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Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Governance In Southern Africa: Understanding Contestations And Conflict Between Local Resource Access And Biodiversity Conservation

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Abstract:

Transfrontier conservation protected area management in Southern Africa is being influenced by a globalization of conservation as the Western-driven transboundary conservation movement seeks to enlarge protected areas across international borders. The ensuing resource conflict in Makuleke and Sengwe communities is the result of an epistemological disparity between conservation and rural livelihoods of local communities who endure the most of incessant wildlife threats. The governance processes and subsequent unmet local livelihoods interests, impact local access to natural, social, and economic resources, thereby threatening livelihoods and the sustainability of conservation areas dependent on local popular support and legitimization. The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (Peace Park), Makuleke and Sengwe communities were examined using interdisciplinary multiple-scale approach such as interviews, observations, household questionnaires and literature analysis to contextualize local resource decisions within the global conservation framework juxtaposed with local contexts.

1.Introduction

Transfrontier conservation governance and management in Southern Africa moved away from a strictly preservationist paradigm towards managing biodiversity, ecological services to also benefit the local resource users. This is captured in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Treaty signed in 2002. In that regard, transfrontier conservation, which imply biodiversity conservation that straddles geo-political boundaries of one state (Wolmer,2003), is increasingly expected to contribute to local livelihoods enhancement and poverty alleviation in underdeveloped communities. In the case of the GLTP, it was envisaged that natural resources act as a stimulus for economic development. This would be through continued and expanded sustainable resource-dependent livelihoods and the creation of new opportunities, stemming from consumptive and non-consumptive resource utilization from wild animals, forests resource and aquatic resource utilisation that punctuate the GLTP, the areas around it and within Sengwe and Makuleke communities. Within this 'environment and community development' interface, the Makuleke and Sengwe communities' livelihoods, resource use patterns, and micro scale environmental land-use and other support services at the community level remain critical. Less understood in the case of the GLTP are the impacts of governance institutions in terms of affecting land use and natural resource access, use at the household or at the community/village level (Campbell, 1993).

This paper attests that community land use and environmental decisions must go beyond structural explanations and include more local processes in terms of according resource governance authority to the local people emanating from deeply held cultural norms. Perceptions of land use and local resource rights, it was found during research in the GLTP that they are rarely factored in such analyses, but often drive change at a greater pace than the realities of external drivers (Harris et al. al., 1998) in as far as the governance of natural resources are concerned. This is especially evident in the context of polarized communities, pitting against state centred conservation governance, such as the GLTP, which illustrates the challenge of understanding and incorporating socially differentiated paradigms for transfrontier conservation areas and local users (Weiner et al. al., 1999).

2.Methodology

The study examine issues relating to the GLTP as it relates to natural resource governance contestations, rural livelihoods and resource access of communities

bordering the GLTP conservation areas, local knowledge, particularly those regarding values and perceptions, are critical to understand land and resource ecological processes and conflicts that accompany them. Local knowledge is viewed as a set of multiple realities of landscapes and biodiversity relationships resulting from variations in culture, gender, race, politics, ethnicity, location, and history, which capture the everyday life experiences of diverse social groups (Weiner et al.,1995; Ceccato and Snickars 2000). The multiple realities and communities they compose can be examined against varying contexts, from resource governance at different scale levels, policies to macro-scale processes of globalization and transfrontier conservation.

Fieldwork was carried out between for ten months from June 2011 and March 2012 with numerous field visits to the Makuleke (five months) and Sengwe (five months) communities, local authorities, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), park officials. Data collection included household questionnaires (230 in Sengwe and 211 in Makuleke), interviews, key informants, observations and focus group discussions as part of the broader community engagement for their interpretation of the way they perceive ecological relations. Secondary sources such as library research, research papers related to the subject and indeed, use of policy documents and strategic plans for the GLTP were used in the research. Household data included socio-economic demographic information, livelihood strategies, natural resource utilization methods, consumption indicators, attitudes towards the GLTP governance, values, and perceptions ascribed to natural resources and conservation as it relates to ecological conflicts. Questionnaires were completed by household representatives, and in some cases, the research assistants employed from the communities also assisted the community members using the same questionnaire to solicit answers from household family representative member at each household.

The interviewed individuals had their answers recorded.

There was no prior arrangement was made to visit a particular household and the researcher visited households at will, thus minimizing return visits to households and field time. This approach, allowed the collection of socially differentiated knowledge (Weiner, 1995; Ceccato *et al. al.*, 2000) resulting from multiple realities due to age, gender and position in household (wife, daughter, son or father.). Local research assistants were trained to assist in the distribution of household questionnaires and assist respondents to complete their questionnaires in cases in which respondents were found not being able to read and write. The researcher and research assistants collected the

completed household questionnaires from each household in the community. Community-Integrated Geographic Information Systems, looking at the aerial photographs and topographic maps were used with group interviews to stimulate general discussion and address specific questions. Participants evaluated resource location, issues of access, resource governance, representation and the contestations associated with various processes relating to the GLTP. Field photographs focused on livelihood activities was also applied as a tool to understand the state of the environment and its related impact arising from human activities to understand ecological sensitivities. Related narratives of historical locations and patterns of identified communal resource conflict areas, drawing their own interpretation of various governance themes helpful in understanding conflicts and resource contestations in the GLTP. This allowed capturing both quantitative and qualitative data from personal observation to the vantage point and knowledge by the respondents in the two communities. This interdisciplinary multiple-scale approach in terms ensured proper and comprehensive understanding of resource governance by adopting a more synergizing model in these complex interactions in balancing various stakeholders' perspectives in the GLTP. The emerging field of interdisciplinary community-integrated research (Weiner *et al.*, 1995; Harris and Weiner, 1998) provides a matching set of methods blending qualitative and quantitative data to address issues of transfrontier parks governance, land use dynamics from an integrated perspective to have a clear understanding of local perceptions about the GLTP governance processes. With roots in socio-ecological science, interdisciplinary research, helps to understand complex issues from a holistic point of view particularly relating to appreciating participatory resource governance, environmental decision-making, all seek to bring together 'expert' scientific and 'local' community knowledge, attitudes, and perceptions for critical analysis.

3.Transfrontier Conservation Trends

The study of the GLTP's Sengwe and Makuleke communities required the adoption of methodologies that would help to explore resource governance issues accessibility, local attitudes and livelihood issues in communities bordering the GLTP conservation areas in South Africa and Zimbabwe. The community data was contextualized from the perspective of local resource use expectations, their thinking in terms of environmental decision-making within the ongoing globalization of conservation in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, particularly the transfrontier

conservation movement. While interest in transfrontier conservation has substantially increased in recent years, specific research results relating to impacts on social, economic, and biodiversity goals are lacking. Figure 1 gives the growing number of transfrontier/transboundary conservation areas since 1988 until 2010, indicating how rapidly they have become important globally in terms of contributing towards biodiversity conservation.

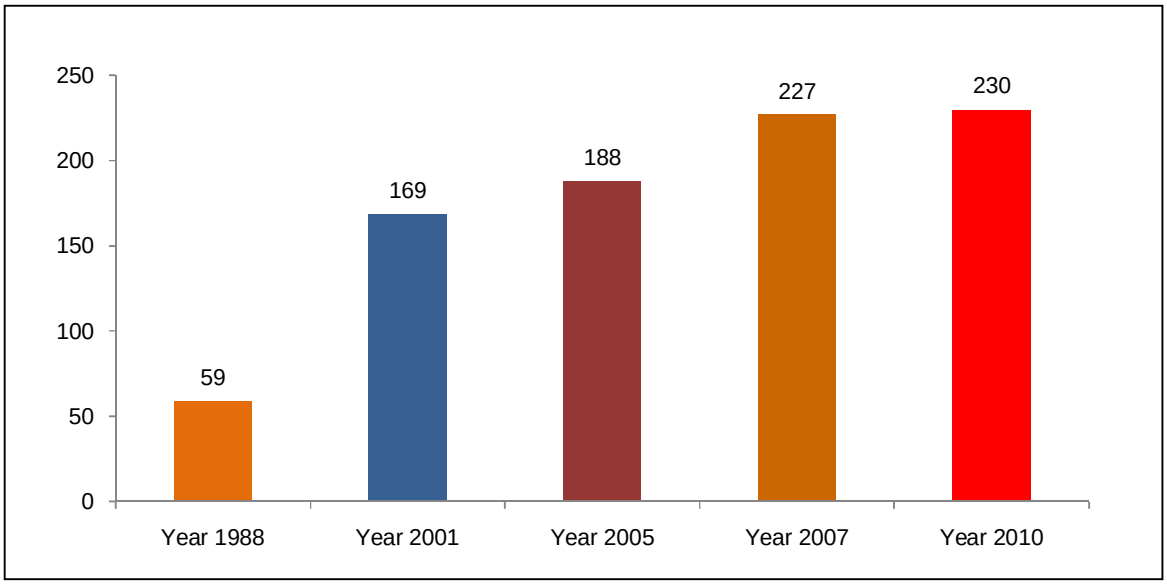

Figure 1: Incremental global numbers of Transfrontier/Transboundary Protected Areas
Source: Adapted with own modification from Schoon (2008:4); Buscher and Schoon (2008:33)

Drawing from the global Transfrontier/Transboundary Protected Areas (TBPA) phenomenal increase above, and bringing it closer to Southern Africa, the existing Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) or TBPA in the SADC region cover many globally acclaimed national parks and communities as well. They also include game reserves, hunting areas and conservancies occurring contiguously to each other mostly within intervening land with a number of areas under communal tenure (Cumming, 1999; 2004:1). Others authors have put forward that the terrestrial coverage is estimated to be over 120 million hectares planned for 'Peace Parks' (Osofsky et al., 2009:90; Cunning, 2004:1) in the region. Existing Transfrontier Parks (TFPs) are twenty-two (22) in the SADC region, covering about 460,000 miles or 1,200, 000 km^2, just a shy of the area of Texas, California and New York combined (Osofsky et al., 2009:90).

A reality check in this study established that communities' integration in TFPs, particularly in the GLTP, has been fizzling out and the conservation debate regarding community participation in natural resource governance and management equally polarized. As such, criticism against communities, their traditional systems of resource conservation and the dismal performance of Community Based Natural Resource Management, have become a characteristic for central government intervention in conservation even though the reasons are not justified (Sigh and Houtum, 2002:257). Schoon (2008:10) notes that unfortunately, the local population are often not consulted and their conservation processes are frequently at odds with plans of governments and other outsiders, such as conservation Non-Governmental Organisation (NGOs) in which case, community benefits for livelihoods are not guaranteed. From this livelihood perspective, many residents in Makuleke and Sengwe earn their living by working on the land for subsistence livelihood such as crop farming, harvesting forest products and livestock production. Work on poverty alleviation and environmental linkages, point to the importance of understanding both community livelihoods and institutions embedded in site-specific social and political relations, which cannot be ignored in this process. This study found that resource governance unfolding in the GLTP crowds out local institutions from facilitating the local people in terms of having access rights, use-rights, ownership of natural resources and prohibits the local community from participation in the management of natural resources. Since 2002 when the GLTP was established, their involvement has equally diminished.

Results are presented from two communities (Makuleke and Sengwe) communities in South Africa and Zimbabwe respectively, which are currently experiencing natural resource governance contestations with the GLTP Joint Management Board or their national conservation agencies as part of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park conservation initiative involving South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The contestation over governance and the inherent conflict is influenced by an epistemological disparity between rural subsistence livelihood of the communities and the Western-driven neo-liberal conservation movement, ideologies and multi-level biodiversity conservation that pervert the entire Southern Africa as shown on map bellow captured as Figure 2 shows the distribution of transfrontier projects at different stages in Southern Africa.

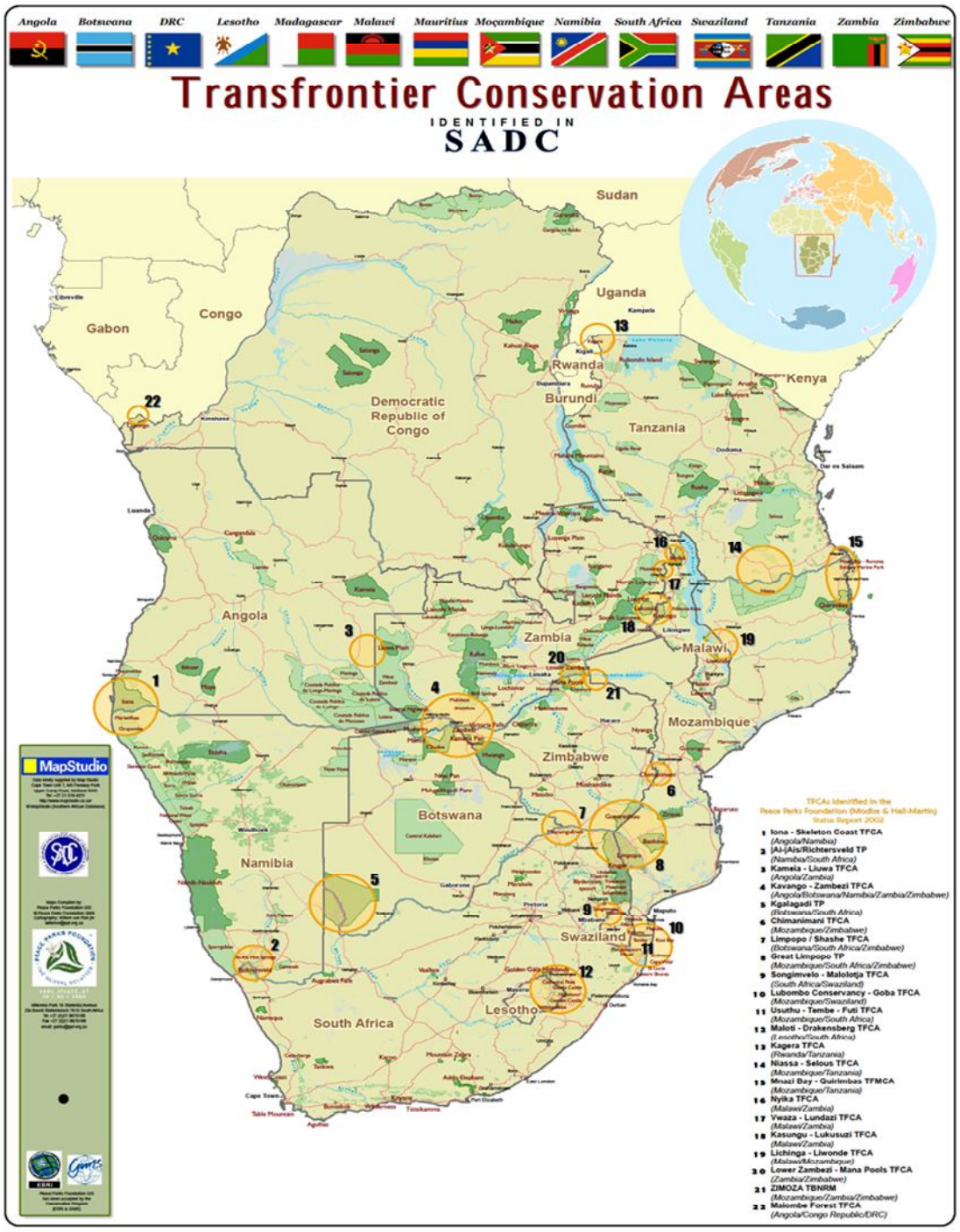

Figure 2: The Geographical Distribution of Transfrontier Programmes in Southern Africa

Source: Adapted from SADC TFCAs

(www.sadc.int/fanr/naturalresources/transfrontier/tfcas.gif)

There are currently twenty-two areas identified in Southern Africa for transfrontier parks/transfrontier conservation areas at different stages of development as shown in Table 1.

Name of TFCA	Countries involved	Status
1. Iona-Skeleton Coast TFCA	Angola and Namibia	-MoU signed 1 August 2003.
2. Ai-Ais/Richtersveld Transfrontier Park (TFP)	Namibia and South Africa	-MoU signed October 2000. -Treaty signed August 2003.
3. Kameia-Livwa TFCA	Angola and Zambia	-Conceptual phase, first planning meeting held 7 June 2006.
4. Kavango-Zambezi TFCA	Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe	-MoU developed, to be signed during 2006. -Launched March 2012.
5. Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park	Botswana and South Africa	-Agreement signed 19 April 1999 and officially launched on 12 May 2000.
6. Chimanimani TFCA	Mozambique and Zimbabwe	-MoU signed 2001.
7. Great Maoungubwe TFCA	Botswana, South Africa and Zimbabwe	-MoU signed 22 June 2006
8. Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (TFP)	Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe	-MoU signed 10 November 2000. -Treaty signed 9 December 2002
9. Songimvelo-Malolotja TFCA	South Africa and Swaziland	-Protocol signed on 22 June 2000.
10. Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation and Resource Area (TFCA)	Mozambique, South Africa and Swaziland	-Trilateral Protocol signed 22 June 2000
11. Usuthu-Tembe-Futi TFCA	Swaziland, South Africa and Mozambique	-Protocol signed on 22 June 2000.

Name of TFCA	Countries involved	Status
12. Kagera TFCA	Rwanda and Tanzania	-Conceptual phase.
13. Nissa-Selous TFCA	Mozambique and Tanzania	-Conceptual phase.
14. Mnazi Bay-Quirimbas TFCMA	Mozambique and Tanzania	-Conceptual phase.
15. Nyika-Kasungu-Lukusuzi	Malawi and Zambia	-MoU signed 13 August 2004.
16. Vukiza-Lundazi TFCA	Malawi and Zambia	-Conceptual phase.
17. Kasungu-Lukuzi TFCA	Malawi and Mozambique	-Conceptual phase.
18. Liwonde-Lichinga TFCA	Malawi and Mozambique	-Preliminary negotiations.
19. Lower Zambezi- Mana Pools TFCA	Zambia and Zimbabwe	-Conceptual phase.
20. ZIMOZA TBNRM	Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe	-Planning phase
21. Masiombe Forest TFCA	Angola, Congo Republic and the Democratic Republic of Congo	-Conceptual phase.

Table 1: Various stages of TFCAs Programmes in Southern Africa
Source: Adapted from PPF Status Report (2002) and SADC TFCAs Unit (www.sadc.int/fanr/naturalresources/transfrontier/tfcas.gif)

It is critical to note that the communities that are affected from a livelihood and conservation governance point of view are too many. Before going into other critical issues, it is imperative to establish the entry point for Southern African countries into the current conservation flagship. This consideration takes the debate to the evolvement of transfrontier conservation in the region touching on the ideological imperatives to understand its development. The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park was launched on 9 December 2002 after the signing of a Trilateral Treaty by the governments of South African, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. This was a manifestation and culmination of regional and global influences from both governmental and non-governmental conservation organisations to ensure sustainable biodiversity conservation. Nonetheless,

one of the criticisms of such multi-level natural resource influence is the generation of governance that lack localisation or decentralisation. In fact, it allowed for a greater degree of centralisation of power and authority regarding the management of natural resources. Generally, global actors can centralise control over resources, and concentrate power in the hands of narrow networks of international NGOs, international financial institutions, global consultants on tourism and bilateral donors (Duffy, 2005:101), and this ultimately exclude the local people as the centre of focus as encapsulated in the GLTP Treaty.

Indeed, there is evidence, for example, communities in South Africa and Zimbabwe sides of the GLTP, expressed concerns during the whole project was jeopardizing their livelihoods, leaving the local people at the mercy of government and donor programmes, which may not be sustainable in dealing with their problems. Coupled with demands to change land use and restrictions on crop and animal husbandry, forest and water harvesting and use of medicinal plants, such restrictions superimposed leave households exposed to a number of vulnerabilities. To buttress this point, for instance, because the Peace Parks Foundation had raised millions of dollars for creating the Transfrontier Park, the donors expected to see action on the ground from 2002 going forward. Thus, governments fast-tracked the process to establish an instant park, and in the quest to achieve that, the programme was rushed through without adequate community consultation (Duffy, 2005:101; Mail and Guardian, 2002:12-16). This also did not take into account serious consideration of community livelihoods needs and locally specific conservation practices based on their indigenous knowledge systems that the SADC transfrontier conservation put emphasis on. The initial plan was to establish a Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA), which would have allowed multiple land use that accommodates communities inside and adjacent to the GLTP. However, the outcome and determination of governments, culminated in the GLTP, which naturally imposed a different regime of resource governance and conservation strategies.

Going forward, it is argued in this paper that neo-liberal conservation protectionism in this case, put much of the emphasis on the 'return to fortress conservation' or what King and Cutshall (1994:2) referred to as "hard-edge," in which humans have no place and must completely be separated from nature. That dichotomous approach, which overlooks interdependences existing in Southern Africa's communities as continued ecological and human relations, fundamentally ignores that reality of previous successes of Community Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM), especially the Communal Areas

Management For Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) programme in Zimbabwe where communities demonstrated their ability to govern and manage natural resources sustainably. Ideally, the ascendancy of transfrotneir programmes has substantially substituted participatory community based natural resource conservation (Buscher and Dietz, 2005:1).

In this view, empirical sentiments from households and other literature suggested that the strategies employed in Southern Africa transfrontier conservation concepts, their policies and programmes need to be revisited (Adams and Hulme 2001:22, Brockington, 2002:18; Cernea and Schmidt-Soltau, 2006). Clearly, communities are prevented from enhancing their livelihoods in order to address grinding poverty that is characteristic of many outlying areas adjacent to the mega conservation parks where private eco-tourism companies reap rich picking from pristine flora and fauna. To this end, the paper was persuaded to postulate that the strong sense of urgency involved in neo-protectionist turn amongst conservation practitioners in the case of the GLTP, is being reciprocated by an equally strong academic and development call from Community-Based Natural Resources Management (CBNRM) advocates, insisting on the return to 'communities' and facilitate local participation in resource governance. This ensures that the local people benefit from their resources. Failure to compromise between community resource needs on one hand, and conservation objectives on the other hand, has the potential to strain contested natural resource choices and competing natural resource claims that can undermine sustainable transfrontier conservation strategies being implemented in the GLTP.

In another scholarly article, Mamimine and Mandivengerei (2001:1; 11) observed with concern that the potential of institutions to promote divergent and ambiguous policy values and practices across protected conservation areas tends to affect the local people. This in turn leads to environmental/natural resource governance that favours the 'sustained' polarisation of priorities. Bebbington (1996:52) wrote in support of communities' rights and stated that local people are being sidelined in nature governance, hence confusing the distinction between access and the conservation of resources because access to resource by the local people is the most important element in human-environment relations. The relations clearly, are locally mediated and this determines local community's motivation to build sustainable poverty alleviation strategies. Putting it in his words, he argues:

> "Indeed access to other actors is conceptually prior to access to material resources in the determination of livelihood strategies, for such relationships become sine qua non mechanisms through which resources are distributed and claimed, and through which the broader social, political and market logics governing the control, use and transformation of resources are either reproduced or changed" (Bebbington, 1999:56).

Based on this argument, institutions of natural resource governance as functional entities at various levels do two things: either enable or disenable local people from exercising their usufructs over natural resources in their areas. With this in mind, balancing of the GLTP multi-level institutional natural resource interests and those of the adjacent communities become paramount, particularly in enhancing livelihood expectations of the rural people. Recognition of local resource needs is essential in informing prospects for successful collaborative conservation of environmental resources, especially when communities' inalienable rights over resources as equal stakeholders are guaranteed. Adopting a top-down exclusionary as the current GLTP approach to transfrontier resource governance, is not transformative of the deplorable rural situation, but serves to exacerbate sustained ecological polarisation in biodiversity governance. In many cases, this may not be as sustainable as imagined, and does not guarantee successful ecosystem conservation (Harmon, 2005; 2009).

Further to that, Robin (2002) postulated that governance models should not be superimposed on communities as a "homogeneous best practices" but must evolve through local social processes to the highest levels, and should ordinarily safeguard communitarian interests while ensuring sustainable utilization of environmental resources. Moreover, for this to happen, the roles of various social carriers, including local communities, their leaders and institutions, become important (Martin et al., 2009). In this context, the operations of governance institutions become important centrepieces through which rural development and enhancement of rural livelihood strategies and conservation of natural resources can be attained. If communities realize benefits derived from natural resources and their natural resource rights guaranteed, it becomes logical that they equally reciprocate in a well-motivated manner to conserve natural resources.

4.Juxtaposing The GLTP And SADC Conservation Objectives

Whereas the advocacy on transfrontier conservation programmes in the SADC region has long been well promoted and publicized by a number of organisations chief among

them is the Peace Parks Foundation. However, criticism of such an organisation is growing in relation to addressing some key conservation and community demands (IUCN, 2002; Munthali and Metcalfe, 2002; Wolmer, 2003). One unfortunate and the most puzzling issue in this discourse is the confusion over governance of these transfrontier projects that apparently exclude the local people/communities in and adjacent to the GLTP. In particular, the GLTP is conspicuous by its lack of community involvement in its governance structures. In general, and therefore transfrontier conservation or its metaphor 'Peace Parks' are viewed pejoratively by communities. The SADC and the GLTP conservation objectives have wide issues that sound robust and appealing as cited by Metcalfe (2005:2) as shown in Table 2.

SADC conservation objectives	**GLTP conservation objectives**
• The conservation of biodiversity, ecosystem services, natural and cultural values across boundaries; • The promotion of landscape-level ecosystems management; • The building of peace and laying the foundations for collaboration (trust, reconciliation and cooperation); • Increasing the benefits of conservation to communities on either sides of the borders of each participation country in the transfrontier/transboundary conservation projects; • Leverage on transfrontier projects for economic development (largely through tourism development) to local and national economies; • To facilitate cross border control of problems such as fire, pests, poaching, pollution and smuggling.	• To stimulate sub-regional economic development through tourism development (GLTP Treaty Article 4, d and e); • Promote alliances in the management of biological natural resources by encouraging social, economic and partnerships of stakeholders including the private sector, local communities and non-governmental organisations (GLTP Treaty, Article 4b); • Promote, harmonize, enforce legal instruments, share information for sustainable wildlife use and promote conservation through establishing transfrontier conservation zones (SADC Protocol on Wildlife, Article 4, a, b, d and f; GLTP Treaty Article 4, f) and; • Facilitate regional capacity building for wildlife management and facilitate community-based natural resources management practices for management of wildlife resources (SADC Protocol on Wildlife, Article 4, e and g).

Table 2: SADC and the GLTP Conservation objectives

Looking at these broader perspectives of the objectives, it is evident that the mandate is enormous and has a strong bearing at the sub-region and inter-state levels. As a result, the SADC administrators and planners view contiguous protected areas as a means to accomplish a range of goals for purposes of regional integration. The contiguous biodiversity, ecosystems and political ecology therefore, become part of environmental diplomacy in inter-state relations. This has given transfrontier parks and conservation areas alike, the much-needed high respect to the extent that most developmental projects become premised on state relations and driven governmentally at the central level of governments rather than oriented at the community level. Consequently, since the planning process involves state institutions and international organisations as cooperating partners, communities have found it difficult to be involved, let alone being consulted. Thus, they are at the periphery of the GLTP governance and decision-making processes. Taking it from this perspective, this paper found that that the SADC Protocol on Wildlife and Law Enforcement (1999) and the GLTP Treaty (2002) carry in it substantive extra-territorial objectives that are encapsulated in the GLTP Treaty of 9 December 2002 to reinforce sub-regional integration rather than being oriented in the communities.

It is imperative to highlight that generally, transfrontier or transboundary conservation projects in Southern Africa are promoted as pillars supporting regional political and macro-economic integration. It is conceivable therefore that the potential success of transfrontier parks is seen as depending on specific socio-political and ecological considerations that the participating countries see as key to attain more cooperation and achieving regional integration. What is paradoxical is that the GLTP Treaty (Article 4b) recognises communities, which gives the basis for the communities to make certain claims in terms of involvement in natural resource governance. By acknowledging also the fact that these resources underpin their livelihood interests, it makes a lot of sense for the local communities to make claims over resource use and demand for participation in the GLTP governance. The manner communities would enhance their livelihood and participate in the governance of the resources in the new GLTP dispensation, unfortunately is not clearly defined. As indicated in the GLTP administrative governance in Figure 3 bellow, the communities were left out at the expedience of governmental structures and conservation NGOs.

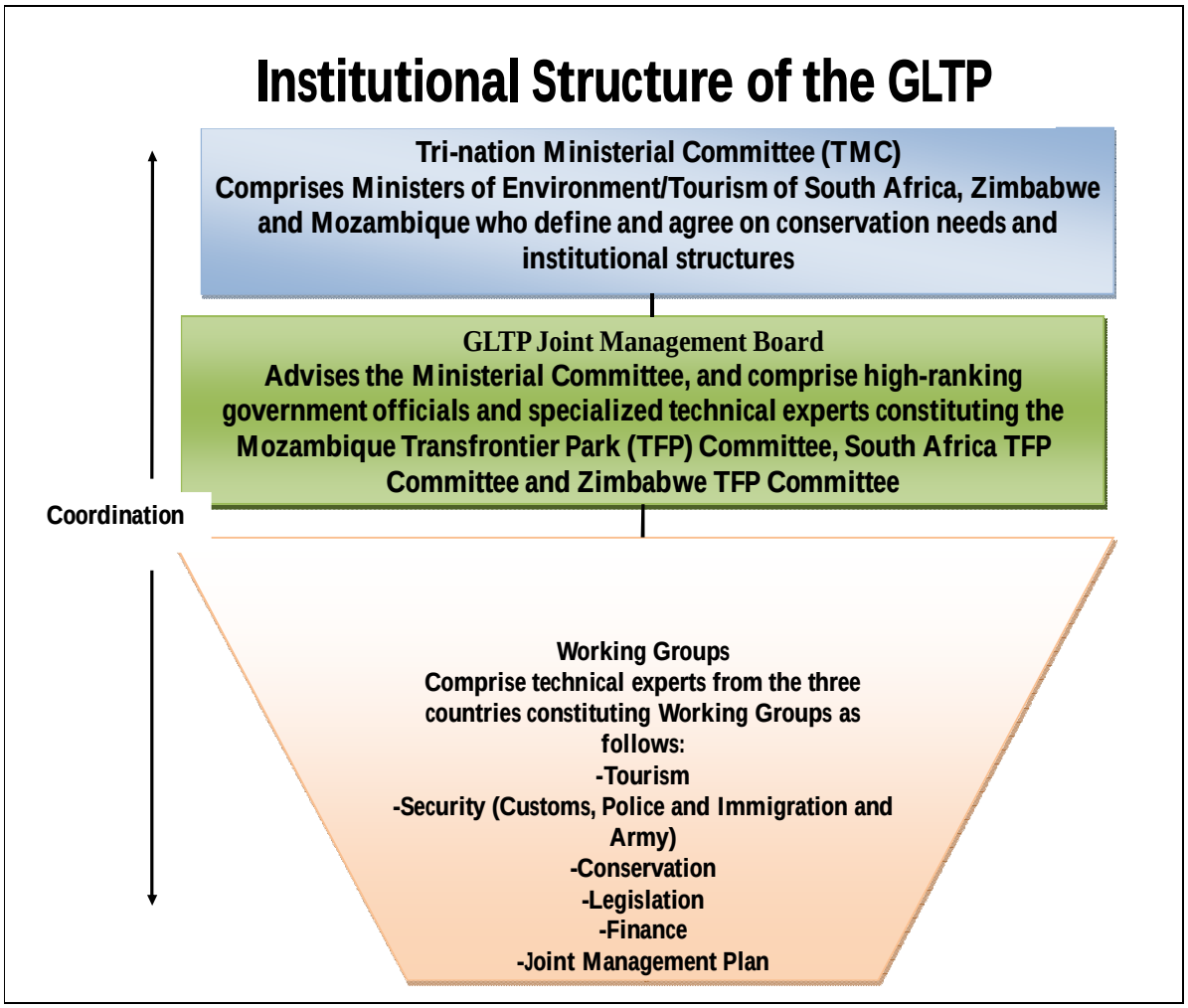

Figure 3: The current GLTP administrative governance structure

The fact that there is no structure that include communities, becomes the biggest missing link in the whole GLTP governance process, which has neither been addressed nor explored as one governance aspect creating conflict, yet transfrontier projects are increasing in the region, thereby affecting more communities. How the GLTP multi-level governance structures facilitate benefits to the local people remain elusive, despite media publicity that there will be a galore of eco-tourism benefits to the ordinary people. Evidence from household field data demonstrates that the local people see very little empowering benefits being realised. The transformative positive economic impacts of the GLTP on Makuleke and Sengwe communities therefore, remain questionable between officials giving a positive impression while local communities have a different view about the negligible benefits coming to them especially when they looked at livelihood enhancement among people in and adjacent to the GLTP. The GLTP

advocates across literature present a promising picture of the concept, while the consequences on the local communities in terms of local livelihoods, conservation collaboration and local participation are murky. This paper views the GLTP governance framework as potentially aggravating environmental conflict between state agencies and conservation organisations on one hand and the communities on the other.

It must be noted that the involvement of a number of state institutions, national policies and bureaucratic dominance as this paper established, suggest strongly that inclination towards a 'Park' in the GLTP invokes a return to 'fortress conservation' (Buscher, 2005:4) typical of the colonial conservation strategies as a model for management of natural resources. This ideally implies minimal role by the local people in the governance and management of natural resources, and perhaps tend to marginalise communities from leveraging on the available resources to promote and diversify their livelihoods. As such, Dzingirai (2004) describe this as 'disenfranchisement' at its best with respect to the GLTP. Furthermore, wherever communities are mentioned in the GLTP debates, the benefit-sharing arrangements are undefined even between the private partners and the communities. In the majority of cases, state agencies are involved rather than the communities.

Quite clearly, there is contradiction that comes out obviously from the previous CBNRM, which defined benefit streams and institutional frameworks in which the local people would participate in natural resource governance and management. Taking it from this line of thought, Buscher (2005:4) in his study of TFCAs in Southern Africa he postulated that the dominant narrative of community-based conservation has not been taken advantage of in the planning of TFCAs. Buscher (2005:4) further argued that its problems have contributed to creating clearer 'enabling' macro-conceptual governance frameworks with complications in tackling issues and challenges that the environment-development nexus currently faces. In that context the reality is that the avoidance of CBNRM institutional systems as the anchor pillar for possible definition of benefits sharing and integration of the local people for co-governance arrangements is a deliberate move, skewed functionally in favour of state agencies and private operators that are investing in the GLTP in partnership with government agencies rather than communities.

Coupled with lack of involvement, the Makuleke and Sengwe communities are evidently not realising the proceeds and benefits from the GLTP as promised that benefits would accrue from tourism investment in their areas as integral part of the GLTP tourism

development plan. Resultantly, growing anxiety, mistrust and local people despair arising from exclusion from participation in the GLTP governance is undermining sustainable biodiversity and ecosystems conservation because there is no local buy-in. The local people confirmed having withdrawn their support and stopped collaborating in environmental policing. Consequently, this is engendering natural resource governance conflict due to variance of interests and approaches as far as the management of natural resources in the GLTP is concerned. It is for this reason that there are potential risks of growing impatience from the local communities with a high sense of livelihood insecurity arising from the fact that the GLTP administrators are reluctant to include them in their structures for co-govern and co-management purposes. It is clear that this paper would assert that this is a recipe for failure of the GLTP conservation. The most clear way of looking at this contentious issue is that governance institutions of natural resource that have emerged are far removed from the local scale (communities), thus, creating "scale of marginality" (Ramutsindela, 2007:105). Natural Resource (NR) governance regimes in this case, which are informed by "Tragedy of the commons" theory (Hardin, 1968), can therefore be argued to have created the 'tragedy of the common men'. However, the assumptions of Hardin's theory (1968), particularly "open access" to natural resources hypothetical considerations, ignore local institutional functionality in Southern Africa where local institutions have traditionally been playing an important role in mediating on environmental issues.

These are embedded in indigenous knowledge systems and practices of NR governance and management as regulatory frameworks that mediate natural resource access, utilization and ensure that there is some form of NR sustainability. There are contested resource claims between the state conservation agencies in the GLTP, which if not handled properly can lead to undermining the objectives for conservation. This range from demands communities make, which revolve around their needs to promote local empowerment and safeguarding local livelihoods. However, the debate seems to be won based on state ownership, with co-governance and co-management with the communities facing resistance right across transboundary conservation projects (Brown and Kothari, 2002).

It is noted in conservation literature that Peace Parks should complement community empowerment as a critical component for livelihoods purposes, and should manifest in several forms from protecting community user rights and their participation in the governance of those resources. It also entails access to wildlife resources and benefits in

which communities can be positioned to enter into partnerships with protected area authorities and eco-tourism investors. This create a window of opportunity in which communities can also be motivated to collaborate in landscape, biodiversity and ecosystems conservation, which is a strong potential foundation for achieving sustainable conservation (Metcalfe, 1995). Good examples have been cited that demonstrate that in some 'new world', states like Canada and Australia have since accepted the justice of the local people's claims and they support some form of co-management arrangements between the state and the community (Metcalfe, 2005). For instance, Metcalfe (2005) cited Australia's Kakadu National Park (also cited in Hill and Press, 1994). In Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique that are involved in the GLTP, generally these countries are inclined to maintain state control, which departs from all the CBNRM processes that offer an opportunity for co-management with the communities participating actively in the GLTP process. More often than not, the states conceive co-management comes with co-governance of natural resources with the community. However, communities are being treated as antiquated, because the current scenario favours state partnership with the private sectors rather than being community oriented. On the overall, Metcalfe (2005) put forward that that partnership with the community, the state and the private sector, have positive equity effect on ordinary people by creating a more equitable foundation for sustainable rural development. This should ideally precede a collaborative partnership between the state, the community and the private sector.

In recent years, since the GLTP was established in 2002, strong theoretical debates on the GLTP issues have developed, but consensus of potential benefits and/or detrimental effects have started to emerge within the social and natural sciences. Sharp dichotomies permeate most of the empirical findings and literature. Griffin et al. (1999) note that transfrontier conservation activities can legalize cross-border movement and renew cultural ties and traditions affected by previously imposed international borders by colonialism, while Fakir (2000) describes transfrontier initiatives as 'conservation expansionism'. Some of the most cited reasons for transfrontier initiatives are to foster peace and security (Westing, 1993 and 1998), provide environmental security and enhance regional cooperation (Singh, 1999), and 'heal the wounds of pre and post-independence wars of destabilization' in Southern Africa (Koch, 1999). Others argue that this may cause inter-state disputes rather than assuage them (Wolmer, 2003) or increase conflict if land disputes and economic benefits are not equitably shared among

participating countries (Fakir, 2000). Looking at the GLTP, increased economic development and poverty alleviation for poor rural communities are also highly expected from new eco-tourism opportunities (SADC, 1992 and 1999; NEPAD, 2001; PPF, 2003). Aside from the capital-intensive and risky nature of tourism, there is a strong belief from Makuleka and Sengwe local leadership that little economic benefit will accrue to local communities. The cited reasons by household respondents was that this was due to skewed sharing of benefits, and indeed the high amount of 'leakage' in the tourism industry, with large percentages of earnings, wages and profits remitted/retained away from the area of operations (DFID, 2002). When no significant revenue is generated going directly or substantially going toward communities, as has been seen during field research of Sengwe and Makuleke communities, and in other ecotourism ventures, local residents complain of incurring compounded costs due to loss of pre-existing livelihoods disrupted by new land-uses (Duffy, 2001), and the new GLTP exclusionary resource governance architecture.

5.The Study Areas In Relation To GLTP Objectives And Local Expectations

The GLTP initiatives are also anticipated to provide ecological returns and contribute to biodiversity conservation. Specific transfrontier intentions include restoring historical elephant migration routes, alleviating species-area effects caused by excessive habitat fragmentation, and providing species specific protection. There are questions and contradictions that have created conflicts in that the new areas identified for inclusion in GLTP for transboundary conservation include some parts of communities in the quest to contribute to geographical expansion for regional biodiversity conservation. For example, in Zimbabwe, the whole of Sengwe community is proposed to fall under an animal Corridor as shown by the following map in Figure 4.

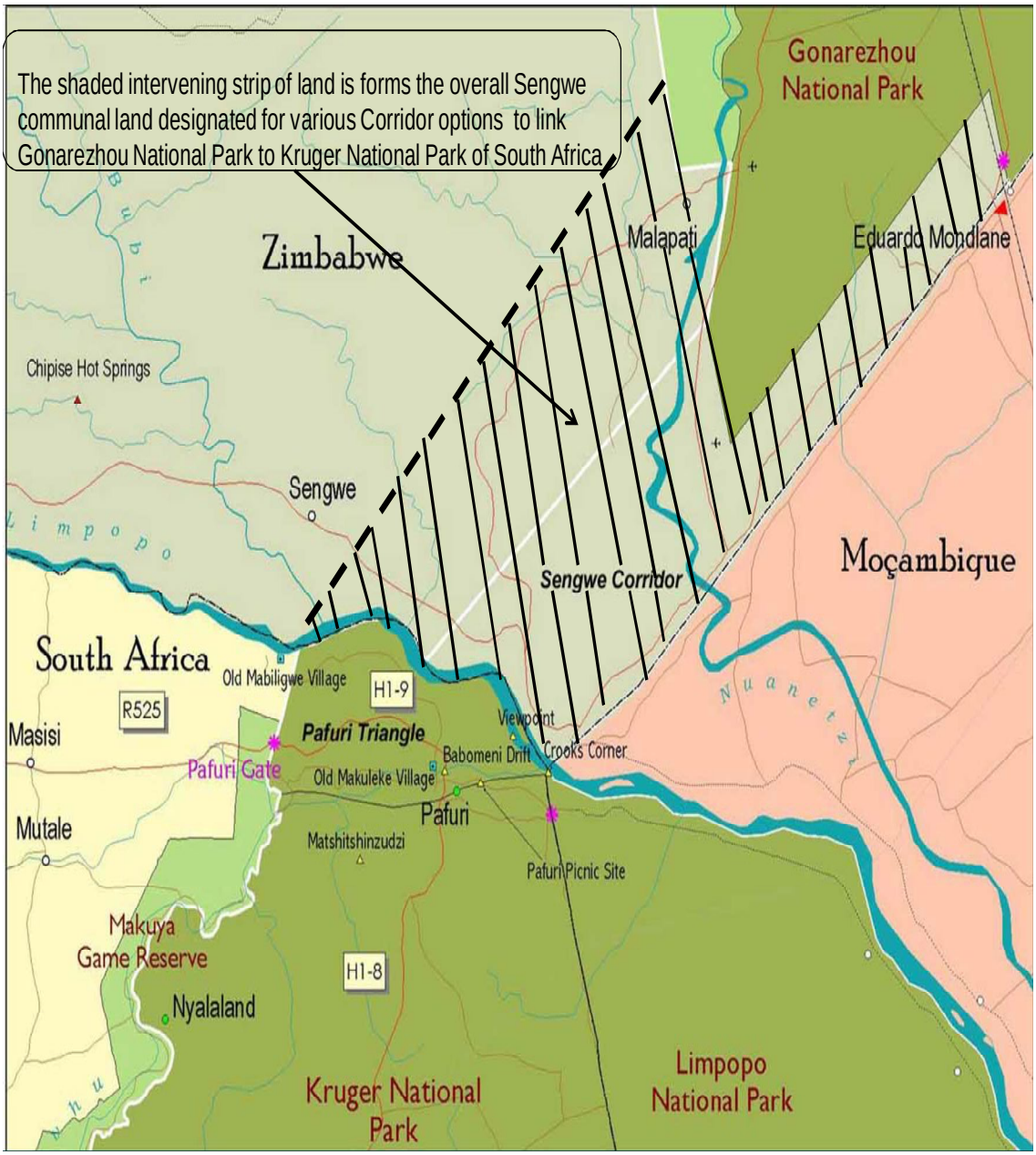

Figure 4: Overall Sengwe Corridor strip. Adapted with own additions from Spenceley (2006:657)

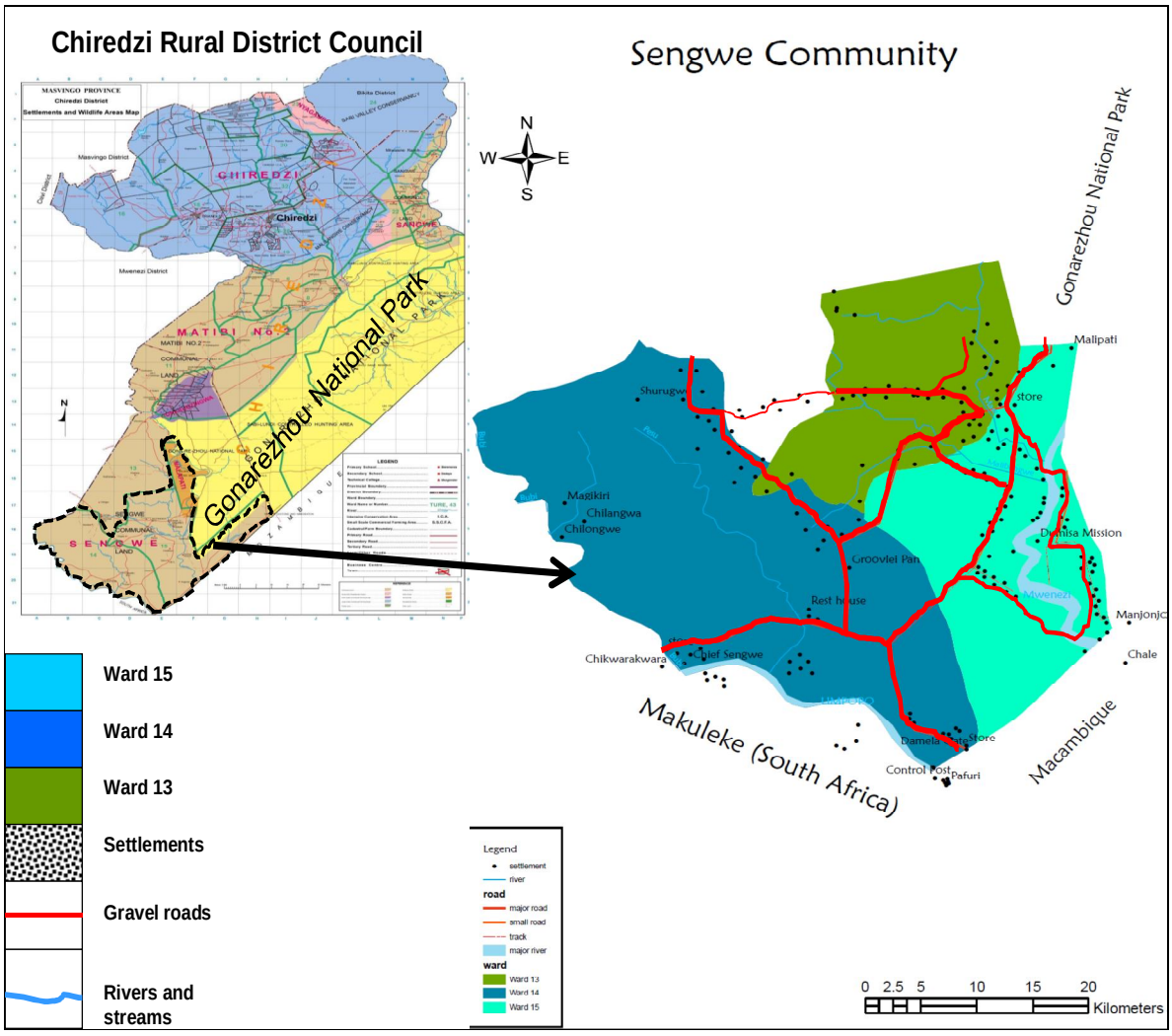

Figure 5: Sengwe community demarcated by Wards/Village communities

In the case of Sengwe, the incorporation of the new conservation areas are identified due to their location and ability to link existing Gonarezhou National Park to Kruger National Park as well as Limpopo National Park in South Africa and Mozambique respectively. Without the establishment of the proposed Sengwe Corridor, Zimbabwe ceases to be part of the GLTP, hence its strategic geographical importance. The Corridor either in full or covering parts of Sengwe, significantly affect households in the community in relation to human-wildlife interactions. In terms of the GLTP Treaty signed on 9 December 2002, in Zimbabwe, the GLTP consist:

- Gonarezhou National Park (GNP).
- Sengwe communal land.
- Surrounding areas such as the Manjinji Pan Sanctuary.

- Malipati Safari Area.

Ecologically, Sengwe communal land is characterised by erratic rainfall and harsh economic conditions such that it is most suitable for ranching and game farming. Some recent scenario planning field research report states that region experience low rainfall, coupled with poor soils of low agricultural productivity and high temperature conditions (Chirozva et al., 2010:3;4). Chirozva et al. (2010:3) further indicate that the region is characterized by low rainfall, poor soils of low agricultural potential and high temperatures. Agriculturally, subsistence crop and livestock farming are the main livelihood practices. Mean annual rainfall ranges between 300 to 600 mm and effective rainfall occurs mainly from October to April with variability over years, and the area experiences frequent droughts, which threaten household food security and negatively impact on crop and livestock production (Chirozva et al., 2010:3).

Perhaps one other important point to mentions is that due to erratic rain in the area, livelihood vulnerability of households is high, making the issue of food security a critical matter that can be explained in the context of their dependence therefore on available natural resources. The incessant droughts, coupled with occasional catastrophic natural torrential rains such as the 2000 cyclone Ellyn that also hit the area, negatively affects crop and livestock productive systems, making dependence on natural resource vitally inevitable for households in Sengwe. This study start on the premises of critical analysis of the impertinence of natural resources to argue that livelihoods insecurity and the adaptive capacity of the local people to their local environmental conditions only makes sense to the community's in terms of interdependence relationships with their available natural resources that sustain them.

Furthermore, to achieve some measures of security, households need equity in the ownership and management of natural resources, which currently has changed from the local scale to the GLTP process. Most discussion about CAMPFIRE is not bearing fruits, if anything, the benefits accruing from the 'leased' Malipati hunting safari, which the Department of Parks and Wildlife Management Authority Official vehemently argued that the community is benefiting financially, is far from reality since this could not be confirmed at the local level. More essentially, ensuring local conservation culture helps people to maintain confidence in sustainable management of natural resources particularly when the processes build on local institutional and normative values. Local sentiments from respondents at a focus group discussion held at Headman Gezani homestead (on 26 July 2011) raised serious concerns over restrictions on access to

natural resources from their areas given the circumstances of environmental hardships, thereby threatening supplementation of local livelihoods. Rukuni (2012) in his recent journal article titled "Re-framing the Wildlife Based Land Reform Programmes in Zimbabwe" postulates that community participation is the future of conservation in Zimbabwe, and it is conceivable that with more partnerships, it can be the springboard to address issues of development in marginal areas. Administratively, Sengwe communal land is under Chiredzi Rural District Council, with decentralised structures such as the Ward Development Committees (WADCO) and the Village Development Committees (VIDCO) forming part of the local government structure. There is also the traditional leadership structure (made up of Chief Sengwe, Headman Gezani and Samu, and kraal heads) exercise authority on control and management of the area. Custodianship of land is vested in traditional institutions and practices. Allocation and distribution are mediated using local traditions and practices such as inheritance, allocation traditional leaders or leasing land a neighbour (Chibememe, undated:5). Strong communal ownership of natural and cultural resources does exist, which are valued by the local villagers. For Makuleke community, it has to be noted that the community lost its land in 1969 and the following Map in Figure 6, shows the location of Makuleke in the GLTP project.

6.Makuleke Community

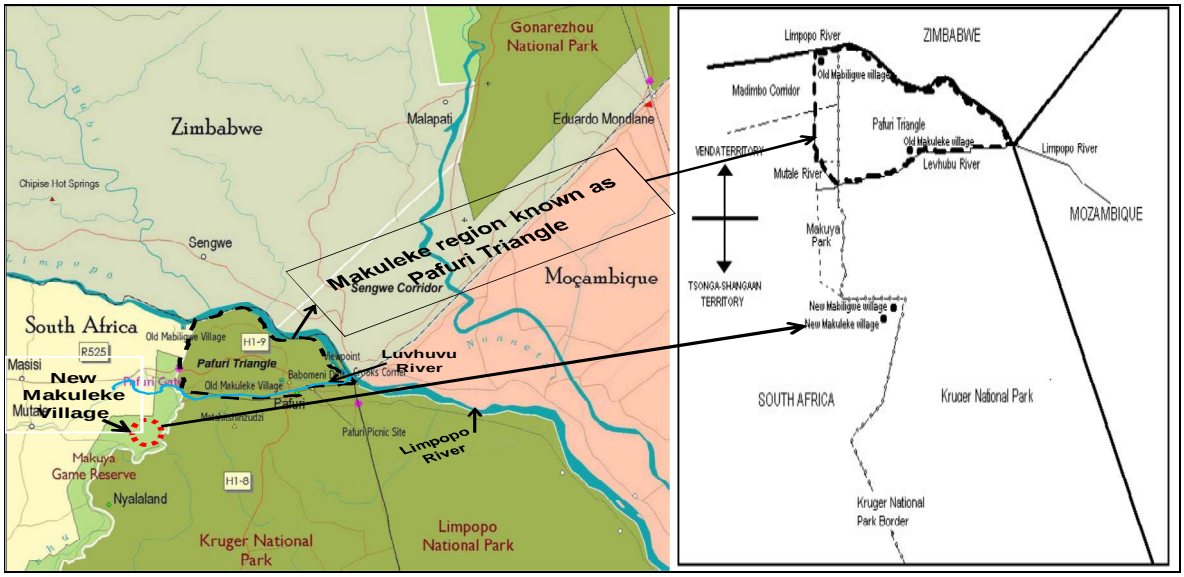

Figure 6: Location of the Makuleke region (old and the new villages) in Kruger National Park

Source: Adapted from Shackelton and Campbell (2000:128) and Spenceley (2006:657)

Makuleke community has two dimensions. The first one is that the Makuleke people own Pafuri Triangle, a piece of land averaging about 24,000 hectares where they were evicted from in 1969 at the expansion of Kruger National Park (Spenceley, 2006:85). They were settled at Nthlaveni, about 60 kilometres away from their original land in Pafuri Triangle, creating the New Makuleke Village.

7.Globalizing The Commons And 'Vulnerability Of The Common Men'

These new areas help countries reach their overall target goals for percentage of land that can be used under conservation, but provide minimal increased biodiversity benefits to the communities because of the current skewed benefits sharing arrangements. In addition to that, due to less inclusive and les participatory approach in the GLTP governance architecture, protection of wildlife is becoming difficult given the fact that both Makuleke and Sengwe communities perceive that they are not part of the conservation process.

Frequently, the other conflicting area has to do with increased biodiversity protection, requiring that countries exceed minimum international conservation goals, but this is not linked to the local aspirations of communities. For instance, Western idealism and managing the 'global commons' (Hardin, 1968) globalises natural resources governance systems without due regards to the local communities. In this perspective, it is necessary to highlight that globalization can be defined 'as the growing integration of economies and societies around the world as a result of flows of goods and services, capital, people, and ideas' (Dollar, 2001:2). In as much as there is public consciousness on globalization, this has not necessarily delivered what communities need. In fact it has become synonymous with a deterritorialization and homogenization of culture, without really understanding the resource cultural linkages that sustain both Makuleke and Sengwe communities such that there is no creation of livelihood vulnerabilities due to new resource governance systems superimposed on to the 'common people'. Post-modern geopolitics has expanded the nature of globalization to include non-material ideas and values, leading to a globalization of conservation that is not being able, in the case of the GLTP communities, to deliver the goods and services they require for their livelihood.

Concept of the 'global commons' is a major driver of conservation in Southern Africa, and other developing countries. Western epistemological assertions on natural resource management, governance and community development theory permeate transfrontier conservation paradigms, and projects are often driven by agendas of international donors

(Katerere, et al., 2001; Hughes, 2003). Duffy (2001) warns that conservation interventions still rely on western assumptions about the 'primitiveness of non-western people', and the belief that local people encroach on biodiversity land. She put forward that with global interventions, the opposite is usually true, and conservation management encroaches on the domains of local resources and communities, and this is what this study found with respect to Sengwe community where the proposed Sengwe Corridor dissect across the three Wards. In Kruger National Park, the Makuleke actually lost their land to the expansion of Kruger National Park, much to the misery of lose of sustainable livelihood activities in the ecologically rich Pafuri Triangle.

Katerere (2001. 23) raises serious concerns on globalization of natural resources management and governance in this manner is justified, and criticise it that it provides unfettered access to regional resources, markets, politics and knowledge by northern international capital owners over the local people. Others cite a major concern that a global protectionism movement and the type of resource governance in Southern Africa brings the possibility of a new kind of imperialism, particularly involving national actors, by way of intervention from powerful bases outside the region and local systems (Carruthers, 1997).

As indicated in the previous discussions, quiet clearly, much of the donor-driven westernized paradigm is based on Hardin's (1958) 'tragedy of the commons', particularly when applied to traditional Southern African communal land tenure systems. It was the findings of this study that in reality, the theory does not reflect the complexity of human use of the environment, and overuse of the commons may not occur in particular circumstances depending on numerous social and other factors (Goldmand, 1998). This means there is need to look at the GLTP in relation to its communities as a different ecological zone that does not need a copy and paste of theories.

Worried about the approaching 'tragedy', Western-driven donor programs in transfrontier conservation projects are now being delivered under state institutions, which is away from participatory community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) schemes that sustained the communities in Southern Africa such as Zimbabwe, Botswana, South Africa, Namibia and Zambia. There is seamless merging of goals, and funds going towards state driven biodiversity projects that are divorced from traditional 'development' aspirations of the local people in terms of transfrontier 'conservation' governance and management.

Sub-regional Conservation NGOs such as the Peace Parks Foundation, has changed strategies from being an advocate of the communities in order to gain access to newly available conservation 'development' funds, subsequently shifting their policies to match those of the new funding agency (Levine, 2002), and the demands from the member states in Southern Africa. In this regard, the whole process finds itself in a contradictory plunge where the donors have typically prefer state agencies in conservation governance and management of transfrontier projects at the expense of these local people, which contradicts further the belief that 'small is beautiful and the local is authentic' (Hughes, 2003).

The people who were interviewed in Makuleke and Sengwe communities, highlighted that while most projects include economic development goals through tourism development as the envisaged vehicle for improvement of livelihoods, projects tend to lean towards dichotomous and exclusive conservation, and not poverty alleviation, ultimately usurping community benefits in favour of strictly ecological interests and those of the investors (Metcalfe, 1999). This tends to exacerbate livelihood vulnerability of communities. Already, concerns were raised pertaining to the situation of inequitable land tenure arrangements, whereby communal areas are often comprised of marginal agricultural land with little rainfall, and communities partly rely on subsistence harvesting of forest products to earn a descent livelihood.

There is also concern that the GLTP manner of governance is seen as working against communities as states extend control over sparsely populated border regions in the name of conservation (Duffy, 2001). Duffy notes that in some instances, global conservation organizations and private investors have assisted state government in obtaining additional control over wild places through the demarcation of protected areas and their surrounding buffer zones. This is the case with Sengwe and Makuleke communities. The newly created areas in the case of the proposed Sengwe Corridor in Gonarezhou National Park of Zimbabwe, brings an increased level of law enforcement for natural resource governance, management and protection. Subsequently, this entails controlling mechanisms in remote border areas in terms of how then people relate to the environment, notwithstanding the fact that the communities and the environment are interdependent.

8.The Nature Of Resource Contestation And Conflict

Historically, members of the Makuleke community resided in the north most part of the Kruger National Park at a place called Pafuri Triangle, an area that is now part of the GLTP since 2002. The community was forcibly removed from the area in September 1969 due to the expansion racially discriminatory laws and practices. They were settled at Nthlaveni, about 60 kilometres away from their original land in Pafuri Triangle, creating the New Makuleke Village. Figure 6 shows the two scenarios:

The former Apartheid government invoke d the Illegal Squatters Act to remove them when they tried to move back into the Reserve. The proclaimed and fenced Kruger National Park and the removal of people was done without consultation with the Makuleke people. The Makuleke region carries remarkable geological and ecological heritage that makes the area one of the most spectacular conservation zone in Southern Africa. Berger (2007:1) puts forward that the 'triangle' is formed by the confluence of Limpopo and Luvhuvu rivers that create an intersection at Crooks Corner completing a 'triangle' of land that not only forms a meeting point for South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, but a unique ecological area punctuated by natural choke of diverse pristine flora and fauna. Wild animals straddle to and from the three countries. The geographically extensive matrix of Makuleke Villages, are formed by variations in geology and climate that promotes spatial heterogeneity and hence biodiversity. The Makuleke region, being a lush area, is home to a plethora of wild animal, bird and aquatic species and creatures.

On the overall, the two areas are a semi-arid savannas. They experience inherently high spatial and temporal variability in biodiversity and ecosystems as one move from the New Makuleke Village to the Old Makuleke Village at the Pafuri Triangle that is solely being used by the Makuleke community for conservation purposes. The fact that Limpopo and Luvhuvu rivers are passing through the Makuleke region at the intersection of the GLTP, which the local people define as the "Heart of The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park" makes it a vital region for the entire project. According to Kruger National Park (KNP) Management Plan (2006:8), the diverse rivers cross the KNP, including the Pafuri Triangle, promoting biodiversity and sound ecosystems.

Research done in Makuleke established that the area physically lie in the low-lying savannas with tropical to subtropical climate, characterized by high mean summer temperatures and mild, generally frost-free winters (KNP Management Plan,2006:4). The KNP Management Plan states that the overall rainfall patterns that obtain generally,

including the intervening areas like the New Makuleke mostly, is through convective thunderstorms rainfall concentrated between October and April (KNP Management Plan, 2006:4). As such, rainfall gradient stretches from an annual mean of up to 350 mm in the north, although strong inter-annual and roughly decadal cyclic variations exist with drought considered prevalent (KNP Management Plan, 2006:4). This is similar to the conditions also prevailing in Sengwe community, which further confirm that the two case studies communities experience more or less the same weather and climatic conditions.

Current livelihood activities in Makuleke community are two-dimensional. The New Makuleke Village comprises of land use activities ranging between 1, 5 and 2 kilometers from the KNP fence where settlements were established. In Sengwe, the three Wards/Villages are located in the proposed Sengwe Corridor. Both Sengwe and Makuleke communities are dominated by small-scale subsistence cropping, with limited commercial farming and grazing in rurally impoverished villages. The second dimension is that the Old Makuleke Village (Pafuri Triangle) in terms of the Contractual Agreement, which is valid for 50 years on a joint management plan with the South African National Parks (SANParks). Their reclaimed land is solely being used for conservation and eco-tourism development purposes. In Sengwe community, the resource management process takes the form of CAMPFIRE, however, this is now defunct due to central government control through the CAMPFIRE Association, with the Chiredzi Rural District Council taking 75% of the proceeds and the community gets 15%. It is imperative to note that both communities are disenfranchised in terms of resource governance, control and determining natural resource benefits.

This understanding is critical in emphasizing the point that if the GLTP is to have significant impact, then the defining governance principles should take into account the local institutional processes and the contributions that the local people can make towards the GLTP conservation.

Mistrust and animosity between the communities and outside government agencies, including conservation organizations and the Department of Land Affairs in the case of South Africa, are escalating, as benefits have not been realised to the community in the past decade. There have been several different proposals in the past, including ceding ownership of the resources to the community to continue using parts of the GLTP as conservation projects where they derive full benefits directly coming 100% to the community, however, this has been resisted from both South Africa and Zimbabwe.

According to the traditional leadership in Makuleke and Sengwe communities (personal communication interviews, 2011), they were not aware of what was happening in the GLTP because their representatives were removed from participating at the instigation by the Ministerial Committee. The Ministerial Committee abolished the Community Working Group, opting for community issues to be dealt at a country level, and this naturally curtailed any hope for community to represent their environmental, natural resource needs and tourism development in the GLTP. Of great interest in this study is what O'Brien et al (2000:206;233) call complex multilateralism in terms of natural resource governance of transfrontier projects, which indicates ways in which tourism investors and nature conservation NGOs collaborate with governments in the governance matrix.

However, little is mentioned in clarifying the role of the community except the promises of employment opportunities and environmental education. As a result, such are the 'scale of marginality' in natural resource governance (Ramutsindela, 2007:105). For example, the Community Working Group mentioned above was abolished from the institutional governance arrangements of the GLTP (GLTP Integrated Business Plan (GLTPIBP), March 2009:13). It is argued that the Ministerial Committee decided that community issues would be dealt with at the national level (GLTPIBP, March 2009:13-14). In this regard, elimination of the Community Working Group subsequently halted community involvement, hence serving to validate the claim made earlier that local people were not part of the plan and their inclusion is probably not part of the design in the implementation of the GLTP project. As a result, their livelihood claims and participation in resource governance are not usually guaranteed. In this regard, natural resource problems/conflicts are bound to occur and escalate, especially over control, ownership and access to land, pasture, wildlife and forests resource claims by communities. In the end, the findings of this study confirm a sense of high insecurity, uncertainty and livelihood concerns communities have, with potential to undermine their ecological collaborative spirit in conservation that can consequently destroy a once a noble idea for flora and fauna conservation in the GLTP.

The communities feel 'cheated'. Subsequently, resource destruction arising from poaching of wildlife in particular has escalated in last ten years; the communities are reluctant to support conservation initiatives because they feel not to be part of the GLTP process. Conservation officials indicated that poaching remains a serious problem in both the Zimbabwe and South African side of the GLTP, and when these poachers come, the

community members are the first to know. However, few reports are made to the Park officials of both countries due to the simple reasons that they have no sense of ownership and belonging to the GLTP. In response to ongoing tension, community members are reluctant to collaborate because they regard the GLTP as the government project, declaring that it was their sole responsibility to ensure successful conservation because the authorities had left them out.

Local economics and job security are other important factors in the ongoing conflict. One of the most lucrative ventures of the GLTP is trophy hunting conducted by the government and some private Safari Companies. In the case of Zimbabwe, the Sengwe community verbally owns the Sengwe Safari Area and it is being leased to SSG Safaris, a privately owned company by a businessman living 260 kilometres away. The benefits from trophy hunting are largely shared between Chiredzi Rural Council and the businessman. The same goes for Makuleke community that is in partnership with Wilderness Safaris at the Pafuri Triangle. Respondents accused their park authorities of taking most of the benefits. In the case of Makuleke community, hunting in their area was banned hence, the monetary benefits accruing to the Makuleke Community Property Association has diminished in the last eight years. However, in the rest of the GLTP, trophy hunting has been going on and the benefits going towards SANParks.

While the GLTP has room for tourism growth, it is a long-term and slow growth process, which has irritated local residents because the optimism that was created, and the obtaining elusive tourism and wildlife benefits, have not been realised in the last ten years. In this context, it is noted in this paper that p**remature graduation of** communities into a tertiary eco-tourism economy does not guarantee livelihood sustainability among communities inside and adjacent to adjoining Transfrontier Park areas (Murphy, 2010). In fact, there is potential for livelihood vulnerability around communities. Furthermore, this paper agrees with the assertions that radical livelihood change to tertiary tourism economy can easily be affected phenomenally by a plethora of factors such as detectable/indications of domestic turmoil, economic decline results in decisions not to visit a particular destination (Ankomah and Crompton, 1990:19). This has been the case with Zimbabwe, which in the last decade of political fall-out with Western countries and the United States of America, led those countries to impose negative travel advisories to their citizens to avoid visiting Zimbabwe for the reasons of political violence risks. This was on top of a regime of economic sanctions that were imposed on Zimbabwe, and tourists largely shunned visiting Zimbabwe.

In an interview with one of the local traditional leader in Sengwe community in relation to how they perceive tourism benefits from the GLTP, he had this to say:

> "They came and addressed us. They said were would be the model for empowerment, but I am tired of people coming in Sengwe, talking about eco-tourism development and making promises they never keep to fulfil. There are people who have addressed us from Chiredzi Rural District Council, including some NGOs on the issue of tourism but we are still looking for them, and waiting forever now, for them to come and do what they told us they would do. I am willing to see things happening for my community, which they call tourism because I do not know want to die without having seen the people here benefiting"

It has been observed that ecotourism ventures are seldom economically viable and are 'mirages to silence the rumbling discontent of the victims of development speak' (Fakir, 2003). If discussions and negotiations between the GLTP communities and conservation agencies including ecotourism opportunism, they will need to be backed by monetary and long-term commitment to these communities so that they see real change of their lives and uplifting their living standards. Benefits and profits that currently obtain in the GLTP, are largely going towards government agencies in terms of supporting conservation of natural resources, paying of Park official salaries, but the ideal situation is to try to balance the benefits that must accrue in a timely and equitable manner. This includes letting benefits directly going towards the communities, avoiding extreme and avoid some excuses that raise tensions with the local people. The communities have been frustrated by promises that have added to the tensions and contestations being witnessed in the GLTP. However, a serious escalation in conflict could be expected if the people, particularly in Sengwe community are forced to relocate to pave way for the Sengwe Corridor, in which case, they will be forced by circumstance to forego resource access without clear negotiations of benefits distribution, but the promise of jobs that are slow or never to materialize.

At the inception of the GLTP in 2002, great promises by the government agencies and conservation organisations to build lodges, hotels and related tourist services, created high expectations and impressions of immediate galore of jobs, but few have yet to materialize. Compounding the situation are private investors who have explored several different low-impact 'sustainable' businesses in the area, such as photographic safaris, which have little benefits coming to the communities. The attempts to promote craft

making, and production of wild forest products at the local level has not yielded significant monetary benefits as compared to the lucrative trophy hunting that communities are not involved. Again, residents are frustrated at what they perceive to be empty promises and deliberately inflated expectations over employment and benefits to alleviate rural poverty.

9.Attitudes And Perceptions Towards Nature Conservation

Makuleke and Sengwe residents have a utilitarian approach to the natural environment. Nature is considered important because it provides a basis to undertake crops and livestock production, and provide wild fruits, wild animals and medicinal plants. Less than 20% of respondents in Sengwe and Makuleke communities reported that the GLTP's project was important in terms of providing jobs through tourism. Regarding population density in the community, the majority stated that the number of people living in the community does *not* affect the quality of natural resources, and that natural resources provide enough resources (such as. wood, water, soil). In fact, most young people in Makuleke and Sengwe community upon asking them of their choice of where they want to live when they have families. They opted to move out of their communities. Most indicated that they would rather go to urban centres for the good promise of a changed lifestyle and good living.

Regarding local conservation in the GLTP, respondents were asked in separate questions to identify what is good about the GLTP. Their responses were similar towards both conservation areas, citing that they protect natural resources; however, they lamented the fact that they were not involved, hence, they largely have little care of the GLTP. Land identity in the two communities is strong, and land (and the community in general) is perceived as good because residents were born there and it is their home.

10.Conclusion

While the debate of benefits and costs associated with the GLTP as a transboundary conservation project continues, Makuleke and Sengwe communities carry on with the burden of grappling with finding space to be accommodated in the governance of the natural resources that underpin their livelihoods. The current GLTP governance trajectory, remain highly exclusionary and discriminatory on the part of the local people. Lack of synergy of institutional processes at different scale levels in the GLTP transfrontier natural resource governance and conservation, affects nature based

livelihood practices of communities, and these institutional governance exigencies, clearly show remarkable disconnection in biodiversity conservation governance with potential to cause communities withdrawing from active collaboration in the conservation of natural resources. In the long-term, expanding existing conservation areas to where people currently live and practice subsistence livelihood activities, could create disastrous livelihood vulnerabilities. Ecologically, the increasing of the area space is of significant importance to merit protection of biodiversity and wildlife dispersal to complement larger biodiversity geographical space, there should be consideration of the livelihood goals of the communities. The governance and management trajectories that exist in the GLTP emanates from strict nature reserve management model of IUCN Category I, to a resource area that should also be managed for the benefit of the community's resource needs (IUCN Category VI). Taking the GLTP as a model project, there is a strong basis to conclude that Southern Africa transfrontier conservation is increasingly moving towards imposition of inappropriate models of resource governance that are inflexible in terms of multi-level biodiversity and ecosystems governance paradigms. Ideally, the socio-ecological contexts epitomise the destruction of indigenous local processes in natural resource conservation, which jeopardizes sustainability of the GLTP and undermine the livelihoods of communities in this complex natural resource governance matrix. The other contestation is that eco-tourism and other economic opportunities tied to the enlarged GLTP conservation area, are slow to accrue, and at most, benefiting government Park agencies. Hence, they should not be touted as a quick win in turning the fortunes of communities and should not be treated as an easy solution to rural poverty alleviation. Miscommunication between conservation and communities remains an area that requires improvements as evidenced in Makuleke and Sengwe communities where consultation of communities is tokenistic.

All issues, positive and potentially problematic in the GLTP, should be explored from the beginning of negotiations and the GLTP's development. By ignoring or concealing certain issues, such as local access, keeping benefit-streams ambiguous, making tenurial issues murky and natural resources ownership undefined on the on the ground, it will be more difficult to avoid future conflict between conservation agencies and the communities who make genuine claims over natural resources that support their livelihood. More importantly, local management, resources governance and problem solving such as local resources and land claims, local resource access through local value systems and cultural mores, serve to mediate how nature is self-regulated sustainably at

the local level through broad-based participation in an operational transfrontier conservation area. Sidestepping the communities is potential recipe for failure of the GLTP. The Peace Park Foundation (PPF) envisions itself as a facilitator to bring countries together at the diplomatic level in pursuit of new transfrontier conservation opportunities and facilitate in raising funds for conservation (personal interaction with a PPF Official, February 2012). However, it is clear that instead of pushing community issues, the PPF is entangled in state bureaucracies and interests that seemingly do not speak to the needs of the communities in the GLTP. At the country level, the GLTP governance and management process on the ground operations are left to national state entities in accordance with their institution's framework and policies, but very little is done in terms of mainstreaming the affected communities in the GLTP. The Peace Parks Foundation does supply funding to local governments, but if this was done directly to the local communities conservation initiatives, it would compel change of heart in respect of how communities are treated (in partnership with state agencies and NGOs affiliated to the local conservation institutions) in support of the communities to be effective in the governance and management of the GLTP resources.

Appropriation of land for the creation of animal corridors such as the proposed Sengwe Corridor can impoverish people in areas where transfrontier conservation projects are being pursued in Southern Africa. It is a fact that terrestrial coverage of Transfrontier Peace Parks (TPP) is estimated to be over 120 million hectares of land envisaged for 'Peace Parks' (Osofsky et al, 2009:90) in the Southern African region. The existing TFPs are 22, covering about 460,000 miles or 1,200, 000 km^2, just shy of the area of Texas, California and New York combined (Osofsky et al, 2009:90).

The specific ability of TFPs such as the GLTP to provide local poverty alleviation and increased development in Makuleke and Sengwe communities remains unknown. Until communities get involved, resources access and ownership is defined and clear benefits trickle to the local people, and until an agreement is enacted, precise costs and benefits in Makuleke and Sengwe sustainability of the GLTP is difficult to quantify, contestations and conflicts around natural resources shall inherently exist. The Durban Accord, a transboundary conservation conference outcome, adopted at the 2003 IUCN World Parks Congress, voiced concern 'that many costs of protected areas are borne locally, particularly by the poor communities while the benefits accrue globally and remain under appreciated, and that protected areas should strive to alleviate poverty, but at the very least they must not exacerbate it. These ideas reinforce the notion of a globalization

of conservation and the impact of the Western-driven transboundary conservation movement on local communities. The epistemological disparity therefore, between conservation and rural communities impacts local access to natural, social and economic resources in the region, threatening livelihoods and the sustainability of conservation areas dependent on local popular support, is up until now unresolved in the case of the GLTP. In addition, this paper concludes by noting with concern that lack of synergy of institutional processes at different scale levels in the GLTP natural resource governance and conservation affects nature based livelihood practices of communities and is exacerbating conflicts. Institutional exigencies clearly show remarkable disconnections in transfrontier biodiversity conservation with potential for the affected communities to withdraw from active collaboration in conservation. Ideally, there is the need for more research to ascertain long term sustainability of the GLTP in particular, and TFPs in general within Southern African region in terms of the far reaching ramifications of current natural resource governance regimes and the extent of conflicts they engender vis-à-vis the communities around them. Finally, the paper concludes that the ccurrent GLTP set up in terms of resource governance needs re-institutionalization to allow holistic interplay of stakeholders in transboundary natural governance and ensure that the local communities derive livelihood benefits and actively participate in conservation.

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