

Balancing transboundary conservation, economic activities and rural livelihoods in southern Africa: Breaking new barriers

Brian T.B. Jones

Prepared for the AHEAD-GLTFCA Working Group
Meeting Kruger National Park, South Africa, 2-4
March 2011

The elusive win-win-win scenario in TFCAs

- TFCAs promoted as win-win-win initiatives: improve conservation, bring economic growth and improve rural livelihoods (e.g. Braack 2000; Theron, 2007).
- Some TFCA initiatives specifically aimed to involve local communities in management of land and resources.
- Heavy emphasis on eco-tourism as a driver of economic growth e.g. PPF suggested CKG TFCA, now GLTFCA could be a leading tourism destination in Africa & PPF stated in 2001: "The basis for for the successful establishment of peace parks is that eco-tourism will provide an economically sustainable livelihood to the people living in and adjacent to the parks"

The elusive win-win-win scenario in TFCAs (2)

- Research shows we are far from reaching the envisaged win-win-win situation envisaged by the planners
- Some conservation gains but limited economic growth & little benefit for communities (e.g Metcalfe 2005)
- Local people lack skills and education, employed as labourers, lack capacity to be part of tourism development

The elusive win-win-win scenario in TFCAs (3)

- Suich 2004 KAZA tourism survey:
 - Just 48% of non-wage expenditure was spent locally (i.e. 52% leakage);
 - Only 20% of overall profit was generated by local owners reducing the potential income and investments able to be made locally;
 - Local wages (more than US\$12.8 million in 2004) made up 73% of the total wage bill in the tourism industry; and
 - The total of 5 500 people employed in the tourism industry represented just 0.5% of the total population within KAZA (although this rises to 5% being supported by the industry if we assume each employee supports one household).

The elusive win-win-win scenario in TFCAs (4)

- Whande and Suich 2009, GLTP/GLTFCA:
 - Very little economic impact on locals by GLTFP
 - Tourism enterprises in the wider GLTFCA employed around 8 900 people and generated around US\$25 million in wages, but,
 - Most of these enterprises existed before the transfrontier projects were initiated.
- So eco-tourism unlikely to lift large numbers of people out of poverty and little growth attributable due to transfrontier activities

The elusive win-win-win scenario in TFCAs (5)

- Critique of neo-liberal conservation (market-led conservation) suggests that new values for conservation become available for national and transnational elites to the exclusion of local people (Igoe *et al*).
- TFCAs help to secure access to communal land for external business interests while restricting community access to land and resources

Unless TFCAs start to provide real benefits for local communities it is hard to counter this critique.

The elusive win-win-win scenario in TFCAs (6)

- Communities (& other stakeholders) excluded from the top table
- Decisions by government officials and “implementing agencies” (conservation agencies), landholders excluded (Theron 2007).

Objectives reflect a narrow set of interests, not those of the people affected

The elusive win-win-win scenario in TFCAs (7)

- ‘Back to the Barriers’ conservationists (Hutton *et al* 2005):
 - Parks should not try to address poverty issues
 - Fundamental conflicts between the conservation and socio-economic goals of parks
 - Communities should be excluded from decision-making about the management of parks or the place of parks in the wider ecosystem economy

The impact of power imbalances

- Imbalance in the mix between conservation objectives, economic activities and improvement of rural livelihoods
 - Results from power imbalances
 - Government/conservation agency/private sector nexus much more powerful than local communities
 - Knowledge, expertise, decision-making, capital, etc.

The impact of power imbalances (2)

- TFCAs require some form of co-management
 - But co-management means state/private sector control where communities lack rights and legal status
 - Negotiated contractual agreements are required between parties with legal persona, holding rights to veto or withdrawal.
 - But mostly communities do not share equality with the state as land holders because communal land is usually owned by the state.
 - N.B. Richtersveld community represented on JMB of Ai-Ais/Richtersveld TFP because they have title to the land forming the Richtersveld NP.

The impact of power imbalances (3)

- Katere *et al* (2001) : “As long as the powerful and influential dominate the TBNRM process then the very legitimacy of TBNRM initiatives is likely to be contested in the medium and long-term”.
- Since this was written there has been little change in the balance of power between the key stakeholders.

Is win-win-win possible?

- For successful TFCAs and TFPs we need a policy change to find the balance between conservation/economic growth /livelihoods
- Parks as a form of commons (Murphree 2004): “sites and bundles of collective entitlement for their constituents which require protection through controls on their use”.

Is win-win-win possible? (2)

- Child (2004) If parks are a form of commons then:
 - their objectives and management regimes need to be more closely aligned with societal objectives
 - should be providing as much value to society as possible, which in developing countries “translates into providing jobs and economic growth”
 - BUT, without pushing ecosystem health and biological diversity over thresholds from which it is difficult to recover.
 - Implications: Parks objectives set by broader society, park managers accountable to broader society, improved monitoring of ecological health and biodiversity impacts.

Is win-win-win possible? (3)

- Implications for TFCAs:
 - Opens up the space for carefully crafted co-management regimes between parks and neighbouring land holders in TFCAs that can lead to achieving a better balance of power between stakeholders and a better balance of conservation, economic activity and livelihoods
 - Parks with objectives that reach beyond their boundaries: supply community-managed areas /freehold land on their borders with wildlife for economic use.
 - Provide the key attractions to draw tourists to the region, providing opportunities for other land holders.

Is win-win-win possible? (4)

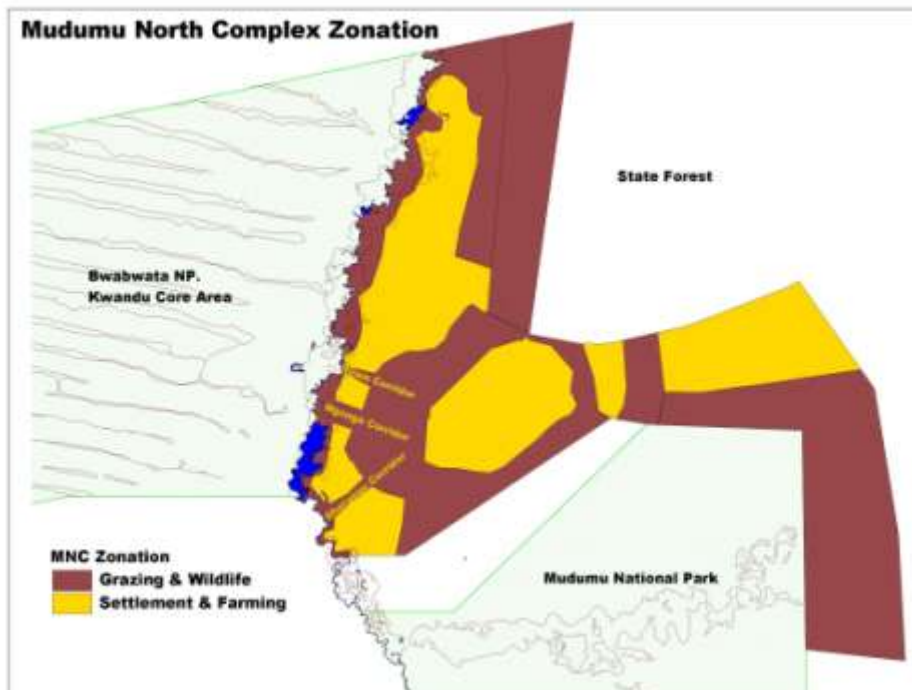
- Wildlife as a common property resource within a TFCA: KAZA
 - Parks and neighbouring communities with rights over wildlife
 - Wildlife leaves parks – but communities also adopt wildlife and tourism as land uses.
 - “Ownership” by parks not a problem
 - But so far no KAZA level institutions to benefit from this situation

Scaling up for TFCA management

- Mudumu North complex in Caprivi (part of KAZA), Namibia
 - 2 NPs, 1 State Forest, 4 conservancies, 3 CFs,
 - Share wildlife as common resource, common management problems (e.g. fire)
 - JMC representing each land unit, plus other stakeholders, implementing through WGs.
 - Joint anti-poaching patrols, fire management, wildlife introductions and monitoring, HWC, wildlife corridors, community wildlife and tourism zones, etc.

Scaling up for TFCA management (2)

- MNC = Common property resource management at different scales
 - Local management of common pool wildlife and forests
 - Scaled up management of migratory wildlife, fire, HWC, but authority delegated upwards to MNC management committee and accountability of MC downwards to the local management units = management by “nested institutions” Ostrom (1990).
 - Potential to scale up further to include neighbours in Zambia
 - Potential for cross border wildlife corridors





Scaling up for TFCA management (3)

- Parks in MNC:
 - Reservoirs of wildlife
 - Tourism attractions
 - Technical support to neighbours managing wildlife
 - Concessions for conservancies
 - Value of concessions not just income, but stake in park for people displaced in the past - now no demands to resettle



Scaling up for TFCA management (4)

- MNC highlights the importance of appropriate institutional arrangements for large landscape conservation whether within national boundaries or at the transfrontier scale.
- Delegation of authority upwards from units of management with their own rights of decision-making and areas of jurisdiction - accompanied by downwards accountability
- Foundation for functional TFCA management bodies that derive legitimacy from their various constituent parts.
- Foundation for managing common resources across a larger landscape including cross frontier that includes diverse landholders and forms of land tenure.

Conclusions

- Breaking down some of the existing barriers in our thinking about who owns parks and what parks are for, can open up new avenues for successful development of TFCAs.
- Common Property management at a large scale with nested institutions can provide answers to some of the challenges of TFCA management
- But community land/resource rights required to balance power relations so real negotiation of co- management agreements and institutions can take place.
 - Market-led approaches to conservation will benefit those with property rights – which communities generally lack.