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Challenges of transfrontier conservation areas: Natural resources nationalism, security and regionalism in the southern African development community region

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Abstract

Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) initiatives in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region offer hope for providing a mechanism for resolving political tensions and conflicts which are not only related to environmental issues but to security concerns as well. The geopolitical implications of TFCAs in the SADC region cannot be overemphasised with regard to international relations and regional integration. The SADC region is characterised by histories of contested military balance of power and geopolitical rivalries which have a potential to degenerate into military confrontation. Although there is a strong belief in multilateral co-operation among SADC member countries, most of them often engage the international community at the bilateral level. Moreover, there is disharmony in constitutional applications of the rule of law, respect of human rights and good governance. However, TFCAs initiatives in Southern Africa have been seen as offering an opportunity to heal the wounds of pre- and post-independence wars of destabilisation through the encouragement of inter-state collaboration and co-operation by giving governments an opportunity for mutual action on issues of common interest.

Keywords: Transfrontier conservation areas, Wildlife, Security, Peace, Political ecology

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1. Introduction

Despite being endowed with some of the strategic natural resources such as minerals and wildlife, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) is facing a plethora of challenges in natural resources management at a regional level. This paper focused on the politics of the Transfrontier Conservation Area (TFCA) paradigm in wildlife management. Since its inception in the region during the past two decades, the TFCAs paradigm has drawn much scholarly and media attention regionally and globally mainly because of its ambitious outlook. Although the TFCA paradigm technically attempts to address environmental issues associated with wildlife management, it “is informed by a disparate array of discourses – anarchist, scientific, romantic, managerial and neoliberal – and bound up with an equally disparate range of environmental, economic and political agendas” (Wolmer, 2003, p. 2). The transfrontier management of wildlife in the region is not only restricted to environmental issues but also encompasses security concerns because this initiative has impacts far beyond the realms of biodiversity protection and ‘natural resource management’ which relate to debates on national sovereignty, land reform and poverty alleviation (Wolmer, 2003).

The TFCA paradigm is being embraced within evolving political and ideological narratives which fit in traditional modes of co-operation against real or perceived external threats of neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism on natural resources exploitation (Wolmer, 2007). Hence, there is growing interest in natural resource nationalism. The SADC member states are trying to consolidate on collective political and military co-operation which started during the struggle against colonial hegemony in the region. The SADC region has a long history of collective exchange of military assistance, political and ideological ideas. During the 1980s, the independent Southern African Frontline States, namely, Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe coalesced to fight against the racial hegemony of apartheid South Africa in the region. The revival of deeper regional integration gathered momentum in the early 1990s in tandem with the political transition in South Africa from apartheid rule to a democratic state. This dispensation of deeper regional integration was politically legitimised by the transformation of the Southern African Development Coordination Conference (SADCC) to SADC following the 1992 SADC Treaty (Lieberman, 1997).

However, political co-operation in natural resources management in the region is more complex than hitherto expected because contemporary political narratives are now classifying non-military threats such as environmental degradation and climate change as potential threats to peace and security. According to Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2000, p. 9), “there is growing consensus that environmental degradation can, and does, trigger, amplify or cause conflict and instability, and a growing concern that environmentally induced conflict might increase”. In addition, “security institutions are now being called upon to protect access to environmental resources in other countries as well as in the global commons” (OECD, 2000, p. 9). This is a serious contentious issue in the region due to sharp differences in ideologies and governance systems among SADC member states. Moreover, threats to regional peace and stability are still interpreted within the frameworks of ideologies which inspired military co-operation among liberation movements against white domination in the region. According to Maodza (2012b), at a meeting in Namibia in 2011, secretary-generals of the liberation movements resolved to meet on the sidelines of annual SADC summits to discuss regional and international sources of peace and security

concerns. Therefore, the harmonisation of policies and institutional frameworks among partner countries in the region seems to be difficult, if not impossible, due to sharp divisions on how to engage the international community on security and developmental issues especially the European Union (EU) and the United States of America.

In addition, increasing numbers of poaching syndicates across international borders are also serious threats to security and also guise as potential sources of conflict among countries in the region (Wolmer, 2003). This means that regional co-operation in combating poaching is essential given that international borders in the region are badly patrolled. Therefore, the establishment of TFCAs is vital in reducing threats to international relations and diplomatic co-operation among countries in the region. For example, the episodes of diplomatic confrontations between Botswana and Zimbabwe when rangers from either countries were arrested upon illegally crossing international borders while on patrol have political implications to international relations. In February 2010, three Botswana game rangers were arrested when they illegally entered into the Zimbabwean territory (*Zimbabwe Democracy Now*, 10 February 2010). In March 2011, three Zimbabwean National Parks Authority rangers and a forestry scout on patrol at the Kazuma Pan National Park were arrested and detained at Kasane Central Police Station by Botswana Defence Forces soldiers for illegally entering Botswana while tracking poachers (Guvamombe, 2011).

2. Objectives of the study

This study sought to examine the challenges of the TFCA paradigm to wildlife management in the Southern African or SADC region. The specific objectives were to:

- Examine the importance of the establishment of transfrontier natural resources conservation areas to international relations and co-operation among SADC member states.
- Explore the incongruities of national sovereignty and realities of regional political co-operation.
- Contribute to the research and debate on the role of transfrontier natural resources conservation areas to security and conflict management.

3. Study area

The geographical distribution of TFCAs in Southern Africa, to a larger extent, follows the systematic joining of ecoregions or bioregions of wildlife habitations straddling international borders; envisioning the main purpose of transborder co-operation in the conservation and management of shared natural resources in order to promote biodiversity and socio-economic development in the region (Wolmer, 2007). The designated TFCAs include national parks, game ranches, safaris, private sanctuaries and conservation areas as well as adjacent local communities in partner countries (Table 1). Although the concept of TFCAs is a recent phenomenon in the SADC region, a number of treaties and memoranda of understandings (MOUs) were signed to establish transfrontier parks while other parks are at the conceptual phase (Figure 1).

Currently, TFCAs designated totalled 14 (Peace Park Foundation, 2012). Only four treaties were signed to establish the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (Mozambique/South Africa/Zimbabwe), Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area [KAZA TFCA] (Angola/Botswana/Namibia/Zambia/Zimbabwe), Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (Namibia/South Africa) and /Ai/Ais-Richtersveld Transfrontier Park (Namibia/South Africa). The oldest TFCA is the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park covering 95 700km². In December 2002, the three heads of states of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe signed a treaty to establish the transfrontier park (Wolmer, 2007). It set to join the Banhine-Zinhave (Mozambique), Kruger (South Africa) and Gonarezhou (Zimbabwe) National Parks. The Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area is the largest. It embraces most of the Okavango River Basin, an integral part of an ecosystem that is connected to the upper Zambezi River Basin (Transfrontier Conservation Consortium, 2006).

4. Methodology

This study adopted an interdisciplinary approach by borrowing theoretical perspectives from geography, history, international relations and political science. However, it heavily relied on the concept of political ecology which is a “topical approach to the study of peace and conflict, emphasizing the role of inequality in access to wealth, and the natural resources upon which wealth is based, as one of the principal drivers of the interrelated dynamics of human discord and ecological degradation” (Fletcher, 2010, p. 2). “A characteristic feature of political ecology analysis entails elucidation of the interconnection between the various stakeholders involved in a conflict at different levels or scales—from the regional to the global and the local to the national—that may underlie seemingly spatially-bounded conflicts, as well as contestation among actors at each of these levels” (Watts, 2000 cited in Fletcher, 2010, p. 2). The focus of this study was limited at the regional level. At the moment, TFCAs treaties and memoranda of understandings were signed and agreements were also reached among the following selected SADC member states: Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Table 1). A study of this nature was indispensable because socio-politically motivated tensions related to territoriality and accessibility to natural resources especially in border regions often feature on the regional agenda. In addition, the geopolitical implications of TFCAs in the SADC region cannot be overemphasised with regard to international relations and regional integration. The region is characterised by histories of contested military balance of power and geopolitical rivalries. According to Amusan (2010, p. 138), “the end of the apartheid system and eventual coming to power of the African National Congress (ANC) in South Africa elicited another hegemonic rivalry in the newly created SADC to accommodate South Africa”.

5. Wildlife conservation in the SADC region

SADC is endowed with remarkable wildlife and biological diversity, which includes plants, mammals, birds, reptiles, amphibians, fish and invertebrates (Table 1). In order to protect these resources against poaching and possible extinction, large areas have been protected in most countries (Table 2). In terms of percentages,

the largest portions of protected areas are found in Botswana (39%), Zambia (29.8%), Tanzania (25.1%), Namibia (13.5%) and Zimbabwe (12.9%). On the whole, the total area reserved for wildlife protection in the region amounts to 15.66% (1 082 160 km²), one of the largest areas devoted to this type of land use in the world (Chenje and Johnson, 1994). However, in terms of physical space, the largest protected areas are located in Tanzania, Botswana, Zambia, Namibia, Malawi and Angola, in that order. Apart from the conservation of wildlife, these areas are also major tourist attractions. In recent decades, tourism has emerged as one of the fastest growing industries in the world (Pearce, 1997). As a labour-intensive industry, it 'provides many jobs, and makes a significant contribution to the economies of southern African countries' (Chenje and Johnson, 1994:163).

Among these protected areas, several categories can be recognized, namely:

- a) *National Parks* which are protected mainly for ecosystem conservation and recreation. Apart from preserving biological diversity, they provide visitors with spiritual, scientific, educational and recreational opportunities within environmentally friendly surroundings.
- b) *Strict Nature Reserve/Wilderness Areas* possess some outstanding natural ecosystems and are mainly preserved for scientific research or environmental monitoring.
- c) *National Monuments* are managed primarily for the conservation of specific cultural features, which are unique or outstanding.
- d) *Habitat/Species Management Areas* may include land, coast and sea. They are conserved for the protection of specific habitats or ecosystems.
- e) *Protected Landscapes or Seascapes* are characterized by aesthetic, cultural or ecological value, which should be preserved.
- f) *Managed Resource Protected Areas* exemplified by predominantly natural ecosystems, which have not been modified by human activities. They are preserved for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems and are characterized by rich biological diversity.

From a social, cultural, ecological and economic point of view, these protected areas play an important role in the region. They are sources of attraction to tourists, researchers and local communities in general. Their advantages, according to Chenje and Johnson (1994), include:

- a) Animals can be killed for trophy and meat or may be photographed by visitors who usually pay in foreign currency.
- b) Some animals can be sold for cash.
- c) Food, accommodation and curios, which tourists buy yield revenue to the region.
- d) During the late 1990s income generated from wildlife exceeded that from livestock production.

The merging of some of these protected areas into TFCAs has promoted resource conservation and is likely to promote sustainable wildlife management at regional level. However, increasing cases of elephant and rhino poaching in these areas pose a serious threat, which calls for more effective game patrols in Southern Africa (Chenje and Johnson, 1994). Since TFCAs cut across political boundaries, patrolling them has been a major challenge as poachers take advantage of the numerous loopholes, which exist in such large areas.

6. The role of TFCAs in security and conflict management

“African leaders have long envisaged regionalism as a viable strategy to pursue with a view to uniting the continent both politically and economically” (Lee, 2002, p. 1). The promotion of TFCAs in the SADC region offers hope for regional co-operation and resolving problems emanating within and beyond the region. Koch (1998 cited in Wolmer, 2003, p. 5) suggested that TFCAs initiatives in Southern Africa “have been pitched as an opportunity to heal the wounds of pre- and post-independence wars of destabilization” through the encouragement of inter-state collaboration and co-operation. “The hope is that they will help to ameliorate political and cultural tensions related to disputed borderlands and competition for shared resources” (Wolmer, 2003, p. 5). Inter-state co-operation can also make good governance and democracy vital in national and regional institutions.

TFCAs also offer alternative mechanisms for regional collaboration in resolving inherited geopolitical legacies of territorial disputes and political rivalries. The emergence of South Africa as an undisputable regional hegemony and a custodian of democracy and human rights are being challenged by Zimbabwe and other members of SADC (Margaret, 2000 cited in Olasupo, 2009). Lieberman (1997) argues that the post-apartheid admittance of South Africa into SADC means that South Africa sets the policy agenda, and when one considers the major issue areas, equitable regional development is not the primary goal that South Africa will advance. Rather, this player shifts the real regional *modus operandi* to 'What's good for South Africa,' as opposed to 'What's good for the region,' because when necessary, the South African government suggests to its neighbours and the world that, 'What's good for South Africa is good for the region' (Lieberman, 1997: 96).

Disputes over territories often emerge both at national and regional levels. The most publicised was the Sedudu/Kasikili Island between Botswana and Namibia which was found to legally belong to Botswana by the International Court of Justice. According to Baregu (1999), Namibia claimed the Kasili Island as a former part of the German colony but on the British maps the same island, known as Sedudu appears as part of colonial Botswana. There had been military build-up by both Botswana and Namibia on respective sides of the island and some cross-border shooting incidents were witnessed (Baregu, 1999). Similarly, South Africa and Namibia agreed to re-locate their international boundary along the lower Orange River to the deepest channel of the same river (Ashton, 2000 cited in Katerere; Hill and Moyo, 2001).

7. Challenges facing the SADC region

The bitter armed struggles fought in most SADC countries against White domination characterised the main basis for political solidarity and co-operation. Ideological narrations are obsessed with safeguarding national sovereignty; symbolising the firm belief in the existence of neo-colonialism as the major source of political instability in the region. This neo-colonialist mentality is not only confined to politics but also to economic and environmental issues. The resurgence of the resource nationalism ideology in the SADC region championed by Zimbabwe is a counter-narrative to the extremes of foreign investment where Multinational

Companies (MNCs) and some Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) are seen as masquerading as authentic investors and environmental conservationists, respectively but furthering the hidden agenda of neo-imperialism and neo-colonialism. In other terms, these construed exploitative relations are seen as politically legitimate to voice the concern over the erosion of national sovereignty and reclaiming territory in form of land reform (Wolmer, 2003).

Although there is a good reason to be sanguine about the prospects for regional co-operation and development in Southern Africa (Lieberman, 1997), the region is still politically trying to reconcile with itself. Despite the declaration made by Heads of States or Governments of SADC member countries at Windhoek, in August 1992 entitled "Towards a Southern African Community", affirming the signatory member countries' commitment to the establishment of a regional development community (Ndulo, 1999), the incongruities surrounding the current ideological provenances of national sovereignty do not fit well in the realities of regional political co-operation. This is because given that the member countries are deriving their economic planning and political legitimacy from incompatible ideological discourses. There is also disharmony in constitutional applications of rule of law, respect of human rights and good governance. With the exception of Botswana, Mauritius and South Africa, elections are generally characterised by irregularities and public participation is limited to non-competitive elections (UNDP, Southern African Development Community and Southern African Political Economy Series, 1998).

Moreover, the export of the European idea of the monocultural nation-state left most post-colonial states with the dilemma of how to reconcile this with ethnically and religiously plural societies (Chiriyankandath, 2007). Virtually, all Southern African countries maintained the colonial statist approach whereby political conflicts are largely resolved by mobilising security forces although there is affirmation of peaceful settlement of political disputes in the SADC Treaty. The obsession with state security undermined the role of the traditional leadership even in resolving ethnic-sensitive disputes.

In addition, investments of White South African individuals and companies in neighbouring countries are generally not seen as part of the regional development *modus operandi*. White South Africans have many economic investments in neighbouring countries in diverse industries such as retail, mining, game ranging, hospitality and safari. Mudenda (2000:89) invoked a deep seated historical sensitive issue in his reservation about the regional investments of White South Africans in Zambia when he remarked, "the new breed of colonisers are not the old colonial masters, neither are they citizens of the remaining superpower, but are White South Africans who, before the fall of apartheid, were Zambia's adversaries". This mistrust also characterises the nature of engagement among partner countries in TFCAs. For example, the (largely correct) perception in Zimbabwe about the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, particularly in government, is "that the process is driven by the top-down, 'external agenda' of foreign donors, international NGOs, and the South African state; chiming with ZANU-PF's antipathy to all things seen as interfering with national sovereignty and potentially neo-colonial or imperialist" (Wolmer, 2003, p. 17). While officially opening the SADC Liberation Movements Summit in Harare in June 2012, President Robert Mugabe, in his speech, affirmed the need for safeguarding and consolidating the revolutionary ideologies when he remarked:

“Naturally, as we develop and enact policies to deliver on these promises to our people such as our land reform programmes and the ongoing indigenisation and empowerment programmes here in Zimbabwe, we are targets for regime change.....Let’s we not forget, the purpose of these meetings is to accord former liberation movements an opportunity to deliberate, agree and develop joint strategies to enable us to retain the power we won on behalf of the people. This is urgent given that our revolutionary ideologies have come under sustained attack.....renewed attack from our erstwhile colonial masters who are determined to replace our revolutionary parties with malleable, neoliberal stooge parties deliberately formed, built and funded to reverse all the gains of our liberation struggles” (Maodza, 2012a).

Another important issue is that there is no consensus among SADC member countries on how to engage the international community due to ideological differences. Most of the member countries engage the international community at bilateral level as sovereign states. This has reinforced diplomatic mistrust among member countries. For example, in 2008, diplomatic tensions between Zimbabwe and Botswana were gathering momentum because Zimbabwe was accusing Botswana of colluding with the United States and Britain to effect regime change in Zimbabwe (Chigora and Ziso, 2011). Moreover, divergence in diplomatic engagements with the international community implies that SADC member countries do not have the same political image and receptivity to the international donors especially the European Union (EU) and North American donors. Some Zimbabwean ZANU-PF top government officials are under targeted sanctions from the EU and North American countries implying that it will be difficult for partner countries to pull together.

A transfrontier park means that border crossing by people and wildlife increases and that countries have to loosen control over their borders (Büscher and Dietz, 2005). This implies that the participation of strategic ministries such as those of home affairs, defence state security, foreign affairs or international relations is important. In the case of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, out of the four representatives of each country sitting in the management board – who are only from state agencies - one must be from the security agencies (Büscher and Dietz, 2005).

Although the role of security agencies in the management of TFCAs has been acknowledged, a stronger political willingness is indispensable to resolve historical sources of mistrust and competing political interests. The region is characterised by high human mobility across international borders with South Africa as the main destination. As a result smuggling, human trafficking as well as other clandestine criminal activities such as drug and arms dealing will consequently increase in the region. Therefore, South Africa has been particularly sensitive about this issue, as it fears an even larger influx of immigrants and increase in smuggling from Mozambique and Zimbabwe if it loosens its grip on the borders (Büscher and Dietz, 2005). Increased cases of wildlife poaching in the whole region further complicate the issue as patrolling the TFCAs has often led to conflicts among some partner countries.

8. Conclusion

Examining the current challenges of the TFCAs paradigm to wildlife management in the SADC region encourages exploration of alternative mechanisms for resolving political and territorial disputes. The emergence of resource nationalism in Southern Africa is more complicated than political leaders hitherto used to envisage. For example, the land reform programme in Zimbabwe aimed at reclaiming the territory lost during the white racist penetration during the early 1900s sucked in South Africa. Farms belonging to White South Africans were also seized during the Fast Track Land Reform Programme between 2000 and 2003. Although the region has a long history of political co-operation which began during the struggles against colonialism and political domination of apartheid South Africa, deeper regional integration is still far from possible in Southern Africa because revolutionary political ideologies are perpetrating the adherence to authoritarian rule. The firm belief in the Westphalia national sovereignty model of 1648 by some SADC member countries will delay the democratic transformation of regional institutions due to fear of erosion of state sovereignty.

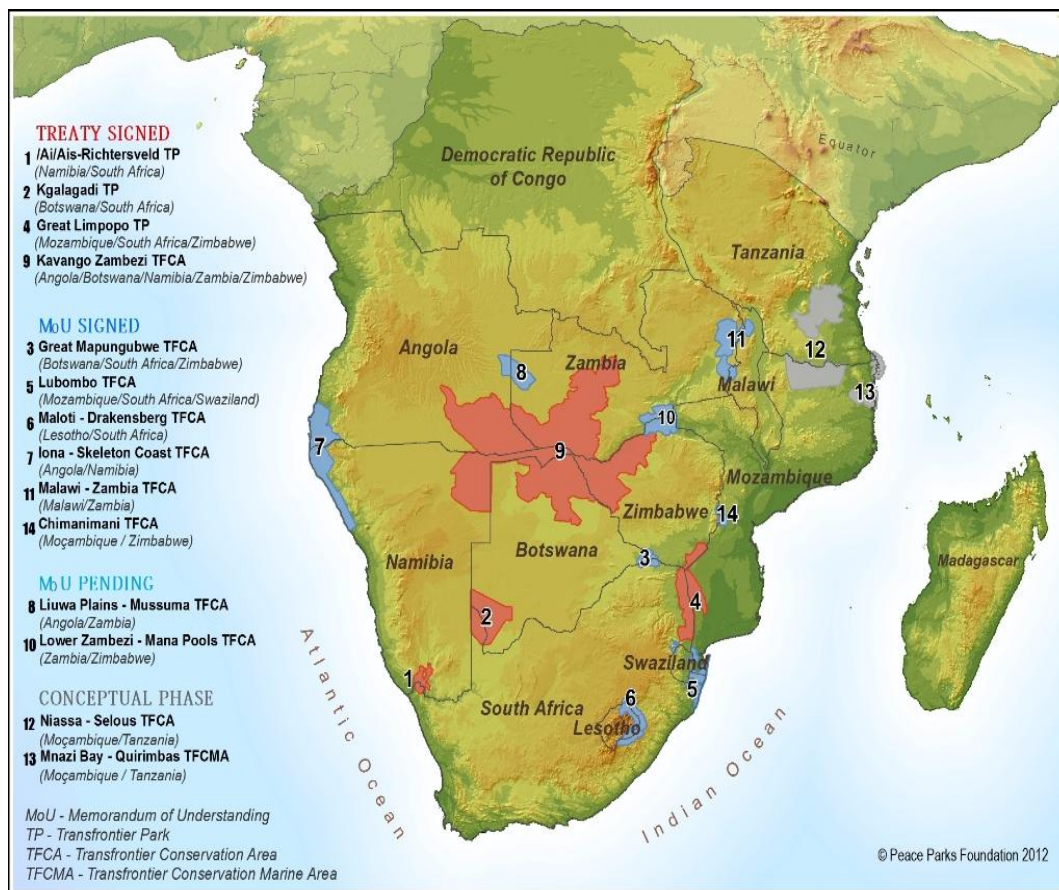


Figure 1. Geographical distribution of transfrontier conservation areas in southern Africa (Source: Peace Parks Foundation (2012), www.ppf.org.za)

Table 1. Selected Transfrontier Conservation Areas in the SADC Region

Name of TFCA	Area	Partner Countries	Treaty/MOU / Treaty / Protocol Signed	Common Animal and Tree Species	Major Areas of Attractions
Ai-Ais-Richtersveld	6 045km ²	Namibia/ South Africa	Treaty signed 01 August 2003	Zebra, Ground squirrel, Rock hyax	Richtersveld National Park (SA), Ai-Ais Hot Springs Game Reserve (Nam)
Kgalagadi	37 256km ²	Botswana/ South Africa	Treaty signed 12 May 2000	Antelope, Springbok, Gemsbok, Hartebeest, Eland, Lion, hyena, Wild cats, Leopard,	Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (SA), Gemsbok National Park (Bots)
Greater Mapungubwe (Formerly Limpopo /Shashe)	4 872km ²	Botswana/ South Africa/ Zimbabwe	MOU signed 22 June 2006	Baobab, Mopane, Acacia-salvadora species,	Mapungubwe National Park (SA), Mashatu Game Reserve (SA), Nitani Tuli Safari (Bots), Mapungubwe Heritage Sites (Bots/SA/Zim)
Maloti-Drakensburg	16.226 km ²	Lesotho/ South Africa	MOU signed 11 June 2001	Montane and sub-alpine ecosystems,	Sehlabathebe National Park (Les), uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park (SA), Rock art
Great Limpopo	35 000km ²	Mozambique / South Africa/ Zimbabwe	Treaty signed 9 December 2002	Africa's Big Five, Mopane, Baobab	Limpopo National Park (Moza), Kruger National Park (SA), Gonarezhou National Park (Zim)
Lubombo	4 195km ²	Mozambique / South Africa/ Swaziland	Protocols* signed 22 June 2000	Elephants, White Rhinoceros,	The Greater St Lucia Wetland Park (SA), Lubombo Conservancy (Swaz), Maputo Elephant Reserve (Moza)
Malawi/Zambia		Malawi/ Zambia	MOU signed 13 August 2004	Antelopes, Zebra, Duiker, Africa's Big Five, Miombo woodlands	Nyika National Park (Mal/Zam), Vwaza Marsh Wildlife Reserve (Zam)
Kavango-Zambezi	444 00km ²	Angola/ Botswana/ Namibia/ Zambia/ Zimbabwe	Treaty signed 18 August 2011	Africa's Big Five, Wild Dog, Sable, Roan Antelope, Cape vulture, Kalahari woodland, Baobab	Bwabwata National Park (Nam), Chizarira National Park (Zim), Chobe National Park (Bots), Hwange National Park (Zim), Kafue National Park (Zam), Moremi Game Reserve (Bots), Sioma Ngwezi National Park (Zam), Victoria Falls (Zam/Zim), Lake Kariba (Zam/Zim), Zambezi River (Ang/Nam/Bots/ Zam/Zim), Okavango Delta (Bots/Nam)
Lower Zambezi - Mana Pools	-----	Zambia/ Zimbabwe	Conceptual Phase	Over 350 bird species, Crocodiles, Hippopotamus	Mana Pools National Park (Zim), Lower Zambezi National Park (Zam)
Liuwa Plains - Mussuma	-----	Angola/ Zambia	Conceptual Phase	Blue wildebeest, Zebra, Miombo woodlands	Liuwa Plains National Park (Zam),
Chimanimani	17 110 hectares	Mozambique / Zimbabwe	MOU Signed in 2001	Eland, miombo woodlands	Chimanimani Mountains (Moza/Zim), Chimanimani National Park (Zim)

(Table key and notes at the next page)

Source: peaceparks.org; safariguideafrica.com; botswanaturism.co.bw; mapungubwe.com

Table 1 Key: Ang = Angola; Bots = Botswana; Les = Lesotho; Moza = Mozambique; Nam = Namibia; SA = South Africa; Swaz = Swaziland; Zam = Zambia; Zim = Zimbabwe

Table 1 Notes: *Protocols: Lubombo Conservancy-Goba (Mozambique/Swaziland); Nsubane-Pongola (South Africa/Swaziland); Usuthu-Tembe-Futi (Mozambique/South Africa/Swaziland); Songimvelo-Malolotja (South Africa/Swaziland); Ponta do Ouro-Kosi Bay (South Africa/Swaziland)

Table 2. Protected Areas in relation to land areas in selected SADC Countries

Country	Area (km ²)	Proportion of protected Area (%)	Size of protected Areas (km ²)
Angola	1 246 700	6.4	80 000
Botswana	581 730	39.0	226 875
Lesotho	30 350	0.2	68
Malawi	118 480	8.9	10 545
Mozambique	799 380	8.7	69 790
Namibia	824 290	13.5	111 414
South Africa	1 221 040	5.9	72 000
Tanzania	945 090	25.1	237 005
Zambia	752 610	29.8	224 078
Zimbabwe	390 580	12.9	50 385
Total	6 910 250	15.66	1 082 160

Source: Chenje and Johnson (1994, 160)

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