an unsustainable consumption of resources and habitat transformation (Hall-Martin and Modise 2002).

Biodiversity conservation is therefore conditioned by local populations' desire to conserve and use resources especially in remote and under-developed areas, and this relationship is neither simple nor static (Spenceley 2008). Issues of biodiversity control and management have moved from total exclusion to the inclusion of populations as a condition to achieve this goal. TFCAs are affecting accessibility and availability of resources (land and biodiversity) by populations which guarantees repercussions for conservation.

TFCAs are also seen as a tool for regional integration in the SADC as they lead to legal and constitutional reforms to create the necessary frameworks for conservation (Hanks 2003). Regional cooperation is especially important due to the political history of southern African states. It is embraced as a vehicle to reduce economic and political dependence on developed countries in order to achieve an 'African development strategy' through improved coordination, increased trade, and regulated international cooperation (Weeks 1996). The TFCA process is referred to as an exercise of democracy that requires cooperation to attract foreign investment and development efforts (Hanks 2003). The impetus for regional collaboration however preceded the establishment of TFCAs. It was facilitated by the creation of the SADC, NEPAD, OKACOM, COMESA and others based on the needs of economic investment and relations, environmental management, and political cooperation. Regional cooperation while necessary, has raised concerns of security and sovereignty which TFCAs challenge due to their transnational character (Büscher and Whande 2007; Duffy 2006), despite the caution around these issues in the MoU and Treaty to maintain trust among partners.

TFCA objectives and regional integration are tested by state conditions, specifically, the inequalities in technological, economic, and human capacities of states. States with more resources, technology and facilities are perceived to be overly prescriptive and provide firm leadership and aid to build the capacity of others (Hall-Martin and Modise 2002). The objectives of TFCAs are general and are identified based on international and regional interests which define the basis for support, therefore individual states find the best way to attain them. The support base for TFCAs is varied and includes international capital and local capital attracted by the prospect to invest in development projects in Africa with a strong social and environmental component. It is made of conservationists, tourism operators, private donors or organizations with development interests, and governments. Donors and supporters are often labeled as proponents of a green imperialism that is contradictory to the desires of local populations (Draper et al. 2004; Dzingirai 2003). This view continues to be defended on the basis that the involvement of states can be ascribed to politics, global agreements and international targets, and the desire to correct environmental and cultural mishaps of colonially imposed divisions. Transfrontier conservation grew rapidly with the support of the IUCN, USAID, and the World Bank. These organizations were supporters of CBC in southern Africa prior to TFCAs, but changes in conservation at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the shift of funds to the new form of

conservation signaled the need for broader conservation projects (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). By 2007 there were 227 TFCAs worldwide and the list is growing. The focus on conservation by IUCN and WWF was characterized by the acceptance of *holistic* approaches to ecosystem management and conservation through the bioregionalism movement and conservation biology.

The tourism industry supports TFCAs and is welcomed by its advocates due to its promise of tourism-related jobs that are vital to address the challenges of development. In southern Africa, RETOSA is charged by the SADC with tourism promotion. TFCAs are expected to benefit regional tourism by increasing the marketing of and improving access to previously unexplored areas, opening tourism in previously remote and conflict torn landscapes (Hanks 2003). The tourism market of countries in the region ranges from emerging to promising for most nations, with very few having mature markets. Furthermore, NEPAD has made tourism development a priority to diversify economies, generate incomes and exchange earnings for African states (Spenceley 2008). Recent studies of tourism in Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Zambia showed the differences in tourism business ownership, salaries between local and foreign workers, and the likelihood of empowerment through tourism (Spenceley 2008). Tourism operators have a vested interest in TFCAs as they represent an attraction and the basis for their business, despite disputable claims that TFCAs will enhance regional tourism growth and numbers. The concern becomes the type of tourism operators (foreign and local) and the different profits and capacities they possess to effectively develop and benefit from tourism. Spenceley (2008) suggests that the success of tourism is dependent on the establishment of joint-ventures between local populations and the private sector for their empowerment through partial ownership, capacity building, and equitable benefit generation.

USAID and the World Bank are supporters of development, decentralization, and democracy through the establishment of relationships that promote solidarity, community empowerment, building social capital and opportunities, and improving the well-being of residents (Alasah 2009). The creation of the PPF in South Africa in 1997 embraced similar principles since it became the promoter of TFCAs in the region. Its role includes but is not limited to influence governments to realize the need for and benefits of TFCAs; lobby for donors; and provide support through studies, training, and policies. The creation of the PPF in 1997 was a continuation of the legacy of Mr. Anton Rupert<sup>11</sup> as well as a continuation of transfrontier conservation initiatives supported by SANF (Ramutsindela 2007). The PPF continues to be an elitist institution because of its objectives, the inclusion of elite government and individuals based internationally and regionally, and donors. It is a product of foreign private interests that

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<sup>11</sup> Influential conservationist and entrepreneur creator of Rembrandt Group, president of WWF South Africa, Chair of Peace Parks Foundation from 1997-2006.

has profitably merged with domestic policies and needs, highlighting the complex network of actors and the effects of non-state agencies on conservation and socioeconomic development.

The endorsements that transfrontier conservation in the region obtained from Mr. Nelson Mandela, Mr. Joaquim Chissano, and Mr. Anton Rupert legitimized these initiatives further and drew the involvement of other heads of state as honorary patrons of PPF. PPF continues to be influential with governments, institutions, and private citizens to generate interest and support for TFCA expansion. Furthermore it has strived to create partnerships with conservation organizations namely WWF to promote the establishment of TFCAs in areas of mutual interest (Duffy 2006). The interests of donors spanned many areas with higher incidence for economic and development cooperation, reduction of poverty and promotion of social cohesion, and conservation and the environment. Some of these donors are shown in *Table 2.1* below.

1. Dutch Postcode Lottery (10 TFCAs)	8. Global Environmental Facility (1 TFCA)
2. Swedish Postcode Lottery (6 TFCAs)	9. World Bank (1 TFCA)
3. Rufford Foundation (2 TFCAs)	10. Embassy of Norway in Malawi (1 TFCA)
4. Mr. Poon Liebenberg (2 TFCAs)	11. U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service (1 TFCA)
5. Netherlands Directorate-General of Development Cooperation (1 TFCA)	12. German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (1 TFCA)
6. AusAID (1 TFCA)	13. KfW (1 TFCA)
7. Licuturismo (1 TFCA)	14. WWF Netherlands (2 TFCAs)

**Table 2.1 TFCA donors**

Source: Peace Parks Foundation 2012

The SADC as a defender of regional integration in terms of the SADC Treaty of 1992, developed protocols to facilitate and guarantee the establishment of TFCAs in the region. Specifically the 1999 SADC Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement ratified in 2003 by all 15 members commits states in the region to the establishment of TFCAs. The vision and mission of the SADC for a common future by promoting sustainable development and growth, peace and security, and good governance at different levels (SADC 2012), is also reflected in the goals of TFCAs. TFCAs are therefore a platform to create opportunities for the investment of resources in programs of common regional and international interest (Draper et al. 2004). The authority displayed by non-state actors and their various backgrounds as well as their hierarchical organization duly led to the classification of transfrontier conservation as a form of global environmental governance (Duffy 2006; 2005).

## 2.5 Evaluation of TFCAs

Current global and neoliberal policies for conservation and development have led to the commodification of nature and the adoption of broader views for conservation involving human societies (Büscher 2011; Büscher and Whande 2007). In Africa this is related to solving the problems of the rural poor while ensuring the survival of wildlife and the preservation of landscapes of national and international importance, thus attempting to minimize the trade-offs between economic growth, social marginalization, and environmental degradation (Neba 2007). Despite the different stages and types of conservation initiatives in the continent, TFCAs continue to be associated with similar yet more complex challenges of conservation and society-nature relations. TFCAs are more candid of environmental and social development objectives than their implementation and effects; raising doubts over their capacity to contribute towards sustainable development and conservation in general, and human welfare in particular.

The body of literature evaluating protected areas remains small compared to the fast development of these areas and their increasing numbers. The effects of protected areas are too diverse to be merely classified as good or bad (Brockington and Igoe 2006). Therefore, they need to continue to be evaluated to improve our understanding of the complexities and actors involved and their effects to allow for the mitigation and *true* fulfillment of objectives. The evaluation of TFCAs has uncovered several aspects of interest but this dissertation limits its focus to expectations, implementation, and local population issues.

### 2.5.1 Expectations

It is expected that TFCAs will bring some relief to local populations who are receptive to these initiatives. The promises associated with TFCAs are a short-hand for poverty relief and development programs that is done through conservation. The expectations from TFCAs reflect the desires of proponents and participating states in several sectors, namely political, economic and social.

On the political front they promise to foster peace, security, democracy, and decentralization. TFCAs are overloaded with political expectations and actors which make their fulfillment complex especially in changing societies. Peace and security are expected to be achieved through cooperation. In southern Africa the political history and likelihood of the eruption of conflict between states is what drives the creation of these initiatives to strengthen relationships by embracing regional cooperation and the view of interdependent destinies. However, this balance remains delicate even within TFCAs depending on the manner in which local partners are included and the perceptions and expectations of national partners (Duffy 2005). The security issues of TFCAs are based on their establishment in often remote areas with

likely reduced state control; for this TFCAs are expected to provide better border control by the state. Unfortunately, they create more security and sovereignty issues than they protect because of their transboundary nature.

TFCAs are viewed as an exercise in democracy due to the consultations between stakeholders and society in general (Hall-Martin and Modise 2002), that is expected to lead to decentralization. Decentralization is in fact leading to recentralization and it is related to the resources present, financial commitments, and the availability of funds for these initiatives (Interviewee 26, 05/02/2012). Concerns that TFCAs are causing friction in local government and are resulting in the empowerment of elites at the national and community level are common (Duffy 2005; Wolmer 2003). This is resulting in the social exclusion of community members as important stakeholders in TFCAs. The social expectations of TFCAs are quite idealistic because the impacts have been rhetorical rather than real in many sectors. There is a current mismatch between TFCA discourse and practice in Africa, because in practice it is becoming more similar to *fortress conservation*. The obvious economic reasoning of TFCAs is meant to provide profits from conservation to generate income and empower local populations; this is a significant promise of these initiatives. It is more significant than the promises of cooperation, peace, and security because it is being made to already impoverished populations that must not be bothered with unrealistic hopes (Scovronick and Turpie 2008). Relevant examples associated with the social and economic expectations of TFCAs are briefly discussed.

In the planned area for the Ndumo Tembe-Futi TFCA between Mozambique and South Africa efforts are currently under way by the KwaZulu-Natal Conservation Service to promote and organize CBNRM by targeting areas for ecotourism, running workshops, and identifying suitable private sector investors. This has been unsuccessful despite financial promises to communities because of financial constraints within the communities themselves. Also the 18 month waiting period for visible benefits from ecotourism and the 2 to 5 year period needed before ventures show profits were troubling to communities because they were expected to give up their use of resources during that period (Duffy 2006). Here, the promises of economic benefits and their time frame outweigh the losses and limitations imposed on local populations (see also Katerere et al. 1998).

A study done in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park by Scovronick and Turpie (2009) in order to assess if the creation of TFCAs has led to tourism enhancement in the region, showed that this is not straight forward. The findings are that visitors identified as the most important reasons for visiting game viewing, the landscapes, and the desire to get away, they did not associate their visit to increased size of the conservation area or new facilities. The establishment of the KTP did not translate into significant tourism growth hence the minimal impact of tourism in

the park. The findings of this study were contrary to the tourism enhancement expectations of TFCAs, and these were: enlarging a park does not necessarily enhance tourism, marketing for cross-border visits is needed, TFCAs require proper tourism infrastructure to allow growth, and the KTP did not lead to innovative tourism (Scovronick and Turpie 2009). The economic expectations of TFCAs depend directly on the tourism industry for their fulfillment, and this case study shows how this can become dangerous propaganda.

Upon a recent visit to the community conservancy established at the foothills of the IAI-IAIs/Richtersveld Transfrontier Park on the South African side on July 2012, it became apparent that local population expectations were not directly associated with the park and the potential for tourism and its infrastructure is underdeveloped. The usual previously mentioned rationales or objectives of TFCAs in this setting seemed blurred due to the characteristics of the terrain, community attitudes, and heavy mining in the area. The characteristics and present economic opportunities for local populations drive them to the mining sector rather than conservation. These examples showed that the generalized and standardized nature of TFCA expectations remain its major fault. TFCA objectives and expectations are dependent on the areas protected and needs and attitudes of stakeholders (Scovronick and Turpie 2009), that are often ignored. The criticism surrounding TFCAs revolves around the optimism of TFCA proponents and rhetoric that is not being matched by results on the ground (Duffy 2006; Dzingirai 2004). The current TFCA mode of implementation fails to take into account state conditions and proposes similar methods to obtain the greatest profits. The implications of analyzing TFCAs thoroughly are weighed against interested parties, despite the need for it to avoid unrealistic expectations (Scovronick and Turpie 2009; Ramutsindela 2004).

### *2.5.2 Implementation*

The current TFCA vision is disconnected from the realities of regional politics and past failures of CBC. It is opportunistically being established amidst past implementation limitations such as the absence of institutional capacity; past views of local populations as static and complacent; and challenged expectations of equity and inclusiveness in conservation and benefit sharing (Berkes 2004; Hackel 1998). In reality, nation states are motivated to participate for the opportunity for private sector involvement, constrained by regional agreements, and compelled by their inability to provide effective economic incentives and development in the areas with potential for TFCA establishment (see also Dzingirai 2003).

The process of establishing a TFCA is a long one, and can be summarized in five steps with the PPF as the catalyst. The first is the conceptual phase where studies of the economic, ecological, and social components of the area are conducted to determine the viability of the project. The second is talks with governments to measure their interest and participation as well as other partners and potential donors. The third is the feasibility study detailing available resources,

current partners, and TFCA potential. The fourth is the signing of the MoU<sup>12</sup> which is followed by the signing of the Treaty<sup>13</sup>. The fifth is the development of management plans indicating characteristics, limitations, and objectives for individual states and joint plans for the TFCA, these are often termed *integrated development plans (IDPs)*.

The important limiting factor for TFCA implementation is the availability of funds hence the continuity of fundraising to achieve financial sustainability. Though it is believed that the establishment of TFCAs does not follow a guideline or standard format to be adaptable to specific situations, the approach to TFCA in southern Africa is the same. The technical aspects of TFCAs specifically related to plans, governance structures, and conflict between partners are its main inhibitors. TFCA establishment and implementation remain linked to notions of power, identity, territorial expansion, and state building which were common in national park establishment under colonial rule; making TFCAs a mere extension of 'the national park' even after independence (Ramutsindela 2004). Differences in implementation plans between partners in due course impact on collaboration, direction and the outcome of the project. Büscher and Whande (2007) through a study of the Maloti Drakensberg TFCA presented differences in process implementation as well as focus and goals. This TFCA was established between South Africa and Lesotho. In South Africa the bioregional planning approach was used, favored globalization by identifying and managing joint conservation areas. In Lesotho the plan prioritized local involvement based on national policies of decentralization, placing an increased priority on the national characteristics of the area and culture rather than the bioregion. These opposing positions limit the efforts of cooperation foreseen by the TFCA discourse, national characteristics and interpretation of concepts continues to be a struggle.

Studies of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park by Spierenburg et al. (2008) and Milgroom and Spierenburg (2008) showed the irregularities of implementation. This park was meant to be a TFCA; its change in designation has led to population removals especially from Coutada 16 on the Mozambican side. This change can be interpreted as the inability of local populations to participate and benefit from the commercialization of nature, according to standards set by international conservation organizations (Spierenburg et al. 2008). Also important are the tourism expectations following implementation that are affected by state capacities and the level of infrastructural development, this is currently resulting in tourism revenues for the most developed partner which is South Africa. Forced removals in Mozambique affected livelihoods and the cultural links with the land which, despite compensation efforts, remain damaged. This brings to mind the expectations of benefits in the form of revenues and development for all, and the social implications of TFCA implementation.

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<sup>12</sup> Signifying the commitment of states and a prelude to the Treaty.

<sup>13</sup> Signifying that the TFCA is recognized as an entity regionally and internationally.

TFCA implementation is also plagued by centralization and inequalities by state actors and TFCA proponents. This is related to political differences as well as the fragility of states and the ability to derive benefits from TFCA development. These issues are very common in TFCA implementation across the southern African region. The gaps in policy and implementation are important setbacks of TFCA objectives. The notion of TFCA partners as equal is unrealistic as states do not possess the same levels of infrastructural development and human capacity required to guarantee the quality of the tourism product and compete with neighboring states (Interviewee 27, 12/03/2012). In southern Africa, South Africa is by far the most privileged partner hence its consideration as a promoter of TFCAs in the region.

### *2.5.3 Local community issues*

Fears of TFCA privatization and fragmentation of public domain lead to loss of control by local populations (Spierenburg et al. 2007). It is widely accepted by interested parties in TFCAs (states, conservationists, NGOs, and private donors) that the involvement and benefits of local populations from protected areas must be derived and are important; this has in fact become a funding strategy.

In the GLTP<sup>14</sup>, the Makuleke community was among the first to successfully claim land in the Kruger National Park in South Africa and have established a community-state-private sector partnership (Spierenburg et al. 2007). They share in the economic benefits, face resource restrictions and have the provision for some level of local capacity building. In the Zimbabwean component of the GLTP as in the Mozambican component lack of community consultation was present and associated with the failures of previous conservation-development programs (Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008; Wolmer 2003). While TFCAs bring communities to center stage in conservation, the question related to community benefits remains on the type of benefits derived and if these are enough to significantly improve livelihoods and promote empowerment.

Conservation displacement because of TFCAs means removal from homes, exclusion from economic benefits and pursuit of a livelihood, and social obliteration from landscapes causing the loss of power and control over resources present. The commodification of nature for tourism makes it so that locals cannot afford it. More evictions in protected areas have been registered in Africa, South and Southeastern Asia, and North America, while the majority of protected areas by area in Africa have had reported evictions (Brockington and Igoe 2006). Contemporary evictions are associated with objectives of conservation and their influence by conservation NGOs, governments, national and local elites. Recent evictions reflect the state's intolerance of indigenous styles and their desire to develop and enter new markets

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<sup>14</sup> Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park.

(Brockington and Igoe 2006). Similar activities are taking place in Angola – evictions based on future plans and development but recently conservation as well. The social impacts of population exclusion are vast, these include: poverty, resettlement, disruption of systems, breaking cultural and spiritual ties to the environment (Ramutsindela 2004). These continue to subject populations to hard conditions that are unlikely to produce positive results for conservation.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

Transfrontier conservation in the region has been plagued with *too high* expectations for states and local populations because of the difficulties to transform the vision of TFCAs into realities on the ground. While the goals of TFCAs are enticing to aid in solving regional problems, careful consideration is yet to be given to their effects. This chapter has shown that TFCAs in southern Africa became popular at the end of apartheid though the idea has been there before (Ramutsindela 2007). Scholars are beginning to pay attention to the effects of these initiatives on local populations (see also Brockington and Igoe 2006; Agrawal and Gibson 1999). The next chapter introduces the case study of the Angolan component of the KAZA.

# CHAPTER THREE

## *Local Setting and Methods*

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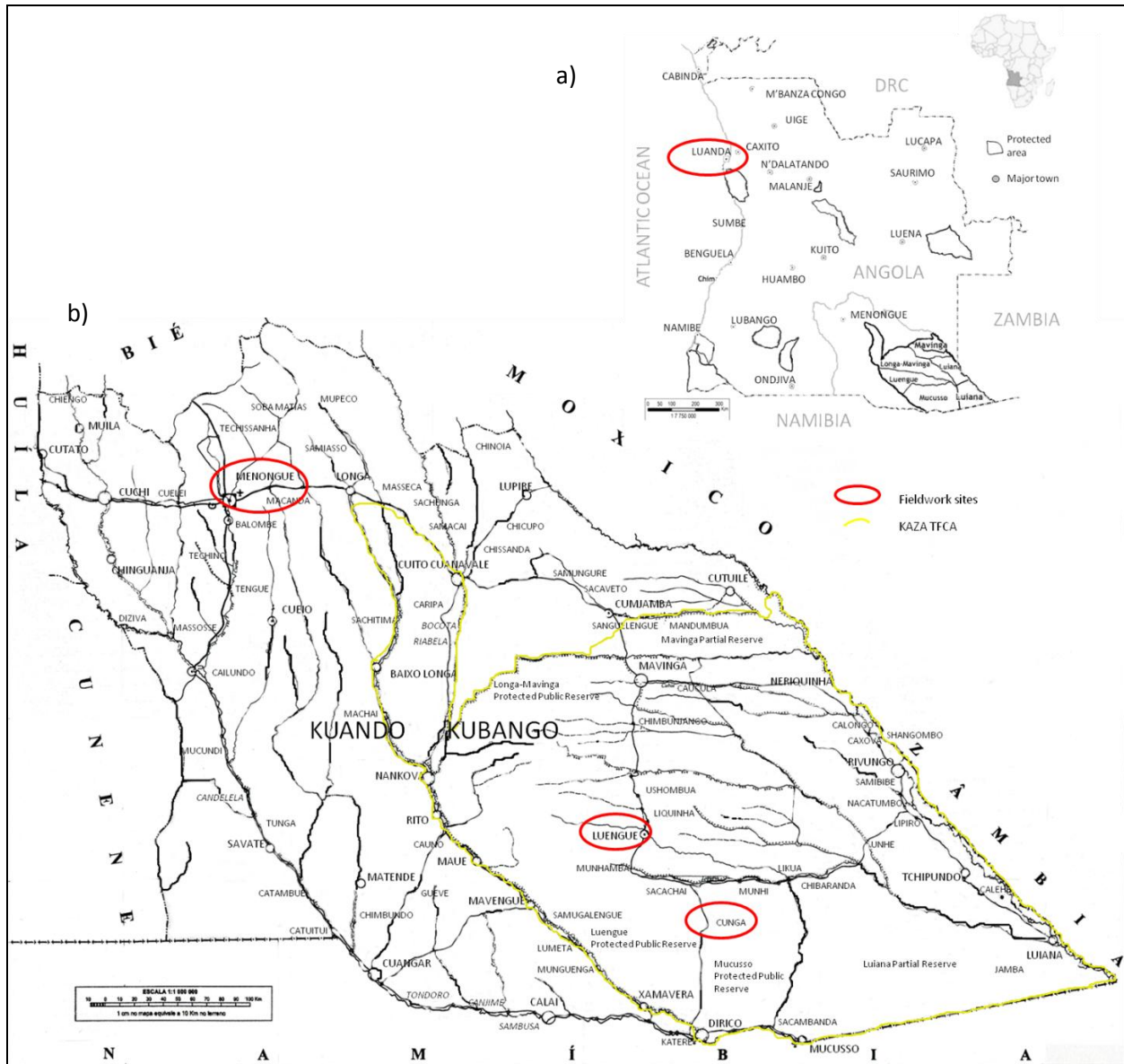
### **3.1 Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the case study and to discuss the methods used to gather data relevant to the research questions described in *Chapter One* and reiterated in this chapter. Specifically, the data collected was aimed at answering the general question on what motivations are advanced for the creation of TFCAs in specific countries, and the KAZA in Angola in particular. A related question pertains to the place of local populations in TFCAs. The study design aimed to collect relevant data to study the objectives of the KAZA with the secondary intent to create a better understanding of the TFCA process, place, and people. For this, a description of the local setting is provided to better understand the methods, circumstances, and the limitations of the study.

The chapter is organized into six sections that cover the local setting and the design of the study. The first section describes the province in which the study was conducted, specifically socioeconomic conditions and development needs. The second section explains the methods used while the third provides a detailed explanation of the data collection process for this study. The fourth section explains the way in which the information gathered was analyzed to answer the research questions. In the fifth section the challenges and limitations faced during data collection are described. The sixth section discusses the ethical considerations taken throughout data collection.

### **3.2 Local setting**

The Angolan component of the KAZA is being established in the *Kuando Kubango* province. It is located in the southeast of Angola with an area of 199,049.00 km<sup>2</sup>, and is the second largest province with the lowest population density (*Figure 3.1 a&b*). The population of the province is estimated to be 394,400 (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2011). The capital city is Menongue and the province is divided into nine municipalities of which six (*Cuito Cuanavale, Luiana, Dirico, Mavinga, Nankova, Rivungo*) contribute to the KAZA, accounting for 45% of the area of the province. Sharing a vast international border with Namibia and Zambia this province was significant since it played host to historical battles, though currently it is its natural and biodiversity resources as well as potential for tourism and conservation that are its defining characteristics.



**Figure 3.1 Administrative division**

a) Angola – major cities and protected areas

b) Kuando Kubango province and the KAZA

Modified from: Map 3 and 42, Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011

The potential for development of Kuando Kubango was always challenged by its isolation from dynamic<sup>15</sup> regions in the country<sup>16</sup> and the legacy of conflict. Colonial control of this province only began in the 1960s as the Portuguese were settled in urban centers along the coast. As a result of this 60% of the population settled in coastal areas and there was high migration to urban centers as well as neighboring countries (Brinkman and Alessi 2009).

<sup>15</sup> Provinces with higher population densities and established markets.

<sup>16</sup> Luanda, Lobito, Huambo, Ondjiva, and Namibe.

From the 1960s until 1975 nationalist movements battled with Portuguese colonial powers and this province represented an important point of entry for nationalists hence the establishment of mine fields by colonial authorities starting in the 1960s (Human Rights Watch/Africa 1993). Following independence in 1975 a civil war broke out between two nationalist movements<sup>17</sup> due to the struggle for power. UNITA controlled the eastern and southern provinces of Angola hence the establishment of its headquarters in Jamba<sup>18</sup>. As a result of this history government control remained limited in these areas leading to an increase in migration and landmines (James 1992). The civil war lasted for 27 years thus population migration and forced settlement in military controlled areas became common, as populations faced violence from both sides (Brinkman and Alessi 2009). There were approximately 20 million landmines throughout the country of which 4 million are estimated to remain in remote areas due to intermittent demining efforts since 1992 (Human Rights Watch Africa 2003). This province does not have a long history of Portuguese settlements (Herrick 1967) therefore the insufficient infrastructure including industry were further impaired by the long years of conflict.

Despite its remoteness and conflict the province is estimated to be rich in biodiversity and hydrological resources; making it suitable for different types of tourism, nominal agriculture, mineral extraction, and fishing (Ministério do Planeamento 2011). The abundance of biodiversity was affected by the conflict. Current estimates are based on colonial accounts due to the lack of provincial studies (Ministério do Ambiente 2006). The rivers, namely, the Cubango/Okavango, Cuando, and Cuito are important for the sustenance and survival of people/animals and are also important for the health of the Okavango and Zambeze basins. There has been ongoing joint management of these basins by the nations involved in the KAZA to maintain the health of the rivers and ensure management for mutual benefit. The partial hunting reserves of Mavinga and Luiana as well as the public reserves of Luengue, Luiana, and Longa-Mavinga were established in the period from 1959-1966 and span an area of 87,000 km<sup>2</sup><sup>19</sup>. These areas harbor approximately 28,737 inhabitants that face human-wildlife conflict and social exclusion due to isolation from communications, infrastructures, and the presence of landmines (Grupo de Trabalho das Comunidades 2011). Recommendations for government led population resettlement have been put into action officially in 2011 vindicated by the need to provide assistance to populations (Jornal de Angola 2011); though this coincides with the creation of the KAZA.

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<sup>17</sup> MPLA the ruling party since 1975 and UNITA.

<sup>18</sup> Military headquarters of UNITA from 1976-1992 located inside the Luiana Partial Reserve in Kuando Kubango.

<sup>19</sup> Partial hunting reserves are areas where some hunting and population settlement is allowed, whereas public reserves are areas for conservation and grazing where hunting is not allowed.

There are five ethnic groups in the province of which the *Nganguela/Ganguela* is the most dominant native group while the *Ovimbundo* and *Chokwe* represent the IDPs<sup>20</sup>. The *Ganguela* practiced animal herding, fishing, collecting honey and subsistence agriculture while the *Ovimbundo* and *Chokwe* practiced agriculture, hunting, cattle herding and business (Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011). The *Ganguela* have preserved their way of life and are more resistant to changing their lifestyle than the others. For example, *sobas*<sup>21</sup> remain important (Interviewee 13, 26/09/2011, KK). The land ownership system changed in the early 1990s from communal possession to state ownership and private property of the elites (Clover 2005). The situation of populations remains challenging as only 46% have access to education, 24.7% have access to clean drinking water, 23.9% uses appropriate sanitation, and 9.9% has access to electricity (Instituto Nacional de Estatística 2011).

Approximately 97% of the population lives in rural areas and due to population migration the majority is made of first, second and third generation IDPs. Roughly 50% of the population is under 18 years of age and 47% resides in Mavinga (Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011). The populations face callous socioeconomic conditions as evident in Menongue and elsewhere. Reports of the situation of populations in areas included in the TFCA namely Luiana, Luengue, Mucusso, Cutuilo, and Likua show that conditions are more severe; forcing the local populations to turn to neighboring countries for education, health, and business (Grupo de Trabalho das Comunidades 2011). These areas remain with a high military presence due to demining and control.

Landmine clearance campaigns in the province continue to present constraints because of their intermittent character, claims of reduced funding, and lack of logistical support from governments<sup>22,23</sup> and NGOs<sup>24</sup> (Comissão Executiva de Desminagem 2011). Demining activities have benefited from USD 247,463,679 in international support from 2006-2010, but these have been reduced as questions of transparency in the allocation of funds are raised by monitoring agencies (ICBL 2011). It was estimated that 2.4 million people, roughly 17% of the population of the country, was affected by mines (ICBL 2011). While the situation in Kuando Kubango remains critical (Figure 3.2) there are campaigns for demining to focus on the KAZA as a special area. These campaigns have cleared 37,632 km<sup>2</sup> of the 87,000 km<sup>2</sup> of the KAZA in the hope to clear the area of landmines by 2014 and achieve TFCA implementation in 2016. Demining campaigns

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<sup>20</sup> Internally displaced persons from other provinces.

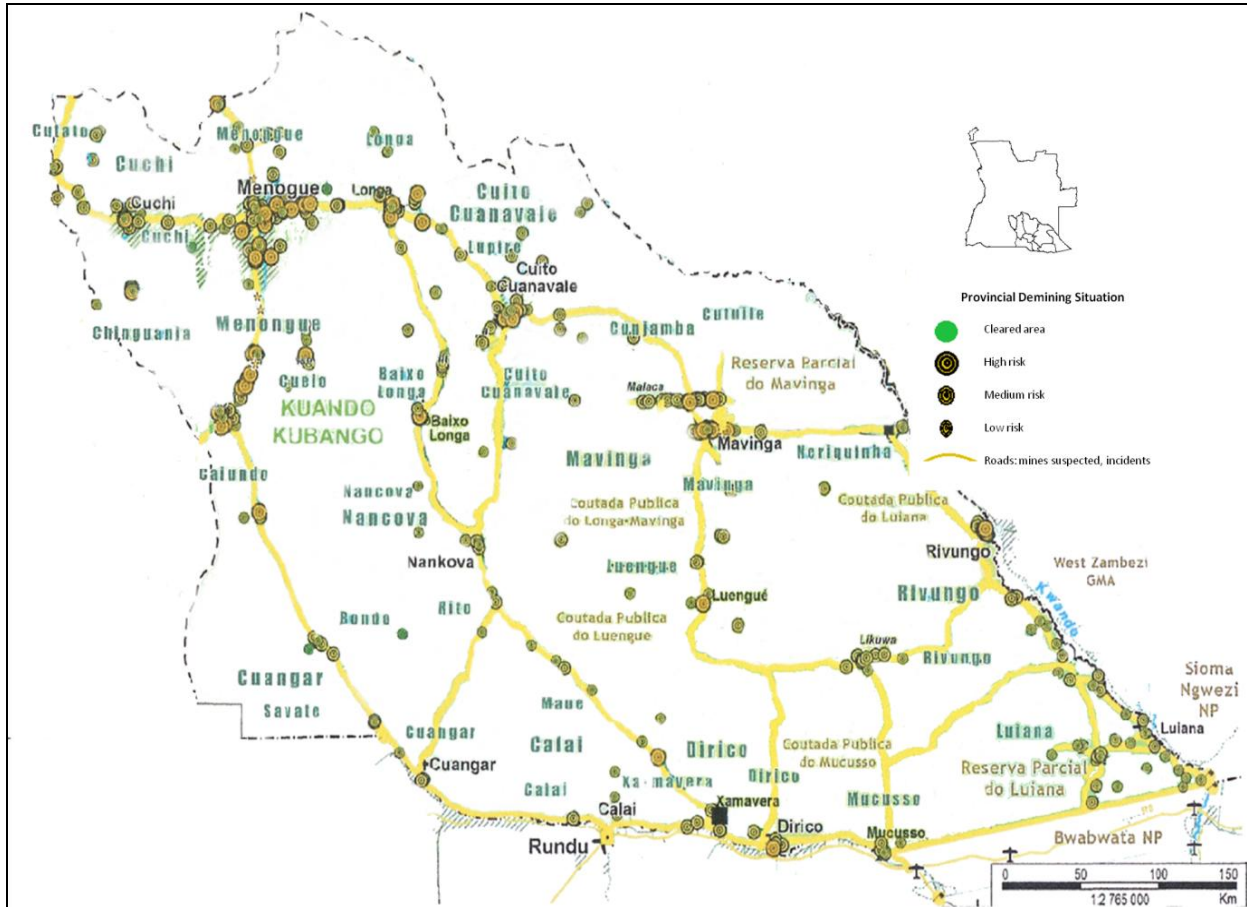
<sup>21</sup> Traditional leaders charged with maintaining communities organized and solving conflicts.

<sup>22</sup> International supporters: United States, Japan, Finland, Norway, Netherlands, Denmark, Italy, Germany, Czech Republic, France.

<sup>23</sup> Angola: PGFA, INAD, FAA.

<sup>24</sup> CI, GCM, Halo Trust, KFW, MgM, PETA, UNDP.

and reporting continue to be irregular if not absent, raising concerns regarding the fulfillment of demining objectives by the deadline.



◆ Figure 3.2 Kuando Kubango provincial demining situation

Modified from: Map 45, Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011

Political events and isolation have contributed to the present dysfunctional state of infrastructure and the slow development of the province and populations. Faced by a reality that leads to poverty and the return of IDPs, the central and provincial governments started to execute programs aimed at the rehabilitation of basic infrastructures in the transportation, energy, water, construction, demining, agricultural, and mining sectors (Ministério do Planeamento 2011). Current state policies encourage public-private partnerships in all sectors, the same is happening in this province with a focus in the agricultural and tourism sectors as the engines for provincial development (Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011). Previously named ‘lands at the end of the earth’ this province is now better called ‘lands of progress’ due to the socioeconomic interventions taking place and renewed central government interest (Brinkman and Alessi 2009).

### 3.3 Study design

The race towards development in Angola has placed a greater focus on technological changes often overlooking existing social issues within the natural and economic landscapes that later affect these changes. The study of the KAZA presents an opportunity to understand social issues associated with contemporary conservation. The dissertation seeks to explore the reasoning behind the support and participation of Angola in the KAZA and to determine the outcomes of this process for local populations in Kuando Kubango. To do this, a combination of interviews and document analysis as well as observation were used to gather information from the partners<sup>25</sup> involved. Documents were also analyzed to understand the discourse in place. *Discourse analysis* is used in the study as it allows one to study the progression of social processes and organizations over time in a specific setting. It is therefore useful for studying the progression of the KAZA through its mode of implementation and social implications. The three techniques, namely participant observation, interviews and oral surveys, and a textual analysis of documents were triangulated. The triangulation technique was advantageous because it allowed one to tell stories taking into account the circumstances in which events took place (Bulmer 1993). Triangulation was useful for validating the respondents' accounts, corroborate information, and establish connections in the data (Silverman 2010). Results were conditioned by individual interpretation of social events and processes as direct participants (May 1993), making those primary providers of information while documents served for validation as secondary sources. Research design took into account the difficulties of conducting research in Angola, therefore the use of a qualitative methodology was very beneficial in dealing with the challenges of data collection to maintain the accuracy, qualitative depth, and provide an accurate historical interpretation of events (Bulmer 1993).

The fieldwork for the study was carried out in the provinces of Luanda and Kuando Kubango (*Figure 3.1 a&b*) for a period of twelve weeks, from 7 July to 14 October 2011, with subsequent follow up telephone calls and emails between January and June 2012. Conducting fieldwork in Luanda and Kuando Kubango was important because these provinces are geographically, socially, and economically opposed and perceptions differ as seen in *Chapter Four*. Representatives at both provinces played different roles thus allowing for a comparison of individuals' understanding of project objectives, expected outcomes, and provincial situation which influenced the relationship between partners and the rate of TFCA implementation. In both provinces activities included participant observation, interviews and surveys, and textual analysis. Individuals targeted for interviews in both provinces were affiliated with the partners in the KAZA. In Kuando Kubango two small towns were randomly selected namely Cunga and Luengue located in the interior of the KAZA. These towns were located in different

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<sup>25</sup> MINHOTUR, MINAMB, MINAGRI, Provincial Government of Kuando Kubango, and local communities.

municipalities with high rural population but with different administrative importance. Both towns were chosen to gather information about community livelihoods and assets, awareness and participation, and any changes caused by the implementation of the KAZA.

Participant observation was useful to analyze daily events and interviews, by being directly involved in them (Corbetta 2003). This method improved one's understanding of situations without deriving too many assumptions, though not fully detached from individual prejudice it was useful to derive preliminary opinions (Denzin 2005) that complemented other methods used in this study. 'An insider's understanding of events and challenges' was developed (Pickard 2007, pp.201-208), while building trust among those being studied. Participant observation allowed for gathering relevant information about social and organizational aspects of the KAZA that remained hidden from public view. Being an observer as a participant allowed one to serve simply as a medium through which information was shared and gathered. Participant observation was conducted daily at the Office of International Exchange (GII) in Luanda by paying attention to conversations and posing questions regarding daily developments. This was done daily (at least six hours) with employees in the office. In Kuando Kubango participant observation was done on a daily basis by meeting and interacting with locals to evaluate the social and economic conditions of Menongue, in addition to attending one meeting of the National Demining Executive Commission in September 2011. Participant observation was a point of transition from which to begin conducting interviews and surveys focusing on the specific issues arising in this TFCA.

Interviewing was an interaction process that allowed the researcher to enter into the world of the interviewee (Corbetta 2003; Denzin 2005). Semi-structured open-ended and informal conversational interviews were conducted to explore individual's views of the KAZA related to the process and stakeholder involvement, motivations, and needs and limitations of local populations. Interviews aimed to establish a consensus for reasons of involvement, scope of benefits, and to compare the role local populations with the KAZA rhetoric. The character of interviews allowed interviewees to express opinions openly thus allowing an emphasis of their concerns and creating opportunities for more objective informed research (Denzin 2005; Corbetta 2003). The structure of interviews was based on recurrent questions and topics asked in every interview. Informal conversational interviews were unplanned and conducted daily hence questions were generated naturally based on current events and documents to explore individual opinions. Interviews were aimed at community authorities and members at the local levels but also at those working in the partner institutions at the national and provincial levels. Independent sources at some point involved in the KAZA or working with the local populations in Kuando Kubango were also important in this study. Informants were identified by using snowball sampling techniques which facilitated the interview process.

Oral surveys complemented interviews by asking specific questions related to specific events and previous interviewee accounts in subsequent interviews. Surveys gathered relevant demographic data for populations, posed questions about TFCA implementation and its social impacts. The standard questions developed for oral surveys were specifically about Kuando Kubango, focusing on the natural resources available for use, resource ownership, and the inclusion or exclusion of local populations in the TFCA process, and current changes under way. Conducting interviews and oral surveys with local community authorities and members of the Luengue and Cunga small towns was not fulfilled due to difficulties of access (see 3.6 *Limitations*). Oral surveys were aimed at building community profiles thus limitations resulted in their construction based on documents as well as interviewee accounts from Kuando Kubango and community focused NGOs.

A textual or document analysis was conducted on documents collected with the objective to substantiate the information gathered during interviews. This analysis used variable types of documents namely public, private, unsolicited, and solicited. Document analysis focused on uncovering contents of documents as well as the way in which the texts reproduced power and events thus allowing concerns to emerge (Denzin 2005). The textual analysis focused on newspapers, KAZA documents and reports, and independent reports. Documents were useful to understand the organizational structure of the KAZA, partners involved, and the scope of activities planned and executed since project inception. Documents were chosen based on their relevance to the objectives of this study and their relevance to the research questions at hand.

### **3.4 Data collection**

Data collection began by networking through family members and acquaintances to reach officials and members of institutions that could serve as facilitators to obtain approval for this study. This was the most advisable way to contact relevant individuals because of the referrals that undoubtedly influenced the process and the time set aside for data collection. The month of July 2011 was spent in this process, during which time a field diary was also started as well as the textual analysis and networking for the trip to Kuando Kubango. A field diary was kept of all daily observations, conversations and events with detailed information about individuals, meetings, dates, and locations. This was an invaluable source of information and an opportunity for self-reflexivity of observational, theoretical, and methodological notes thus creating an important reference for the development and reasoning behind interpretations throughout this study as one attempted to compare interviewee claims with actions (Pickard 2007; Bulmer 1993).

An authorization letter was submitted to GII in MINHOTUR following the administrative protocols required for research approval, the authorization was granted on 8 August 2011. Participant observation and textual analysis were initially started under the supervision of

*Interviewee 3* with whom informal conversations were held about the KAZA process since its inception in 2003. This made one aware of the main partners involved and the changes in the TFCA implementation process in addition to identifying future interviewees.

Thirty-one (31) individuals in Luanda and Kuando Kubango were interviewed along with subsequent communications from independent sources (*Appendix B: List of contacts*). These were conducted in the period from July 2011 to June 2012. The content of interviews was transcribed at the time of interviews and later translated by the researcher who is fluent in both Portuguese and English. The textual analysis started upon arrival in Luanda, it directly informed and sometimes challenged the content of interviews and it helped to establish connections and initial conclusions. This analysis consisted of the examination of eighty-nine (89) documents consisting of KAZA reports and official documents, CIM meeting notes and provincial reports, and newspaper articles relevant to the Kuando Kubango province and the study area (*Appendix A: List of documents consulted*).

In Luanda participant observation, textual analysis and interviews were conducted initially at the GII and MINHOTUR as the project coordinator where interactions took place in a formal setting. This allowed one to become aware of project challenges and leadership changes as well as understanding the hierarchy of the GII and the KAZA project. As a result of participant observation and subsequent interviews issues about the development of project activities, financial compensations, frictions within the CIM, changes in project coordination, state of project implementation, current stakeholders, and mine clearance campaign concerns were brought to the attention of the researcher. Individuals involved in the KAZA and those working in the TFCA project from MINAMB, MINADER, MINARS, and MINFAMU were targeted. The KAZA Treaty was signed on 18 August 2011 as such the television interviews with the representatives of the five partner countries were recorded during this study. In Kuando Kubango participant observation, interviews, and oral surveys were conducted in office settings as well as walks and rides in *kupapatas*<sup>26</sup> through Menongue and attending one meeting of the National Demining Executive Commission. These were more relaxed and informal as interviewees were more candid to share their opinions. This allowed one to take notice of the social and economic conditions of individuals of different classes, cultural differences, the predominant male military atmosphere, and make arrangements to travel to the rural communities in the KAZA. Interviews were held with individuals involved in the CIM and the TFCA process or provincial offices; who were affiliated to the Provincial Government of Kuando Kubango and MINADER. Individuals affiliated with the local NGOs ACADIR, M'BAQUITA, and the catholic missions of CARITAS Angola as well as members of society in Menongue were also targeted for interviews. These sources were chosen because of their lack of involvement in the

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<sup>26</sup> Motor bike taxis.

KAZA and their knowledge of local population life, needs, and opinions. During observations and interviews issues raised were related to access, landmines, military presence, socioeconomic changes in the province, discrepancies in the KAZA plan as evaluated against the realities on the ground, lack of cooperation between national KAZA partners, and project centralization in Luanda. Local population aspects such as their present conditions and their role in the KAZA were also brought forth.

Upon returning to Luanda, a second round of semi-structured interviews was needed with questions focused on the responses and events that took place while in Kuando Kubango. There were differences in interviewee responses in both provinces which required clarifications and verification of the information gathered previously. The combination of participant observation, interviews, surveys, and textual analysis allowed for a comprehensive data analysis.

### **3.5 Data analysis**

Gathering information and analyzing it were almost inseparable tasks as these were done simultaneously in the field, though the analysis of information continued on its own upon return from the field. Doing this concurrently was helpful to understand issues by identifying themes and patterns, seeking clarification, reconsidering the direction of research, and preventing the accumulation of information while performing a critical analysis of the data gathered (Silverman 2010). This analysis was based on 'examining, interpreting, and clarifying the information gathered with the objective to put forward research findings, theories, and recommendations' (Denzin 2005, p.909).

Themes that emerged during data analysis represented overlapping responses and interviewee concerns (see *Chapter Four*). Themes were developed and aligned to research questions so as to bring data to bear on the objectives of the study. While useful to better organize interviewee accounts based on location, affiliations, and views of project objectives, the themes also facilitated connections to be drawn in the data to show a clear view and interpretation of what was said.

Data analysis in the field consisted of writing daily observational accounts and transcribing interviews and questionnaires, while asking questions and attempting to understand respondents' reasoning when answering them (Silverman 2010). Data analysis after the field consisted of organizing information, establishing connections and theory building from initial data analysis in the field, and allowing the data gathered to illuminate the specifics of the KAZA process and the role of local populations.

Analysis was based on making speculations about the data with the aim to understand the way the facts were constructed, by whom, and for what purposes. This strategy also used the textual analysis and literature as a way to support and explore emergent themes and allow the

findings to be informative of the KAZA process. This was done by grouping data and interviewees to establish similarities and differences. Interviewees and their responses were compared by geographical location and affiliations, while interview responses were also grouped based on motivation for involvement, expected benefits, assessment of local population involvement and effects of the KAZA, and demining of the KAZA area. This allowed a de-construction of interviewee responses and recognition of patterns. The data obtained from respondents was taken as a description of an external reality that was to be compared and corroborated with the other methods to uphold the accuracy and validity of the information gathered.

### **3.6 Limitations of the study**

The methodology took into account the difficulties of conducting research in Angola, the most relevant being the restricted sharing and availability of information. The limited amount of publically available information about the implementation process of KAZA, current information about Kuando Kubango, and demographic characteristics were hard to find hence a greater focus was placed on verbal accounts and limited material.

Upon arrival in Luanda the first limitation encountered that took the entire month of July 2011 was to obtain the authorization to begin data collection. After obtaining the permission to proceed with the research, the next obstacle was to access information from offices bedeviled by irregular office hours and employee absenteeism. This slowed down the research. The third limiting factor was the unwillingness of KAZA administrators and coordinators in Luanda and Kuando Kubango to be interviewed as primary sources of information. While participation was voluntary in this study, it was difficult to understand why key respondents justified their unavailability by claiming that all the information needed would be acquired from those working closely with them.

The limitations encountered in Kuando Kubango are consequences of the armed conflict and the lack of development efforts in the province. Such limitations were associated with the lack of infrastructure such as roads and accommodation and poor public services such as schools, hospitals, etc. Access to remote areas was a major limitation in this study as traveling required special vehicles due to the harsh terrain, the existence of mine fields, high military male presence, and lack of emergency support especially in the interior of the KAZA area. These limitations are especially present in this area because of its status as protected area, its remoteness, and lack of government control for such a long period of time. While the lack of infrastructures for support and the presence of landmines make traveling to these areas dangerous, the number of displaced military personnel (predominantly male) raised concerns for a female researcher due to the chance of being stranded or harassed. Appropriate efforts

were made to find travel companions or join teams in their visits to these remote areas but this was also not easy.

The failure to reach the towns of Cunga and Luengue in the interior of the KAZA area was a setback for this study as one was not able to obtain the perspective of local populations directly. However, interviews with local NGOs and members of society that have visited the area, as well as the textual analysis were used to counter the lack of a community perspective. This was done in an effort to learn about available resources, population awareness and engagement, and their present situation.

### **3.7 Ethics and conclusion**

As an Angolan citizen I found it helpful to conduct the study in Angola because of the support system and familiarity with the place and language. Objectivity was maintained in following the research design, throughout interviews, transcription and translation, and during data analysis to ensure that study results effectively represent the data gathered and experiences during data collection. The necessary approval was obtained by informing the relevant authorities of study objectives and methods which abided by state regulations. Consent and explanations of study objectives were provided to interviewees and participation was voluntary, also confidentiality was maintained though affiliations are listed. This study maintained the principles of research ethics required by the University of Cape Town.

The data gathered was vital to engage the research questions and fulfill the objectives of this study. Using interviews, observation and a textual analysis provided a 'contextual image' of the motivations, stakeholders, and TFCA process that are presented in the next chapter.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## *Mapping Responses*

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### **4.1 Introduction**

The findings from fieldwork data are presented in this chapter to engage with the research questions while referring to the discussion on transfrontier conservation. The aims of the study ((i.e.) *Chapter One*) guided chapter organization while themes were generated from fieldwork material to guide the analysis presented in this chapter.

The use of themes resulted from the analysis of interview responses in which, as would be expected, there was some overlap of views and opinions. This made it easy to identify the recurrence, importance, and differences in these themes while also allowing for analytical focus and synthesis. Themes allowed for the presentation of data coherently and facilitated connections between the information gathered during interviews and documents, thus allowing for a better understanding of issues.

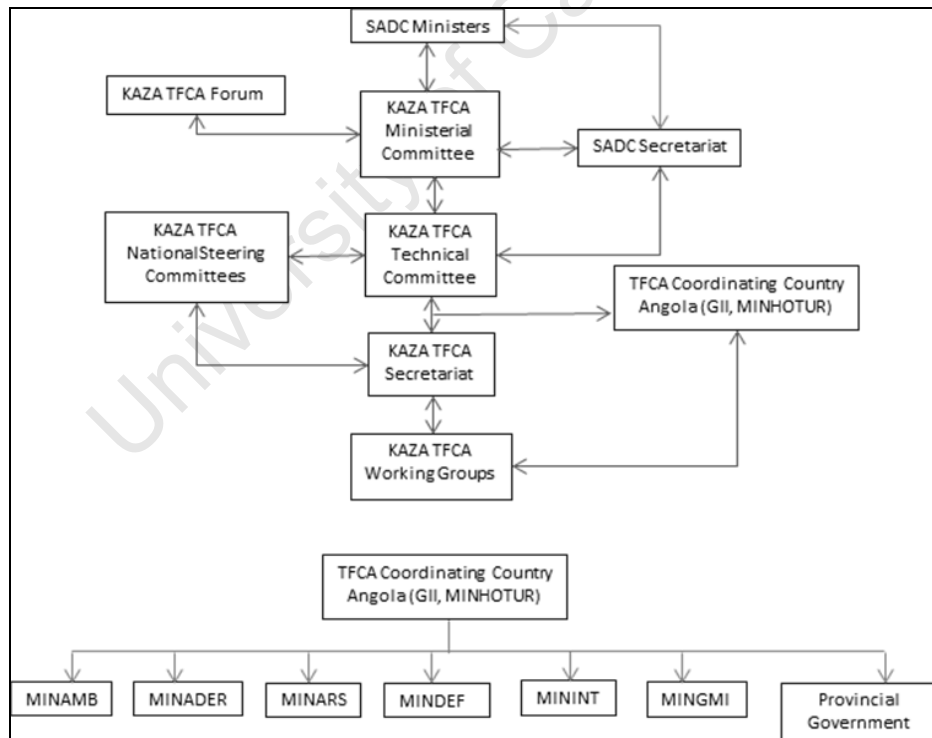
The chapter is organized into three sections; each section tackles one research question using themes to guide the discussion. The first section discusses interviewees' concerns regarding the process and administration of the TFCA as these affect implementation and stakeholder involvement. The second section discusses the reasons given for the involvement of the Angolan government and its reading of the importance of the KAZA. The third section discusses interviewee responses regarding local population involvement or lack thereof, current and expected effects of the KAZA, and also reflects on the claims of TFCAs regarding local populations.

### **4.2 KAZA process**

Establishing a TFCA requires a process that guides the activities to be conducted as well as the involvement of stakeholders (see *Chapter Two*). The KAZA process officially began in 2002 though the desire to establish this TFCA has been there since the 1990s (Interviewee 22, 18/08/2011, Lda). The longevity of this process is taken as an indication of its inherent complexities and unpredictability as expressed by interviewees. The views of the respondents were grouped in themes to facilitate analysis of TFCA administration, collaboration, and state of implementation.

#### 4.2.1 TFCA administration

The TFCA coordination is done by MINHOTUR through the GII for which the CIM and working groups<sup>27</sup> (Figure 4.1) offer assistance. Management changes in the GII in the past four years led to shifts in policies and relationships with local representatives. Differences between TFCA management plans by MINHOTUR and MINAMB (as the co-coordinator) in 2011 raised concerns regarding future changes in policy, subsidies, and for project coordination (Interviewee 1, 4/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 2, 13/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 3, 9/08/2011, Lda). The CIM was created to include relevant ministries in the KAZA and while this is a positive aspect especially for the drafting of the KAZA Treaty and IDP<sup>28</sup>, meetings have been irregular; resulting in individuals being unaware of project development (Interviewee 5, 30/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 2, 13/10/2011, Lda). Similarly, the working groups do not meet regularly according to document records. At the national and provincial levels partners seem to be disconnected from activities but more important is the lack of consensus between government ministries regarding TFCA activities and management. There is better collaboration and consensus with KAZA regional partners compared to in-country partners.



**Figure 4.1 KAZA institutional structures**

Source: Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011

<sup>27</sup> Working groups for communication, communities, defense and security, tourism, and conservation.

<sup>28</sup> Integrated Development Plan.

Data shows that the lack of project funds was reiterated as the main reason for project delays. By far the greatest financial contributors to the KAZA were BMZ and KFW with agreements ranging from 430,000 EUR to set up the KAZA Secretariat, 8 million EUR for the second phase of TFCA development, and the option to increase support to 20 million EUR over five years (Peace Parks Foundation 2008). The PPF supports the KAZA Secretariat to manage funds and activities and along with WWF-NL has co-sponsored the budget of the KAZA Secretariat with the amount of 325,000 EUR and 225,000 EUR (Peace Parks Foundation 2008).

Lack of funding for the TFCA is attributed to the omission of the KAZA from the OGE until 2012, and funding was conditional to the signing of the KAZA treaty and the development of the IDP in 2011 (Interviewee 10, 23/09/2011, KK). The discrepancy related to origin and availability of funds was based on the notion that funding was to come from donors only, but states also have funding commitments. Funds available are to be used for TFCA management, national park establishment, infrastructure and program development, and establishment of the Secretariat. Demining costs in Angola estimated at 5-15 million dollars are not included in financial contributions (Peace Parks Foundation 2008). Thus, associating demining delays with KAZA fund availability is contrary to TFCA funding commitments; the completion of demining campaigns is a state-private partnership independent of the KAZA. The source of funds for this TFCA ranges from private donors, agencies, and states.

TFCA administration in Luanda should be on coordination and approval of protocols, and not conducting activities as it is currently done hence claims of project centralization from partners in Kuando Kubango (Interviewee 1, 4/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 3, 9/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 10, 21/09/2011, KK). 'More trust is needed in the capacities of local partners' (Interviewee 8, 6/10/2011, Lda) to avoid their alienation. This was contested by partners in Luanda who justified their attitudes by referring to the lack of local capacities in the province (Interviewee 2, 13/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 7, 4/10/2011, Lda). Differences between partners in Luanda and Kuando Kubango continue and this has repercussions for community involvement as well. Furthermore, this signals the need to restructure the administration responsible for TFCAs.

#### *4.2.2 Collaboration*

Partners in the KAZA are employees of MINHOTUR and GII, members of the CIM and working groups, members of the Provincial government and local populations. Local NGOs in Kuando Kubango namely ACADIR and M'BAQUITA which constitute a vital community liaison became alienated in recent years despite their knowledge of community lives and needs. The role of the state is well defined but that of local populations is not.

Interviews showed that local populations were unanimously recognized as beneficiaries of the KAZA, with the focus placed on their needs rather than specific roles in the TFCA. The role of

local populations is currently limited to acquiring knowledge. In the future it will be defined by employment in the tourism industry and the benefits of provincial development – these are not roles but rather indirect benefits. At the local level only administrators<sup>29</sup> and traditional leaders<sup>30</sup> have specified roles, which when related to the KAZA do not translate into specific tasks as they are charged with providing awareness and ensuring community cooperation (Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011). The TFCA discourse favors collaboration between partners but as seen in Angola is not easily achieved regardless of the stage of implementation and the capacity of the state.

Differences in planning and management are currently inhibiting collaboration between MINHOTUR and MINAMB (Interviewee 3, 9/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 5, 30/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 6, 5/09/2011, Lda; Interviewee 8, 6/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 9, 21/09/2011, Lda; Interviewee 10, 23/09/2011, Lda). Collaboration is harmonious between MINHOTUR, MINARS, MINADER, and the provincial governments as these partners share similar TFCA plans, while MINAMB is taking a unilateral approach that is not taking into account conditions in the province. Despite the lack of consensus, the latter was approved in 2011 by the National Assembly and interviewees believe the decision was based on politics. Collaboration especially at the national level remains fragile and is affected by the objectives of individual in-country partners. The number of partners (specifically the network of ministries involved) is a setback for TFCA implementation. Lack of consensus in TFCA planning is caused by conflicting interests of state agencies (Interviewee 8, 6/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 10, 23/09/2011, Lda) who fail to unite around TFCA goals.

#### *4.2.3 State of implementation*

The TFCA implementation has been slow due to the lack of collaboration, management constraints and infrastructural delays such as demining. Uncertainty regarding the future of project coordination due to conflicting perspectives between MINHOTUR and MINAMB negatively impacts implementation. The future of TFCA coordination is likely to change to MINAMB while tourism management remains under the responsibility of Luiana Organization. Yet another change in project management is likely to further alienate semi-disconnected partners.

The KAZA involves small and large scale projects and though collaboration in meetings seems stagnant the plan is under way and will involve local populations once the necessary infrastructure is established (Interviewee 2, 13/10/2011, Lda). This view was shared by coordinators and confirmed the concerns of local NGOs regarding community involvement,

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<sup>29</sup> Their roles are to executed state programs and ensure that community interests are considered.

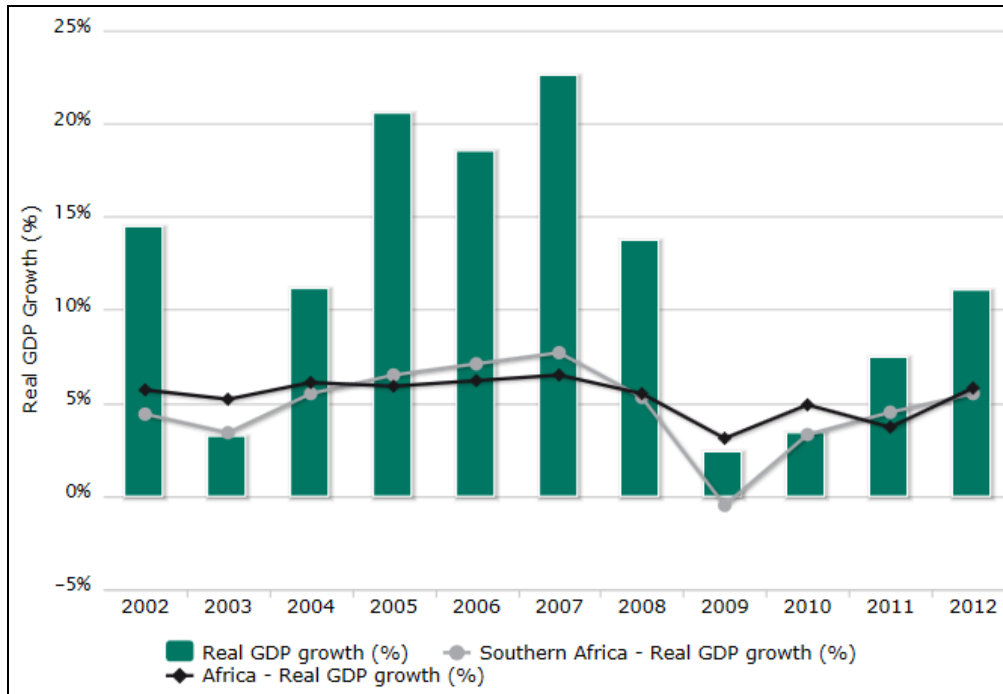
<sup>30</sup> Their roles are to solve conflicts, maintain traditional culture of communities, and guarantee peace and stability.

effects, and benefit sharing. The coordination and sequence of activities currently favors project coordinators and community elites as direct partners at the expense of the involvement of community members. The current implementation process does not recognize populations as equally important stakeholders in addition to the lack of training and capacities; raising questions about their role as well as future distribution and use of benefits.

National partners remain at odds as per the division of the KAZA area but they agree on the creation of TFCAs, allowing population involvement, and resettlement. Resettlement by proxy as is being conducted sets the stage for TFCA implementation and tourism development, to avoid conflicts with local populations because of limitations on access to land and resources that are common in TFCAs in the region. The issues expressed about KAZA implementation are common in the TFCA literature, where some have called for more studies to better understand TFCA processes. Others are beginning to associate TFCAs with the usual failures of pro-poor development programs and failed promises to local populations. The complications found in the TFCA process on the Angolan side are caused by the marginalization of local populations and diverse motivations/views among government institutions.

### **4.3 Motivations**

Despite a history of civil war Angola's economy has been one of the fastest growing in recent years because of oil and diamond revenues. From 2005-2008 it registered one of the highest GDPs in Sub-Saharan Africa and its growth is expected to continue (*Figure 4.2*). The Angolan state has been aggressively engaged in reconstruction and development campaigns yet the economy remains centralized while the population continues to face hardships. The population suffers from adversities due to insecurity, displacement, and poverty. These problems are made worse by corruption, high social inequality, and elite control (McMillan 2005). The state has identified five key areas for rural development of which the environment, silviculture, and natural resource management constitute one. Natural resources are considered the most important source for employment and poverty alleviation for rural populations. The Angolan government recognizes the potential of protected areas to provide financial benefits to rural families, especially their role in strengthening tourism in the country, as well as the risks associated with the overexploitation of these resources in light of fast development and modernization schemes (Ministério da Agricultura e do Desenvolvimento Rural 2004). The government has launched reconstruction campaigns in the country to promote development. In the Kuando Kubango province this program was launched in 2011 focusing on health, agriculture, tourism, social assistance, and demining (Paulino 2011). The tourism potential of Kuando Kubango is being explored with the establishment of the KAZA through a tourism economy and sustainable development as the chosen paths for improving conditions in the province (Manje 2011).



**Figure 4.2 GDP growth for Angola, Southern Africa, and Africa**

2010 are estimates, 2011 and later projections

Source: Africa Economic Outlook, accessed 03 February 2012

<http://www.africaneconomicoutlook.org/en/countries/southern-africa/angola/>

Data shows that the reasons for participation in the KAZA by the Angolan government were in agreement with TFCA objectives, though the importance given to each varied (Table 4.1). The motives for participation were organized into themes, namely, regional collaboration, conservation and sustainability, tourism economy, and provincial development. The discussion on these themes was based on the importance and understanding of each theme to individual interviewees.

Motives for involvement (N=25)	Importance (1-least, 4-most), %				Total %
	1	2	3	4	
Regional Collaboration	31.2	25	18.8	25	100
Conservation and sustainability	37.5	18.8	25	18.7	100
Tourism economy	25	37.5	31.3	6.2	100
Provincial Development	6.2	18.8	25	50	100

**Table 4.1 Motives for involvement**

#### 4.3.1 Regional collaboration

Regional integration and cooperation was important for 25% of interviewees affiliated with MINHOTUR and MINAMB in Luanda and involved in the CIM. These interviewees were

politically constrained. Interviewees identified regional integration and expected benefits to be at the center of Angola's involvement, specifically the TFCA's promise to promote the movement across regional borders, unify development nationally and regionally, and strengthen collaboration between states. However, 31.2% of interviewees identified regional integration as the least important motive and not an objective of this TFCA. They were affiliated with MINADER, Ministry of Tourism of Namibia, CIM, and independent organizations. Regional integration as an umbrella concept creates a favorable atmosphere for the acceptance and implementation of regional projects like TFCAs and is attractive as it signals that there is stability and cooperation in the region.

Participation was associated with the value and amount of expected benefits while recognizing local populations as the main beneficiaries in this initiative (Interviewee 6, 5/09/2011, Lda; Interviewee 9, 21/09/2011, KK). Participating in TFCAs with the intent to promote political cooperation, maintain the peace, recognize sovereignty in a regional project as well as economic regional integration are general TFCA objectives that are supported by SADC treaties and protocols. Regional integration and cooperation have been sought since the early 1980s with the creation of the SADCC, though this process has been affected by the political environment of states. Taking into account the longevity of the civil war, Angola is since 2002 aggressively pursuing recognition, integration, and development with regional and international partners<sup>31</sup> to attain mutual benefits and build relationships, using the country's resources as leverage to rebuild and diversify the economy. The state is securing private investment while marketing the country through the resources it has to offer.

Attempts at regional cooperation are present in the joint management of the Okavango Basin, but also in current efforts to create cooperation in the sectors of agriculture, HIV/AIDS, education, food security, transnational resources, science and technology, and the creation of a free trade zone (Augusta 2011; Rosa 2011). As such, cooperation in the KAZA is anticipated and expected; taking into account ongoing efforts in other sectors. 'Regional economic integration is important for involvement because Angola is a member of the SADC and will occupy its presidency for this [2011] year' (Interviewee 2, 8/08/11, Lda). The KAZA further affirms the state's commitment to regional collaboration by harmonizing legal and financial protocols while adopting a common vision for resource use and human development in the area. It is counted as an accomplishment for the nation as well as an opportunity to uphold the objectives and visions of regional collaboration to unify the populations while promoting development (Interviewee 6, 5/9/2011, Lda; Interviewee 20, 18/08/2011, Lda).

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<sup>31</sup> China is currently one of the most important partners especially in the sectors of infrastructure rehabilitation and development, getting in return 40% of oil exports in 2011 (Jornal de Angola 2012).

With Angola occupying the SADC presidency for 2011-2012 there is interest to cooperate to achieve the development of infrastructure to boost economies and trade with a special focus in the KAZA, but also to leave a positive legacy (Bengui 2011). This will be done by embracing 'regional integration processes as difficult but necessary to streamline policies within countries', specifically using infrastructure development as a point of convergence and this TFCA certainly presents an opportunity (Gomes 2011, p.4). Infrastructure development here is taken as a way to improve the living conditions of 80% of the population of Angola living in poverty while perpetuating the government's desire to reduce asymmetries with neighboring states to find equilibrium within the SADC (Gomes 2011).

Sovereignty was an important issue to interviewees and obviously states<sup>32</sup>. Regional integration creates an opportunity for the development of legal frameworks that guarantee cooperation and respect state sovereignty needed for regional projects (Interviewee 2, 19/07/2011, Lda; Interviewee 20, 18/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 22, 18/08/2011, Lda). Effective regional integration has been unsuccessful due to different policies and the unwillingness of states to sacrifice national interests. For example, three states including Angola are skeptical to join the Free Trade Zone of the SADC since it was launched in 2004 (Angola Press 2012). Infrastructure development is strongly defended by Angola as a successful step towards regional integration to facilitate and liberate commercial exchanges during its mandate (Inácio 2011; Rosa 2011), responding to national infrastructural needs. The KAZA supports this view due to the expected infrastructure development for tourism and support services. As a motive for participation however it is used more to introduce underlining interests in joint projects.

#### *4.3.2 Conservation and sustainability*

Conservation of biodiversity and sustainable use of resources continue to be emphasized at a global scale and are associated with the establishment of TFCA. TFCA objectives reinforce claims that conservation and poverty alleviation are linked therefore their success is interdependent (Benjaminsen et al. 2008; Adams et al. 2004; Hanks 2003).

Only 18.7 % of interviewees affiliated with MINAMB, the Ministry of Tourism of Namibia, and independent organizations considered conservation and sustainable use of resources as the most important motive for the KAZA. Angola's political past did not make conservation its priority yet in a time of peace it is becoming more important especially for development and integration of populations in conservation by highlighting its benefits (Interviewee 7, 1/04/2011, Lda; Interviewee 2, 8/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 18, 18/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 21, 18/08/2011, Lda). On the other hand, 37.5% of interviewees identified conservation and

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<sup>32</sup> Sovereignty was often mentioned in interviews and official documents such as the KAZA Treaty, hence the engagement of states in TFCA is still expected to uphold state sovereignty and laws.

sustainable use of resources as the least important reason for involvement, linking its importance only to the tourism sector and provincial development (see 4.3.3 and 4.3.4). Interviewees were affiliated with MINHOTUR, MINARS, Provincial Government of Kuando Kubango, Ministry of Tourism of Zambia, and CIM.

Expected benefits from conservation in the KAZA are the sustainable use of rivers, agriculture, jobs for community members, reduced poaching, and greater wildlife control for the promotion of tourism (Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 13, 26/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 14, 27/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 15, 27/09/2011, KK). These expectations are in agreement with the view of the state that natural resources have a role to play in rural development. The partial reserves and hunting grounds included in the KAZA were established and consequently abandoned, information available is based on pre-independence records and local population accounts of presence, density, and distribution of species (Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011). These protected areas continue to be characterized by reduced wildlife numbers<sup>33</sup>, poaching, and the settlement of populations that use resources to sustain themselves.

The biological importance of the KAZA area is undisputed but Angola needs to 'do inventories of the minerals, plants, and wildlife species as we do not wish to close this area or have shared management if there are important resources present' (Interviewee 7, 1/04/2011, Lda). There is urgency to understand the current situation as future conservation initiatives will require the drafting of plans, training of personnel and support (Ministério do Ambiente 2006). The KAZA is expected to aid in this process probably as a long term objective. The development of NBSAB from 2007-2012 and as a step towards improved conservation has resulted in the elevation of the status of partial reserves and hunting grounds to national parks, as well efforts for the preservation of threatened species. The KAZA presents an opportunity to continue conservation efforts.

The requirements for effective conservation namely accurate information and support were recognized by MINAMB as a central benefit of the TFCA and important for conservation (Interviewee 7, 1/04/2011, Lda). Conservation in the TFCA is of the responsibility of Luiana Organization<sup>34</sup> as endorsed by MINAMB and MINADER. The shortage of trained personnel and support present a critical setback (Interviewee 11, 20/01/2012, KK). This organization was given a concession to manage the Luiana Partial Reserve (which will become the Luiana National Park) for a period of 25 years and despite its limitations is set to continue conservation and tourism management in the KAZA (Interviewee 7, 1/04/2011, Lda; Interviewee 9, 21/09/2011,

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<sup>33</sup> Due to the hostile conditions post-conflict and the presence of landmines.

<sup>34</sup> Private organization founded by military and elite members at the provincial and national levels, focused on tourism and conservation management in Kuando Kubango.

KK). Human-wildlife conflict has been escalating in the KAZA area (Interviewee 2, 19/07/2011, Lda; Interviewee 19, 18/08/2011, Lda) as wildlife species destroy crops due to population encroachment in their ranges. The return of war refugees 'officially' since 2002 is leading to an increase in human-wildlife conflict in Kuando Kubango that is also affected by returning elephant populations (Angola Press 2010; 2011). Community involvement in conservation through this TFCA is expected to reduce conflicts by creating a sense of stewardship and empowerment within populations where direct benefits through education, health, and jobs will be enjoyed by all (Interviewee 2, 8/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 14, 27/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 18, 18/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 21, 18/08/2011, Lda).

Conservation and populations are linked because of the implications both have on resource use, and Angola follows this rationale as seen by the NBSAB. Conservation areas represent 6.6% of the total area of the country therefore it is the wish of the state to set aside 15% of the total area for conservation to satisfy IUCN goals (Interviewee 21, 18/08/2011, Lda). The KAZA and similar projects are contributing by introducing new conservation standards and allowing knowledge sharing, thus 'declaring state wishes to increase conservation areas to 15% of the total area' (Interviewee 21, 18/08/2011, Lda).

#### *4.3.3 Tourism economy*

TFCAs are expected to deliver benefits in the political, social, and economic realms, and are seen as vehicle for infrastructure development. The recognition of the establishment of a tourism economy in areas of high conservation potential provides a swift path towards meeting social, economic, and infrastructural objectives. Tourism is claimed to be the foremost job creator in the SADC as well as one of the fastest growing industries in the world (Hanks 2003). Tourism in the region is expected to 'heighten the international profile of protected areas and facilitate movement of people across borders' (Scovronick and Turpie 2009, p.149). The plan is to connect TFCAs in order to enhance the tourism potential of the region that would ideally benefit all parties, though Scovronick and Turpie's (2009) study of the KTP<sup>35</sup> warn of the unrealistic expectations of tourism from TFCAs. The tourism industry is vulnerable to changes in national and international conditions, changing rates of economic growth which affect equity in benefit sharing, and the contribution of tourism to poverty alleviation (Scovronick and Turpie 2009; Suich 2008; Hanks 2003).

Establishing a tourism economy is an underlying objective of TFCAs but such an economy depends on state resources and capabilities. The promotion of tourism for poverty relief and the creation of expectations in TFCAs that lack the needed infrastructure is unrealistic and irresponsible (Hanks 2003), yet this is the case of the KAZA in southeastern Angola and western

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<sup>35</sup> Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park.

Zambia. The establishment and maintenance of a tourism economy was the most important motive for a tiny 6.2% of interviewees, who were affiliated to KAZA as regional partners. Tourism is an integral part of the economy of most KAZA partners<sup>36</sup> therefore the availability of funds and the establishment of legal frameworks to ensure the proper functioning of tourism facilities is very important (Interviewee 20, 18/08/2011, Lda). Differences in tourism statistics are related to the level and history of tourism development as well as the marketing of the tourism product (*Table 4.2*).

<b>Inbound Tourism</b>	<b>2002</b>	<b>2003</b>	<b>2004</b>	<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>2009</b>	<b>2010</b>
<b>Angola</b>									
<i>Arrivals – Thousands</i>	91	107	194	210	121	195	294	366	425
<i>Expenditure in country - US\$ Mn</i>	51	63	82	103	91	236	293	554	726
<b>Botswana</b>									
<i>Arrivals – Thousands</i>	1,274	1,406	1,523	1,474	1,426	1,736	2,101	2,103	2,145
<i>Expenditure in country - US\$ Mn</i>	324	459	582	563	539	501	555	230	222
<b>Namibia</b>									
<i>Arrivals – Thousands</i>	757	695	716	778	833	929	931	980	984
<i>Expenditure in country - US\$ Mn</i>	251	383	426	363	473	542	484	470	560
<b>Zambia</b>									
<i>Arrivals – Thousands</i>	565	413	515	669	757	897	812	710	815
<i>Expenditure in country - US\$ Mn</i>	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
<b>Zimbabwe</b>									
<i>Arrivals – Thousands</i>	2,041	2,256	1,854	1,559	2,287	2,506	1,956	2,017	2,239
<i>Expenditure in country - US\$ Mn</i>	76	61	194	99	338	365	294	523	634

**Table 4.2 Tourism Statistics for KAZA partners from 2002-2010**

Source: United Nations Statistics Division 2012, accessed 02 May 2012

<http://data.un.org/DocumentData.aspx?id=289>

Angola lacks a sturdy tourism industry and infrastructures especially in Kuando Kubango hence 25% of interviewees identified it as least important, instead they recognized conservation and provincial development as the most important motives. Interviewees were affiliated with MINAMB, MINHOTUR, and regional KAZA partners. It was felt that a tourism economy is vital for meeting provincial development objectives (Interviewee 7, 1/04/2011, Lda; Interviewee 19, 18/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 21, 18/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 22, 18/08/2011, Lda). KAZA partners with the exception of Angola enjoy the benefits of a well established and functional tourism industry. A study by Helen Suich of these partners in 2004, uncovered important aspects of the industry's contribution to the economy of states and populations that raised concerns for tourism in the context of the KAZA. The study showed that tourism is expected to continue to grow by 5-6% in the region and has in fact contributed to employment of locals, economic growth, tourism generation, and state tax revenues. However it also highlighted

<sup>36</sup> Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe.

challenges due to high levels of inequality and poverty in salaries and ownership of establishments by locals. Using the KAZA to enhance regional tourism requires dealing with present challenges, adopting sustainable tourism and resource use, and incorporating the views and needs of residents while building capacities (Suich 2008). Tourism is not a panacea for development and 'increasing industry size alone is not enough' (Suich 2008, p.197).

Tourism is expected to create jobs and training for the local populations in the province, enhance regional tourism by adding high value areas, and improve the management and migration of elephants (Interviewee 2, 8/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 7, 1/04/2011, Lda; Interviewee 21, 18/08/2011, Lda). Local tourism is expected to benefit from the success and marketing of tourism by KAZA partners, and to facilitate knowledge sharing and the improvement of management practices (Interviewee 7, 1/04/2011, Lda; Interviewee 8, 6/10/2011, Lda). Tourism revenues will be used to improve the conditions of populations as they are being resettled to areas with better services, using the expectation of 'revenues as an incentive for resettlement' (Interviewee 7, 1/04/2011, Lda). Tourism development in Angola is of interest to the state due to its potential to generate revenues and private investment, using public-private partnerships to generate institutional transformation. Tourism development is inhibited by the absence of clear tourism management plans, since existing plans simply identify potential areas and economic projections (Ministério da Hotelaria e Turismo 2011). In the KAZA, tourism management remains uncertain due to power struggles and differences in management between national partners, though there is support for independent tourism management (Interviewee 11, 9/09/2011, KK). Tourism development in an underdeveloped area like Kuando Kubango is more likely to have widespread positive outcomes and contribute to development, however infrastructure development must be planned to simultaneously meet the needs of the industry and people (Suich 2008).

The initial impacts of tourism in the KAZA show positive outcomes for conservation through its improvement and negative outcomes for populations through resettlement. Though the KAZA remains attractive, caution was expressed in Kuando Kubango due to high corruption and elite control of resources – revenues, demanding transparency and accountability to ensure that benefits are used by and for populations (Interviewee 10, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 11, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK).

#### *4.3.4 Provincial development*

Provincial development and community empowerment include all previously identified motives for involvement. By strengthening regional collaboration to facilitate TFCA implementation, thus improving conservation and establishing tourism to aid in the development of the province and creating opportunities for the local populations. This coincides with the TFCA discourse as well. Interviewees affiliated with MINAMB, MINADER, National Demining Commission,

Provincial Government of Kuando Kubango, and independent organizations recognized provincial development as the most important motive (50%) while it was the least important motive for 6.2% of interviewees. They identified benefits specifically meeting the needs of the populations in the province as the most relevant for involvement. They were unanimous in their view that the KAZA will bring about development for the province and its populations. This makes the KAZA popular among those involved in development projects at local, national, and regional levels (Interviewee 10, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 14, 27/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 22, 18/08/2011, Lda). At the local level, the benefits of the KAZA were associated with the completion of the demining campaigns in the province, decentralization and self-sustenance of the province (Interviewee 11, 23/09/2011, KK). Nationally and regionally the benefits were associated with tourism enhancement, continued collaboration, and increased revenues in line with current regional protocols.

Expectations for development at the provincial level are frustrated by limitations imposed by conditions discussed in *Chapter Three*, the most important being the presence of landmines. The KAZA is currently the greatest incentive for the completion of demining activities as well as a source of funding for these campaigns especially since the signing of the KAZA Treaty in August 2011, with KFW becoming an important financial partner in the TFCA (Silva 2011). Demining is the first step towards improving the situation of the province (Interviewee 9, 21/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 6, 5/09/2011, Lda; Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 22, 18/08/2011, Lda), and it will require a combined effort of the state and the private sector (Ministério do Planeamento 2011). A similar rhetoric is used when referring to the unkind conditions in other provinces of Angola. The improvement of conditions is being associated with the establishment of projects and partnerships; and is defended by the state and current policies. The KAZA is viewed as a platform for development for Kuando Kubango, under which smaller scale projects are carried out in vulnerable sectors. 'The state had to take action to improve the situation of the province, the KAZA is an opportunity' (Interviewee 6, 5/09/2011, Lda).

The KAZA raises expectations for different stakeholders in an environment of poor conditions, placing Angola at an awkward position of how these expectations would be met through a project such as the KAZA. TFCA protocols foresee the creation of ideally equal partnerships; though in reality conditions of national states determine their influence and ability to meet TFCA objectives. The vulnerabilities of Angola require a greater state focus on training, capacity building, and infrastructure development compared to other KAZA partners (Interviewee 4, 24/08/2011, Lda), in addition to acknowledging state limitations in the face of the complexities of TFCA process. The KAZA can be classified as 'a means to an end' in Kuando Kubango, since it will simultaneously fulfill the KAZA objectives while setting the stage for the development of the province that serves as the rationale for the involvement of the Angolan state. Officials are

of the view that since the focus is on gains from the TFCA, it is important to investigate the role of stakeholders in the KAZA process (Interviewee 10, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 11, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 14, 27/09/2011, KK), which is discussed in the next section.

#### **4.4 Local community and their roles**

The discourse of TFCAs places local populations at the center of TFCA projects and suggests that they have the potential to alleviate poverty. TFCAs attempt to avoid the failures of previous pro-poor development programs by acknowledging that population awareness and involvement are essential, but they also failed to address the challenges faced by CBC and other community-related conservation programs. Studies by Lapeyre 2011, Spenceley 2008, Metcalfe and Kepe 2008, Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008, and Wolmer 2003 suggest that local population involvement is very important but often glossed over. Spenceley (2008) suggests that their involvement is affected by remoteness, skills shortage, insecure land rights, and weak social and human capital which are also present in Kuando Kubango.

The benefits for local populations were given special focus in this context in agreement with TFCA objectives and goals of the province. While it is understood that community participation and satisfaction are determining factors for the success of the KAZA, there is little evidence of this on the ground. This lack of evidence was justified by KAZA officials on the basis that the TFCA is in its initial stages of implementation and the lack of capacities of local populations. However, this does not explain why there are no visible efforts to improve consultation with local populations. This is clear from fieldwork material discussed below; focusing specifically on the level of awareness and participation.

##### *4.4.1 Awareness and participation*

Interviewees in Luanda and Kuando Kubango held conflicting views on the knowledge and participation in the KAZA by local populations (*Table 4.3*). As discussed in *Chapter Three*, interviewees in Luanda were associated with provincial and municipal administrators those responsible for the dissemination of information to populations. Those in Kuando Kubango gave importance to local administrators and community members (*Table 4.4*). *Table 4.3* shows that authorities at both the local and provincial government spheres are highly (85.7%) aware of the KAZA. However, their participation in the project is not strong (50%). These views contrast sharply with those held at the local level, where awareness and participation are extremely low (7.1%).

Awareness				Participation		
Entity	Yes (%)	No (%)	Entity	Yes (%)	No (%)	
Authorities (Provincial, Municipal, and Traditional)	85.7	14.3	Authorities (Provincial, Municipal, and Traditional)	50	50	
Local Communities members	7.2	92.8	Local Communities members	7.2	92.8	

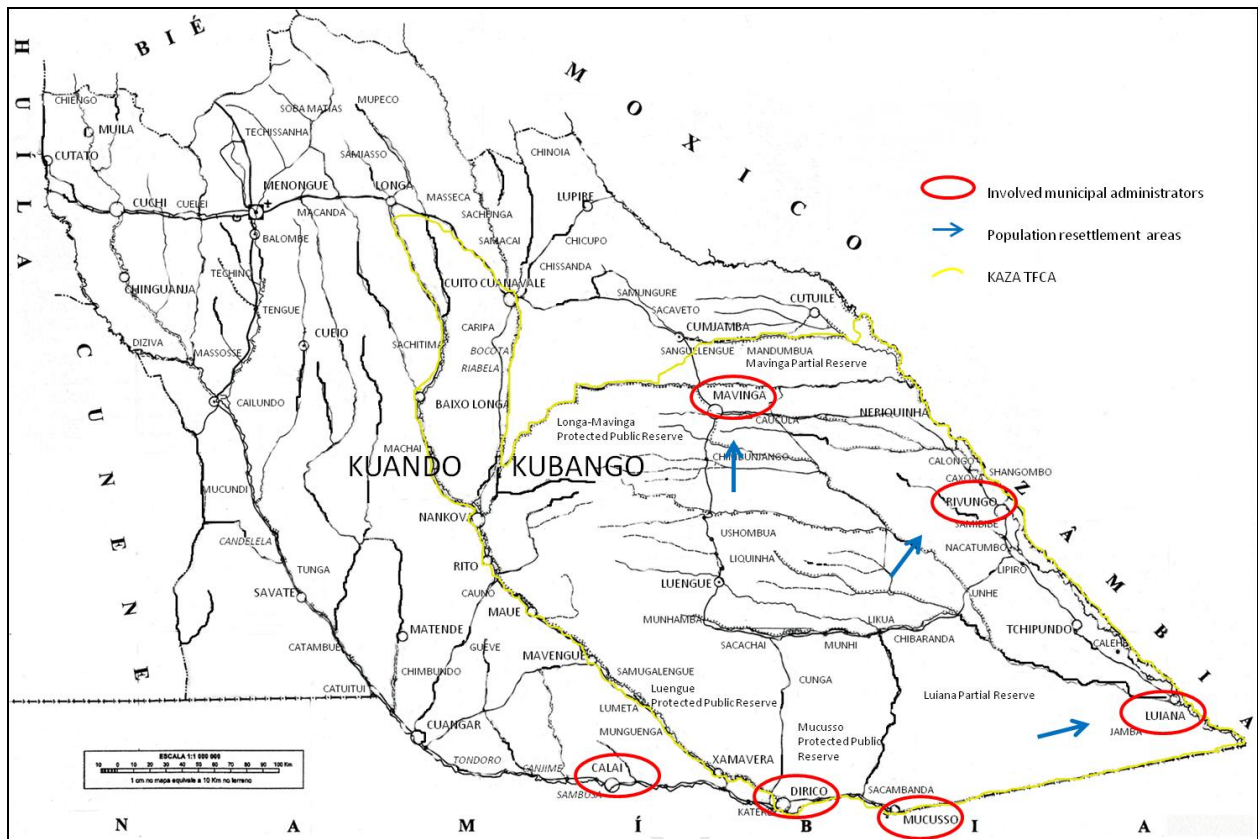
**Table 4.3 Awareness and participation in the KAZA**

Table 4.4 shows the differences in participation and awareness by province, clearly indicating that both are higher in Luanda than in Kuando Kubango. The perceptions of local population participation, awareness, and resettlement by interviewees converged by indicating that they are aware of the lack of community involvement.

Entity	Participation		Awareness		Resettlement
	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)	No (%)	Yes (%)
<b>Luanda</b>					
Administrative Level	62.5	37.5	87.5	12.5	62.5
Local Community	12.5	87.5	12.5	87.5	
<b>Kuando Kubango</b>					
Administrative Level	33	67	83	17	83.3
Local Community	0	100	0	100	

**Table 4.4 Participation, awareness, and resettlement in the KAZA per province**

Local population inclusion currently means the participation of the municipal administrators of Mavinga, Rivungo, and Luiana out of the six municipalities included in the KAZA. These municipalities are important due to the presence of a higher population density and biodiversity, in addition to good agricultural lands hence the resettlement of populations from areas earmarked for conservation and tourism. The communities of Calai, Dirico, and Mucusso (Figure 4.3) along the southern border with Namibia are more involved than others since these towns are venues for KAZA meetings (Interviewee 14, 27/09/2011, KK). Administrators are liaisons between central government, traditional authorities, and communities but current communication has failed to share information beyond provincial and local authorities (Interviewee 4, 3/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 5, 30/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 8, 6/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 10, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 11, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 13, 26/09/2011, KK).



**Figure 4.3 Municipalities involved and resettlement areas**

Modified from: Map 42, Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011

Local population awareness is synonymous with that of local authorities and it is assumed that administrators would defend the rights and concerns of populations (Comissão Interministerial da Área Transfronteiriça de Conservação (ATFC) do KAZA 2011). As a result community members are ignored as they are considered to have limited effects on the project hence it is considered immaterial whether or not they are aware of the KAZA (Interviewee 2, 22/08/2011, Lda; Interviewee 7, 4/10/2011, Lda). Participation currently means the inclusion of municipal and traditional authorities in meetings and the few conservation officers affiliated with Luiana Organization (Interviewee 1, 4/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 9, 21/10/2011, KK; Interviewee 14, 27/10/2011, KK). Municipal and traditional leaders are bound by political state affiliations and conservation officers are affiliated with the FAA and responsible to provincial elites. Participation is conditioned by state interests and has not led to the improvement of conditions or empowerment of populations yet.

The concept of natural resource management by local populations is new to Angola especially since ownership of land and resources belongs to the private sector but largely the state; populations only hold de facto rights (Clover 2005). The alienation of populations can be ascribed to the war, current policies, and the limited vision of KAZA coordinators who see their integration in terms of resettlement, education and awareness campaigns. The official view is

that management of resources by local populations cannot be achieved due to low population densities and limited resource use (Interviewee 1, 4/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 2, 13/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 7, 4/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 9, 21/10/2011, KK; Interviewee 11, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 13, 26/09/2011, KK). It is acknowledged though that the 'modus vivendi' of populations needs to be respected and participatory community research implemented to avoid further community marginalization (Interviewee 11, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK), especially by interviewees in Kuando Kubango.

The indication of local populations as the main benefactor in KAZA documents and their marginalization cannot be justified by their lack of education or understanding. The plans for their involvement exist within the community working group (Interviewee 4, 3/10/2011, Lda), but the usual constraints of lack of funds for education campaigns, project centralization in Luanda, and lack of cooperation between national stakeholders are given as reasons for lack of awareness and participation by local populations. The lack of funds for activities and the current lack of trust on provincial representatives are the greatest causes for delays. The absence of a functioning KAZA local office that acts as the liaison between local and national partners is an important limitation and also explains the centralization of the TFCA process. Such an office would facilitate community participation and provide them with a representative office (Interviewee 8, 6/10/2011, Lda).

The analysis of interviews about local population awareness and participation showed that these were not considered critical aspects up to the time of the creation of the KAZA. This is clearly in contrast with TFCA community objectives; making TFCAs similar to fortress conservation practices and the colonial model of conservation. Lack of population awareness and participation will surely impact on the relationship between communities and the KAZA.

#### *4.4.2 Benefits and effects*

All interviewees expect some community benefits from the KAZA. These benefits are also found in KAZA and TFCA documents (*Table 4.5*). However, the state has yet to set more specific project objectives as benefits will not be immediate but rather measurable in 10 to 20 years (Interviewee 8, 6/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 6, 5/09/2011, Lda). Emphasis was placed on expected TFCA benefits at different levels, while possible effects were studied through visits to TFCAs and national parks in the region with the intent to learn the types of benefits available to local populations (Gabinete de Intercâmbio Internacional 2010). *Table 4.5* shows that community marginalization and resettlement is occurring under the watchful eye of TFCA partners in Angola.

Level	Social	Economic	Period
Local	Infrastructure development for health, education, employment, access and business	Reduce the dependence of the province on government and neighbors	Short term
	Improved living conditions and services for populations (clean water, electricity, nutrition, education, health, social assistance)	Establishment of a tourism economy to fulfill social needs through better conservation and management of resources	
		Completion of demining activities in the province	
	Resettlement as a necessity to improve the lives of populations	Better control and use of resources present for local development	
	Community involvement in conservation and tourism management for benefit sharing	development of the province	
		Commercial agriculture, private investment and local business ventures	
Combat poverty	Provincial development		
Regional	Unify populations across borders	Biodiversity conservation for improved management	Long term
	Reduce human-wildlife conflict	Unify development regionally	
	Combat poverty	Enhance regional tourism	
	Community empowerment, jobs, and environmental stewardship	Continue collaboration in regional protocols and agreements	

Table 4.5 Expected TFCA benefits

Populations are being moved from areas with increased wildlife abundance to areas with appropriate conditions for cultivation of lands (*Figure 4.3*). Resettlement is a recurrent process in Kuando Kubango, previously caused by war and now by conservation. It is affecting populations currently living in the interior of the KAZA and has aggressively begun as 150,000 ex-militants and 60,000 families were moved to the municipalities of Mavinga and Rivungo in 2011 (Jornal de Angola 2011). Current top-down resettlement schemes in this context and elsewhere, are based on community misinformation and are likely to perpetuate poverty by imposing restrictions on settlement options and resources (Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008; Metcalfe and Kepe 2008; Wolmer 2003).

Resettlement has become common whether officially or unofficially done in Angola. It is being used as an incentive for a better life for populations, hence a 'natural step' that will benefit populations (Interviewee 7, 4/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 4, 24/08/2011, Lda). National and provincial governments' reports on the KAZA indicate resettlement as necessary in a series of steps needed to establish cooperation between the government and populations. It is being elegantly executed prior to TFCA establishment, while interviewees do not recognize it as an effect of the TFCA on populations despite the correlation between areas from which people are resettled and the TFCA site (Interviewee 1, 4/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 4, 3/10/2011, Lda). Resettlement is related to the renewal of the agricultural sector (Jornal de Angola 2011) and

the manpower required for it, but also influenced by the politico-administrative desires of the state (improved access to remote areas and voting stations in the 2012 presidential elections, reduced transportation costs) and the KAZA as well. Based on the view of populations as complacent, resettlement was not viewed as a source of disagreement but rather satisfaction especially by interviewees in Luanda (Interviewee 2, 13/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 4, 3/10/2011, Lda; Interviewee 9, 21/09/2011, KK). Conversely, in Kuando Kubango interviewees indicated concern for the ongoing population marginalization and social exclusion (Interviewee 11, 23/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 12, 26/09/2011, KK; Interviewee 13, 26/09/2011, KK).

The limitations faced in this study render one unclear on whether populations are in fact happy or if their wishes have been heard by the state and KAZA partners. Simply accepting that lower population densities correspond to minimal or negligible TFCA effects undermines the value and place of local populations in the TFCA process. This chapter has brought to attention the perceptions and realities of the Angolan component of the KAZA and has highlighted the administrative hurdles, motivations and issues of local population participation. These are further discussed in the next chapter along with the relevant literature.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## *Discussion and Conclusions*

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### **5.1 Introduction**

Throughout this dissertation an analysis of transfrontier conservation and the Angolan component of the KAZA were presented. These concluding summaries discuss the findings of the study and also link them to the TFCA literature, using the KAZA as a test site for the concept of transfrontier conservation and associated benefits. This was done in three sections that all focus on issues present in the KAZA. It draws the conclusions and recommendations from the data (*Chapter Three*) and the analysis presented in *Chapter Four*. The first section reflects on the data collected and the discourse and actions involved in TFCAs. It specifically focuses on practices related to the rationales for TFCAs, local populations as stakeholders, and the complexities of the TFCA process. The second section presents concluding remarks on the implications of this study for TFCAs. The third section makes recommendations for TFCAs through the experience from the KAZA.

### **5.2 Discussion**

The current conservation discourse has transcended political and protected area boundaries, as it attempts to foster cooperation with all its inherent complications. As such transfrontier conservation for some has been accepted as a necessity and continues to be fostered, encouraged, and nurtured (Zbicz 2003). Whether a necessity or an option, the reality is that these conservation initiatives have yet to deliver their promise.

#### *5.2.1 Discourse, motivations and practices*

The transnational nature of environmental problems, weaknesses of states, and international interests and pressures for conservation are driving conservation in developing countries more so because conservation projects are a product of the links between the public, private, and voluntary sectors that are reconstructing the public sphere (Ramutsindela et al. 2011, p.11), and this is evident in transfrontier conservation (see also Ramutsindela and Noe 2012). The motives previously identified for participation in the KAZA (*Chapter Four*) were directly related to individual interests and current state development strategies, involvement was related to benefits. The motivations for participation are in line with the publicity and appeal of the TFCA

concept to young<sup>37</sup> governments in areas of few existing development alternatives (Interviewee 25, 28/02/2012).

As a member of the SADC, the Angolan state was expected to participate in order to fulfill its regional and international obligations, and it can be argued that the involvement of the Angolan state in TFCAs makes it a partner in current environmental governance. Involvement was expected due to cooperation in other sectors but also to regional protocols. While transfrontier conservation is a part of current global governance schemes (Duffy 2006), individual states are not involuntary participants and therefore share responsibilities in such schemes. Involvement is mutually beneficial though there is no such thing as an equal partnership. The power of stakeholders determines who benefits the most leaving local populations often at a disadvantage. Stakeholders varied from TFCA proponents and recipients though there is convergence of interests among anti-apartheid and old business elites creating a sense of elite control (Ramutsindela et al. 2011; Draper et al. 2004). As the findings from the study have shown, the diversity of intentions does not necessarily translate into open conflict. The motivations for TFCAs were rooted in the sentiment of cooperation that was recognized for its purpose, value, and expected benefits from a regional wildlife and tourism perspective (Hanks 2003; Zbicz 2003; Gibson 1999). By the same token the nature of TFCAs and their multiple actors leads to friction and the pursuit of multiple objectives. The marketing of transfrontier conservation initiatives fits nicely with meeting the needs of participating states, international conservation initiatives, and the desire to influence and extend the protected area network in key ecological areas. These initiatives link conservation and development objectives that remain focused on the conservation of key ecosystems; raising questions about local populations as these initiatives start to emulate principles of fortress conservation<sup>38</sup>. Democratization and development in TFCAs are not meant to empower local government but rather national institutions and customary activities (Spiereburg et al. 2007) as is the case in the Angolan side of the KAZA. TFCAs as conservation projects appear dissimilar from colonial practices, yet are often criticized in the same way as colonial conservation.

The gains associated with TFCAs are well known yet the gaps between promises and performance continue. This is caused by a one-sided view of benefits that neglects the existence of restrictions on the ground often associated with the lack of accountability as evident in fieldwork material. The failure of the state to address the current gaps in the TFCA discourse cannot be justified. It remains unclear 'how TFCA gains will ensue and be used to solve domestic problems' (Ramutsindela 2004, p.125). The vision of TFCAs for conservation, social and economic development sacrifices the needs of populations. TFCAs are creating

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<sup>37</sup> From the point of view of involvement in regional conservation initiatives as well as the slow pace of development.

<sup>38</sup> The removals from conservation areas and the lack of participation in it by populations are clear signs of this.

complexities at the regional level related to national security and sovereignty by requiring the adoption of new policies, conferring land for joint management, and opening borders. 'Weak' states fail to understand the ramifications of these initiatives due to the overwhelming focus on perceived gains despite lacking capacities.

The failures of development and conservation programs in Africa are caused by poor program and policy implementation and the lack of strong partnerships (Alasah 2009; Gibson 1999), both of which were present in the Angolan component of the KAZA. The establishment of the TFCA as a measure of decentralization is not being taken lightly due to opposing state policies. Since the state lacks capacities, the PPF is providing training, studies, and facilitating the elaboration of protocols such as the IDPs and the Treaty. Interestingly, in-state partners are involved in park delineation where different proposals emerged as well as a change in coordination; posing implications for previous agreements. Changes proposed by state partners do not support the multiple-resource use landscape envisioned in the TFCA – specifically the establishment of two national parks that would impose stricter restrictions on resource access and use. This leads one to question the symmetries between state and PPF plans especially in circumstances where certain in-country partners display individual decision making behavior in an attempt to assert some authority. The institutional choices made by TFCA administrators and proponents have the greatest impact on these initiatives.

Angola is a state where the durability and nature of political instability affected all sectors of society and its relationship with neighbors. This reality shaped the rationale for involvement in the KAZA and substantiates the pursuit of development, integration, and recognition. The KAZA is an opportunity to intensify this pursuit with conservation and social improvement goals viewed as needs and products of the success of the tourism sector, a clear focus on economic development. As such, the TFCA process and its inherent prospects become marginal issues.

### *5.2.2 The complexity of the TFCA process*

The TFCA model incorporates aspects of previously experienced development and conservation initiatives, though it claims to be adaptable to every situation (Hanks 2003), similarities are evident in both the KAZA and studies reported in the literature (Scovronick and Turpie 2009; Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008). This externally driven TFCA process is made complex by the top-down approach it often generates. Therefore, it is essential to combine 'top-down and bottom-up approaches to promote a stronger national-governmental commitment, local-level ownership, and real benefits' (Interviewee 27, 20/06/2012).

The influence over the distribution of resources by elites is being experienced in the CIM. Creating the CIM was a positive step towards promoting interdisciplinary collaboration that instead led to friction among stakeholders due to differences in objectives, methods, and

personal agendas. The multiple partners involved in the KAZA neither have the same power or vision. The local partners, namely communities are the most powerless. The current situation favors project coordinators and local elites; begging the question of 'who the real benefactors are'. There continues to be a mismatch between the discourse and actions taken that have led to the centralization of activities and information by the powerful while marginalizing the powerless. This mismatch was recognized as the norm by some interviewees. In a study by Zbicz (2003) several levels of local population cooperation were identified from 0 – no cooperation to 5 – full cooperation. Methods such as these place cooperation as a continuum in the TFCA discourse and also rely on variables such as 'appropriate culturally sensitive knowledge of leaders' (Zbicz 2003, p.26). This suggests that cooperation depends on leadership by TFCA coordinators, and the changes in the KAZA reflect that these are also influenced by the importance given to stakeholders.

Cooperation between national and local partners was associated with skills, capacities, and what partners have to offer, partnerships were not equal at all levels. This is because of differences in the social, political, and economic capacity as well as the power of states (Spierenburg et al. 2007; Wolmer 2003; Duffy 1997). Local partners such as provincial coordinators, administrators, local leaders, and community members were not viewed as having much to offer; instead they were continuously seen as uninformed bystanders. At the regional level the same is true due to differences in local conditions, economic power, wildlife policies, land laws, and infrastructural development for tourism. Of the five partners involved, Angola and Zimbabwe seem to be lagging behind compared to Botswana, Namibia, and Zambia. While the TFCA discourse presents these differences as opportunities for shared learning and benefits (Atkinson 2008), there is no doubt that these complicate collaboration and the development of the KAZA. The participation of Angola in the KAZA was a condition of the completion of demining campaigns and the creation of the Luiana National Park. Demining campaigns have been extended and limitations remain for conservation and tourism management for the Luiana National Park. The present limitations require quick action as differences in capacities, resources, and power remain an issue between the state, private sector, and populations as well as between state agencies and partner states (Ramutsindela et al. 2011).

In Angola the complexities of the TFCA process are related to the motivations of project coordinators as influential stakeholders, the institutions charged with TFCA management and implementation, and individual interests, politics, and conditions on the ground. The state is yet to understand the complexities of the TFCA process. The issue of competition between partners is of concern because it renders the vision and implementation of the TFCA fragile as reflected in the actions taken by partners on the ground.

### *5.2.3 The promise of TFCAs: a rehearsal of development programmes*

TFCAs as macro-level initiatives created inter-state protocols that foresee the generation of benefits and empowerment of the most vulnerable by creating opportunities. However, the way opportunities are explored and by whom vary. Opportunities translate to direct and indirect benefits such as employment, safari companies, and services dispersed by the project in critical sectors. The tourism sector was chosen to create these opportunities, as recognized by the SADC and NEPAD as important for the economic and social upliftment of Africa, and a rehearsal of development programmes<sup>39</sup>.

Tourism is 'a pilgrimage of modern man in a quest for authenticity' that is fulfilled in rural Africa (Holden 2000, p.37). This sector has advantages and disadvantages hence not a panacea for development (Atkinson 2008) or cultural experiences, and is influenced by the behaviors of tourists and locals (Holden 2000). In Kuando Kubango it is being used as the propeller of development for the area and its populations; a problem solver. This resonates with the TFCA vision to bring about development of marginalized rural areas. The province has insignificant<sup>40</sup> tourism enterprise development. Still the financial and social expectations associated with earnings, livelihood impacts, and participation from tourism in the KAZA remain the same. While not conducive for tourism development and the empowerment of locals, the KAZA succeeds in raising concerns about transparency and equity as well as the involvement and power of local populations.

Tourism development by local populations requires capacity, equality, training, and rights to resources which populations do not possess and state and private organizations are unwilling to concede. Local participation and the success of local entrepreneurship is vital to the KAZA according to a study by Suich (2008), where 50% of enterprises are locally owned but the return rates and local capacity building remains low. This resonates with the view that tourism initiatives do not necessarily lead to increased economic opportunities for locals (Scovronick and Turpie 2009). Tourism on communal lands has the potential to grant populations some involvement and to generate income, while this may be true in other TFCAs it is not in Angola. The land law is not clear on the land rights of populations as these are afforded occupancy rights and are subject to removals by the state at any time (Clover 2005). The land law and wildlife policies continue to perpetuate colonial heritage by retaining state ownership of resources (Agrawal and Gibson 1999), and TFCAs do the same.

The rate of tourism growth in KAZA partners namely Botswana, Namibia, and Zambia has been increasing and the KAZA is expected to boost this growth. However, tourism studies of the

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<sup>39</sup> Development programs that mortgage available resources and livelihoods for the prospect of funding and support for local development projects.

<sup>40</sup> 2009 estimates account for 13 enterprises, plans for the construction of 9 hotels until 2012.

Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park and the KAZA concluded that increasing industry size alone is not sufficient as there are challenges of revenue leakages, border-crossings, and infrastructure (Scovronick and Turpie 2009; Suich 2008). In Kuando Kubango tourism is a way to redefine social realities by bonding development and environmental objectives to generate benefits, which remains new to the area. Partial hunting reserves and public reserves have existed for more than 30 years, yet the political climate made conservation nominal making resources available for population survival and trade, which seldom leads to development. The changes required for TFCA implementation will generate a mixture of positive and negative impacts on hosts (Duffy 2002). The present state of tourism does not favor high expectations of quick benefit generation in the sector. It is necessary to clarify plans to provide a platform for analysis of benefits and effects at the local level where the most vulnerable are found, such an analysis has been absent since the start of the TFCA process (Metcalf and Kepe 2008). Rural populations were impoverished long before TFCAs. Allowing them to retain land rights in TFCAs and their participation in joint-ventures to generate incomes from tourism leases and jobs is one way to generate equitable benefits for all (Spenceley 2008). Far from the ideal culturally, environmentally, and politically sensitive vision of TFCAs the issues raised around them continue to lead to questions regarding the manner in which objectives will be fulfilled when local conditions are not favorable. Current TFCA models need to consider questions that are being raised about TFCAs as well as local sentiments and development aspirations to truly embrace the interests of populations.

#### *5.2.4 For whom do local communities matter in TFCAs?*

TFCA objectives related to local populations are associated with the alleviation of poverty, empowerment, and upliftment. This is the language of development programs to promote inclusion and social responsibility as important aspects for donors and the international community. These objectives are faced with the challenges discussed previously, but more importantly, the dismissal of and contempt for local populations by coordinators. Communities are undermined and dismissed as stakeholders and beneficiaries hence they are not aware or made aware of the KAZA project. The views from interviewees converged on the belief that decisions had to be made for rather than with communities. This resonates with colonial practices which preyed on community resources while excluding them and disregarding community wishes in the name of population control, employment or development. In Angola populations in Kuando Kubango have the right as citizens to receive support and education in order to gain a better understanding of issues and have the opportunity to establish goals and chose livelihoods. Community empowerment is not only defined by having a say in resource use and allocation but also the right to think independently (Alasah 2009).

The lack of consultation together with low levels of awareness and participation by local population members and authorities is unacceptable. Ramutsindela et al. (2011) suggested that the reduction of population rights is often associated with the unfamiliarity of the private sector with populations, but this is also extended to the state in the KAZA. Whether or not justifications are linked with the consequences of the civil war, the centrality of local populations proposed in the TFCA vision should be reflected in the KAZA through actions on the ground. The rationale that political and legal commitments must be achieved without population involvement continues to empower elites making them the voices of local populations, and turns conservation into an imposition. Resettlement is the first consequence of this imposition that is taking advantage of the migratory history of populations, low population densities and needs. To counter the negative publicity associated with resettlement schemes following TFCA proclamation, the state has initiated population resettlement under the prospect of improved livelihoods and development. While resettlement can be substantiated by the lack of state support and landmines in remote areas, its official character is linked to the KAZA TFCA and populations remain oblivious to its real causes. The issues, magnitude and propaganda of the KAZA are comparable to another such initiative, the GLTP (Wolmer 2003; Spierenburg et al. 2008).

The GLTP, as a premier initiative in Southern Africa, shares similarities in terms of magnitude and initial constraints for populations. Though a transfrontier park, the GLTP was intended to be a TFCA. The lack of community consultation during the establishment process, resettlement, and the establishment of national parks countering the idea of a TFCA as a multiple resource use area (Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008; Spierenburg et al. 2007) were present in the GLTP and the KAZA. A greater focus was placed on expected benefits and linkages between the state and private sector that pushed for a fast development which shaped the outcomes and position of populations. Due to the differences between partners, the situation of conservation and populations was different in South Africa and Mozambique with populations more marginalized in Mozambique. In the Limpopo National Park in Mozambique local populations were not consulted and consequently evicted in order to establish the park, though attempts have been made to provide compensation and resettlement, livelihoods were fundamentally changed and populations continue to return to live inside the park (Spierenburg et al. 2007).

The magnitude and propaganda of the KAZA requires a wide network of partners across disciplines and scales. These networks present a barrier to the expression of local population wishes. TFCA effects on populations are variable and dependent on state laws and policies of cooperation. In Angola the indication of local populations as beneficiaries lacks planning and population consultation, lessons that could have been learned and averted had a meticulous analysis of TFCAs been conducted by project coordinators. The failure of collaboration and communication between local populations and KAZA coordinators at this early stage of the

TFCA is attributed to changing views of coordinators regarding the importance attributed to stakeholders. Though local populations' perceptions and positions are likely to change over time, a great concern is how they will benefit if they do not possess knowledge of what is to come and what is taking place. It is incorrect to assume (i.e. interviewees) that populations can be ignored in the TFCA process because they are unable to understand, as they continue to be central stakeholders who, unlike wildlife, cannot be tamed.

Local populations in Angola are voiceless and maneuvered by the state, this holds true in the KAZA TFCA. State policies operate in this manner, which limit the fulfillment of TFCA objectives for the empowerment and development of populations. Different policies and choices between the state and the TFCA rhetoric as well as the dismissal of local populations by TFCA proponents and the state coordinators within the KAZA project continue to prevent populations from exercising their rights to manage resources and to benefit from them. Only when local population knowledge and education matter will local populations indeed gain the importance claimed in the TFCA discourse. But the question of who will give them that power, how and when remains unanswered.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

The KAZA is a famous TFCA, its splendor is associated with the ecological and wildlife characteristics of its area, and the five partner states – never before had a TFCA involved so many partners. It is taken to be a testament to regional cooperation when in reality it is a test to the concept of transfrontier conservation and its implementation in southern Africa. The findings from this study question the concept and implementation of TFCAs in the region.

In an attempt to provide answers to the research questions in *Chapter One*, it can be said that Angola's motivations to take part in the KAZA are ultimately rooted in the desire to foster provincial development in Kuando Kubango. As such, the place and effects of the KAZA on local populations remain limited if not overlooked, because the populations are viewed as beneficiaries rather than active participants. Therefore, local population knowledge and engagement in the KAZA is minimal if not absent. Currently, a greater focus is placed on the positive benefits likely to come from the KAZA to the Kuando Kubango province, specifically infrastructural development, demining, tourism and services which are expected to improve the living conditions of local populations. However, the attainment of these goals is delayed by unfavorable local conditions, differences in interests/views of national stakeholders, and the complexities and delays in the TFCA process. The unfolding of the TFCA process and the issues therein indicate that, in Angola, there is still an unsorted mixture of development, community, and conservation goals that pose serious implications for the fulfillment of the KAZA TFCA objectives in general and the states' objectives in particular.

TFCAs are conservation and development icons – more so the latter it seems – and the involvement in such initiatives is first and foremost conditioned by political pressures and the prospect of economic development and or support of the state where such initiatives are implemented. The link between conservation and development in TFCAs is not casual; it is intended to attract/compel states to participate. It is explored very well in southern Africa by creating unrealistically high expectations that TFCAs will result in development whether through tourism or otherwise. This leads states, like Angola, to overlook their limitations and sacrifice the national vision for the regional one when it relates to conservation. However, it is unrealistic to portray southern African states as unwilling and irresponsible participants in this process because they agree to participate but fail to move beyond its inherent political and economic pressures.

TFCAs thrive under the banner of ‘equity, environmental and social responsibility’ (Hall-Martin and Modise 2002); making the TFCA vision inherently good. The vision appears to be a wish list for local population involvement and benefits through conservation, though in reality the implementation and interpretations of that vision is a cause for concern. As TFCAs attempt to organize networks between the state, private sector, NGOs, and populations; the definition of population upliftment and development varies among stakeholders. Developing states are attracted by the splendor of TFCA objectives and projected outcomes and fail to recognize the costs and especially those paid by the local populations. This is related to the inabilities of the state itself as well as involuntary resettlement and lack of consultation in rural areas. These states often face crucial internal problems of corruption and elite control of resources, inequalities in the distribution of wealth, handicapped social and service sectors that TFCA proponents overlook. Leading to the question of why TFCA projects are still sold amid these limitations and for whom. Such a set up attributes ownership to the state and TFCA proponents, forgetting about the local populations. The proposition that TFCAs should contribute to poverty alleviation and community upliftment by empowering them through the management of resources is problematic because populations do not own these resources and their interests are unlikely to be in accord with powerful stakeholders. TFCAs fall short on equity regarding local populations because, rather than stakeholders, these populations would more appropriately be classified as indirect beneficiaries.

This dissertation has shown that the current administration, implementation, and process of TFCAs demand serious attention. The challenges facing the KAZA and the problems that are beginning to emerge on the Angolan side are all too common in TFCAs (see also Milgroom and Spierenburg 2008; Wolmer 2003). While one must admit that TFCAs are here to stay and have obtained sufficient legitimacy in southern Africa and elsewhere, existing problems and questions about them cannot be wished away. As a point of departure, stakeholders and their supporters must admit that there are problems with the TFCA process. State partners must

realize that TFCAs are not a panacea for development, local populations are not a vehicle for their achievement, and the inequalities of the TFCA process pose regrettable implications for the state and conservation in the near future. The future of TFCAs in general is dependent on whether or not those involved learn from past failures and successes to fulfill goals accordingly.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

The need for accountability, understanding, and local community inclusion in the TFCA discourse favor the adoption of the principle of checks and balances (Agrawal and Gibson 1999). While simple, it favors the inclusion of direct and indirect partners in decision making processes to allow them to express their concerns while reducing the focus on benefits and making them more attainable to all partners. This reduces the likelihood of corruption regarding allocated funds and favors the fulfillment of promises. This would be an appropriate recommendation for all states involved in TFCAs to not only demand but also take accountable actions, giving communities the power to speak for themselves.

In the particular case of Angola, there is the need to restore collaboration and communication between state ministries, departments, and agencies through the CIM. This can be achieved by having regular meetings and development of joint activities which affect the participation and satisfaction of partners. More importantly it is necessary to include non-state and non-elite partners to contribute to the development of the KAZA in Angola. As per the suggestion of local NGOs in Kuando Kubango, the establishment of participatory community forums would also be beneficial to promote awareness, communication and a better relationship between project coordinators in Luanda and local communities in Kuando Kubango - which would be an initial step towards capacity building. In conclusion, the KAZA TFCA in Angola demands improved understanding of TFCAs by unpacking objectives, motivations, and the outcomes for local communities.

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## APPENDICES

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## Appendix A: List of documents consulted

1. KAZA Boundary Delineation 2011
2. Resumed IDP 2011
3. Explanatory note on the IDP 2011 by MINHOTUR
4. MINAMB – explanatory note on the IDP 2011 by MINAMB
5. Explanatory note on the IDP by MGMI
6. Operational demining plan for the KAZA 2011
7. Reference terms for demining activities
8. Memorandum of demining activities in the Kuando Kubango province 2011
9. Proposal for the demining of Luiana Partial Reserve by UNDP
10. Report of the visit to the Luiana Partial Reserve 2007 by CIM
11. KAZA program KFW Phase II Budget – financial monitoring September 2009 to April 2011
12. Proposal for the demining of Luiana Partial Reserve by IUCN
13. Workshop of implementation of the KAZA Angolan component 2008
14. Elephant pathways for peace 2005
15. Communication working group report 2010
16. Tourism working group report 2010
17. Defense and security working group report 2011
18. Community working group report 2010
19. Objectives of country based working groups
20. 'Where Angola begins' 2011
21. 'Okavango, the importance of managing our transfrontier water resources' 2011
22. The facilitation and development of transfrontier conservation areas in southern Africa report 2008
23. The role of private sector operators in the KAZA Angolan component
24. Financial cooperation complementary report for the KAZA TFCA 2009
25. Report of the communal administration of Luiana to the local government of Kuando Kubango 2011
26. Report of the community working group to the provincial commission of the KAZA project 2011
27. Report of the Government of Angola about the situation of the Kuando Kubango province 2010
28. Report of the visit conducted by MINHOTUR to the local communities in Kuando Kubango
29. Report of the politico-administrative divisions of the Kuando Kubango province 2010
30. Report of provincial coordinators for the KAZA project
31. Report of the workshop of the implementation of the KAZA TFCA in Angola 2008
32. Report of the potential of the Kuando Kubango province in terms of natural and cultural resources 2005
33. Memorandum regarding the state of implementation of the KAZA in Angola 2011
34. Report of the tourism potential of the Okavango Zambeze area 2010
35. Report of the workshop of the KAZA project – challenges and advantages
36. Report of regional meeting of the ministerial committee members for the KAZA TFCA 2011
37. Report of the reunion of the task force of the KAZA TFCA to discuss the KAZA Treaty 2011

38. Report of the SADC meeting regarding TFCAs in the region 2011
39. Report of the meeting of RETOSA 2011
40. Report of the meeting with specialists from the PPF 2011
41. Report of the economic and social situation as well as inventory of public interventions program for the Kuando Kubango province 2011
42. Reference terms of the demining workshop of the Angolan component of the KAZA 2011
43. Report of the 1<sup>st</sup> meeting of the CIM regarding the KAZA 2008
44. Report of the 2<sup>nd</sup> meeting of the CIM regarding the KAZA 2009
45. Report of the 3<sup>rd</sup> meeting of the CIM regarding the KAZA 2009
46. Report of the 5<sup>th</sup> meeting of the CIM regarding the KAZA 2011
47. Report of the trip made by a delegation of MINHOTUR to Namibia, Botswana, and Zambia to gain experience regarding TFCA establishment, opportunities, and challenges 2010
48. Report of the 6<sup>th</sup> meeting of the ministerial committee for the KAZA 2011
49. Reference terms of the workshop for KAZA implementation in Angola
50. Report of the state of implementation of the KAZA TFCA in Angola 2011
51. Angola tourism plan 2011
52. National plan of action (PAN) for the sustainable management of the Cubango/Okavango basin 2011
53. Integrated Development Plan – KAZA TFCA Angolan Component 2010 by PPF
54. Integrated Development Plan – KAZA TFCA Angolan Component 2010 by MINHOTUR
55. Memorandum of understanding (MoU) for the KAZA TFCA 2006
56. Explanatory note for the MoU 2006
57. 2<sup>nd</sup> proposed draft of the KAZA Treaty 2010
58. 3<sup>rd</sup> proposed draft of the KAZA Treaty 2010
59. KAZA TFCA Treaty 2011
60. Great Limpopo TFCA Treaty

Newspaper Articles from *Jornal de Angola*

61. Angola and Namibia sign agreement to promote tourism 2009
62. German government promises aid for the KAZA project says governor of Kuando Kubango Eusébio Teixeira 2009
63. Thousands are resettled in the Kuando Kubango province 2011
64. Governor of Kuando Kubango guarantees the expansion of services 2011
65. Angolan government bets on the development of the KAZA project 2009
66. Angola satisfied with Okavango 2009
67. KAZA project brings together regional ministers in Cabinda 2009
68. Old battle camps must be turned into tourism areas 2011
69. Local production of rice in Kuando Kubango next September 2011
70. Mucusso awaits investments 2011
71. Water project in Mavinga benefits population 2011
72. Requalification/rehabilitation of roads in Kuando Kubango 2011

73. Angola prioritizes demining of the KAZA project 2011
74. KAZA project receives approval at the SADC meeting 2011
75. Veterans inaugurate cooperative in Kuando Kubango 2011
76. Regional development depends on the training of good professionals 2011
77. One thousand social homes to be built in Menongue 2011
78. Kuando Kubango welcomes Angolans returning from Zambia 2011
79. Little is known in Angola about the Zambezi basin 2011
80. Demining gains lands for agriculture 2011
81. Commission created for the resettlement of ex-militants in Kuando Kubango 2011
82. Ana Dias Lourenço presents program of development for Kuando Kubango 2011
83. U.S. guarantees investment in agriculture and tourism sectors 2011
84. Regional integration is a pathway for strategic development 2011
85. Angola increases conservation areas and is close to the international requirement 2011
86. Calai wants to reduce its dependence on Rundu, Namibia 2011
87. The KAZA Treaty was signed: the biggest protected area for ecotourism in the world 2011
88. The meeting of Luanda and the integration in the SADC 2011
89. Angola has a central role in promoting regional integration 2011

## Appendix B: List of Contacts

Interviewee #	Affiliation
1	MINHOTUR, GII, CIM
2	MINHOTUR, GII, Communication Working Group
3	MINHOTUR, GII, CIM
4	MINHOTUR, D.N.F.H.T, Community Working Group
5	MINFAMU, CIM
6	MINARS, Demining National Commission, CIM
7	MINAMB, National Directorate for Biodiversity, Biodiversity Working Group
8	MINAGRI, Forest Development Institute
9	Provincial Governor of Kuando Kubango, CIM
10	Provincial Inspector of Kuando Kubango, Inter-ministerial commission for the KAZA
11	ACADIR, Administrative Director
12	M'BAQUITA, Founder and Administrative Director
13	M'BAQUITA, Administrative Director
14	CARITAS ANGOLA
15	MINAGRI, Chief of Department of the Institute of Veterinary Services
16	MINAGRI, Provincial Chief of Department for Agriculture, CIM
17	MINFAMU, Provincial director of MINFAMU
18	National Demining Commission of Angola, 7 representatives
19	Minister of Tourism of Namibia
20	Minister of Environment and Development of Zimbabwe
21	Ministry of Tourism of Zambia, Permanent Secretary
22	Minister of Environment of Angola
23	MINHOTUR, Director of GII, Coordinator of the KAZA project in Angola
24	Host family in Kuando Kubango

- 25 Anchor Environmental Consulting, London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine
- 26 UNDP-NORAD Biodiversity Chief Technical Adviser to the Government of Angola 2000-2004, Independent consultant on the KAZA and Maiombe Forest TFCAs
- 27 Professor, University of Manchester, School of Social Sciences
- 28 Angolan armed forces, Lieutenant
- 29 Private tourism operator, Kwanza Lodge - Angola
- 30 Associate Professor, University of Amsterdam, Department of Organizational Studies, Meeting
- 31 1<sup>st</sup> Executive director of PPF, Independent Consultant on TFCAs

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