PEOPLE, NATURE AND RESOURCES: MANAGING LAND-USE CONFLICTS IN NGAMILAND, BOTSWANA

MALATSI L. SELEKA

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Bloemfontein

Promotor: Professor Alinah K. Segobye

Co-promotor: Dr Stephanie Cawood

DECLARATION

I, Malatsi L. Seleka, hereby declare that this dissertation submitted by me for the Doctor of Philosophy (Peace and Conflict in Context) degree at the University of the Free State is a presentation of my original work. Wherever contributions of others are involved, every effort is made to indicate this clearly, with due reference to the literature and acknowledgement of collaborative research and discussions. I hereby declare that all royalties regarding intellectual property developed during and/or in connection with the study at the University of the Free State will accrue to the university.

Signature: **Date:** 24 November 2022

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to the community of Mababe for their perseverance and patience in having a conflict-free community. It is also dedicated to my parents and family, who have been proud and supportive of my work and shared the many uncertainties and challenges I faced in completing this thesis.

ABSTRACT

Land-use conflicts between communities and protected-area management authorities are recurrent in African countries. These are attributed to opposing needs, interests and preferences regarding land utilisation. If such conflicts are left unchecked or ineffective strategies are adopted, they can lead to negative social, economic and ecological consequences. This study sought to investigate the source and causes of conflicts regarding land use in Ngamiland or North-West District in Botswana.The study focused on the Mababe community and sought to critically evaluate the effectiveness of strategies employed by the DWNP to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe in the Ngamiland District of Botswana. Methodologically, the study adopted a qualitative case study approach and a post-positivist lens. Data was collected through in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation and documentary analysis. Purposive sampling was used to select respondents for in-depth interviews and snowball sampling for focus group discussion participants. The majority of the respondents were aged between 45-64, with more males (64%) compared to females (36%). Findings of the study highlight that land-use conflicts between the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and the community of Mababe are caused by a range of factors, such as restricted access to and utilisation of land in protected areas by the community, tenure insecurity and non-participatory land management processes implemented by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks. The study also revealed that the Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme (CBNRMP) adopted by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks has not always been effective, resulting in escalating land-use conflicts. The Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme has not been able to address several issues at the core of community development needs. As a result, perceptions of its benefits are low in the community. The programme has unclear objectives and skewed power dynamics in managing land and other resources. The use of deceptive processes and neglect of community culture and values by Community-Based Natural Resources Management authorities from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks regarding land utilisation renders the programme ineffective in managing land-use conflicts. Based on the findings and consistent with the broader literature, the recommendation is that the Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme be revised to incorporate issues of land tenure, harmonisation with other existing land and conservation frameworks, community values and culture, collegiate participation and peace education to improve its effectiveness in managing land-use conflicts. The study also proposes a participatory evaluation framework to improve the programme significantly.

TSHOBOKANYO

Kgotlhang ya tiriso ya lefatshe fa gare ga merafe le bogogi jwa mafelo a a sireleditsweng ke selo modiro mo Aferika. Se se bakwa ke dikeletso le dikgatlhego tse di farologanyeng gammogo le go iteba pele mabapi le tiriso ya lefatshe. Fa dikgotlhang tse di ka se rarabololwe kana go tswewa ditshwetso tse di sa lebanang, se se ka ama matshelo, itsholelo le kamano ya batho le tikologo. Patlisiso ene ya ikaelela go sekaseka se se bakang kgotlhang mabapi le tiriso ya lefatshe mo kgaolong ya Ngami mo Bokone Bophirima jwa lefatshe la Botswana.

Patlisiso e, e remeletse mo bathong ba Mababe, maikaelelo e le go sekaseka gore a ditshetlana tse ba lephata la diphologolo le makgabisanaga ba tsileng ka tsone go laola dikgotlhang mabapi le tiriso ya lefatshe mo kgaolong ya Ngami mo Mababe di a bereka. Se se fitlheletsweng ke patlisiso e, se rurifatsa gore dikgotlhang tsa tiriso ya lefatshe fa gare ga lephata la diphologolo le makgabisanaga ga mmogo le setshaba sa Mababe, di bakiwa ke mabaka a a farologaneng a tshwana le gore morafe ga o letlelelwe go tsena mo mafelong a a sireleditsweng ga mmogo le ditsamaiso tse di sa akaretseng morafe tse di diragadiwang ke ba lephata la diphologolo le makgabisanaga.

Patlisiso e gape e supile gore lenaneo la morafe le le tlhokometseng ditsatlholego (Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme) le le dirisiwang ke ba lephata la diphologolo le makgabisanaga ga le ise leko le dire sentle mme se se gakaditse dikgotlhang tsa tiriso ya lefatshe. Lenaneo leo ga le a kgona go itebaganya le dikgang di le mmalwa tsa konokono tse di amang ditlhabololo mo morafeng wa Mababe. Ka jalo, ditsholofelo ga di kalo mo bathong. Lenaneo ga le na maikaelelo a a tlhomameng gape le na le ditsamaiso tse di sokameng mo go tlhokomeleng lefatshe le meamuso e mengwe. Ditsamaiso tsa meamuso le lefatshe di belaetsa tsietso le go ikgatholosa ditshetlana tsa ngwao ke bagolwane kwa lekalaneng le le tlhokometseng ditsatlholego gotswa kwa lephateng la diphologolo le makgabisanaga. Tiriso ya lefatshe ga e kgotsofatshe baagi, ka jalo go dira gore lenaeo le palelwe ke go rarabolola dikgotlhang tsa tiriso ya lefatshe.

Go ya pele, kgakololo ke gore, a lenaneo le le tlhokometseng ditsatlholego (CBNRMP) le kanokwe gore le akaretse dikgang tsa tiriso ya lefatshe, le gore go nne le tshwaragano le melawana e mengwe e e ntseng e le teng mabapi le tshomarelo tikologo, ditshetlana tsa ngwao tsa merafe, go tsaya karolo, thuto ka kagiso le go tokafatsa dikgang tsa go laola dikghotlhang tsa tiriso ya lefatshe. Patlisiso e gape e rotloetsa gore go dirwe dikanoko tse di pataganetsweng gore lenaneo le tokafadiwe go menagane.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF APPENDICES

GLOSSARY

Botlhanka: *The status of permanent inferiority, sometimes giving way to servitude or slavery. It is also understood as hereditary serfdom.*

Indigenous knowledge: *Defined as knowledge which is spatially and culturally context-specific, collective, holistic and adaptive. It can also be understood as a network of knowledge, beliefs and traditions intended to preserve, communicate and contextualise indigenous relationships with culture and landscape over time.*

Ipelegeng: *Self-help or self-reliance in one form or another. It can also be used to refer to an employment-based public works programme.*

Kgamelo: *A system that binds members of a community very closely to the Tswana kgosi or chief, making them fully dependent upon him for subsistence.*

Kgotla: *An open meeting place or gathering to discuss matters affecting all community members with the kgosi presiding. The kgotla is a dominant feature of every community and plays a significant part in the public life of its people.*

Mafisa*: A special contract by which a man places one or more of his cattle into the keeping of another, who has the right to use them in various ways. Such cattle are known as mafisa. The herdsman takes sole charge of them indefinitely, which can be brought to an end at any time by either party.*

Merafhe: *A community or chiefdom This term continues to be used by the Tswana themselves as in ' tribal administration ' or when one group wishes to distinguish itself in English from another.*

LIST OF ACRONYMS

AU   African Union

AWF   African Wildlife Foundation

BCL   Bamangwato Concessions Limited

CAMPFIRE   Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

CBD   Convention on Biological Diversity

CBNRMP   Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme

CHAs   Controlled Hunting Areas

CITES   Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species

CKGR   Central Kalahari Game Reserve

DTCB   Diamond Trading Company Botswana

DWNP   Department of Wildlife and National Parks

ECC   European Economic Community

FAO   Food and Agriculture Organisation

FGD   Focus group discussions

GDP   Gross Domestic Product

HATAB   Hospitality and Tourism Association of Botswana

ICDPs   Integrated Conservation and Development Projects

IUCN   International Union for Conservation of Nature

MLWA   Ministry of Lands and Water Affairs

MWTC   Ministry of Wildlife, Conservation and Tourism

MZCDT   Mababe-Zokotshama Community Development Trust

NGO   Non-governmental organisation

NRM   Natural resources management

OAU   Organisation of African Unity

PAs   Protected areas

RADP   Remote Area Development Programme

SADC   Southern African Development Community

SI   Survival International

SLAF   Sustainable Livelihoods Approach Framework

TAC   Technical advisory committee

TGLP   Tribal Grazing Land Policy

TLA   Tribal Land Act

UN   United Nations

UNDP   United Nations Development Programme

UNEP   United Nations Environment Programme

UNESCO   United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

USAID   United States Agency for International Development

VDC   Village Development Committee

WMA   Wildlife management area

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

1. INTRODUCTION

Since the 1980s, the debates on the nexus between protected areas (PAs) and the epidemic of conflict have been the subject of extensive conservation and conflict management discussions. While protected areas are viewed by conservationists and governments as critical mechanisms to safeguard biodiversity in the face of the global crisis of species extinction and climate change, their establishment has resulted in land-use conflicts (Ayivor et al., 2020; Solton and Dudley, 2010). Protected areas reserve vast tracts of land for conservation, often overlooking the land needs of local communities (Madden & Mcquinn, 2014). Rather than successfully integrating community members into protected area management systems, there are accounts of forced relocations and restrictions on resource use by African governments (Snyder & Sulle, 2011).

The establishment of protected areas (PAs) is grounded on the principle of separating humans from wildlife resources. However, this has significant limitations and prohibits communities from utilising land for subsistence and cultural activities (Adams & Hutton, 2007). The importance of land to communities is multifaceted, being at the heart of communities' social, political and economic life (Kwizela, 2016). Conservationists prioritise ecological integrity over socio-economic issues, including the need for food and water, equity, social justice and the protection of community rights (Ramutsindela, 2007). Protected areas represent different interests. For conservationists, they are an effective measure for protecting biodiversity and maintaining its pristine aspects. For local communities, protected areas restrict access to land and livelihood resources (Hammill, 2006). Furthermore, the establishment and management of protected areas

exist within complex social and political contexts dominated by poverty, inequality and contested resource rights. Such issues have resulted in more open land-use conflicts (Borras & Franco, 2011).

The resultant effect of protected areas has amplified interest in studying and managing land-use conflicts between communities and state agencies. Given this situation, there is a greater need and interest to prevent or proactively deal with conflicts emanating from establishing protected areas. For instance, land restitution policies and natural resources management programmes have been attempted in several African countries, including Zimbabwe and South Africa. Although conflict management is a fast-growing area of conservation practice, there has nevertheless been an escalation and intensification of land-use related conflicts. Therefore, there is an increased need to evaluate conflict management strategies and approaches to reduce land-use disputes between communities and government conservation agencies (Holt & Bruce, 2011).

The study critically evaluated the effectiveness of strategies employed by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe in the Ngamiland District of Botswana. The study examined the causes, nature and intensity of land-use disputes in Mababe. It also assessed the community's perceptions regarding protected areas, land use and conflicts. The study investigated how the protected area system restricts access to land and resource utilisation by the community of Mababe. Furthermore, the study identified the strategies used to manage land-use conflicts in the area. Lastly, the study analysed the effectiveness of the methods employed by the DWNP to manage land-use conflict in the study area by looking at their strengths and weaknesses.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The causes, consequences and management of conservation-related land-use conflicts have been topics of importance globally (Zou et al., 2019). Throughout history, the common goal of humanity has been to achieve sustainable socio-economic development. Most civilizations aimed to optimise utilising natural resources, such as land, water and minerals, to expand and command vast territories. However, establishing protected areas has alienated communities from land, negatively affecting the realisation of their livelihood aspirations. Community alienation from land resources has resulted in the emergence and escalation of land-use conflicts (Wang & Wu, 2020; Hoffman, 2014; Church & Shouldice, 2003).

1.1.1 Global context on the development of protected areas and land-use conflicts

The advent of PAs as a conservation strategy can be traced back to 1872 when Yellowstone National Park was established in the US state of Wyoming. Subsequently, the Royal National Park in Australia (1879), Banf National Park in Canada (1885) and Tongariro National Park in New Zealand (1894) followed suit (Phillips, 1997). The growth of PAs in other parts of the world started in the 19th century. As PAs were set up in one country after another, each nation developed its distinct approach and aligned it to the Yellowstone model, which followed a strict separation of humans from nature. The protected area system ensured that nature, habitats and unique landscapes were identified and safeguarded from destructive activities (Mangu, 2018). The other aim of designating PAs was to exclude people and their actions, as they were deemed incompatible with optimal levels of biodiversity conservation (Smith, 2013).

However, adopting exclusionary approaches in establishing and managing protected areas by nations led to an unwavering increase in land-use conflicts between PA managers and communities

adjacent to them. As Cumming (2008) asserts, the outbreak of conflict was inevitable, given the protected area's extraordinary change in land-use patterns. Reference can be made to the creation of PAs in Asia. China established its first PA in 1956 (He, 2016). Despite the benefits of PAs to ecosystem conservation, Pimm et al. (2019) maintain that the fragmented management of PAs in China resulted in conflicts over the management of land and other resources. Though the establishment of PAs was centred on balancing conservation and local community needs, it was never achieved, leading to conflict. Wolong Nature Reserve Park in Sichuan Province adopted an aggressive approach to communities seeking access to resources within the park. The park management's restriction on community resource utilisation caused land-use conflicts in one of China's many protected areas (Thrall, 2013).

As in Asia, Europe developed well-established PAs, opposed by communities living on their peripheries (Jones et al., 2020). Germany has a history of land-use conflicts arising from the establishment of protected areas. The designation of PAs caused disputes between local communities' traditional uses and conservationists' purposes. The formation of Harz National Park is a perfect example, as it introduced new rules and regulations that restricted communities from utilising land and its resources for livelihoods, leading to land-use conflicts (Mayer et al., 2021).

The global overview of PA development shows that, historically, exclusionary approaches have been a driving factor of land-use conflicts between communities and PA management in countries such as China and Germany. Nonetheless, contemporary conservation measures are marked by discourses and an attempt to build positive synergies between PA and community needs to avoid conflicts. Most notably, adaptive co-management and community-based conservation have been implemented in the USA, China and Germany to reduce or end land-use conflicts caused by PAs. For example, policymakers in the USA have devoted their attention to understanding and

managing land-use conflicts by growing public interest, expanding policies and laws, and setting up institutions to promote consensual decision-making between the state and communities regarding Yellowstone National Park management. In China, Wolong Nature Reserve Park Management attempted to create a win-win situation by devolving decision-making to communities and providing alternative livelihood activities to ease over-dependence on land used for conservation. However, these ongoing efforts to engage with communities in land-management processes are often perceived as insincere, resulting in persistent land-use conflicts (Farrel, 2015). Though these conflict management strategies have been adopted, conflicts are prevalent and continue to impede conservation and livelihood aspirations (Defries et al., 2007).

1.1.2 Protected areas and land-use conflicts in an African context

Africa is a continent abundantly endowed with natural resources. Land-use conflicts are attributed to the emergence and expansion of state-governed PAs (Nelson, 2010). Throughout Africa, PAs are the most preferred and prevalent natural resources management systems (Kalabamu, 2019). The prevalence of state-governed PAs originates from Africa's colonial past, as the first African PAs were created in the mid-1920s and 1930s under hierarchical colonial influences (Adams & Hutton, 2007).

Colonial conservation policies required the eviction of communities within and on the periphery of areas marked for conservation. Communities that had previously lived there and relied on the land for their livelihoods were initially barred by colonial officials and some elite members of society who designated these areas for their leisure game hunting (Munthali, 2007). Many have considered the local population's exclusion legitimate because of the growing recognition of the significance of wildlife protection for environmental conservation. Consequently, the fortress conservation model facilitated by PAs led to land-use conflicts across Africa (Nishizaki, 2014).
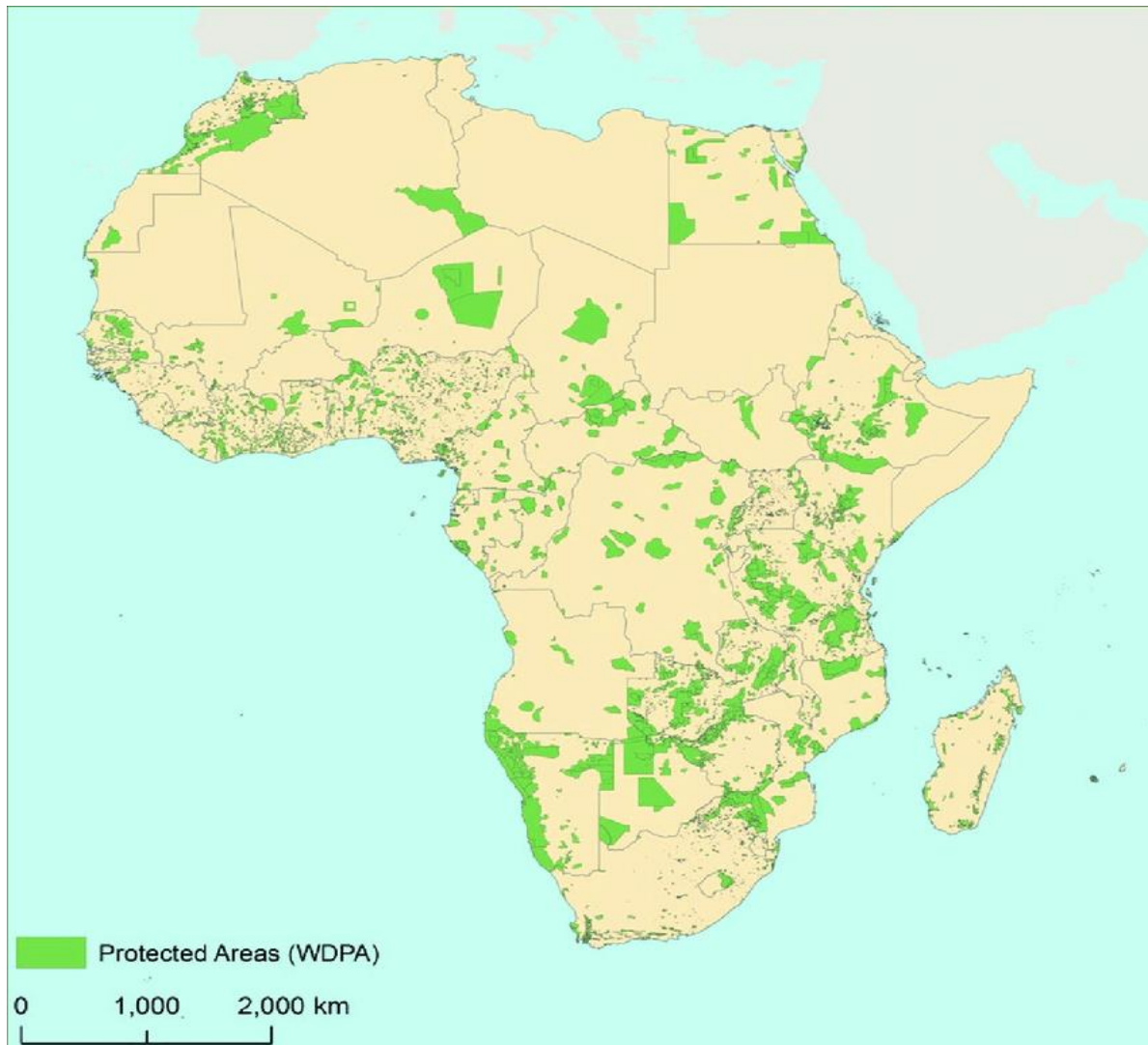
Fig. 1: Map showing African protected areas in 2015 (IUCN, 2017)

In southern Africa, land-use conflicts between PA management and communities are recurrent. These conflicts are mainly caused by communities in protest against land dispossession caused by the formation and expansion of protected areas. Governments in the region have slowly instituted conflict management strategies through enabling policies and programmes that allow cooperation between governments and communities (Jones, 2019). Namibia has a long history of conservation legislation and the country has introduced several programmes that have improved community

livelihoods, as well as wildlife populations (Weaver & Peterson, 2008). Namibia's conservation is through PAs that were first established in 1902. The Etosha National Park, founded in 1907, remains Namibia's flagship protected area and measures 22,270km^2 (Brown & Bird, 2011). Land-use conflicts around protected areas are also common in Namibia. In managing communities, wildlife and wilderness resources, Mannetti (2017) states that the expansion and management of Etosha National Park has required changes in land-use patterns among the surrounding communities. The groups living in the park's buffer zones include private and communal farmers who keep livestock and plant crops. Other communities predominantly live off the environment through hunting and collecting veld products. The establishment of the protected area altered community land access and utilisation patterns, leading to ongoing conflict (Wells & McShane, 2004).

Mannetti (2017) further argues that Etosha National Park's management works through a top-down approach that overlooks the local context. Top-down approaches lead to inadequate strategic planning that fails to identify competing land-use patterns. Protected area management has been unable to integrate different land-use practices, values, interests and attitudes that should form part of land-use planning and decision-making processes (Tompkins & Adger, 2004). Nonetheless, efforts have been made to manage land-use conflicts in Namibia. The Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme (CBNRMP), through Common Property Resource management institutions, remains a notable conflict management strategy.Additionally, Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) have been used to manage disagreements over land that result from the establishment of PAs. ICDPs facilitate local community participation in natural resource management and biodiversity conservation to reduce poverty through livelihood measures (Mufune, 2015). The ICDPs and CBNRMP provide communities on the periphery of

protected areas with a framework to establish incentives to use natural resources sustainably. These programmes have facilitated community-based tourism ventures to reduce community sustenance derived from other land-intensive activities, such as agriculture. Despite the programme's introduction, land-use conflicts persist (Brown & Bird, 2011).Zimbabwe also offers a good case study on the establishment of PAs and the emergence of land-use conflicts. Following independence in 1980, the country continued with Southern Rhodesia environmental laws that provided the wealthy, white minority privileged access to wildlife resources, while denying local black communities access to the same resources, even if those resources were outside protected areas. As a result, land-use conflicts became common in communities living on the fringes of protected areas (Tchakatumba et al., 2019).

The Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) was formulated in the late 1980s due to the growing conflicts between protected area management and communities. The programme's objective was to involve local people in the economic benefits and management of wildlife to ensure its long-term sustainability and enhance rural livelihoods. Instead of relying on land-based livelihood activities, the programme shifted from agriculture to the devolution of rights to manage, use, dispose of and benefit from wildlife resources by communities to maintain their livelihoods, while avoiding conflicts (Harrison, 2015).

Roe and Nelson (2009) state that most rural livelihoods in Zimbabwe depend on the availability of natural resources. Therefore, natural resource management (NRM) programmes and their corresponding processes drastically affect local households' livelihoods. Against this backdrop, CAMPFIRE was introduced to alleviate resource conflicts between conservation and community livelihoods. However, Harrison (2015) maintains that CAMPFIRE has generally failed in its objective to stimulate resource access and sustainable community livelihoods. Instead, it has led

to resource alienation and food insecurity. Restrictions on natural resources and entitlements have led to the manifestation and escalation of conflict. Nelson (2003) further cites the establishment of National Parks in Tanzania and the subsequent introduction of community-based initiatives. The scholar notes that the creation of national parks and other game reserves was accomplished with the displacement of native tribal groups from their historic homelands, leaving them worse off economically and sometimes in dire poverty. In South Africa, Dressler and Buscher (2008) call the establishment of national parks a hybrid neo-liberalisms, the merging of capitalism and conservation to bypass the 'subsistence core' of rural livelihoods. Buscher (2015) also cites the establishment of Kruger National Park as an example of African resource alienation by the government of South Africa. The scholar notes that despite the introduction of co-management initiatives, the community's participation in park management generally remained within boundaries dictated by state institutions. To date, community beneficiation initiatives from national parks continue to fail, and the long shadow of historical dispossession through conservation haunts land struggles (Turner, 2016).

1.1.3 Protected areas and land-use conflict management in Botswana

Botswana is a semi-arid, sparsely populated country of 581,000 km^2 located in the interior of southern Africa. In 1885, Britain proclaimed a protectorate over the nation and implemented an indirect control strategy, with little meddling in internal affairs and customary law. As a parliamentary democracy and unitary state, Botswana attained independence in 1966. Due to a policy of benign neglect by Britain, the nation was less impacted by colonial authority than any other territory in the region. There were not many instances of colonial eviction and settlement by European farmers, although where it occurred, local land scarcity and related grievances remained unresolved (Kalabamu et al.,2003).

Wildlife conservation in Botswana dates back to the colonial period when wildlife played a vital role in the economy, providing meat to everyone in society, from royalty to marginalised groups (Campbell, 2004). Informed by western narratives on the extinction of wildlife species through hunting, the colonial administration introduced the Statutory Game Law, which reinforced the demarcation of specific conservation areas, later known as national parks (Bolaane, 2013). Subsequently, the colonial administration established the Elephant Control Unit within the Public Works Department to coordinate and manage wildlife conservation. The Elephant Control Unit was later renamed the Department of Wildlife and National Parks in 1958 (Gumbo, 2002).
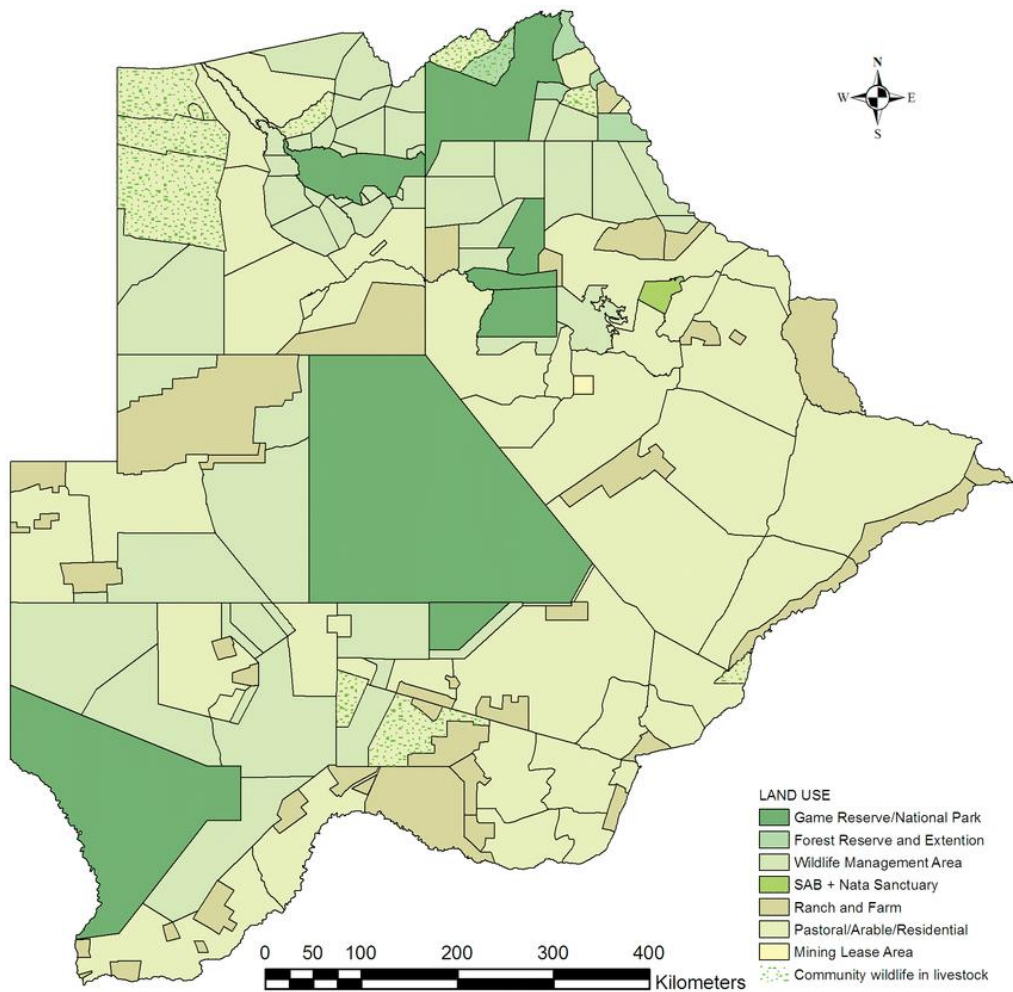
Fig. 2: Map showing Botswana's protected areas and other land-use patterns in 2014 (Winterbach, 2014)

In 1963, Moremi Game Reserve was proclaimed a protected area by Batawana in Ngamiland and administered by the newly-formed Fauna Preservation Society of Ngamiland. Afterwards, the colonial administration developed a Game Policy to support the protection of wildlife resources. The colonial authority neither consulted the communities when formulating the policy nor involved them in its implementation. In Khwai, Mababe and Sankuyo, the communities were evicted and their land was annexed for wildlife conservation (Gumbo, 2020). The eviction and curtailment of community rights continued into the post-colonial era after Botswana's independence in 1966. The post-colonial government recognised wildlife's economic potential and declared Ngamiland Botswana's tourism hub due to its rich biodiversity and wildlife resources. In 1986, the Botswana Wildlife Conservation Policy was enacted, followed by the 1992 Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act (Campbell, 2004). These policies were enacted to improve the conservation and management of wildlife in Botswana in line with CITES and other international conventions to protect fauna and flora (DWNP, 1992).

The policy also pursued the transfer of power to communities and local authorities to allow communities living in or adjacent to protected areas to manage these resources (Boggs, 2000). The creation of concession areas also created an impetus for communities to utilise natural resources. Concessions give communities the right to undertake commercial or management operations by the government or other controlling agencies (Bladon, 2020). The Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) continued to oversee the act's requirements, implementation and compliance (Gupta, 2013). The protected area conservation system in Ngamiland remains

contested to date. Land-use conflicts have emerged from establishing and expanding protected areas into land areas utilised by communities to sustain their livelihoods.

While communities depend on land resources for livestock grazing, crop production and harvesting of wilderness resources, protected areas have generally altered their livelihood patterns (Vanderpost, 2007). This is because land vital for livelihoods has been reserved for conservation purposes, consequently alienating communities from adequately and equally exploiting land resources and veld products. This has led to competition between communities and the DWNP officers responsible for managing protected areas. Communities and DWNP officials are the main actors in the conflict. Communities in Ngamiland, including Mababe, have voiced concerns about conservation activities that alienate them from accessing land resources (Mbaiwa et al., 2008).

The land-use conflicts between the DWNP and communities led to the Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme (CBNRMP) in 1991 by the government of Botswana (Taylor, 2000). The CBNRMP was funded by USAID through the Natural Resources Management Programme, which aimed to promote the sustainable use of local resources (USAID, 2013). CBNRMP began as a pilot effort to involve rural communities living adjacent to national parks and game reserves. Initially focusing mainly on wildlife, the programme was expanded to cover historic sites, scenic landscapes and other natural resources and formalised through the 2007 CBNRMP Policy. The government of Botswana viewed the programme's introduction as an ideal strategy to decentralise management and decision-making regarding land and wildlife resources.

Another feature of CBNRMP is the diversification from overdependence on traditional land-use patterns to sustainable resource utilisation through tourism (Segobye et al.,2022). Instead of finding livelihood limitations in conservation activities such as protected areas, the programme encourages communities to find solace in these activities and devise ways of establishing

livelihoods despite the alienation. Cassidy (2020) further notes that CBNRMP was originally systematized through a community forming a trust to engage in joint venture partnerships on behalf of the community. The programme was built on the premise that, for rural communities to carry the cost of living with wildlife, they needed to benefit from it

Although CBNRMP claims to recognise their capacity to manage local resources, its pretence of introducing natural resource management to residents gives little cognisance or respect to pre-existing livelihood preferences and management practices. Ultimately, the CBNRMP has fallen short in reducing conflicts between the DWNP and communities in Ngamiland over land resources (CAR, 2016). This background depicts a history of land disputes caused by establishing the PA system in Ngamiland and Mababe. While attempts have been made to ease the conflicts through CBNRMP, the programme has fallen short. Hence, evaluating its efficacy as a conflict management strategy is necessary.

1.2 HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE STUDY AREA

The study area's historical, political, economic and socio-cultural context is important in mapping the links between protected areas, land-use conflicts and the approaches adopted to manage these conflicts. The study was conducted in the village of Mababe in the Ngamiland District of Botswana. The Ngamiland district is dominated by the Okavango Delta's unique geographical feature. Part of the Okavango Delta is a Ramsar site and was declared a world heritage site in June 2014 by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO).
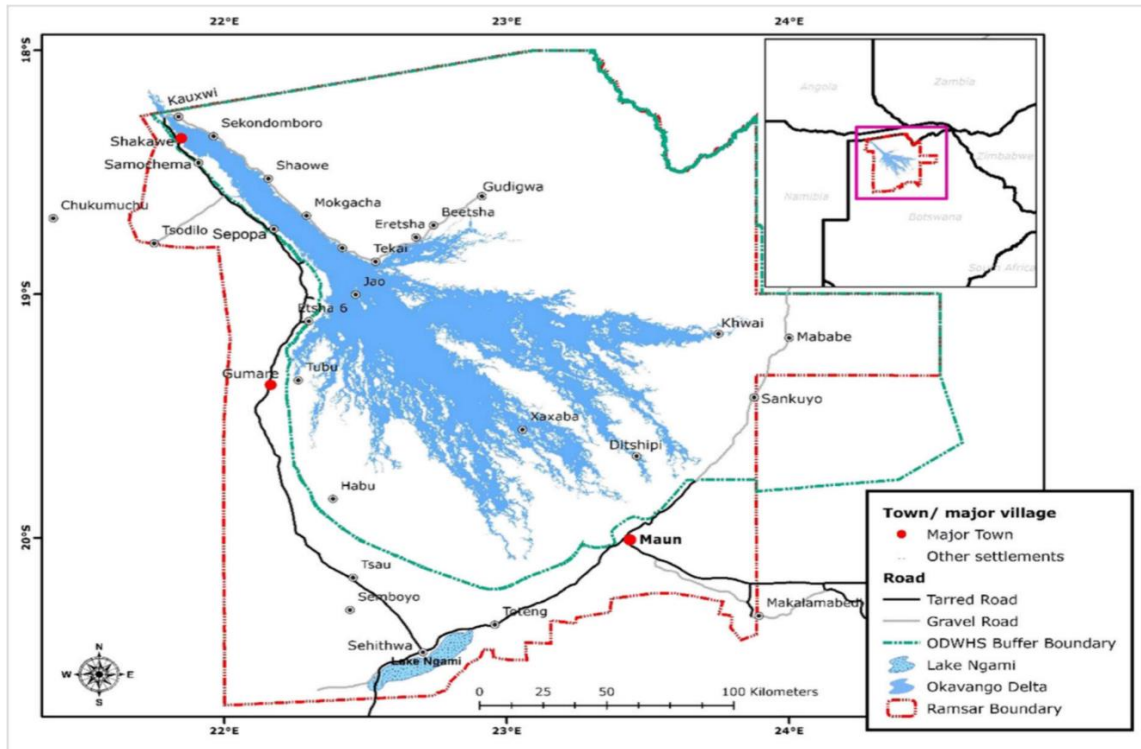
Fig. 3: Map showing the Okavango Delta Ramsar site (Crawhall, 2017)

The Okavango Delta is an ever-changing tapestry of floodplains, lakes, waterways and permanent and seasonal swamps (UNESCO, 2014). The Moremi Game Reserve contains protection for a substantial portion of the Delta. The remaining land comprises Wildlife Management Areas (WMAs) and Controlled Hunting Areas (CMAs), overseen by private tourism concession holders and community trusts. On the other hand, Botswana's Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992 and a related Wildlife Conservation Policy provide legal protection (Satau & Crawhall, 2017). Communities in Ngamiland rely on the Okavango Delta to fulfil their diverse livelihood needs. Gumbo (2010) states that the Delta served as a resource base for local livelihoods for many years before and after the arrival of external settlers. Settlers, missionaries and hunters are among the earliest foreigners to record activities in the wetland in the second half of the 19th

century. These foreigners controlled and exploited local communities, such as the Basubiya, to gain access to natural resources (Haresnape, 1974).

Though the European settlers had engaged in unfair and demeaning trade relations with the locals, this was not the case with Batawana, the ruling ethnic group in the area. The Batawana had established and consolidated Ngamiland as the Tawana State. The Batawana had broken away from Bangwato and migrated to north-western Botswana during the early 19th century. Batawana's annexation of the territory was also influenced by the impact of European trade during the second half of the 19th century. The booming ivory trade filled the coffers of traditional leaders, giving them the power to own and control the area (Tlou, 1985). Sekgoma Letsholatshebe ruled the Tawana Kingdom between 1891 and 1906 and was a staunch supporter of Tswana customs that he defended against the growing conversion to Christianity. However, due to pressure from the colonial administration, he was removed from the chieftancy and migrated to Lake Ngami in the late 18th century, later moving back to the Delta, settling in an area known as Chiefs Island (Tlou & Campbell, 2001). The Batawana re-established themselves as the dominant group in Ngamiland. Regarding the establishment of PAs, Bolaane (2013) affirms that the Batawana, with the influence of the colonial administration, led the initiative to protect biodiversity from overhunting and the ivory trade, creating Moremi Game Reserve. Though the Batawana are the dominant ethnic group in Ngamiland, other communities such as the San (Basarwa), Basubiya, Bayei, Bahambukushu, Baherero, Bakgalagadi, and Bagcereku also exist (Tlou, 1985). These communities live in close proximity and are intermarried (Bolaane, 2004). The San, often presented as a homogenous foraging society, are the oldest inhabitants of Ngamiland and comprise several groups who speak different languages (Marshall, 1989). The San groups in Ngamiland include the Ju/hoansi, Dobe, Gugakhwe, Ts'exa and Banoka, who were the earliest people to settle in the Okavango Delta. The

San are distinguished from Bantu-speaking peoples of southern Africa based on their distinctive click language. Traditionally, the San were hunters, gatherers, semi-sedentary and lived in small groups centred on extended family relationships, moving periodically in response to the local depletion of wildlife. Though they still attempt to maintain their traditional way of life, interactions with other groups and the government's introduction of restrictive conservation policies have made this difficult (Cashdan, 1985).

The San's contact with other Bantu-speaking groups, such as the Batawana in Ngamiland, has also resulted in their progressive alienation from land resources. The Bantu-speaking groups exerted political control over the San, changing their traditional political structure and livelihood patterns. Most notably, their traditional customs relating to land-use and ownership were replaced by patrilineal Tswana traditions (Bock, 1998). Today, the San in Ngamiland remain marginalised by other communities and live in abject poverty. The establishment of PAs in Ngamiland has also systematically ignored their traditional land-use patterns, separating them from the resources they need to sustain their livelihood (Kent, 1995). As Kiema asserts, San groups are regarded as people without land as they constantly migrate, looking for food and have no emotional attachment to any land (Kiema, 2010). The dominance of the Basarwa, coupled with the development of PAs, remains a contested subject in Ngamiland. While the government acknowledges that change is possible to rectify the historical prejudice against the San, their interventions thus far have fallen short, compounding the already existing land-use conflicts between them, the San and other Bantu-speaking groups (Zips-Mairitsch, 2013). Narrowing down to the study area further, this research focuses on Mababe, a village located in the south-eastern part of the Okavango Delta. The name is derived from *batho ba lebala* (people of the open plains), referring to the Mababe Depression, which is on the outer reaches of the village and has significant historical importance to the

community of Mababe. The village is lodged between Moremi Game Reserve in the south and
Chobe National Park in the north (see fig. 4 below). The village of Mababe is the third and oldest
of the villages inhabited by San communities (Taylor, 2000). Nettleton (1934) mentions that
Mababe was a hub of economic activity in the 19th century and a diverse number of ethnicities was
attracted by the area's natural resources (Barnard, 2019).

Fig. 4: Map of the study area (Credit: Malatsi Seleka)

Mababe is a village inhabited by the Bakhwe, Ts'exa and Bakolobe. The Ts'exa of Mababe, like
other San groups in Botswana and the Okavango, are perceived as the most marginalised group in
the country (Saugestad, 2001). When the Batawana, the dominant ethnic group in Ngamiland,
gained political authority in the 1850s, they introduced the *Kgamelo*, incorporating sub-ethnicities
into their extensive political structures *botlhanka* (enforced servitude). Although the Ts'exa
eventually resisted, enforced servitude continued. The violations of their rights meant they were

treated as hunter-gatherers; thus, they were alienated from the land. Historical records show that Mababe was at one point multi-ethnic due to the abundance of wild food (Taylor, 2000). The proliferation of wildlife in Mababe was also an attraction for hunters elsewhere and in the 19th century, it became the hunting grounds of Bangawato elites. Mababe's natural resources began to attract external interest. This time, colonial officers were eyeing the large swathe of Crown Land's economic potential, which stretched from Mababe eastwards and northwards (Taylor, 2000).

Fig. 5: Homesteads in Mababe (Credit: Malatsi Seleka)

Fig. 6: Mababe-Khwai dirt road (Credit: Malatsi Seleka)

There is also a record of failed attempts by the colonial administration to relocate the San people in Mababe to Nxaraga village in 1948 (Taylor, 2000). Their refusal to be relocated compounded their alienation from the land and its resources by conservation efforts. The growing concerns regarding the decline of wildlife populations eventually led to the establishment of Chobe National Park, with portions of the Mababe community's land being gazetted as part of the park. Though the San were initially regarded as squatters by the colonial powers when the park was founded in 1960, the Chobe National Park Committee recommended that it would be wrong to relocate them as they had lived in the area for such a long time. Hence the San community of Mababe lost significant areas of land in which they used to hunt and gather (Spinage, 1991).

While the people of Mababe still gather veld products (wild fruits, berries and roots) for consumption purposes, the suspension of the Special Game Licence in Ngamiland District in 1996 altered their way of life. The government of Botswana introduced the Special Game Licence under the Unified Hunting Regulations of 1979 to legitimise subsistence hunting by the poorest members of the population. However, in 1996, this Special Game Licence was suspended, making hunting illegal (Hitchcock, 1996). Restrictions brought by the suspension of the licence have forced the community to engage in new activities that are not part of their traditional economic activities. These include harvesting thatching grass, weaving baskets and arable agriculture, forming part of their adaptation to changed livelihoods (Darkoh & Mbaiwa, 2009).

The historiography of Ngamiland highlights events that have disrupted the livelihood patterns of communities in the region and Mababe in particular. It outlines the early interactions of different ethnic groups and how contemporary social structures were established. While Ngamiland is ethnically diverse, the San were the first inhabitants and have endured years of servitude, exploitation and alienation from the resources necessary for their sustenance. As Kiema (2010) notes, the San were marginalised and their property rights over land were ignored. The historical events that shaped the fate of the San groups, such as the Ts'exa of Mababe, continue to impact the ownership and utilisation of their land significantly. The establishment of PAs in Ngamiland was also based on the past exploitation of the San, leading to exclusion that reduced them to poverty. Hence their struggle to access and utilise land is attributed to historical occurrences and the establishment of PAs. Despite the persistence of land-use conflicts in Mababe, attempts have been made by the DWNP and community activists to mediate, negotiate and reconcile the conflict actors. Mababe presents a good case study of the intersections of people, nature and power relations. It is lodged between two protected areas, Moremi Game Reserve and Chobe National

Park. Furthermore, the conditions in Mababe best illustrate the argument made in this research that land-use conflict and its management is a key development issue in Botswana and indeed the world.

1.3 THE PROBLEM STATEMENT

Land-use-related conflicts have characterised the history of Africa due to the establishment of protected areas. It is also evident that disputes mainly caused by restricted access to land and its resources are yet to be fully resolved (Baligira, 2020). The expansion of protected areas in Africa occurred as a result of advocacy by global conservation organisations, such as the African Wildlife Foundation (AWF) (Buckles, 1999). However, the establishment of protected areas often faces challenges, leading to conflicts with local communities who either inhabit the area inside the protected areas or in buffer zones. Protected areas pose a challenge for those involved and become sites for disputes over resources, particularly land. In most cases, conflicts exist where conservation has superseded traditional land-use rights of communities on the periphery of protected areas. Despite governments recognising such disputes and formulating conservation management strategies, these conflicts persist (Thapa, 2014).

Since the discovery of diamonds in the late 1960s and 1970s, coupled with prudent policies, Botswana has enjoyed stable growth through a sustained self-generating development path. However, the limitations of Botswana's development model have become more apparent due to increased diamond price volatility. The drive to diversify its economy has seen the growth of wildlife-based tourism. Wildlife forms the backbone of the tourism industry, which contributes significantly to the economy. The tourism industry contributes 11.5% to Botswana's GDP and is expected to rise by 4.5% by 2028 (Turner, 2018). The Ngamiland District is regarded as Botswana's tourism hub. Its success has fuelled the belief that increasing tourism resources will

benefit communities and the country. This has led to the enactment of the National Tourism Policy, Tourism Act, Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act, CBNRMP and the Okavango Delta Management Plan to safeguard wildlife resources and improve sustainable utilisation of natural resources (Leechor, 2011).

The protected area system in Ngamiland and Mababe imposes boundaries and restricts movement within the fenced areas. Land and zoning demarcation for protected areas has disrupted communities' land-use patterns to fulfil their livelihood objectives (Mbaiwa & Stronza, 2010). Despite several attempts to manage and control land-use conflicts through various strategies, they persist. Most notably, the Okavango Delta Management Plan adopted in 2007 and Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme meant to integrate and harmonise all land use patterns and land management in the area have been ineffective in managing and controlling land-use conflicts (Darkoh & Mbaiwa, 2009). Hence, there is an opportunity for research to enrich the current literature on managing land-use conflicts between conservation and community activities. This study aimed to analyse and evaluate conflict management strategies that harmonise conservation and land-use patterns in Ngamiland to propose a sound conflict management framework.

1.4 GENERAL HYPOTHESIS

The study was derived from the hypothesis that communities living adjacent to protected areas depend on the enclosed land resources for survival. Hence, restricted access to such resources ultimately results in conflict. Because of the disputes between communities and protected area management, conservation and livelihood goals are not met. Therefore, there is a need to resolve the tension using sound conflict management strategies. Furthermore, conflict management is most likely to bring positive change when the strategy is reviewed and scaled up. In line with the above

22

hypothesis, it is important to formulate, implement and review conflict management strategies that facilitate a win-win situation to reduce conflicts.

1.5 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The study's main aim was to critically evaluate the effectiveness of strategies employed by the DWNP to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe in the Ngamiland District of Botswana. The objectives of the study were:

- To investigate how protected areas restrict access to land and resource utilisation by the community of Mababe.

- To assess the causes, types, nature, and intensity of land-use conflicts in Mababe.

- To assess community perceptions about protected areas, land-use and conflicts.

- To identify the strategies used by the DWNP to manage land-use conflicts in the area.

- To critically review the effectiveness of strategies used by the DWNP to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe.

The following research questions guided the objectives of the study:

1. How does the protected area conservation system restrict access to land and resource utilisation by the local community of Mababe?

2. What are the drivers of land-use conflicts and what type of conflicts occur in Mababe?

3. How does the community of Mababe perceive protected areas, land use and conflicts?

4. Which strategies does the DWNP use to manage land-use conflicts in the area?

5. How effective are the strategies employed to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe?

1.6 THE RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Though there has been research on conservation and land-use conflicts in Ngamiland by scholars like Darkoh and Mbaiwa (2009), these studies have concentrated on the nature and existence of such conflicts and do not explore the conflict management strategies employed. The study's findings will add to the existing research and literature on land-use conflicts and effective ways of managing their existence.

Furthermore, the study will also help highlight the importance of balancing conservation and livelihoods when dealing with communities and identifying the critical elements in managing land-use conflicts regarding protected areas. Successful management of land-use disputes in conservation is crucial in light of the ever-growing human population which encroaches on wildlife's habitat, as well as the shortage of land. The findings of this research will thus contribute to the reform and development of conflict management programmes. For the community of Mababe, the study will empower them to achieve greater knowledge of the importance of dialogue and partnerships in the development of effective conflict management processes. Lastly, the findings will be relevant for land-use planning professionals, resource governance practitioners, policy formulators and conservationists in Botswana.

1.7 THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL MODELS

Bryman (2012) notes that theoretical and conceptual models are important for social research because they provide a background and rationale for the study being conducted. These models also provide a framework for understanding social phenomena and interpreting research findings. Theories and conceptual models also represent attempts to construct cogent accounts of reality,

categorise and reassemble occurrences, describe circumstances or even forecast the future (Lune & Berg, 2017).

The constructive conflict transformation approach was the leading theory used to evaluate strategies employed by the DWNP to manage their land-use conflicts with the community of Mababe in Ngamiland. Furthermore, the study also used the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach Framework (SLAF). The study's theoretical and conceptual orientation was informed by the desire to develop concepts and ideas that link the research to literature and the empirical data gathered.

1.7.1 Constructive conflict transformation theory

The late 1980s marked the beginning of an era of transformative thoughts towards conflict management, leading to the development of the constructive conflict transformation theory (Galtung, 1996). The roots of the constructive conflict transformation theory lie in the recognition by scholars like Lederach (2014) and Kriesberg (2016) that some conflicts are better off being transformed than resolved. Curle (1990) also suggests that the theory emerged in the search for an adequate language to explain the peacemaking agenda. Hence, conflict transformation progressed from conflict resolution that dominated before conflict management narratives (Rupesinghe, 1995). Conflict resolution was centred around suppressing or ending conflicts, which proved challenging to achieve and created opportunities to later reignite unresolved conflicts (Botes, 2003).

On the other hand, the new conflict transformation school went beyond suppressing conflicts into permanently transforming relations between conflicting actors. The theory emphasises the need to alter attitudes at the grassroots level for meaningful peace to occur (Spitka, 2016). Additionally,

the constructive conflict transformation school of thought posits that conflicts are inevitable in human social life and can produce widespread benefits (Tjosvold et al., 2014).

Conflicts require more than restating positions and identifying win-win outcomes. The very structure of parties and relationships may be embedded in conflict relationship patterns that extend beyond the place of conflict (Galtung, 2009). As a result, conflict transformation entails interacting with and changing the relationships, interests, discourses and, if necessary, the social institutions that enable the persistence of conflict (Miall, 2004). Azar (1996) also theorises that constructive conflict resolution is possible in a situation with sufficient capacity to deal with the conflict actors.

Lederach (2014) contends that constructive conflict transformation involves a variety of factors, such as the type of conflict and objectives that each person or party seeks to achieve. These are critical in determining the kind of alignment that a party would bring to the negotiating table to resolve the conflict (Ramsbothan et al., 2008). The theory's two basic orientations are identified as the cooperative and competitive types. The competitive aspect of conflict transformation takes advantage of assertiveness and reduces empathy for others, seeking domination through competitive power tactics (Morril, 1995).

On the other hand, the cooperative element is concerned with creating an outcome beneficial to both parties involved in the conflict. Conflict is viewed as a creative opportunity in this approach, with collaborators willing to invest time and resources in finding a win-win solution. The cooperative dimension fosters a trusting environment, leading to mutually beneficial options for both parties involved in a conflict (Kriesberg, 2015).

Furthermore, Vayrynen (2001) and Lederach (2000) emphasise that the constructive conflict transformation theory looks at reconstructing social organisation and realities. The two scholars also argue that both micro- and macro-transformations happen in four ways, shown below:

- **The transformation of actors** refers to the changes in the composition of conflict actors.

- **Issue transformation** changes the political agenda of the conflict or more specifically, changes its core issues.

- **Rule and value transformation** redefines the rules that the characters engage with one another by establishing their connection limits.

- **Structural transformation** refers to potential changes in the system structure where the dispute occurs.

- **Personal transformation** refers to the personal changes in the dispute's emotional, conceptual and spiritual dimensions.

- **Relational transformation** involves changes in how the conflict parties communicate, engage and depend on one another.

- **Cultural transformation** relates to societal changes in the cultural patterns in understanding and responding to conflict.

Ultimately, conflict transformation addresses a conflict's broader social and political sources and seeks to transform the negative energy of war into positive social and political change (Malebang, 2014). Mayer (2000) adds that the constructive conflict transformation theory acknowledges the empowering benefits of conflict transformation. Schwerin (1995) shares the same sentiments and mentions that conflict transformation happens primarily through empowerment, whereby

individuals, groups and organisations are empowered to negotiate new relationships and structures for conflict-free societies (Schwerin, 1995).

The reasons for using the constructive conflict transformation theory as the guiding framework for this study are two-fold. Firstly, the study evaluated conflict management strategies employed by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks officials and the community of Mababe over land. The theory was useful in assessing both parties' alignment, whether they are protecting their interests of land use or rather working together towards a mutually beneficial solution. Through the two orientations of the theory, the researcher also unpacked the land-use conflicts and their management strategies to determine the two conflict actors' position and how it affects the conflict's manifestation and intensity. Secondly, the theory argues that in transforming conflicts, it is imperative to look beyond the interests of conflict actors and consider other variables, such as existing structures, culture and rules, and how they intertwine with the conflict management process. Hence, the theory provided an opportunity to consider the relationship between the effectiveness of employed land-use conflict management strategies and political issues, culture and rules.

This enabled the researcher to have a clear view of the orientation of the employed strategy and whether they considered a range of variables that may result in failure or success. Furthermore, transformationalists argue that the most critical element in managing conflicts successfully is the ability to reconstruct these variables. Through this lens, the researcher was able to examine the level of reconstruction afforded by the employed conflict management strategy and how it has ultimately resulted in success or failure.

1.7.2 The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach Framework (SLAF)

The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach Framework (SLAF) originates from the work of Chambers and Conway (1992). According to this theory, livelihoods include the abilities, capital and activities required to earn a living. When a livelihood can withstand stresses and shocks, recover from them, and preserve or improve its capabilities and assets, both now and in the future without jeopardising the natural resource base, it is sustainable. The two scholars developed the idea of sustainable livelihoods to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of development planning, as conventional development actions and efforts did not yield the desired effects (Bebbington, 1999).

According to Krantz (2001), the SLAF is a tool that attempts to understand the underlying causes and aspects of poverty, without limiting them to just a few economic or social factors (see fig. 7 below). The framework tries to sketch out the relationships between the different aspects, such as causes and manifestations of community livelihoods, allowing for more effective prioritisation of action at an operational level. The SLAF also enables researchers to help communities achieve lasting livelihood improvements by looking at their access to vital resources, such as land for everyday survival.
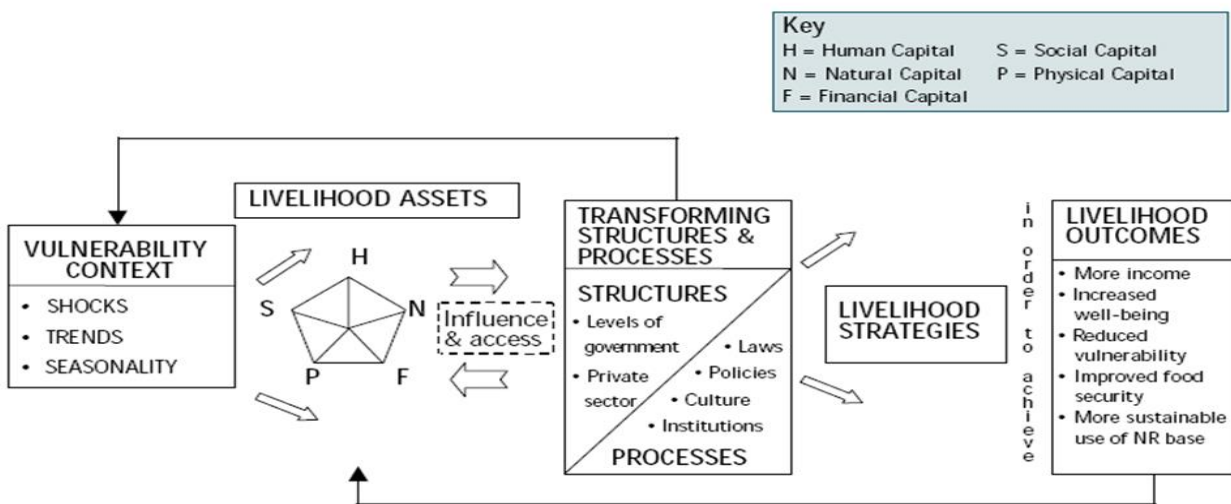
Fig. 7: The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach Framework (Krantz, 2001)

The framework depicts a livelihood system of five main features: the vulnerability context, livelihood assets, transforming structures and processes, livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. The vulnerability context denotes the seasonality, trends and shocks that affect people's livelihoods. The key attribute of these factors is that they are not susceptible to control by local people themselves, at least in the short and medium-term (DFID, 2000). The livelihood assets follow the vulnerability context. Scoones (1998) states that communities draw on various assets to achieve positive livelihood outcomes. No single category of assets on its own suffices to yield all the varied livelihood outcomes that people seek. The assets are summarised in the asset pentagon in fig. 8 below.

Natural capital
natural resource stocks (soil, water, air, genetic resources etc.) and
environmental services (hydrological cycle, pollution sinks etc)

Social capital
social resources (networks, social
claims, social relations, affiliations,
associations)

Human capital
skills, knowledge, labour
(includes good health and
physical capability)

Physical capital
Infrastructure (buildings, roads),
production equipment and
technologies)

Economic or financial capital
capital base (cash, credit/debt, savings, and other
economic assets)

Fig. 8: The livelihoods assets pentagon (Scoones, 1998)

The transforming structures and processes represent the institutions, organisations, policies and legislation. These are important as they effectively determine access, provision and utilisation of livelihood assets (Shankland, 2000). Mogomotsi (2019) labels the transforming structures and

processes as human-devised factors threatening livelihoods. As a result, depending on the dimensions of both structures and processes, communities have varying levels of access to diverse resources. This is determined by institutional structures, organisational challenges, power and politics. The breadth and combination of activities that people engage in to attain their livelihood goals are captured by livelihood strategies. Scoones (1998) distinguishes three types of livelihood strategies: resource-based, non-resource-based and migration to seek alternative sources of income. Finally, the framework includes the livelihood outcomes, which are the accomplishments of livelihood methods. According to Chamber and Conway (1992), the livelihood outcomes show the current configuration of components within the livelihood framework and indicate both what drives stakeholders to act and their priorities.

Ashley (2000) indicates that the framework conceptualises community livelihoods and captures the many complexities of livelihood patterns, as well as the restrictions and opportunities they are subjected to. These restrictions and opportunities are shaped by numerous factors, including formalised structures or national and local trends that communities have little control over. Hence, it is important to highlight that not all communities have equal decision-making power or benefit from land around them, leading to discontent (Bayrak & Marafa, 2017). Scoones (1998) also states that the SLAF is premised on the assumption that people's vulnerability context is shaped by their access to livelihood assets, such as land. It is worth noting that access to livelihood assets can be constrained by transforming structures and processes (policies and managing institutions or organisations), forcing communities to alter their livelihood strategies and resulting in adverse outcomes, such as increased poverty (Ashley & Carney, 1999).

Poverty and conflict are widely understood to be closely interconnected, making communities more prone to conflict. Ohlsson further notes that poverty emanating from resource scarcity is a

common denominator for the eruption of conflict (Okunlola & Okafor, 2020). Conflict is adversarial and competitive, which can sometimes lead to greater vulnerability. To better understand the challenges of sustaining livelihoods and resolving disputes, community vulnerabilities must be considered from an emergent, integrated, people-centred, dynamic and multidimensional viewpoint (Lundy & Adebayo, 2016). The framework was relevant to this study as it highlights resource access as the starting point to achieving sustainable community livelihoods while simultaneously avoiding conflicts. Hence, any dispute related to resource access should consider the involved actor's position, interests, goals, restrictions and opportunities.

As previously stated, the study investigates the effectiveness of land-use conflict management strategies in Mababe. Land is an essential livelihood asset for the community of Mababe, with expected livelihood outcomes, despite the limited utilisation of the community's resources. Therefore, through the SLAF, the researcher unpacked livelihood patterns, land utilisation, land restrictions, conflict dynamics and their management in Mababe. The SLAF also enabled the researcher to take a broad and systematic view of the factors that cause land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the community of Mababe, whether these are shocks and adverse trends, poorly functioning institutions and policies or a basic lack of assets, and to investigate the relations between them.

1.8 DEFINITIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS

This section defines concepts used throughout the dissertation.

Land-use conflicts: Land is a resource for production on which many activities occur. Geographically, land is an area on the earth's surface, covering all the objects that compose the settled or migratory biosphere. Land is crucial in settlement areas, agricultural activities and

plantations (Somantri & Nandi, 2018). Land use allows human efforts to utilise the natural environment to meet specific needs (Batungi, 2008). Conflicts denote a struggle or contestation between people or actors with opposing needs, beliefs, values or goals (Diez & Pia, 2007). Conflict often manifests itself in disagreements among people who see incompatible goals and potential interferences in achieving them. Conflicts can be violent or non-violent.

Additionally, when such conflicts manifest in communities, a dialogical decision-making process is expected or necessary to mitigate and resolve these misunderstandings (Peterson & Leong, 2013). Therefore, land-use conflicts are complicated differences involving actors with diverse land-use interests. Land-use conflicts tend to differ significantly in form, scale and intensity depending on the location (Eyo & Francis, 2017).

Wildlife conservation: Wildlife conservation is a safeguarding act in which it is decided that wildlife must be conserved. The decision to conserve requires justification and associated valuation of that to be conserved (Meadows, 2011). The rationale for conservation can be divided into two categories: those that presume conservation will result in possible measurable benefits and those that rely on their justifications that wildlife has the right to exist (Tidball, 2014). Thus, wildlife conservation refers to preserving, caring, managing and maintaining ecosystems, habitats, plants, wilderness, wildlife species and populations, whether within or outside of their native surroundings, to preserve natural conditions for long-term survival. It is also defined as any attempt to protect and exploit natural resources in ways that secure their availability in the future (Schelhas & Lassoie, 2001).

Protected areas: According to the United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity of 1992, protected areas refer to designated areas regulated and managed to achieve specific conservation objectives. These areas can also be understood as natural parts of land meant to protect the

ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations and prevent exploitation or occupation of the designated area. They can also be understood as an area of land or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes to ensure the maintenance of habitats to meet specific species' requirements (Dudley & Stolton, 2008)**.**

Co-management: In this context, co-management refers to an institutional agreement between parties engaged in conserving natural resources. Public entities are responsible for the administration of resources. The process leads to the development of community skills to effectively undertake a biodiversity conservation role. Furthermore, it can be understood as the collaborative and participatory process of regulatory decision-making among user-group representatives, government agencies and research institutions (Fedreheim & Blanco, 2017).

Conflict management: The manifestation of conflict is visible through adversarial social action and involves two or more actors with opposing standpoints, preferences, interests and values (Galtung, 1996). Conflict management refers to the techniques and ideas designed to reduce adverse effects and enhance all parties' outcomes. It is a strategic process of identifying, resolving and settling differences (Jeong, 2010). The purpose of conflict management is to contain the destructive nature of disagreements and assist the conflicting parties in finding a solution (Galtung, 2009).

Conflict transformation: Conflict transformation denotes the ability to view conflict positively as an opportunity for constructive growth and learning (Lederach, 1999). Conflict transformation focuses on the changing nature of social disputes. It is mainly concerned with the convergence of the relational context, a view of conflict-as-opportunity and the encouragement of creative change processes (Madden & Mcquinn, 2014).

Ethnic identity: Epstein and Cohen (2015) define ethnic identity as belonging to a certain ethnic group. Ethnicity is an abstract notion that covers both collective and individual components of the phenomena (Isajiw, 1993). In its broadest sense, ethnic identity is defined by Phinney (1992) as a feeling of self as a group member who claims shared ancestry or has at least a comparable culture, race, language, kinship, religion or place of origin. Language, companionship, political involvement, religious rituals and other cultural activities are all components of ethnic identity.

Ethnic community: According to Hutchinson and Smith (1996), ethnic communities hold subjective beliefs about common ancestry based on similarities in physical type, habits or both, or memories of colonisation or migration. This belief must be necessary for the spread of group formation. Conversely, whether or not there is an objective blood relationship is irrelevant. Horowitz (1985) further elaborates that ethnicity is based on the myth of collective descent.

Sustainable livelihoods: According to Chambers and Conway (1992), livelihoods include the skills, assets and activities necessary for life. Moreover, livelihoods are sustainable if they can withstand and recover from stresses and shocks without damaging natural resources, while maintaining or improving current and future capabilities and assets.

Land tenure: Land tenure refers to the relationship, whether legally or customarily defined, among people, as individuals or groups, concerning land. Land tenure encompasses rules societies establish to regulate behaviour (FAO, 2002).

Marginalised communities: This refers to groups that are discriminated against and excluded due to unequal power relations in economic, political, social and cultural dimensions. It is also a spatial metaphor for social exclusion, in which individuals and groups are marginalised in society, denied

economic, political and symbolic power, and relegated to being outsiders. (Bruce & Yearley, 2006).

Alienation: Originally employed in the active form, to alienate meant to take something away from someone; hence, alienation is a type of theft or confiscation. (Bruce & Yearley, 2006).

1.9 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

The study's primary objective is to evaluate conflict management strategies employed to manage land-use conflict between the DWNP and the community of Mababe. The thesis is organised into eight chapters. Chapter one outlines the study's nature and discusses the study's background, the historiography of the study area, the problem statement and research questions, the objectives of the study, its rationale, the theoretical and conceptual models involved and the definitions of key concepts.

The second chapter presents a literature review of conflict management, the conservation agenda in Africa and the relationship between communities, protected areas and land-use conflicts. Chapter three presents the methods employed to conduct the research. Chapter four gives a synthesis of the literature on the historical development of environmental and land conflicts in Africa and discusses other SADC experiences.

Chapter five reviews the literature about the history of Botswana, its economic trajectory, the land question, land tenure systems and rights, thereby placing the Ngamiland District and Mababe land-use conflicts in the broader African and conflict management context. This chapter highlights key developments in protected areas, land-use conflicts and conflict management.

The substantive issues of the research – the presentation of data and the discussion of findings – are dealt with in chapter six. This chapter presents the importance of land in the daily livelihood

activities of the Mababe community, factors that restrict their land access and resource utilisation. The chapter further assesses the types, nature and intensity of land-use conflicts in Mababe village and presents community members' perceptions of conservation practices. It unpacks the nature of conflict management approaches used to curb land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the community of Mababe. Lastly, the chapter critically reviews the effectiveness of conflict management strategies used by different stakeholders. The seventh and last chapter presents the conclusions, policy and practical recommendations and highlights the study's contributions.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2. INTRODUCTION

Nature conservation in Africa has been characterised by a preservationist approach that alienates local communities from land and other natural resources. Since the establishment of the first protected area, the dominant thinking has been that human activities are destructive to nature. Hence, conservation policies and practices have excluded people and discouraged all forms of local participation (Pimbert & Pretty, 1995). Across Africa, communities have relied on the natural resources alienated by protected areas. Their struggles to access these resources have led to conflict that undermines the presence of peace. While efforts have been made to arrest the recurring disputes, they persist (Dladla, 1995). This chapter reviews some of the literature from different scholars on conflict management and peace, the conservation agenda in the African context, as well as the relationships between communities and state managers of protected areas.

2.1 THE DOMAIN OF PEACE AND CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT

Studies by scholars such as Burton (1996) and Mitchell (1981) articulate the importance of peacebuilding and conflict management as a field of research and a practice that needs to be displayed to encourage peaceful societies. Peacebuilding and conflict management in the administration of nature-based disputes should encompass value-driven solutions that should be constantly reviewed.

2.1.1 Conceptualising peace

Galtung (1996) argues that peace is an ideal that is difficult to achieve in its totality, especially in communities marred by competition for resources. Defining and understanding what peace looks like is not simple, as it is usually firmly attached to personal implications. Nonetheless, peace should be understood as a social, economic and political condition that ensures justice and social stability through formal and informal institutions, practices and norms (Adolf, 2009). Peace is a multidimensional concept that should not only confine itself to the absence of violence. Instead, it should be viewed as both negative and positive. Galtung et al. (2009) argue that peace is a continual process that includes actions to prevent future conflict or violence. Understanding peace from a positive and negative perspective also aids in understanding peace as a process. The concept of positive and negative peace is central to contemporary peace theory and practice.

The foundation of positive and negative peace is broadly explained by Galtung (1969). The scholar defines positive peace as the attitudes, institutions and structures that create and sustain conflict-free societies. The positive dimension of peace embraces harmonious social existence that prevents future conflicts. Buckles (1999) further mentions that positive peace can be about educating the community on human rights and equality or the presence of programmes that offer conflict resolution. On the other hand, negative peace is a state in which war and violence are simply absent. Young (2010) enunciates that negative peace is peace without justice. However, negative peace fails to acknowledge that peace is not merely the absence of some opposing force, war, tension or confusion. Instead, it is the presence of positive influence and justice (Adolf, 2009).

It is typical for competitive tendencies to undermine stability in natural resources management, necessitating peacebuilding initiatives. Peacebuilding entails restoring stability through policies, programmes and associated efforts in the wake of conflicts (Galtung, 1990). According to O'Dea

(2012), several conditions must be met to suppress nature-based disputes and foster peace. These include:

- Balance of power among the conflict actors.

- Transparency and accountability that inform decision-making.

- Respect for interdependent relationships between conflict actors.

- Presence of effective and efficient institutions for building peace.

- Recognition of each other's values, interests, perceptions and rights.

The above success factors also hinge on strategic planning and implementation of peacebuilding initiatives. Wallensteen (2011) argues that justice issues should be integrated into the peacebuilding strategy to foster sustainable and stable peace. The argument is corroborated by Philpott and Powers (2010), who state that justice in the peacebuilding strategy implies restorative justice that includes the social, political, and economic spheres. Hence, peace and peacebuilding remain critical in building stable, progressive, conflict-free communities.

2.1.2 Conflict: definitions and dimensions

Despite pervasive conflicts in the world, theory building on the subject of conflict is a recent phenomenon. Definitions of conflict vary widely in existing literature (Burton, 1996). Galtung (2009) states that one's understanding of conflict is influenced by how one thinks about the nature of the conflict.

Gomes and Novais (2016) also note that one of the most challenging aspects of defining conflict is deciding whether it should be based on subjective or objective criteria. Defining conflict from a subjective standpoint attempts to explain it by analysing how parties understand and interact. The objective aspects used to describe the conflict, on the other hand, are those that are widely

independent of the parties' perceptions (e.g. power and scarce resources). Madalina (2016) defines conflict as friction, disagreement or discord arising between individuals or within a group when the beliefs or actions of one or more group members are either resisted by or unacceptable to one or more members of the other group. The definition is similar to that of Walker and Daniels (1997). They define conflict as an active disagreement between people with opposing opinions, principles and practices manifested in different forms.

Mitchell (1981) takes a holistic approach to defining conflict. The author argues that conflict has a triadic structure of three different, but interrelated components. These components are the conflict situation, conflict attitudes and conflict behaviour. The conflict situation exists when two or more parties possess goals that differ; this incompatibility exists throughout the lifespan of the conflict. Therefore, ending the conflict in this condition should focus on goal incompatibility.

The second component, conflict attitudes, involves psychological conditions and biases. Mitchell (1981) states that conflict attitudes do not cause the situation, but emerge as the conflict develops and eventually escalates. The final component of conflict is conflict behaviour. It simply depicts the actions that conflict actors exhibit in the conflict situation to pursue their incompatible interests influenced by conflict attitudes (Swanstrom & Weissmann, 2005).

Notwithstanding the different interpretations of conflict by the various scholars mentioned above, the essence of conflict can be distilled into disagreement, contradiction or incompatible goals. For this study, the researcher adopted the definition of conflict by Wallensteen (2002). He defines conflict as a social situation in which a minimum of two actors (parties) strive to acquire an available set of scarce resources at the exact same moment. The definition was adopted because it brings together essential elements of conflict studied by the researcher. Wallensteen's (2002) definition is insightful as it captures an element of incompatible goals between two actors who

compete for a particular resource, which is precisely the case between the DWNP and the community of Mababe. This definition of conflict denotes underlying incompatibilities of interests in using resources, rather than purported manifestations of conflict situations.

2.1.3 Theoretical foundations of conflict

Theories of conflict are the explanations put forward to describe the nature and extent of the conflict. Conflict causes are numerous and complex, making it challenging to analyse specific conflict situations. Theories are advanced to categorise the causes of conflict and thus simplify them (Bekelcha, 2019). Hence, competing theories have attempted to explain conditions under which conflict occurs, as well as at times their management conditions. These theories are discussed below.

2.1.3.1 Conflict theory

In interpreting the dimensions and realities of mid-19th-century social conflict, sociologist Karl Marx saw society as a dynamic entity subject to constant change and driven by class struggle. The conflict perspective sees social life as a competition (Burton, 1990). As Coser (1956) asserts, conflict theory explains the broad aspects of social conflict, including how conflict begins and evolves, as well as its consequences. The theory is concerned with the uneven allocation and distribution of scarce resources and power. Marx (1976) viewed how society is structured through the existence of major classes that curtail the survival or prosperity of other classes. Social classes were determined by the ownership of resources, which vested an individual with power to exclude others from accessing and using them (Giddens, 1982). At the heart of Karl Marx's work is the recognition of high degrees of social inequality as causes and drivers of conflict. In society, a common theme is that different social groups have unequal power, though all groups compete for

limited resources. He referred to the dominant and powerful class as the bourgeoisie and those with minimal power as the proletariat (Ashley & Orenstein, 1998).

The power disparities in society drive conflict as different classes compete over limited resources. The theory further enunciates that class formation places the two classes at two polarities, those that rule and those that are ruled. In every society, this power distribution catalyses unequal access, utilisation and ownership of resources, resulting in feelings of discontent towards the ruling class regarding the uneven distribution of these resources (Dahrendorf, 1959). Regarding the escalation of conflict, Marx (1976) argued that the exploitation of resources constitutes a social relation regarding who is dominant and who is not. In this sense, the non-dominant or oppressed group reacts to the dominant group's interests and exploitation of resources (Girdner, 2006).

In explaining land-use conflicts, conflict theory provides the key to understanding the internal structures of society from a dialectic perspective. Therefore, how society is structured dictates who has access to land and how this unfolds (Burton,1990). Ultimately, looking at the current dynamics surrounding land and protected areas, the ordinary community members purported to be the custodians face far more restrictions in terms of access to land than outsiders, such as government officials. As Isdori (2016) notes, land is often a privilege for specific societal classes. These dominant groups benefit from the bureaucratisation of land administration that favours a few (Lemert, 2004).

2.1.3.2 Human needs theory

Although the concepts of human needs, conflict and peace are intertwined and impact all aspects of human existence, scholars have traditionally treated them separately. Human needs theories contend that all humans have specific basic universal needs that, if not met, will lead to conflict

(Danesh, 2011). The human needs theory has been a cornerstone in conflict studies and research. The theory is the result of the works of Burton (1990), who reviewed Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs theory to study conflict and its dynamics.

According to Gasper (2004), needs are tools individuals get as societal prerequisites to develop and have a decent existence. Needs as societal requirements refer to what is required for people to escape severe damage and participate in society, regardless of whether they mobilise. Burton (1990) further recognises needs that may result in conflict if not met. These needs include distributive justice, safety and security, a sense of belonging, self-esteem, personal fulfilment, identity, cultural security and freedom. Hence, the theory exclusively argues that conflict results because social structures are not always compatible with individuals' desires and needs. The premise is that such wants and needs are not flexible, but social systems must, therefore, be changed to meet the demands of these needs. The study concurs with the view that needs require protection and, to a large extent, satisfaction (Burton, 1997).

The human needs theory argues that the limitations to human development and the causes of social conflict result from the deprivation of specific needs. In conservation and land-use studies, the human needs theory is appropriate and has been adopted in this study. Burton (1990) links the frustration of human needs to the source of conflicts. As society evolves, the distance between decision-makers and those affected by their decisions has widened. Hence, society is characterised by institutions that overlook the needs of those within their reach. Coercion and punishment can never prevent individuals or groups from seeking to fulfil their needs. They are, by their nature, ontological and non-negotiable. More specifically, the establishment of protected areas curtails the satisfaction of community needs. The denial to access and utilise land in protected areas is a form of deprivation, as these communities cannot fulfil their needs.

Therefore, this theory denotes that basic human needs are unnegotiable elements in pursuing conflict by parties. The denial of basic needs leads to bitter relationships between the actors, ultimately leading to conflict. Therefore, according to scholars who advance this theory, the pursuit and satisfaction of basic human needs is often expressed in conflict (Rubenstein, 2001).

2.1.3.3 Systems theory

Though systems theory gained momentum in the 1940s, it developed far earlier in the 19th century. One of the proponents of systems theory, Ludwig von Bertalanffy, believed that nothing could be understood by isolating one part of what plays a significant role in a process or activity (Von Bertalanffy, 1969). As Skyttner (2005) further notes, comprehending occurrences necessitate examining the system and its holistic qualities to identify the problem's source. In ecology, for example, explaining the extinction of a species is not based on looking at one type of animal; instead, we would have to look at the system the species forms a part of to understand better why it became extinct. Hence, each element affects the functioning of the whole.

Furthermore, each element is affected by at least one other system component. The systems approach considers the system as a whole, consisting of interdependent elements. Applying the systems theory to the explanation, emergence and management of conflict is grounded on the idea that conflict is a unique system whose complexity stems from unrelated elements or subsystems (Boardman & Sauser, 2008) .

Conflict is a system with adaptive components composed of interconnected parts that cannot be analysed individually (Gallo, 2013). Conflicts ensue as dynamic systems with connected elements that influence one another over time to promote the emergence of a state. Therefore, systems theory

looks at societies holistically: the social context, actors, preferences, interests and values of diverse individuals together form a social system (Vallacher et al., 2011).

Tamas (2000) contends that societies are composed of different interactive elements that make up the community. These elements include individuals, institutions, groups, local mechanisms, and policies which exist in a continuum. These elements are subsystems of the broader community system and conflict erupts if any elements compromise another's sustenance or survival. For example, a restrictive policy could affect individual and group dynamics, leading to discontent. This situation eventually compromises the functioning of society, which is the broader system (Tamas, 2000). The study used the theory to identify core conflict dynamics and map how these dynamics come together to create and sustain the conflict system. The theory makes it particularly effective for analysis of the recurrent and intractable land-use conflicts between actors. Furthermore, Gallo (2013) states that the systems theory contributes to conflict analysis and management by comprehensively understanding conflict and how its dynamics interact. Hence the theory contributed to the study by capturing the complexity of conflict to provide a broad overview of the conflict environment and the stakeholders involved.

2.1.3.3 Authorised Heritage Discourse Framework

The authorized heritage discourse framework has its roots in the works of Smith (2006). The framework examines how society constructs, interprets and manages natural heritage. Hence, it asserts that the meaning and importance of natural heritage are constructed in social interaction with communities and interest groups (During,2010). In unpacking the land-use conflicts, the theory depicts that competing ideological frames towards land are the root causes of conflicts. The competing ideological frames are necessitated by discourses that consist of a coherent complex of

ideas, preferences, and categorisations of land and how it should be managed and used (Smith, 2012).

Through the authorised heritage discourse framework, the study comprehended conservation as a value-based activity shaped by laws, policies and regulations. Henceforth, value-based conservation activities often conflict with other social systems, such as traditional land tenure systems (Pendlebury, 2013). The varying ideological frames towards land by conservation officials and communities are shaped by opposing discourses of value and sentiment towards natural heritage. As Smith and Waterton (2012) note, competing discourses towards natural heritage result in conflict. The framework opened up three areas for analysis in the study: the first being the values and discourses attached to land as natural heritage by the conflict actors, and the second being the efficacy of efforts put in place to deal with the conflicts, and lastly, how power relations and societal norms render certain identities or populations as subjects of regulation and governance of land (Smith, 2006)

2.1.4 The emergence and manifestation of conflict

Louis (2003) asserts that conflicts emerge from several factors and manifest differently. Castro (2005) shares similar views and argues that many factors determine conflicts' emergence, persistence and manifestation. Therefore, these factors should be examined to get a clear picture of the conflict. Concerning the causes that eventually lead to conflict, Muigua (2016) contends that many conflicts, more specifically those that are related to resources, are caused by any of the following factors: disputes over ownership, conflicts over access, conflicts over decision-making, conflict over the distribution of benefits and burdens from the resources.

Taking a broader perspective on the factors leading to the emergence of conflict, Moore (1986) categorises causes of conflicts into five dimensions. The first cause is opposing value systems. Values are life-defining beliefs, ideologies and outlooks. Hence, value conflicts arise from ideological differences between two individuals or groups. Since people tend to place significant importance on their values, they are usually non-negotiable and perceived differences between actors with different value systems will result in conflict.

Secondly, the emergence of conflict is attributed to the nature of the relationship between actors. Relationship drivers are the experiences or history between parties, creating a negative situation. Often, relationship issues lead to stereotypes and tend to restrict or terminate communication with the other party (Furlong, 2005). The third cause of conflict, according to Moore (1986), is a lack of information. Informational drivers of conflict are attributed to incomplete, incorrect and inadequate information that may lead to poor interpretation and negative assumptions that ultimately result in the emergence of conflict.

Structural arrangements are the fourth cause of conflict, according to Moore (1986). Structures cause systemic conflicts. These structural causes can be broken down into limited resources, authority, legal and organisational constraints. Again, unequal or unfair distributions of power and resources overseen by established structures can lead to conflict emergence (Loadenthal, 2019). The inequality perpetuated by systems fosters structural conflicts and a reactionary force from actors seeking remedy. As Bendixen (2011) purports, some structures are inherently oppressive and perpetuate conflict. Moore's (1986) fifth and last cause of conflict is the conflict actors' interests. The interest drivers of conflict are each actor's wants, needs, hopes and fears. Hence, conflict, in this instance, is caused by competition over perceived or actual incompatible needs.

Each party firmly believes that their opponents should be sacrificed in order to satisfy their own needs (Furlong, 2005).

The different factors that Moore (1986) and Muigua (2016) attribute to the emergence of conflict indicate that the causes of conflict vary and dictate the nature and intensity of the conflict. Discussing the manifestation of conflict must also be addressed after expounding on the causes. Swanstrom and Weissmann (2005) argue that conflict is not static. Instead, it is dynamic and changes over time. Therefore, knowledge about the conflict's life cycle is vital for understanding the manifestation of conflict. The conflict life cycle can present conflict as a progression from peaceful social change to conflict formation to violent conflict and then to conflict transformation and back to peaceful social change (Brauwens & Reychler, 1994).

As Kwizela (2016) contends, the conflict life cycle can be illustrated through simplified or complex models, depending on the number of conflict actors. Brahm's (2003) conflict life cycle model is the most used to identify the sequence of land-related conflicts. The conflict life cycle unfolds through seven stages (see fig.9 below).
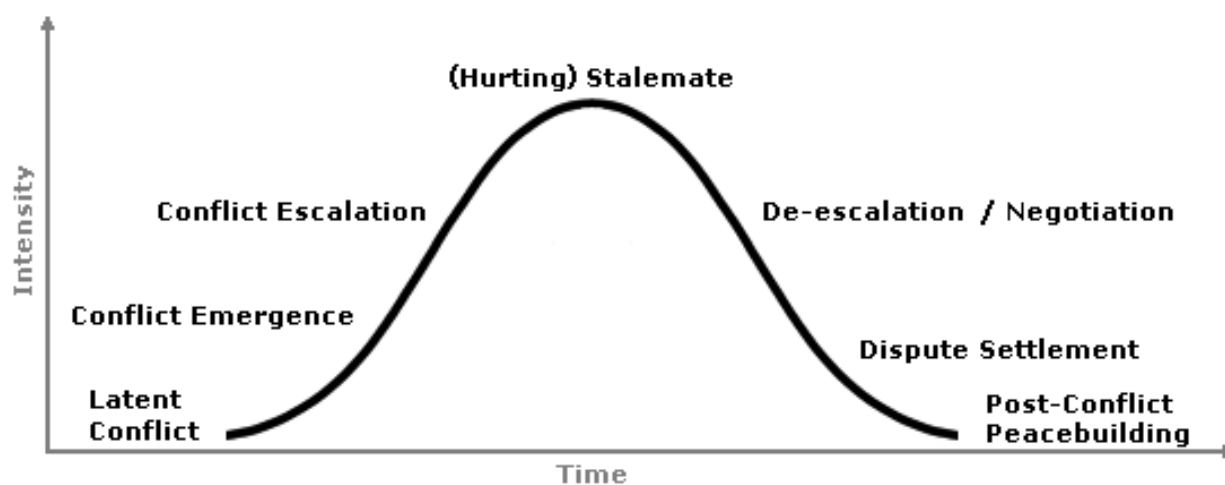
Fig. 9: The conflict stages (Brahm, 2003)

The stages are explained below:

- **Latent conflict:** The conflict is not visible, with each actor holding back their interests, values or opinions. The conflict has an inactive existence.

- **Conflict emergence:** The conflict starts being observed. Disagreements explode as the actors make their interests, values or opinions known.

- **Conflict escalation:** The intensity of the conflict increases as each actor applies their strategy.

- **A stalemate** is reached when the intensity of the conflict increases. At this stage, actors recognise that they cannot succeed or get everything they want, yet they do not wish to back down. Parties begin to run without resources and tactics.

- **De-escalation:** This is the stage when conflicts eventually diminish and change shape. The involved actors start changing their viewpoints and stances.

- **Dispute settlement/Resolution:** Actors resolve their problems. At this stage, grievances are usually reduced. Both actors start to look for substitutes to resolve their conflict. Finally, acceptable resolutions are reached among the actors.

Galtung (1969) adds that when the dispute develops, it might be violent or non-violent. According to Frere and Wilen (2015), violent conflicts include at least two parties utilising physical force to resolve opposing claims or interests. Violent conflict occurs when people use force to win control over contested and believed indivisible resources, such as land or power. Violent conflict entails deliberate hurt and suffering (Brosche & Rothbart, 2013). Non-violent conflict, on the other hand, denotes a disagreement in the joint pursuit of social or political goals. It does not use or threaten

to use physical force on human beings (Ernest & Burgess, 1994). However, Arrey (2016) mentions that whether conflicts are violent or not, they can affect society adversely. Hence, non-violent conflict can escalate to violence if not resolved or ameliorated well in time. Conflicts must be addressed, whether violent or non-violent (Galtung, 2009).

2.1.5 Sources of conflict

Understanding the causes of conflict is vital in managing and preventing future outbreaks. Jeong (2008) explains the causes of conflict in terms of human motivation, patterns of social interaction and institutions. Jeong notes that power imbalances and economic disparities that generate grievances lie at the heart of struggles and disputes. Additionally, sources of conflict can be attributed to social conditioning, historical processes and economic greed.

Birrel (1972) studied the dynamics of civil disturbance, strife and disputes in Northern Ireland. The study showed that relative deprivation is one of the significant sources of conflict. Pettigrew (2002) argues that relative deprivation is inherently social and relational. Groups of people not only perceive differences, but must also regard them as unfair and resent them. Ultimately, a group or community is relatively deprived when a comparison is made between its situation and that of another identifiable group and is shown to be at a disadvantage. A broader definition of relative deprivation is that of Gurr (2016), who defines it as the actor's perception of the discrepancy between their value expectation and capabilities. Value expectations are the goods and conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled. Value capabilities are the goods they think they can get and keep (Gurr, 2016).

Smith and Pettigrew (2015) also contend that relative deprivation is based upon the tendency of individuals or groups to evaluate their situations by comparing themselves with others. Relative

deprivation is brought about by the failure of governance systems to meet communities' social and material expectations consistently. The failure to meet the expectations of communities, as Jeong (2008) declares, translates into a discontented mood that instigates political action. The decline relative to other groups stimulates deeper resentments, fuelled by the underlying sense of injustice.

The catalysing effect of relative deprivation on conflict is also articulated by Douma (2006) who uses the post-colonial period of sub-Saharan Africa as a case study. The scholar elucidates that resource conflicts in sub-Saharan countries, such as Zimbabwe, Congo and Mozambique emerged due to rivalling ethno-political entities clashing over the uneven impact of state policies concerning resource exploitation. Siroky et al. (2020) argue that relative deprivation perpetuates inequalities that breed conflict. Relative deprivation harbours inequality, leading to discontent and escalation of conflicts. As Besancon (2000) contends, conflict is an instrumental means of expressing chronic deprivation and anger, caused by the differences between reality and expectation.

Conteh-Morgan (2003) states that another source of conflict is frustration. The author notes that frustration is a psychological state which results from interference with an individual's or community's desired object, goal or interest. The nature of frustration reflects the goals and means available to groups. The more unrealistic it is to achieve the desired end state, the more profound frustration might be felt (Joeng, 2008).

Austin (2014) also states that frustration arises from the premature termination of activities or processes in which profit is expected, whereas conflict is the final stage of frustration. Consequently, as Austyn (2014) argues, frustration dynamics can transform desperate and powerful energies into aggression and confrontation. Moreover, to clarify that frustration is the cause of conflict, it is essential to test the frustration-aggression hypothesis of Dollard et al. (1939). The central argument of this theory is that the occurrence of aggressive behaviour conflicts always

presupposes the presence of frustration. Conversely, the presence of frustration always leads to some form of aggression.

The frustration-aggression theory explains frustration as an interference with the occurrence of initiated goal responses (Breuer & Elson, 2017). Inferences can be drawn from conflicts in the Niger Delta. Studying climate change, livelihoods and natural resources in the Niger Delta, Onuoha and Ezirim (2010) highlight that the continued restriction by the government to use specific natural resources, such as land resulted in frustration, eventually escalating to violent conflict. The scholars argue that disputes that characterise the Niger Delta are rooted in frustration arising from the restriction on using natural resources to meet livelihood objectives by communities in the area. Onuoha and Ezirim (2010) further indicate that given the considerable level of resources the Niger Delta is endowed with, the frustration and resentment of non-beneficiaries have led to conflicts. As Jeong (2008) affirms, conflict may be displaced on inappropriate targets in response to the fruitless efforts to eliminate the sources of frustration which often happen to be those in power positions. The relationship between conflict and frustration is, therefore, indisputable.

Mitchell (2001) argues that another source of conflict is the unsatisfaction of deep-seated human needs. Human needs are ontological and essential elements for subsistence. Moreover, the oppression of basic human needs, both physical and psychological, has fuelled ethnic and other identity-based conflicts (Jeong, 2008). The idea of human needs as a source of conflict can be traced to the works of Burton (1990). The researcher selects a collection of requirements that he regards as universal in their occurrence, but lacking in hierarchical importance. Among the demands listed are justice, safety and security, belongingness, self-esteem, personal fulfilment, identity, cultural protection and freedom (Dunn, 2004). When analysing Burton's (1990) human

needs and conflicts hypothesis, Danesh (2011) states that human needs are often confused with interests. The scholar notes that human needs are non-negotiable, while human interests are open to negotiation and compromise. Hence, conflicts emerge when people's efforts to meet their fundamental needs are frustrated. Jeong (2008) further articulates that denying physical needs also suppresses human fulfilment. Wherever possible, physical and political restraints must be eliminated to develop the capacity to exercise choice in all aspects of life to avoid conflict.

Social categorisation is another significant source of conflict. Social categorisation is rooted in Tajifel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory. The theory argues that social ties connect communities or members of communities, and these ties can promote cohesive ties or accentuate divisions that perpetuate conflict. Social identity is an individual's knowledge of belonging to certain social groups with some emotional and value significance (Mckeown et al., 2016). The emergence of conflict is attributed to the self-categorisation resulting from identity creation. Abrams and Hogg (2010) further argue that self-categorisation also results in dominance, discrimination and exclusion. Thus, conflict emerges from those dominated, excluded and discriminated against by others, resulting in their depersonalisation (Mckeown et al., 2016).

2.1.6 The conflict management model

The word conflict carries negative connotations. Disagreements, debates, differing perspectives, clashing ideologies and justice struggles are inevitable in a pluralistic and unequal society. Hence, managing conflict is a priority in all communities. Depending on the nature, intensity, sources and levels of conflict, there are different ways to deal with conflict (Kriesberg, 1998). In dealing with conflicts, official and unofficial conflict management methods are adopted to create favourable outcomes for both conflict actors (Jeong, 2008). Butler (2009) states that conflict management originates from the concern of a third party in containing the conflict's damaging and destabilising

effects on involved actors. Aghedo (1999) defines conflict management as a process whereby a dispute is reduced and positive behaviour emerges. This definition concurs with Chinyere (2018), who states that conflict management involves interventions to minimise excessive conflict. Ramsbothan et al. (2008) articulate that conflict management has been used as a generic term to cover the whole range of positive conflict handling. While various scholars have defined conflict management using different terminology, its ultimate conception is the interventionist efforts toward preventing the escalation and adverse effects of ongoing conflict. Conflict management refers to efforts to move a conflict from violent to political means of resolution (Zartman, 1997).

Jeong (2010) indicates that conflict management follows a structured process and does not happen arbitrarily. A study by Ratshivhadelo (2018) on land-use conflicts in the Mapungubwe conservation area established conflict analysis as the starting point of conflict management. Conflict analysis is the systematic study of the profile, causes, actors and dynamics of conflict. Furthermore, Magsi (2013) reiterates that a conflict analysis process helps understand the conflict, its various components, the situations of the actors involved and their perceptions (see fig. 8 below). For instance, in attempting to unpack and make recommendations on land-use conflicts between local communities and park managers in Tanzania, Isdori (2016) first generated the conflict profile through a thorough analysis. The profile established the conflict parameters, the conflicted parties, stakeholders, their perceptions towards PAs and land in general, causes and effects of the conflict, other related conflicts and the history of the conflict.

Gilbert (2014) states that the second step in the conflict management process is preparing the conflict management plan. According to Warner (2000), the conflict management plan defines the overall strategy for managing the conflict, combined with the proposed consensus-building process and initial conflict mitigation or prevention option. The conflict management plan is conceived in

partnership with local communities to manage PAs and land-use conflicts. Failure to involve communities in developing the conflict management plan may result in discontent, such as in the case of Hwange National Park in Zimbabwe (Mutanga et al., 2017). The third step is the implementation phase, which formalises and executes the conflict management plan solutions. Hence, implementing the proposed solution implies that conflicted parties act to put their agreement into practice to minimise the intensity of the conflict.
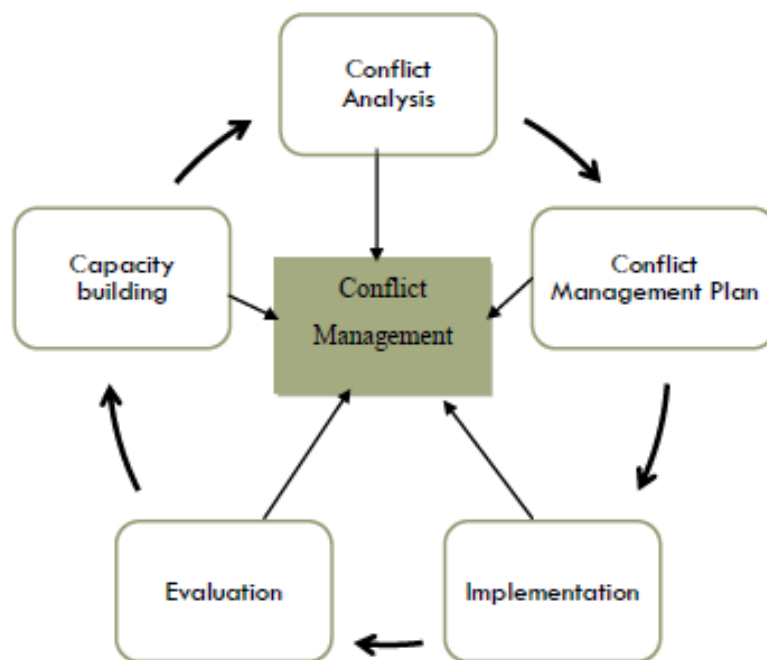
Fig. 10: The conflict management process (Lewis, 1996)

The fourth stage is the evaluation of the implemented conflict management plan. The evaluation phase measures the impact of the proposed and outlined solutions in the conflict management plan. This phase also considers monitoring where the progress and the current outcomes are tallied against the objectives or expected results. It is also important to note that this is done in partnership with the involved communities and institutions. The last stage concerns capacity building, which transfers knowledge and skills in negotiation, facilitation and mediation for all involved

stakeholders. Ultimately, the conflict management process weighs up the conflicting parties'

interests and participation, and considers fairness, respect and power dynamics to pursue peace

(Gilbert, 2014).

Conflict management plans can also select any of the five strategies articulated by Warner (2000).

These five strategies are force, withdrawal, accommodation, compromise and consensus (See

fig.11 below).
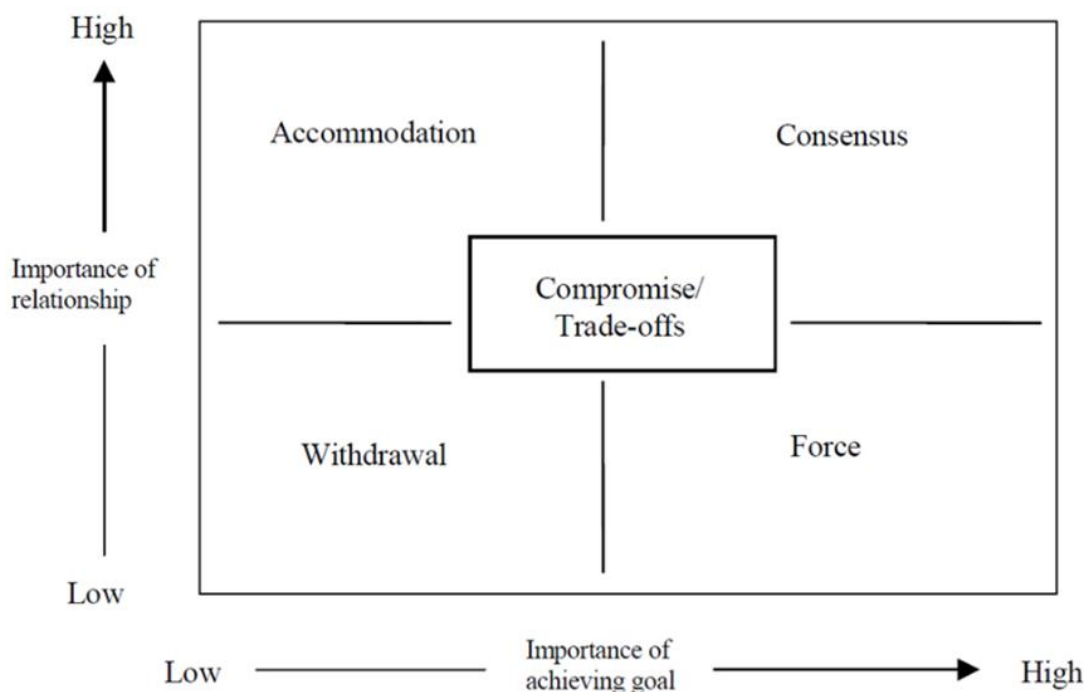
Fig. 11: Conflict management strategies (Warner, 2000)

Warner (2000) notes that conflicts can be managed using force, whereby one of the conflicting

parties has the means or disposition to sway the outcome in their favour without considering the

other party. However, it is essential to note that the party that exerts force usually has some power

and domination over the other. For instance, to divide and marginalise the black opposition by

taking away land from them, the apartheid regime forcefully relocated some 3.5 million South

Africans to rural homelands between 1960 and 1980 (Zotwana & Khanyweni, 1984). This event, considered one of history's largest social engineering exercises, created overcrowded and economically deprived communities of displaced people, but was seen as an alternative to end the competition for land between whites and blacks (Abel, 2019). When coercive power comes to the fore, it is also noteworthy to consider legal recourse as a significant force. The government or its agencies often use this strategy to manage land-use conflicts. Reference can be drawn to protected area management in Namibia (Manetti, 2017), Zimbabwe (Chigonda, 2017) and Botswana (Stone, 2013), where park officials used force as a means of curbing land-use protests around protected areas.

The second conflict management strategy, withdrawal, is based solely on conflict avoidance. Warner (2000) states that this strategy is best suited for actors who want to avoid hostilities that exceed the goals they are trying to achieve. This strategy is unusual, however, as parties fighting over land usually weaken their position by accepting defeat and retreating. The third strategy is accommodation, in which one party in a conflict situation develops a strong and lasting relationship with one or more of the other parties, rather than achieving their own specific goals. In such cases, one party may comply with the other party's objectives and yield to all or most of its demands. Such outcomes may seem forced, but the difference is that the other party believes they have gained by securing a good relationship, rather than losing outright. This probably comes with goodwill and the option of larger goals to achieve in the future (Warner, 2000). A fourth conflict management strategy is compromise. This allows for an open and constructive approach to conflict, embracing different interests and finding compromises. Under this strategy, trade-off considerations based on rational access to land and the need to make land-use decisions are widely explored (Wehrmann, 2008).

The last conflict management strategy is consensus building. Unlike the compromising, force, withdrawal, accommodation and compromise strategies that impose win-lose situations, consensus building explicitly sets out to avoid trade-offs altogether, seeking to achieve a win-win outcome. The strategy aims to negotiate the immediate demands and hostile positions of conflicting actors towards addressing those underlying needs, which are the motivating factors behind each side's perception of the conflict (Warner & Jones, 1999). While this strategy has been adopted to resolve land-use conflicts in protected areas, such as in Digya National Park in Ghana through the sharing of ecosystem services revenue, complaints of unfair gain are recurring (Ayivor et al.,2020)

The conflicts over ecosystem benefits are also evident in Kimana, Kenya. The government had agreed with Maasai communities to establish a protected area. Part of the government's promises was to share the benefits of protected area tourism with the communities through annual monetary compensation and community-managed trophy hunting. However, this has not been the case, leading to conflicts over benefit-sharing processes (Ondicho, 2010).

2.2 THE NATURE CONSERVATION AGENDA IN AFRICA

The protection of nature in Africa dates back to the colonial period. The driving factor behind the expansion of conservation was the claim by colonial administrators that several species were being lost due to poaching. Emphasising conservation, the colonial powers drafted the 1900 London Convention for the Conservation of Wildlife, Birds and Fish. Although never ratified, the Convention aimed to standardise hunting law across colonial Africa, regulate hunting and establish protected areas (IUCN, 2004). These colonial efforts created a legislative foundation for conservation in Africa and radically changed the political economy of wildlife management that still characterises the continent today. Across west, north, southern and eastern Africa, conservancies sprouted under the management and control of colonial officials (Suich et al., 2009).

While conservation brought species protection and environmental maintenance, it benefited the elite at the expense of local populations (Dafuleya, 2020). Pimbert and Pretty (1995) further mention that conservation scientists and field officers perceived ecosystems through the narrow window of their professional discipline, overlooking communities' positions and interests. Consequently, conservation in Africa has produced a model of practice that has systematically missed the complexity of ecological and social relationships at the local level. The colonial influence also propagated the adoption of a preservationist approach to nature conservation in Africa. Cherail (1993) notes that the preservationist model of conservation accentuates the following principles:

- Conservation is effective when the killing and use of wildlife are minimised.

- Biodiversity conservation can be achieved by prohibiting the trade in wildlife products.

- Communities should not expect economic returns from wildlife conservation.

- All wildlife populations are fragile entities, driven closer to extinction by human use.

A preservationist approach to nature conservation holds that preserving nature has an intrinsic worth, apart from any benefits conservation may provide for future generations. Ultimately, conservation under this ideology is primarily guided by the need to preserve biological diversity and integrity, rather than by the needs of humans (Kemf, 1993). As Foreman (1987) attests, conservationists have often argued that large tracts of land be cordoned off from human beings in favour of species protection. Despite the end of colonialism, the conservation agenda in Africa remains preservationist in nature. Conservation policies in present-day Africa resemble those of colonial governments, notably the centralised and authoritarian style of decision-making that lack adequate consideration of local dynamics.

As a result, in the years after Africa's decolonisation, conservation mostly remained a divisive endeavour, uprooting the lives of tens of millions of conservation refugees. Most African countries are signatories of international conservation treaties and conventions, so they have adopted the preservationist model of conservation articulated by these frameworks (Haila, 2012).

2.2.1 Conservation treaties and conventions

Various international environmental agreements have been formulated to conserve wildlife species through protected areas, mainly as habitats for certain species. The growth of protected areas in Africa is also attributed to the global environmental governance movements to protect the environment through conservation. The international community has established laws, institutions, international organisations and agreements to act together on specific agendas for action, particularly conservation (Pemberthy, 2017) . The formulation of treaties and conventions was a response by governments worldwide to work on their inability to address critical environmental problems nationally. Furthermore, civil society organisations (CSOs) advocated for international initiatives to facilitate coordinated ecological protection and conservation responses (Steiner et al., 2003).

The infrastructure for global environmental governance took shape under the aegis of the United Nations (UN) in 1972, with the establishment of the UN Environment Programme (UNEP), which has been rebranded as UN Environment. UN Environment was founded on the international community's conviction of "the urgent need for intensified action, at the national and international levels, to limit and, where possible, eliminate the impairment of the human environment" (Angelo, 1971:1). It launched a slew of initiatives involving international environmental cooperation. These international legal instruments address global environmental problems, raise awareness, gather information and promote coordinated action towards effective solutions (Mitchell, 2010). The

conventions and treaties are presented below. These conventions and treaties are those drawn up by UNEP and other initiatives.

2.2.1.1 The Convention on Biological Diversity

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) marked a historic global commitment to biodiversity protection (Koester, 2002). The convention was adopted by nations in May 1992 in Nairobi and later signed by over 150 states at the UN Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. As Glowka et al. (1994) further indicate, the convention entered into force on 23 December 1993.

Compared to other conservation-related conventions or treaties, the CBD has the most comprehensive scope concerning the erection of protected areas to protect biological diversity. For instance, Article 8 of the convention addresses in situ biodiversity conservation. It states that nations shall establish protected areas or areas where special measures are taken to conserve biological diversity. Additionally, the convention requests that countries develop, where necessary, guidelines for selecting, establishing and managing protected areas (United Nations, 1992).

The influence of the CBD on African protected areas can be linked to the conservation regime in South Africa. Goosen and Blackmore (2019) mention that after independence in 1994, South Africa introduced a variety of biodiversity conservation obligations. Hence, South Africa acceded to the CBD in November 1995. The formulation and reform of legislature related to conservation in South Africa were shaped by the CBD, and more protected areas were established to realise the expectation of the convention (Strydom, 2009). Namibia's protected areas were and are still managed under the auspices of the CBD. Namibia signed the Convention at the UN Conference

on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992. Parliament ratified the CBD in 1997 (Barnard et al., 2001).

Matz (2003) concludes that although the CBD argues for the establishment of strictly managed protected areas to conserve biodiversity, it calls for each signatory to respect, preserve and maintain traditional knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities and encourage the equitable sharing of benefits arising from the utilisation of such knowledge, innovations and practices. Article 10(c) of the convention also calls on the contracting parties to protect and encourage the customary use of biological resources (United Nations, 1992).

2.2.1.2 The Ramsar Convention (Convention on Wetlands)

The Ramsar Convention (Wetlands Convention) is an intergovernmental treaty adopted on 2 February 1971 in the Iranian city of Ramsar. The convention entered into force in 1975. As of January 2016, it had 169 contracting parties or member states globally. The convention is the first modern multilateral environmental agreement on the conserving and sustainable use of natural resources. Initially, the convention concentrated on the preservation and sustainable use of wetlands (Griffin, 2012). However, the convention has broadened its scope of implementation to cover all aspects of wetland conservation and sustainable use. The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) serves as a depositary for the convention. However, the Ramsar Convention is not part of the United Nations and UNESCO system of environmental conventions and agreements (UNESCO, 2016).

Birnie and Boyle (1994) characterise the Ramsar Convention as an innovative convention to safeguard wetlands and their associated natural features by establishing protected areas in and around such wetlands. Koester (2002) shares the same sentiments and states that the culture of the

Ramsar Convention represents a pragmatic approach to the protection of wetlands that serves several purposes to other biodiversity processes. Hodgetts et al. (2018) further maintain that the longstanding wetlands convention provides a basis for conservation by requiring that signatories formulate and implement the protection of internationally recognised wetlands, such as the Okavango Delta in Botswana.

2.2.1.3 The World Heritage Convention

The World Heritage Convention was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 16 November 1972 (Blanchfield, 2011). The convention aims to identify and help protect sites of exceptional ecological, scientific or cultural importance worldwide. On signing the convention, each country pledges to conserve the cultural and natural areas within its borders recognised as extraordinary and of universal value. In return, the international community helps to protect these treasures. The convention has established the World Heritage List to define these significant sites. The cultural and natural properties which appear on the list must meet the requirements of the World Heritage Committee (Khalaf, 2020). Amos (2017) states that the World Heritage Convention is concerned with nature's inherent value, supporting the establishment of protected areas. The convention stipulates the importance of partially closed-off sites to safeguard nature and cultural sites. As Koester (2002) notes, the convention represents a modern approach to solving environmental problems, including nature conservation and preservation of the cultural environment.

2.2.1.4 Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES)

CITES was adopted in 1963 at the Washington Convention during the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) meeting. The convention was opened for signature in 1973, but

came into force on 1 July 1975. According to Koester (2002), the convention is an effective system with a framework designed to cope with a complex international scenario in which legitimate trading interests in renewable resources must be balanced with the need to conserve endangered species. The treaty's goal is to avoid the overexploitation of species and to govern international traffic in live animals, body parts and derivative goods. The appendices to CITES list species that are threatened or are on the verge of becoming threatened and are possibly impacted by international commerce. Against this context, the treaty demands strong conservation systems and protected areas to conserve vulnerable species (Hodgetts, et al., 2018).

2.2.1.5 African Convention on Nature and Natural Resources

The first international convention or framework for managing Africa's natural resources was the Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa, signed by colonial powers on 19 May 1900 in London (Lyster, 1993). After adopting the first convention, Erinosho (2013) enunciates that the African states were involved in institutional, practical, and policy evaluations to expand their conservation efforts. Most notably, it was agreed by African states that the 1900 convention had a narrow approach to conservation and a substantially restrictive interpretation of the African ecosystem premised on the need to regulate (Situma, 2000). Hence, the much broader African Convention on Nature and Natural Resources was adopted in 1968 by the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) at its fifth ordinary session held in Algiers (Van Der Linde, 2002).

The African Convention on Nature and Natural Resources promoted the proper protection of natural resources by implementing protective measures, such as the PA system. The convention was the first in Africa to consider the link between communities, natural resources and economic development. The convention was conceived to harness the continent's natural resources for the

total advancement of African communities (Erinosho, 2013). While the convention was expected to evolve into a comprehensive treaty on African natural resources conservation, it never reached its potential, leading to its revision in 2003.

The provisions of the 2003 African Convention identify several principles. The preamble recognises that the resources which Africa is endowed with are an irreplaceable part of its heritage, incorporating ideas about intergenerational equity, a recognition of the value of these resources which Africans have inherited, as well as the duty to ensure they are passed down to future generations in good condition. The 2003 African Convention also recognises that the conservation of the global environment is a common concern of humankind (Erinosho, 2013). The conservation of the environment should be a primary concern of all Africans. Building on the 1968 convention, the Revised African Convention was explicitly designed to address the continent's challenges and opportunities, thus leading to a new approach toward sustainable management of nature and natural resources in Africa (IUCN, 2004).

2.2.3 The expansion of protected areas in Africa

Governments, communities and individuals have intentionally controlled the natural environment for millennia. Nonetheless, it was only after the 1972 Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment that conserving and improving the human environment became a significant concern in biodiversity conservation (Stolton & Dudley, 2010). Since then, the genesis of protected area (PA) discourses in conservation has fuelled debates. PAs have become a central issue that has extended to community sustenance and biodiversity conservation (Aubertin et al., 2011).

According to the 1992 United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), protected areas are geographically defined areas designated, regulated and managed to achieve specific

conservation objectives. This definition is consistent with the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) (2008), which defines protected areas as well-defined, recognised, designated and managed geographical territories. Dudley (2008) defines protected areas as places dedicated to protecting biological variety and in some cases featuring geological or geomorphological characteristics, where visitation, usage and human effect are rigorously restricted to guarantee the protection of conservation values. Mackinnon et al. (2011) summarise that all definitions of PAs have a common denominator, the protection of biodiversity. The scholar states that the ultimate description of PAs should be understood as places where conscious efforts are made to preserve wild species and the ecosystems in which they live. Hence, PAs should generally reduce the impact of human activities and preserve and protect natural resources, processes and biodiversity within their borders. Conceived initially to conserve iconic landscapes and wildlife, PAs are now expected to achieve an increasingly diverse set of conservation, social and economic objectives. PAs are an essential component of conservation strategies that should be integrated into the broader landscape and the concerns of wider society (Geldman, 2013).

IUCN (2008) articulates that PAs differ in types and objectives, hence their categorisation. The categorisation of protected areas varies by country and protection levels. The IUCN's categorisation of protected areas is widely accepted internationally and is recognised by organisations, such as the United Nations and many national governments. In total, IUCN has seven categories of protected areas shown in table 1. below.

Table 1: Categories of protected areas (IUCN, 2008)

Protected Area Category	Management Objectives
1. Strict Nature Reserve	Strict protected areas are established to conserve biodiversity and possibly geological/geomorphic features, where human visitation, use and impacts are strictly controlled and limited to ensure conservation values. They serve as important reference areas for research and scientific supervision.
2. Wilderness Area	Large untouched or little-changed regions that retain their natural character and impact are conserved and managed to maintain their natural condition in the absence of permanent or major human occupancy.
3. National Park	Large wild or near-natural regions set aside to conserve large-scale biological processes and complement local species and ecosystems. Additionally, lay the groundwork for ecologically and culturally suitable spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational, and tourism activities.
4. Natural Monuments	Protected areas set aside to safeguard a specific natural landmark, such as a landform, seamount, cave, or even a living component, such as an old grove. They are often tiny locations with significant tourist, historical, or cultural importance.
5. Habitat/Species Management	These are places devoted to the protection of certain species or ecosystems. Many Category IV protected sites require ongoing, active management interventions to achieve their goals.
6. Protected Landscape/Seascape	A place where the interaction of humans and environment has developed a distinct character and substantial ecological, biological, cultural, and scenic qualities through time, and where preserving the integrity of this interaction is critical to protecting nature and other assets.
7. Protected Areas with Sustainable Use of Natural Resources	Protected areas preserve ecosystems and habitats, as well as the cultural values and traditional natural resource management techniques that go with them. They are often huge, with the majority of the site remaining natural and the remainder subject to sustainable natural resource management. One of the primary goals of this type of protected area is low-level non-industrial use of natural resources that is consistent with environmental protection.

UNESCO's World Heritage Convention similarly articulates the importance of natural heritage, biodiversity and its conservation through protected area management. Natural heritage refers to

natural features composed of physical and biological formations or groupings of such formations which are of exceptional universal worth from an aesthetic or scientific standpoint. Formulated in 1972, the convention expressed the importance of conserving the diversity of life on earth for human welfare. With the World Heritage Convention's support, the most important natural sites have received international recognition, technical and financial assistance to deal with threats, such as agricultural encroachment, alien species and poaching (UNESCO, 1972).

Relating to the history of protected areas in Africa, the Rights and Resources Initiative (2015) states that conservation through the protected area system began during an era of broader colonial conquest and expropriation of land and territories of indigenous people and local communities. Adams and Hulme (2001) also share the same sentiments and attribute the origins of PAs in Africa to the continent's colonial past, as the first African PAs were created in the mid-1920s and 1930s when the power to govern these was firmly vested in the colonial administration.

The 1930s marked the beginning of an era of nature conservation dominated by principles of strict separation of humans and nature, which excluded people from PAs and limited their rights for consumptive land use and access to resources (Adams & Hulme, 2001). Wicander (2015) further maintains that African states inherited the colonial top-down approach to managing PAs at independence, emphasising centralised control, particularly over land tenure systems and resource utilisation. Essentially, many protected areas fell under government control and management through different bodies and institutions. At its highest level, colonial powers allowed the colonisers to demarcate land and manage it independently for conservation purposes. Since colonialism was premised on exploiting the colonised and their resources, Dominguez and Luoma (2020) articulate that PAs in Africa were established to extract wealth, a condition that characterises Africa to date.

Bolaane (2013) purports that the growth of PA networks in Africa resulted from European elites' growing interest in wildlife hunting. Thus, the immediate concern was to prevent the extinction of large mammals like elephants that served the hunting needs of the European elites. The form of the PA system reflected established European patterns and the perceptions of empire. Regulations were designed to limit access to hunting, with an emphasis on African hunting, blaming faunal depredation on local communities. In colonial South Africa, PA management authorities were mainly of European descent and controlled every aspect of nature conservation to serve colonial interests (Beinart and Coates, 1995).

The history of the PA system in Africa should also be investigated, keeping post-colonial conservation narratives in mind. For example, during a key wildlife summit in 1961, African regional leaders signed the Arusha Manifesto, which defined the East African conservation strategy framework. During that time, President Julius Nyerere committed to continuing wildlife protection efforts in independent Tanzania, which resulted in the founding of Serengeti National Park (Brockington, 2003). In the 1960s, the establishment of international conservation organisations, such as the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN) and the World Wildlife Foundation, pushed the agenda for the establishment of rigorous nature reserves for conservation. These changes compelled African governments to examine the construction of PAs as a viable conservation option (Beinart, 2003).

Africa has an extensive PA network, covering some of the world's most famous and iconic locations. African countries, especially those in southern and eastern Africa, set aside a portion of their land for protected areas much larger than the global average and the protected area "burden" on wealth is higher than on any other continent (Lindsey, et al., 2021). As of 2021, the World Database on Protected Areas (WDPA) lists 8,512 protected areas in Africa (UNEP-WCMC, 2021).

2.3 PROTECTED AREAS, COMMUNITIES AND LAND CONFLICTS IN AFRICA

Land for many communities, such as those in Kenya, Botswana and Zimbabwe, plays a vital role in community sustenance. As Hall (2004) asserts, the alteration of tenure systems and the advent of conservation have undermined tenure security, community land rights and a means of earning livelihoods. Land rights and tenure security offer communities access, use, possession and occupation of land, and security of such use, possession or tenure occupation of land necessary to attain sustainable livelihoods (Filipe, 2005).

The tendency of PAs to prioritise species preservation over community land rights is associated with the occurrence of land-use conflicts (Bergius et al., 2020). The word "conflict" in conservation practice carries negative undertones. It is the opposite of cooperation and peace, and is most commonly associated with violence, the threat of violence or disruptive (non-violent) disputes (Warner, 2008). Thus, we can state that the emergence of land-use conflicts in protected areas follows the actors' explicit commitment, resulting in a shift to various actions such as threats, assaults and litigations (Wehrmann, 2008).

In this study, land-use conflicts are understood as competing demands for present to future uses of land, causing negative impacts on other land uses. Land-use conflicts may also vary depending on the stakeholders involved (Deininger & Castagnini, 2006). Communities imbue land with specific cultural and spiritual values that ultimately form part of their existence. The impacts of PAs on the local population's access to land are predominantly negative. The geographical space defined by PAs is utilised for the conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services, often leading to contestations over land use. The importance of land to communities is indispensable and indisputable, as it is the most critical natural capital. Isdori (2016) asserts that, though conservation benefits are prolonged through the sustainable use of resources for economic benefits, it comes at

a cost. The magnitude of conservation costs tends to be more significant as resource competition increases. For instance, a community like Mababe thriving on land and its resources will be affected by enacting a protected area that curtails their access to land and its resources. However, species protection will be attained (Campbell & Hofer, 1995).

On the other hand, it is necessary to claim that PAs, such as in the research region, fail to address essential management variables, such as social, cultural and political difficulties. Governments prohibit communities from exploiting natural resources critical to their livelihoods and in some instances, communities are evicted from their land without appropriate consultation or compensation. The effects of protected area management regulations on local communities are primarily due to reduced customary usage, access rights and community displacement (Isdori, 2016). Thus, reconciling land-use preferences and PA management policies in contested geographical areas is a significant challenge. PA management policies have caused land-use conflicts and remain controversial (Maringa, 2003).

2.3.1 Land and food security in African communities

In African communities, land is a significant factor of production and an essential input for agriculture and food security (Wu, 2008). In discussing food security-related conflicts in Uganda, Turyamureeba (2017) mentions that giving communities access to land is imperative to meet their food needs. In this context, food security refers to a condition in which all people have physical, social and economic access to sufficient, safe and nutritious food that fulfils their dietary needs and food preferences for an active and healthy life at all times (FAO, 1996). Cochrane (2017) also defines food security as the measure of an individual's ability to access nutritious and sufficient food. This definition coincides with Alnafissa (2017), who defines food security as a measure of the availability of quality food and an individual's ability to access it. Nonetheless, Napoli (2011)

mentions that food security should be cognisant of three aspects: availability of staple food, stability of supplies and access for all to these supplies, and the idea of adapted food. Hence, a widely accepted definition of food security is that provided by the FAO (1996), which captures all three aspects articulated by Napoli (2011).

That land is vital for the food security of African communities is indisputable. For instance, Landesa (2012) argues that land availability, accessibility and utilisation lead to agricultural productivity in several ways. Firstly, secure land tenure incentivises communities to invest in land improvements. Secondly, secure land tenure can increase access to financial services and government programmes, particularly finances necessary to procure inputs for food production. Furthermore, secure land tenure reduces the risk of land loss and allows for more optimal land use, positively impacting food production. Deininger et al. (2011) further proclaim that these three conditions increase agricultural productivity to enhance household food security in two ways: namely, a direct increase in food production and consumption, and an increase in income that permits the purchase of more and better food indirectly.

In their study to connect the importance of land to food security, Maxwell and Wiebe (1998) proposed a conceptual model to show the reciprocal relationship between the two (see fig. 12 below). The two scholars argue that land is a static resource endowment necessary for food security in African societies through agricultural production and income generation from agricultural produce. Furthermore, access to food derives from opportunities to produce food directly from land (Sen, 1981).
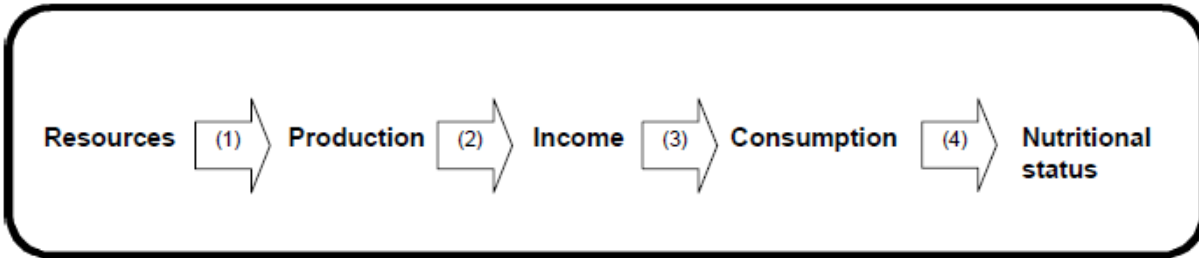
Fig. 12: The conceptual link between land and food security (Maxwell & Wiebe, 1998)

Simelton and Ostwald (2020) refer to the increased access to land by communities in northern Nigeria and the growth of agriculture as a food security initiative. The two scholars highlight that tracts of land used as backyard gardens in Nigeria have consistently served as pantries that contain diverse short- and long-term food supplies that meet communities' dietary needs. Mubanga (2016) discusses the importance of land in food security using local food systems in Zambia as a case study. She mentions that agriculture has been a mainstay for most communities in rural Zambia. Since agriculture is land-intensive, land governance regimes have been altered to allow access to land for cultivation and subsequently, ensure food security (Mubanga, 2016).

Mbigi (2005) contends that the complex farming within which rural African communities exist is diverse and dynamic, often aimed at managing risk, reducing vulnerability and enhancing food security. The author maintains that complex farming systems depend highly on access to land. Agricultural activities, in particular, utilise land to fulfil food needs (Anglin, 2011). Hitchcock (1995) and Mannetti (2011) also argue that the importance of land as a food security source is not only confined to agriculture or agricultural practices. Instead, it should also be understood from the context of hunter-gatherer communities. For communities like the San in Namibia, Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa, land is part of the ecosystem that provides veld products necessary for food security. Barnard's (2007) ethnographic findings reveal that San communities have a

knowledge base of plant and animal ecology, which forms part of their diet. Mobile communities migrate and cover a wide area to find sufficient food. The land also houses wild vegetables, fruits and wildlife that form the diets of most hunter-gatherer societies. Access to land with such abundant resources is essential for food security.

2.3.2 Land as an economic factor in African communities

African communities regard land as a significant factor of production. Kironde (2009) states that about 60% of Africa's population derives income from land utilisation. Land leads to a marginal existence in modern African economies (Metzemakers & Louw, 2005). Agriculture, for instance, does not function as food security implicitly, but as an income-generating activity that depends on the availability of land. Olukoshi (2004) also argues that land as a factor of production is necessary to achieve growth whose benefits are properly distributed and the growth foundations carefully sustained through balanced policies.

According to Williamson et al. (2010), the availability of land makes it possible for communities to design systems capable of undertaking functions to achieve sustainable development and poverty eradication. The three scholars underscore the three pillars of sustainable development: protecting the natural environment, improving the social situation for the poor and combating poverty, which are the fundamental principles that guide community utilisation of land as an economic resource.

2.3.3 Land and culture in African communities

Historically, land has shaped the collective imaginations, belief systems and culture of communities across the African continent (Flores & Russel, 2020). Kingston (2015) further enunciates that land is not only the site of production, but it is the mainstay of a vision of the world.

Land is at the heart of the operation of the cultural system that encompasses life, materiality and spirituality. Culture in land use is understood as a set of shared and enduring meanings, values and beliefs that characterise national, ethnic or other groups and orient their behaviour (Mulholland, 1991).

Triandis (1994:34) defines culture as "explicit and tacit patterns of and for behaviour acquired and transmitted via symbols". Culture is the unique achievement of human communities, including their manifestation in artefacts. The basic core of culture comprises conventional ideas and their associated values; culture systems may be viewed as both results of activity and conditioned aspects of future action (Avruch, 1998). As a result, land access and utilisation across most of Africa are linked to cultural values, norms and principles. Most significantly, culture is location-bound, therefore, land-based culture is a widespread practice (Shipton, 1994).

In ascertaining the relationship between land and spirituality in the Kgalagadi region of Botswana, Amanze (2007) purports that the San in the area regards land as a food source and a spiritual resource. Therefore, the land in Kgalagadi constitutes an essential element of San spirituality. It links the living with their ancestors in the spirit world and the unborn in ages to come. In this context, San communities conceive land as their spiritual habitat, without which their spirituality is meaningless and devoid of depth. Sacred or spiritual sites are also harboured by land, making it essential in the daily fulfilment of communities' cultural needs. As Diawuo and Issifu (2015) attest, such sacred sites have spiritual properties and form part of what they refer to as spiritual habitats that require land to exist.

2.3.4 Causes of land-use conflicts in protected areas

The roots of many land-use conflicts lie in disagreements about access to land and how it is utilised (Eck, 2014). Jarvis (2000) notes that the designation of protected areas often leads to conflicts between local communities and protected area management. These conflicts often affect the protected areas and the local communities, as strained relations bring pressure to bear on protected areas, conservation objectives, local livelihoods and development.

Poverty is one of the major causes of land-use conflicts in protected areas. Most communities around protected areas rely on natural resources that PAs usually cordon off. These resources include edible veld products and provide food security (Isdori, 2016). On the other hand, some resources provide raw materials, such as timber to construct shelter. Hence, this situation increases the vulnerability of communities to poverty (Crawford, 2012). The scarcity of these resources generates grievances, leading to conflict. Protected areas perpetuate economic inequality amongst communities living adjacent to them and, in the process, indirectly undermine a society's ability to promote valued capabilities. Furthermore, socio-economic deprivation and intense competition over scarce resources intensify rivalry and deepen antagonism. Thus, extreme poverty catalyses the deterioration of livelihoods and community development and strengthens tendencies to resort to violent means and activities (Ikejiaku, 2012).

Competition for natural resources also drives land-use conflicts. The creation of PAs leads to resource scarcity, where resource access and supply are insufficient to meet local demands. An increased lack of natural resources needed to sustain livelihoods can increase competition between user groups or economic sectors (Odgaard, 2006). This is evident in Etosha National Park in Namibia, where the same land and natural resources that are critical for the livelihoods of communities on the periphery of the protected area are needed to support conservation (Manneti,

2017). This competition is exacerbated by the interests and needs of both communities and protected area management. While communities derive livelihoods from land, the neo-liberalisation of land has created a demand for land for other actors' finance-generating activities (Galvin & Haller, 2008). Haller (2019) further explains that competition over the control and management of land and its resources escalates conflicts. The author attributes this to the power imbalances between actors. The most powerful actor, usually in the form of the government, can formulate and legitimise land-use frameworks without consulting communities. This leads to discontent, as communities protest and disapprove of such frameworks, often leading to intense conflict (Haller, 2010)

Local communities also use land in ways that are defined symbolically. Hence, land is a material resource and important in identity, gender and age roles. Therefore, the struggle for land access and use can lead to ideological, social and political struggles that adversely affect PA management. Ideological, social and political practices are contested in most settings, making it difficult to interpret the different land users' perspectives (Buckles, Cultivating Peace, 1999). Culture also attaches non-negotiable value systems to land, which form part of identity. Timo-Devries and Vob (2018) further explain that social values are fundamentally opposed to economic logic, which is considered predictable, measurable and objective. Hence, failure to recognise the needs and rights of communities beyond economic benefits will lead to conflict.

Hammill (2005) mentions that the perceived imposition of unjust policies associated with the establishment of PAs can become catalysts for conflict. Using Ngamiland as a case study, Taylor (2000) illustrated how power dynamics are shaped by land and policies associated with its management. For instance, land policies' accompanying protected areas are formulated using a top-down approach that excludes communities living on the periphery of protected areas. Hence,

protected areas and land management systems are highly politicised and bring about a shift in power dynamics, resulting in conflict (Brochin et al., 2003). Besides power dynamics, Bryan (2012) highlights that protected areas lead to territorial claims. Territorial claims seek to evoke ontological concepts that vary from land claims. A territorial claim, in essence, opposes natural definitions of territory and is viewed as an order historically formed through exclusionary acts.

2.3.5 Impacts of land-use conflicts

Land-use conflicts lead to diverse environmental and social impacts that are sometimes difficult to mitigate (Wehrmann, 2008). Whether peaceful or violent, land conflicts negatively affect individuals and communities. Wynter (2011) studied Mozambican PAs and highlighted that communities' eviction to pave the way for protected areas led to conflicts that increased the general vulnerability of such communities. The author further notes that evictions without fair compensation have far-reaching effects. General vulnerability, characterised by poverty, apathy, fear and food insecurity, persisted due to a lack of economic intervention to assist evictees. Citing Rugadya (2009), Turyamureeba (2017) argues that land-use conflicts directly impact food production and security. The author attributes this to the persistent challenges communities encounter in deriving food resources amid restrictive policies. Furthermore, protected areas harbour wildlife, forests and tree-based systems that offer dietary diversity and nutrition to communities (Vasquez & Sunderland, 2020).

Mkungunero Game Reserve in Tanzania also demonstrates the impacts of land-use conflicts on PAs and communities. Local communities adjacent to the reserve generated income from the now marginalised land resources. Presently, the PA has adversely affected the habitats and associated biota and given birth to poverty among these communities (Isdori, 2016). In Ghana, the persistence of conflicts over land with PA management that restricted access to land led to anger among

communities living on Digya National Park's periphery. The hostility towards the park resulted in vandalism and a surge in poaching, which defeated the establishment of the protected area (Ayivor et al., 2013). Removing local communities from lands they have been exploiting without consultation or adequate compensation can result in retaliation and hostile attitudes toward protected areas (Isdori, 2016).

2.3.6 Common conflict management strategies in protected areas

Problems in protected areas arise due to adverse external factors associated with using natural resources within protected areas. However, the acceleration in social development has persuaded governments to recognise that legally protected areas can play an essential role in the overall land-use and community development system. Against this backdrop, several approaches have been developed to reduce and transform land-use conflicts in protected areas. It is common for the state to provide alternative livelihood options to compensate for community land for conservation purposes. This has been mainly through providing welfare and employment opportunities in ecosystem services and tourism activities.Although Fiagbomeh and Burger-Arndt (2015) have highlighted the effectiveness of this approach in reducing negative attitudes towards Kakum National Park in Ghana, this approach tends to fall short in addressing socio-cultural dynamics. Local communities do not only derive livelihood opportunities from land, there is also spirituality attached to land (Agarwala, et al., 2014).

Ballet et al. (2009) single out co-management as another option for managing land-use conflicts in protected areas. Co-management, in broad terms, denotes a pluralist approach to natural resource management that includes a variety of partners in various roles, with the end goal of environmental conservation, sustainable use of natural resources and equitable sharing of resource-related benefits and responsibilities (Borrini-Feyerabend et al. 2007). Co-management is also

defined as a participatory problem-solving model in which state bureaucrats and local communities share the administration of a PA. This strategy promotes a platform for collaborative decision-making between government agencies and local communities, allowing both parties to negotiate, define and ensure equitable sharing of management functions, entitlements and responsibilities for a given territory or set of natural resources (De-Pourcq et al., 2015)

Campbell and Townsley (1996) note that co-management in natural resources management is attributed to the advent of participatory approaches. The authors purport that co-management is based on a participatory arrangement between a central authority and resource users. Co-management requires the government's clear commitment to sharing power and authority with local government and community organisations. An essential function of co-management is for the state to use its control and power to contain and mitigate conflicts (Njaya, 2005). O'Connell (2019) asserts that introducing co-management strategies to ameliorate land-use conflict in east and southern Africa meant a more equal sharing of management responsibility than delegated management arrangements. They may enable the partners to capitalise on their unique strengths, combining the state's political legitimacy and local knowledge, innovations, efficiencies and expertise (O'Connell, et al., 2019). Fedreheim and Blanco (2017) also state that co-management varies depending on the government and other local communities' relative power and responsibility distribution.

Nonetheless, several case studies present the benefits of co-management in transforming land-use conflicts in protected areas. The community of Maluleke in northern Kruger National Park in South Africa signed a co-management agreement for a protected area that had annexed their land. The agreement enabled the community to use specified natural resources within the protected area (Ratshivadelo, 2018).

The mutual gains approach exemplified by Wynberg and Kepe (1999) in South Africa is another common conflict management strategy. This approach purports that consensual negotiations are based on both parties identifying their own needs and interests and finding ways to promote agreed gains. The mutual gains approach seeks high levels of collaboration and presumes that the involved parties have the necessary goodwill to communicate objectively throughout the process (Engel & Korf, 2005). Babbit (2013) also states that this approach provides a lifeline for land-use conflicts resulting from establishing protected areas. According to Babbit (2013), the mutual gains approach is guided by the following principles:

- Consideration of all stakeholder interests, as well as the necessary technical information.

- Consultation with local communities along with appointed and elected decision-makers.

- Generation of information relevant and salient to local communities.

- Engagement of local communities above and beyond sharing information and views.

The mutual gains approach facilitates a shared management environment that shares whatever is generated by PAs. Generally, the income generated by ecosystem services rendered in and by these PAs is shared with communities, reducing conflict.

Despite these common land-use conflict management strategies in protected areas, Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme (CBNRMP) remains the key tool in managing resource use in African countries like Kenya, Tanzania, Namibia and Zimbabwe (Suich, 2010). A primary assumption underlying CBNRMP is that local communities have the most significant interest in and are best placed to respond to local environmental and socio-economic issues in a broader policy context. Soeftestad (2001) defines CBNRMP as a holistic mechanism that considers socio-economic and ecological goals and aims to balance the exploitation and conservation of

ecosystem resources. CBNRMP is based on devolving decision-making authority over natural resources to communities and community-based organisations. This definition is supported by Chevallier and Harvey (2016) who define CBNRMP as managing land and natural resources, such as pastures, forests, fish, wildlife and water by rural people through their local institutions.

CBNRMP, as mentioned by Western et al. (1994), has its roots in the drive to facilitate community-based conservation. The authors state that community-based conservation includes, at one extreme, buffer-zone protection of parks and reserves and at the other, natural resources used by local communities. As a land-use conflict management strategy in protected areas, CBNRMP reverses top-down conservation approaches by focusing on communities to develop and implement conservation strategies that balance ecosystem quality with livelihoods. The reversal of the top-down approach necessitates participatory processes, which allow communities to influence and share control over conservation initiatives, decisions and resources (Nelson & Wright, 1995). However, in managing resources, Oakley (1991) argues that participation in CBNRMP should envision the empowerment of communities to identify problems and needs, mobilise resources, and control and evaluate collective action undertaken. Empowerment, in this instance, should be understood as the transfer of power from the powerful to the powerless, a change in the decision-making sequence from the periphery's centre to the marginalised and poor, giving communities a sense of ownership (Maphosa, 2000).

The essence of ownership is that communities themselves should drive the process of conservation. In this approach, they drive the planning, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the conservation measures employed. Empowerment leads people, organisations and communities to gain control over their lives, enabling them to move from powerless non-participants to active and effective citizens (Pettit, 2012). Bond et al. (2006) argue that the principles guiding CBNRMP

justify the programme as an effective land-use conflict management strategy in protected areas. The authors mention that CBNRMP has considerably reduced conflicts related to protected areas in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Communities in these countries have drawn direct and indirect benefits from CBNRMP, thus reducing conflicts over land resources.
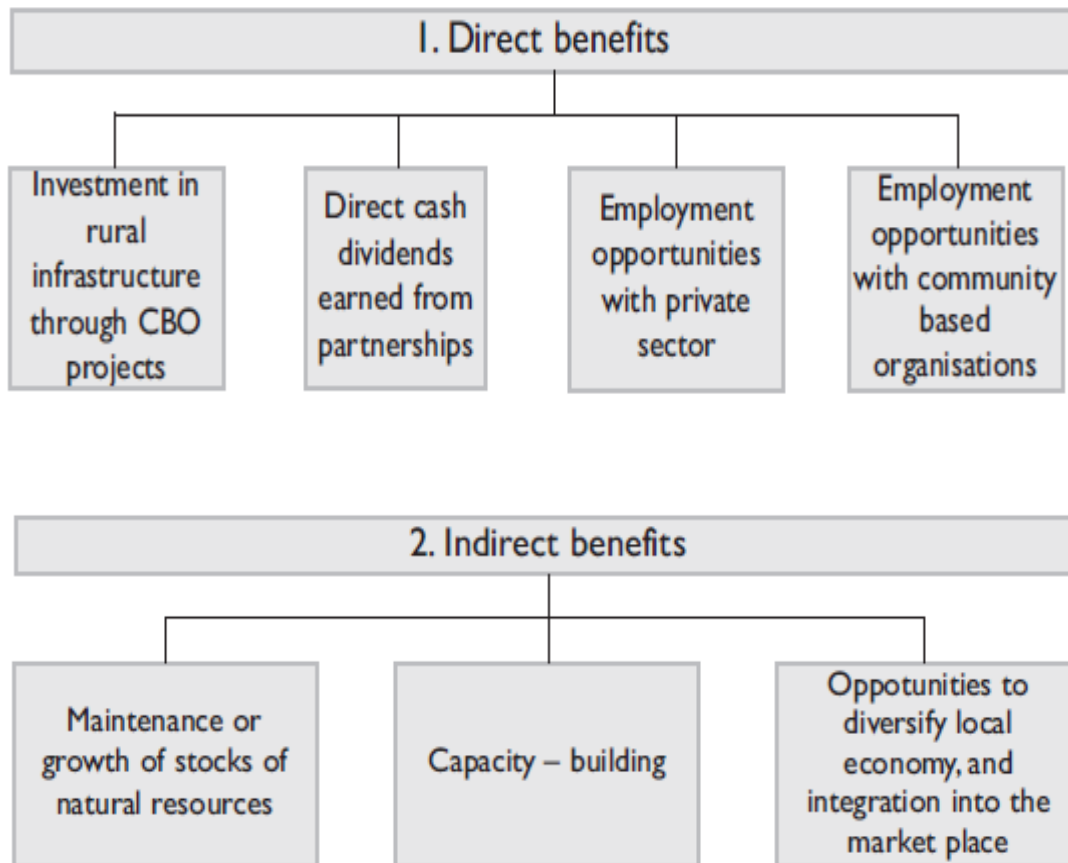
Fig. 13: Benefits of CBNRMP (Bond et al. 2006)

CBNRMP also facilitates effective natural resources management outcomes with the full participation of local communities, taking into account institutions, customary practices and local knowledge systems (Armitage, 2005). In southern Africa, CBNRMP has been used with some degree of success. In Zimbabwe, CBNRMP has been implemented to transfer resource management powers to communities living around Hwange National Park. In Namibia, the

Ministry of Wildlife Conservation and Tourism (MWTC) adopted this approach to enhance resource management around protected areas (Jones, 2015). The recognition and preference of CBNRMP as a conflict management measure by African governments is that it facilitates sharing management responsibility between local communities and the state. While these conflict management models provide valuable perspectives, tactics and procedures for protected area managers in developing constructive connections with neighbouring populations, it has to be seen whether and to what extent these managers apply CBNRMP appropriately.

Furthermore, Walker (2011) argues that conflict management strategies should consider gender dynamics and disparities. As McFadden (2018) discusses, the patriarchal incarceration of women through normalized roles and duties also extends to natural resource conflict management. Gender is an important part of understanding these dynamics, as men and women tend to use and enjoy the benefits of natural resources according to the roles and responsibilities determined by their gender. Women often have a more profound knowledge of local natural resources but face more significant challenges in accessing and controlling them (Mutangadura, 2004). Cited in Koro (2023:27), Kgosi Rebecca Baniki of Pandamatenga village in Botswana strengthens the position of women in conservation and CBNRMP discourses. She notes that women are equally capable in conservation matters by articulating how she has successfully advocated for natural resources rights at local, regional and international forums for the community she leads.

Furthermore, transforming processes in the form of land and conservation policies trigger the introduction of new activities or the change of existing practices. Such changes can be related to land use and agriculture, among others, where women and men carry out different activities, have unequal access to different resources and benefit from their use in a non-equitable manner (Kameri-Mbote, 2007). Therefore, conflict management strategies should be gendered to make

natural resources and land more accessible and to allow women to participate in conflict management discussions and decision-making processes (Kurebwa, 2017).

2.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter discussed several issues in conflict management. The different conceptions of conflict were also discussed. While different terminology has been used to define conflict by various scholars, the basis of the definitions includes struggles and disagreements. The emergence and manifestation of conflict were discussed to examine the nature of conflict, its life cycle and levels of existence. Furthermore, the study elaborated on the sources of conflict. The sources of conflict are the drivers of conflicts that include failure to fulfil human needs and frustration. The chapter discussed conflict management, its processes, and conflict analysis and management strategies commonly used in land-use conflicts.

Furthermore, the chapter analysed the dynamics of conservation in an African context, the expansion of protected areas in Africa, land-use patterns and land-use conflicts and their management strategies in protected areas. From the review, it is evident that most of the literature concentrated on the nature of land-use disputes and management of conflicts, without proposing evaluation strategies that can assist in making conflict management strategies more efficient and effective. Furthermore, the literature on the development of the conflict management domain done by earlier scholars and recent scholars falls short of addressing the evaluation aspects, despite the continual failure of employed strategies in managing land-use conflicts emanating from the African protected area system. Hence, the study attempts to fill the literature gap by examining and proposing a conflict management strategy that creates an interface for constant evaluation to effect positive conflict management.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. INTRODUCTION

The research process involves an attempt to answer a question or solve a problem (Merriam and Tisdell, 2016). Through research, one acquires reliable and valuable information about phenomena (Richards, 2003). The study was conducted in the village of Mababe, Botswana. Respondents were interviewed to augment data collected from Mababe, Maun and Gaborone. Consequently, stakeholders' broad participation and engagement characterised the overall design and data collection. The unit of analysis in this chapter is the conflict management strategy adopted to ameliorate land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the community of Mababe. The study utilised a qualitative approach through a post-positivist lens. Adopting a post-positivist approach ensured access to deep insights into protected areas, land-use conflicts and conflict management in Mababe. This chapter articulates the methodologies used and how the research process allowed the researcher to make recommendations based on the study findings. The chapter provides an overview and motivation for the research philosophy, design and methods that guided data collection and analysis. The chapter also articulates the ethical considerations taken during the research and presents the delimitations and limitations of the study.

3.1 RESEARCH PHILOSOPHY

The diversity and complexity of phenomena in the social sciences have resulted in a wide range of research methods. The method through which data is acquired, analysed and used is referred to as research philosophy (Creswell, 2009). This study was based on a post-positivist research philosophy to critically evaluate the effectiveness of strategies employed by the DWNP in

managing land-use conflicts in Mababe in the Ngamiland District, Botswana. The study deviated from the prevailing subjective positivist paradigm that characterises studies on protected areas, resources and communities. Pimbert and Pretty (2005) assert that the positivist approach to understanding conservation and community dynamics overlooks the reality and advances the values and assumptions of conservation officials. Therefore, the resultant conclusion systematically fails to acknowledge the complexity of ecological and community relations at a grassroots level. Post-positivism thus enables a researcher to present an in-depth analysis of phenomena to understand their manifestation (Blaikie, 2000). Post-positivism also embraces several methodologies and allows the researcher to engage the research subjects, so that the respondents can have a voice and be represented as accurately as possible. The research subjects can discover how their views of reality interface with facts and recognise the art of data analysis from multiple dimensions (Khan, 2014).

The post-positivist approach placed the researcher in a position to appreciate the need for objectivity and be better guided using the adopted qualitative research design. Post-positivism, therefore, enabled the researcher to understand the reality of land-use conflict management in Mababe as a multi-layered, context-specific and interactive process that requires the participation and the perspectives of the Mababe community (Crotty, 1998).

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Maxwell (2011) defines a research design as a plan or strategy for selecting respondents, data gathering techniques and data analysis in a research project. Research designs are important as they influence the reliability of the results attained. Research designs provide a solid foundation for research and benefit effective and efficient research operations (Conrad & Serlin, 2011). In critically reviewing the nature of conflicts over land use and evaluating the effectiveness of conflict

management strategies in Mababe, the study adopted a case study approach. According to Patton (2002), the case study approach involves a detailed and intensive analysis of a particular event, situation, organisation or social unit. A case study research design involves a thorough investigation of phenomena within their context, often with data collected over time to analyse the context and processes illuminating the studied theoretical issues (Hartley, 2004). The case study approach was preferred and also facilitated qualitative research methods. Qualitative research focuses on discovering and understanding the experiences, perspectives and thoughts of research participants, hence exploring meaning and reality, as well as giving detailed descriptions to research questions (Babbie, 2014).

Since the study sought to obtain the views and experiences of the community of Mababe on protected areas, land-use conflicts and their management, a case study approach gave the researcher the ability to help understand and interpret the lived experiences of community members with methods of analysis that involve understanding complexity, detail and context. The case study approach allowed the researcher to retain the holistic characteristics of actual life events, while investigating empirical conflict processes (Creswell, 2003). The following key aspects of case study research, as articulated by Salkind (2003) and Yin (2009), applied to this study:

- Direct observations produce a first-hand and in-depth understanding of study subjects and the occurrence of conflict.
- Examination of one social group allows for very close examination and scrutiny of collected data.
- Data collection employs multiple methods, such as in-depth interviews, focus group discussions, observations and document reviews.

- Phenomena are observed in a natural setting. Hence, data is collected at the site where participants experience the issue under study.

The research design enabled the researcher to explore, describe and examine meanings the respondents ascribed to protected areas, land-use conflicts and conflict management in a naturalistic setting. As highlighted by studies done by scholars Stadler (2005), Solway (2009), Taylor (2000) and Hitchcock (2002), the case study approach is appropriate for studying and understanding resource dynamics within indigenous communities. Notably, knowledge and perceptions amongst indigenous communities, such as the Ts'exa in Mababe, are rooted in culture, a variable that is scrutinised through case study research.

By applying a case study approach, the researcher made sense of diverse socially constructed experiences of land-use conflicts explained by the interviewees. The existence of land-use conflicts and their management have a cause-effect relationship. Hence, the case study approach enabled the researcher to understand the dynamics of land-use conflict management through a detailed investigation.

3.3 SAMPLING STRATEGY

In research, a sample is a selection of data chosen from all that is possibly available; sampling is needed in almost all forms of data collection (Neuman, 2012). A sampling strategy refers to selecting a portion of the population to represent the entire population (Leavy, 2014). The study used qualitative methodologies to investigate the parameters of land-use conflicts between the community of Mababe and the DWNP. A non-probability sampling method was preferred, since the study did not concentrate on the representativeness of the population sampled, but on the diversity of the respondents chosen and their knowledge and ability to contribute information (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2012).

The researcher selected a sample to study rather than studying the whole population. The study sample size was eighty-seven (87) respondents, of which sixty-two (62) were key informants and twenty-five (25) participated in focus group discussions. The researcher purposefully selected the key respondents. Purposive sampling is a non-probability method through which the researcher selects units to be observed, based on judgment about which ones know about the topic under discussion (Rubin & Babbie, 1997). The rationale for deliberately selecting the respondents was that the researcher considered them knowledgeable on protected area management, land conflicts and conflict management and would provide in-depth and expert-level perspectives that sometimes need clarity and more information. The key respondents were considered knowledgeable on the subject of study, as they are attached to government ministries and departments that formulate and enforce conservation policies and acts.

For focus group discussions, snowball sampling was used. Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling method, whereby the researcher asks respondents to refer to other possible respondents. Snowball sampling was preferred as it was difficult to recruit participants. With the help of the *kgosi* and VDC officials, each focus group discussion sub-group was identified and asked to recruit more participants. Although snowball sampling was time-consuming, it was effective because the researcher had little information regarding the population of Mababe. Thus, snowball sampling enabled the researcher to include study subjects that would have otherwise been missed.

3.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

Qualitative research relies on various data collection methods, such as textual analysis, observations and interviews. Data collected through qualitative methods generate three forms of data: field notes, audio recordings and transcripts (Neuman, 2012). Two types of data were collected in this qualitative study: secondary and primary. Babbie (2014) defines secondary data

as facts that have already been collected through primary sources and made readily available for researchers. It is a type of data that has already been collected. The benefits of secondary data are indisputable, as these facts identify gaps and deficiencies and point to what additional information needs to be collected (Maxwell, 2011).

The researcher reviewed local, regional and international academic publications, policy documents, newspapers, maps, government documents and reports, and consultant reports on protected areas, communities, land conflicts and conflict management. Systematic review and synthesis of secondary data helped the researcher explore the extent of information regarding protected areas, land-use disputes and conflict management in Botswana and Mababe. On the other hand, primary data refers to previously unknown facts obtained directly by the researcher from respondents (Creswell, 2003). The study used in-depth interviews, focus group discussions and observations to collect primary data.

3.4.1 In-depth interviews

In-depth interviews were preferred for this study because, unlike questionnaires, social cues such as voice intonation and the interviewee's body language can give the interviewer a lot of extra information. Additionally, in-depth interviews provided valid data, as it was instantly verified with the interviewee. In-depth interviews were semi-structured. The researcher preferred a semi-structured approach with open-ended questions as it allowed alteration to the sequence of the questions, hence probing for more information. The approach permitted the researcher to seek new insights, ask questions and assess the research questions from different perspectives.

Sixty-two (62) in-depth interviews were conducted with key stakeholders in Gaborone, Maun and Mababe. Table 2 below shows the list of respondents:

Table 2: List of in-depth interview respondents

Key Respondents	Number
Mababe *Kgosi*	1
Mababe Headman	1
Mababe Village Development Committee Members	4
Mababe Land Overseer	1
Mababe-Khwai Councillor	1
Mababe Village Elders (Men)	6
Mababe Village Elders (Women)	6
Mababe Community Activists	4
Mababe-Zokotshama Community Development Trust Members	2
Village Extension Team	5
Mababe Youth based in Gaborone	3
Department of Wildlife and National Parks Officials	5
Officials from the Ministry of Lands and Water Affairs (MLWA)	5
Representative of the District Commissioner's Office (Maun)	2
Ngamiland Technical Advisory Committee Members	2
Social and Community Development Officers	2
Journalists	3
Officials from the Kalahari Conservation Society	1
Scholars from the Okavango Research Institute	2
Scholars from the University of Botswana	4

Officials from the Botswana National Museum	2
Total	62

The researcher used an interview guide with a list of questions when conducting the in-depth interviews. The interview guide allowed the same questions to be pursued, thus increasing the data's comprehensiveness and making the data collection systematic for each participant. Setswana was used for key respondents in Mababe comprising elderly women and men, youth, VDC and MZCDT members, community activists and the Headman, as the respondents were fluent and more comfortable with Setswana. In contrast, key respondents comprising of Kalahari Conservation Society, office of the District Commissioner, MLWA and DWNP officials, scholars from the Okavango Research Institute, University of Botswana, and Journalists in Gaborone and Maun were interviewed in English as they were conversant and preferred it. The interviews were captured through notetaking as respondents objected to being recorded. The respondents feared that recording their voices would compromise their identity.

3.4.2 Focus group discussions

Data for the study was also collected through focus group discussions. A focus group is a group discussion that consists of a small group of individuals, usually between six and ten people, who meet to express their views about a particular topic defined by the researcher (Gilbert, 2001). Five (5) focus group discussions comprised Mababe elders, youth, and Ipelegeng workers[1]. Table 3 below summarises the focus group discussion composition.

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[1] *Ipelegeng* refers to a myriad of short-term, employment-based programmes introduced by the government of Botswana to reduce poverty in marginalised contexts. Ipelegeng workers are those registered and benefiting from the initiative.

Table 3: Focus group discussion composition

Focus Group Discussion Composition	Number of Participants
Mababe Elderly Men	5
Mababe Elderly Women	5
Mababe Youth (Male)	5
Mababe Youth (Female)	5
Mababe *Ipelegeng* Workers (3 Females and 2 Males)	5
Total	**25**

The table above shows that the focus group discussions were composed of different members. The varying focus group discussion (FGD) participant composition provided various opinions and experiences regarding protected areas, land-use conflicts and conflict management. Additionally, participants in each FGD group were homogenous. A homogenous group refers to an aggregate of individuals similar to one another in several significant respects, such as age and gender (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Homogeneity was maintained in each group, as homogeneous groups are generally more comfortable and open than mixed groups. Furthermore, the focus group sessions used convenient places, such as the *kgotla*.

3.4.3 Participant observation

Participant observation was also used to collect primary data. Participant observation activities did not follow any specific schedule and allowed the researcher to become immersed in the subject's environment. The Mababe-Zokotshama Community Development Trust (MZCDT) annual general meeting presented an opportunity for the researcher to observe some deliberations on utilising

protected areas by the community and access to land resources. The researcher made observations during the Human-Wildlife conflict compensation meeting held at the *kgotla* by the DWNP[2]. Daily interactions with the villagers allowed the researcher to observe how the community utilises land and relates with DWNP officials.

The researcher was an overt participant observer and made the community aware of his presence and intentions. Being an overt observer allowed the researcher to build rapport with the participants because the researcher, from the very beginning, was open and honest about his research intentions (Babbie, 2014). The researcher was also aware of the potential limitations of participants' observations and maintained reflexivity. Gouldner (1970) describes reflexivity as self-awareness. Further explained, reflexivity is about discovering the truth about a social world regarded as external to the knower, but seeing the truth as growing out of the knower's encounter with the world. Through reflexivity, the researcher committed to the value of awareness, which invoked the need to protect research from the researcher's enthusiasm (Lather, 1986).

The use of participant observation methods in studying indigenous communities like the San of Mababe is justified. Part of the motivation for observations was Richard Lee's (2013) study of the Dobe Ju/'hoansi. Participant observations allowed the scholar to compare respondent's retrospective accounts with field descriptions of observed behaviour over decades. The researcher wanted to engage in this process to understand land-use conflict management and dynamics in Mababe. The ethnographic works of Hitchcock (2002), McLennan-Dodd (2003), Taylor (2002) and Koot (2020) on the Kalahari San groups also applied participant observation as a core data collection technique. Their studies concerned understanding social processes within these groups

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[2] The meeting was held at Mababe's main *kgotla* on the 19 February 2019. The meeting was meant to register new compensation claims and update the community on reported and pending ones. The meeting was preceded by the MZCDT annual general meeting.

and the point of view of community members. Participant observations, therefore, enabled them to immerse themselves in daily life activities to get a clearer understanding of social processes. Thus, participant observations allowed the researcher to understand human meanings and interactions from an insider perspective. Furthermore, the researcher uncovered, revealed and made accessible the meanings the community of Mababe used to make sense of land management, protected areas and conflict management.

3.5 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY

To affect either the practice or the theory of a field, research studies should be rigorously conducted to provide meaningful and trustworthy insights and conclusions. Hence, evaluating the quality of research is essential if findings are used to effect change. Assessing reliability and validity enabled the researcher to judge the study's soundness concerning the application and appropriateness of the methods used and the integrity of the findings (Noble & Smith, 2015).

According to Gallagher (2008), research validity concerns the integrity, accountability and value of a research project, achieved through accountability to the participants and those affected by the outcome. On the other hand, reliability is concerned with the consistency, stability and repeatability of the respondents' accounts – that is, the ability of research to consistently yield the same results over repeated testing periods (Brink, 1993). To ensure the reliability and validity of the findings, the researcher used triangulation. Triangulation refers to using more than one approach to investigate a research question to enhance confidence in the results (Shenton, 2003). Triangulation was done via the following:

- *Methodological triangulation:* The researcher compared findings generated by the employed data collection methods (in-depth interviews, participant observation and focus group discussions) to check consistency (Shenton, 2003).

- *Triangulation of sources:* The researcher examined the consistency of different data sources by repeating questions with other respondents, using the same data collection method. For secondary data, multiple published media and government reports were also consulted to examine consistency (Brink, 1993).

The combination of methodological and source triangulation enabled the researcher to examine the reliability and validity of the data collected concerning the management of land-use conflicts emanating from the protected area management system in Mababe. While data triangulation ensured data reliability and validity, the researcher was aware of the possibility of source contamination and agenda setting that might come from various interest groups. Nonetheless, complete and comprehensive reliability and validity were enhanced by cross-examining respondents who do not spend most of their time in Mababe – for instance, in Gaborone.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

According to Creswell (2003), data analysis involves bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data. Data analysis represents and manipulates observations to describe and explain the phenomena that those observations reflect. The collected data needs to be analysed and interpreted to arrive at conclusions. A common way to analyse qualitative data is by grouping interviewees' responses into categories that combine similar ideas, concepts or themes. In analysing the data, the researcher utilised a thematic analysis technique. Thematic analysis is the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data. Thematic analysis aims to identify

themes or patterns in the important or interesting data and use these themes to address the research objectives (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Hence, the researcher categorised the collected data, focusing on establishing links between the different data contexts to formulate themes as the desired outcome of the analysis process. The themes were identified through the literature review and all the data obtained from the site visits, observations, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

3.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Shenton (2003) notes that the consideration of ethics relating to protecting participants is important in every research study. Maxwell (2011) defines ethics as a professional code of practice designed to protect research participants from unethical processes and activities. As expected of any study, the researcher observed a high degree of ethical conduct. Ethical clearance was obtained from the University of the Free State's General Human Research Ethics Committee (GHREC) and the University of Botswana's Office of Research and Development. The researcher also gained a research permit from the Ministry of Lands and Water Affairs (MLWA).

To ensure that the research process conformed to ethical standards, enlisting voluntary participation and obtaining informed consent from each participant remained a priority throughout the study. Gaining buy-in from the community was done by approaching the village *kgosi* and headmen, who permitted the researcher to interact with the community verbally. The assurance that the research was purely academic also helped boost confidence in the respondents to participate in the research study. Being open about the research intentions facilitated the post-positivist philosophy adopted in the research process. Post-positivism considers research participants as part of the research experiment, not the experiment itself. Hence, being transparent about the research created an objective data collection process without deception. The research process also required the participation of Mababe community members affected by the land-use

conflict. However, the study confined itself to a natural and non-intrusive research process that did not harm community participants.

Babbie (2014) argues that ethical research processes value the confidentiality and anonymity of participants. Hence, the researcher observed anonymity, confidentiality and privacy during data collection. It is worth noting that a few government and community participants initially declined to participate in the interviews, citing confidentiality concerns. The subject of land management and conflicts in Mababe proved sensitive, with some participants expressing a fear of retaliation or victimisation. Community members highlighted that land debates in Mababe are politically charged and commenting on them may bring undesirable consequences, such as difficulty getting social assistance. The researcher, therefore, maximised confidentiality by fully anonymising the participants. Though the researcher proposed using a dictaphone to capture the interviews, the recording was forfeited and the information gathered was not availed to a third party.

Furthermore, research participants were not remunerated. When engaging in a critical ecology of indigenous knowledge systems in the Okavango panhandle, Human (2019) noted that an exchange of money between the researcher and research participants creates a power differential between the participants which may harm the engagement quality. In some instances, remunerating research participants can deprive their autonomy, which is incompatible with informed consent (Bentley & Thacker, 2004). Hence, the researcher communicated to the respondents that participation is voluntary and carries no remuneration.

Lastly, it is essential to recognize and acknowledge one's positionality and its potential impact on the research process and outcomes. Bourke (2014) defines positionality as a stance or positioning of the researcher regarding various social, political, and cultural factors that have the propensity to dissuade the researcher from being objective. As a young male, an outsider from a different

locality and cultural background, the researcher found himself in a juxtaposed position. The researcher's cultural background conditioned the community's views towards the researcher. Being an outsider and a first-time visitor, the community assumed that the researcher had the power to mediate the land-use conflicts.

Nonetheless, the researcher made it clear that he was not in a power of authority but a university student conducting research, which became clearer and more widespread over time. To avoid bias further, the researcher practised high degrees of reflexivity. Dowling (2006) defines reflexivity as a continuous self-critique and self-appraisal where the researcher explains how their own experience has not influenced the stages of the research process. Reflexivity is the process of critical self-reflection on one's biases, theoretical predispositions, and preferences (Waghid, 2002). Thus, the researcher engaged in reflective activities such as continued assessment of subjective responses and deliberate self-consciousness to align efforts to the research process rather than exerting value judgement to influence research findings. In this way, the researcher was able to legitimise, validate and question biased research practices and representations throughout the study (Pillow, 2003).

3.8 DELIMITATIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Simon and Goes (2013) define delimitations as choices made by the researcher regarding the research's scope or boundary. The scope or limit is set, so that the study's aims and objectives do not become impossible. On the other hand, limitations are influences that the researcher cannot control. They are the shortcomings, conditions or influences the researcher cannot control that place restrictions on his research (Theofanidis & Fountouki, 2018). Regarding delimitations, the study confined itself to the village of Mababe in Ngamiland, despite many other villages being

affected by protected areas and land-use conflicts. The study area presented an excellent opportunity for case study.

The researcher also encountered limitations during the research process. Firstly, some community members in Mababe were suspicious of the researcher's presence. The uncertainty was attributed to an ongoing DWNP anti-poaching patrol. This had implications for what, where and to whom the community members were prepared to speak, as inevitably, researchers were seen as state agents. Further probing revealed that the fear of state agents was as a result of the torture and treatment that suspected poachers receive. For instance, when interviewing an elderly man from the village, he stated that other village members had warned him not to entertain conversations with the researcher as he was seen as a state agent. In light of this, the researcher revealed his identity by producing an identity card, research permit and cover letter. Furthermore, the intervention of the headman was sought, as he made the community aware of my presence and intentions.

Secondly, Mababe is challenged by wild animals that roam the village (see fig. 14 below). Households are also scattered over a large area with bushes in between, posing a risk of animal attacks. The data collection exercise was also carried out in the middle of the rainy season and thickets obstructing a clear view of the landscape had sprung up (see fig. 15 below). This affected the researcher's mobility, as some interviews were conducted at the respondents' homes. In light of this, the researcher sought the assistance of a local guide.

Fig. 14: An elephant roaming the outskirts of Mababe (Credit: Malatsi Seleka)

Fig 15. Google Earth Satellite image of Mababe village (July 2022)

Additionally, the recruitment of focus group discussion participants was a challenge. The timing of the data collection coincided with the wild vegetable harvesting season. Respondents spent most of their time on the outskirts of the village collecting wild vegetables. While it created an opportunity to map the links between land and food security by observing which vegetables were collected, the time they were collected and the volume collected, being in the field posed a danger for the researcher. Firstly, the community members trespassed into protected area boundaries that the law did not permit. Secondly, fatal encounters with buffalos and elephants were reported. These two factors compromised the researcher's ability to observe wild vegetable collection by community members. In mitigating this challenge, the researcher sought help from the VDC members to communicate with potential respondents to set interview times that did not clash with their daily harvesting activities. The researcher also conducted interviews late afternoon after community members had finished harvesting.

Lastly, the Covid-19 protocols introduced by the Botswana Ministry of Health to curb the spread of the pandemic also disrupted the data collection process. Travel restrictions made it difficult to conduct in-depth interviews. Furthermore, working shifts were introduced at the DWNP and the MLWA offices, disrupting the in-depth interview schedules. In mitigating this challenge, the researcher prolonged the data collection process and rescheduled the interviews, paying attention to COVID-19 protocols. Although the first phase of the data collection was completed in December 2019, the second and third phases were extended to December 2021, when national COVID-19 restrictions were eased.

3.9 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter demonstrated that the chosen methodological strategy and research techniques provided the precise means to reveal and explain the causal factors behind land-use conflicts in

Mababe. The chapter detailed the adopted post-positivist research philosophy, the case study approach, the sampling strategy, the qualitative data collection methods, the reliability and validity of the data collected, the thematic data analysis technique and the ethical considerations, as well as the limitations and delimitations of the study. By overlooking mainstream positivist approaches and examining land-use conflicts in Mababe through a qualitative case study approach and post-positivist paradigm, the data analysis revealed various influencing factors, relationships, actors, processes and value systems not discernible at first glance. A detailed discussion and interpretation of the data collected is presented in the following chapters.

CHAPTER FOUR

HISTORY OF THE AFRICAN ENVIRONMENT AND LAND CONFLICTS

4. INTRODUCTION

Understanding the environmental history of localities provides a concise narrative that offers insight into the development of ecological legislature, conflicts and conflict management initiatives. Historical events shape present environment dynamics that interact with broader societal processes (Knight, 2020). This chapter elucidates the environmental history and conflict in the African continent. Land conflicts are seen as increasing over time at all socio-economic levels. Thus, Africa's recent economic, political, environmental and epidemiological crises have rendered livelihoods more vulnerable, reinforcing the value of land as people seek it for security (Castro, 2005) . This chapter discusses the emergence of environmental conflict and maps Africa's pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial experiences, with particular reference to the environmental conflict narratives. The literature maps the historical experiences and emergence of land competitions throughout Africa and the strategies employed to ameliorate these conflicts.

4.1 DEFINING THE AFRICAN ENVIRONMENT

The field of environmental history emerged in the 1960s at about the same time as the modern academic study of African history. Broadly understood, environmental history studies how human societies and the natural world shape each other over time (Maddox,1996). Hughes (2009) further states that environmental history's task is to study human relationships with nature. Thus, environmental history is a historical narrative that accounts for societal changes related to natural environmental changes. McCann (2005) notes that Africa's environment has endured several millennia of modification. The African environment consists mainly of renewable and non-

renewable resources and accounts for almost 50% of the continent's total wealth. Guha (2001) explains that the African environment comprises land, deserts, hills, mountains, rivers, lakes, wilderness and wildlife. The scholar further mentions that humans are the key determining factor in African environments. The African environment also comprises tangible and intangible human and non-human activity and their resulting phenomena (Kwashirai, 2010). More significantly, it contributes to income, fiscal revenues and poverty reduction (Ayuk & Unuigbe, 2019). In this study, the focus is on land, a shared resource in the environment. Therefore, the history of environmental conflicts in Africa will align with the narrative on land use, although reference will be made to other resources, such as water and veld products.

4.2 AFRICAN ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN THE COLONIAL ERA

According to Shanguhyia (2018), Africa's contact with Europeans and other cultures has moulded the continent's history. The physical landscape of Africa served as a conduit for these activities and exchanges. Understanding colonialism provides a foundation for unravelling the environmental dynamics throughout history. Murrey (2020) describes colonialism as an external group's geographical, legal, cultural, linguistic, political and economic dominance. Hodder-Williams (2001:2238) describes colonialism as "the process through which certain nations or governments create colonies for their citizens in other places".

Horvath (1972) notes that colonialism is generally a form of domination and control by individuals or groups over the territory and behaviour of other individuals or groups, with an element of political, economic and social exploitation. Colonialism is understood from the domination perspective. Scholars should be mindful of the two polarities of domination: intergroup and intragroup domination. Intergroup domination refers to the domination process in a culturally heterogeneous society, whereas intragroup domination happens in a culturally homogenous

society (Horvath, 1972). Hence, defining colonialism should be centred around intergroup domination, in which a heterogeneous group imposes its culture, economic and social thought onto another. Furthermore, Horvarth (1972) maintains that colonialism is a form of intergroup domination in which settlers in significant numbers migrate permanently to the colony from the colonising power.

The drive to colonise Africa and control its environment, as Beinart and Hughes (2007) note, is attributed to the Industrial Revolution that altered the modes of production in Europe. The Industrial Revolution ushered in a new production process in place of the earlier slave trade. Slavery had fulfilled its primary function of providing primitive capital. The quest to invest the accumulated wealth and the need for raw materials brought significant interest in African environmental resources (Ocheni & Nwankwo, 2012). Beinart and Hughes (2007) further enunciate that metropolitan countries sought raw materials of all kinds, from timber and furs to rubber and oil, which Africa was endowed with. The colonisation of Africa was, to some extent, shaped by European imagination of the continent's natural riches (Kennedy, 2007).

The "Scramble for Africa' depicts Europe's interests in the continent. As Brooke-Smith (1987) asserts, the "Scramble for Africa" is a metaphor applied by historians to the period of rapid annexation of the African continent by European superpowers in the last two decades of the 19th century. The annexation of African land was legitimised at the Berlin Conference from 1884 to 1885 (Mackenzie, 2005), a meeting of fourteen nations to discuss territorial disputes in Africa (Harlow & Carter, 2003). The Berlin Conference formally recognised the ongoing scramble for and partition of Africa among European imperialists. More importantly, the Berlin Act of 1885 offered total colonisation of Africa to the European imperialists who effectively occupied their spheres of influence (Falola & Shanguhyia, 2018).

Historians such as Beinart and Hughes (2007) argue that the colonial era resulted in environmental conflicts that plague many African governments till this day. According to Bruce (1998), European racial and cultural chauvinism generated misconceptions about African landholding and resource-use patterns. Furthermore, colonial authorities mistook many indigenous resource-use techniques, such as pastoralism and farming, for being ecologically destructive. They undervalued the vast local and time-tested ecological understanding that served as the foundation for native resource-use strategies (Bruce, 2000).

Beinart (2000) shares the same sentiments and indicates that colonial administration sought to regulate the use of natural resources by locals and commodify them. For instance, Europeans took direct control of land in some places. Alienation from land resources was further curtailed by a lack of legal recognition of indigenous land rights and Africans could not formally establish control over land resources (Peters, 2004).

Castro (2005) states that the colonial administration overlooked local resource use patterns. The scholar refers to the colonial government claiming large areas as forest reserves and national parks managed by centralised command-and-control protectionist bureaucracies. Colonial officers also granted concessions to mining and commercial farming. Despite the accumulation of land by the colonial administration, Okoth-Ogendo (2000) indicates that local customs and laws nominally governed land still held by Africans. However, the nature and practice of customary tenure were closely connected to the political economy and cultural changes associated with colonial rule.

Beinart (1989) refers to colonial conservation introduced by the colonial administration in Africa. Colonial conservation was based on a fortress approach, with a racist misconception that indigenous communities could not be trusted to look after land and its resources. Colonial conservation also influenced what Dominguez and Louma (2020) refer to as an individualised

property regime. The idea of private land ownership as conservation areas superseded communal rights over land and its resources, which were integral to locals' traditional way of life. Prior to colonisation, land was managed on a shared property basis and generally owned by everyone.

Furthermore, the conservation of wild fauna was steeped in community-based rules, beliefs and taboos. The cultural practice of totems promoted game conservation (Kwashirai, 2010). Although Europeans undermined indigenous conservation approaches and claimed to drive the environmental quality agenda, they used the land for commercial purposes and made strenuous efforts to maximise profits (Dell & Olken, 2020).

Adams (2003) argues that European colonisation was based on rationalist ideologies regarding nature and humans. These ideologies exaggerated differences and overlooked the mutual relationship between human activities and the environment. Their doctrines were based on the following (Plumwood, 2003:55):

- **Radical exclusion:** This marks out the "other" for different and inferior treatment. The environment is treated as "other" and humans are separated from the environment and its resources. The environment is a lower order, lacking absolute continuity with the human. At the same time, the colonising groups associated themselves with mastery of environmental management (Plumwood, 2003:55).

- **Homogenisation or stereotyping:** The "other" is not an individual, but a member of a stereotyped class, thus making them interchangeable, replaceable and homogenous. The environment is treated as an interchangeable unit.

- **Polarisation:** Radical exclusion and homogenisation work together to produce a polarised understanding, in which any overlap between the human and non-human spheres are denied

and discouraged. The environment is only natural if it is "pure" and uncontaminated by human influence, while human identity is separate from and outside the environment (Plumwood, 2003:55).

- **Denial or backgrounding:** Once the "other" is marked as separated and inferior, there is a strong motivation to represent them as inessential. In ecology, the colonised are firstly denied as uncivilised. Their prior ownership of land is denied: their land is seen as "nobody's land" with no pre-existing claims to it (Plumwood, 2003:56).

- **Assimilation:** The colonised are devalued as lacking the coloniser's essential quality or reason. Differences are judged as deficiencies and, therefore, as grounds for inferiority. The order of the colonised is represented as disorder. Thus, the colonised and their disorderly space are available for assimilation and use by the coloniser. Similarly, the intricate order of the environment is presented as disorder to be replaced by human order through development (Plumwood, 2003:pp 57).

- **Instrumentalism:** The colonised "other" is reduced in stature by the coloniser for his own ends. Indigenous peoples are not seen as environmental agents who actively controlled the land and are instead portrayed as mostly inert in the face of nature. In environmental management, nature's agency and independence are ignored, submerged in or rebuilt to meet human objectives. Because the non-human domain lacks purpose and agency, it is legitimate for the human coloniser to impose his values on it (Plumwood, 2003:58).

As shown above, the colonial environmental management ideology did not acknowledge the extent and scope of local resource use. Land, in particular, remained a significant livelihood resource alienated from local communities (Plumwood, 2003). Many of today's state-local conflicts

concerning land and other resources originated during colonial times. Africa's interaction with colonialism created conflicting environmental relations between colonial administrators and Africans.

The economic importance of the environment to Europeans and the colonial insistence on conservation repulsed Africans who resisted the subjective and marginalising tendencies of colonial environmental ideology. The urge by Africans to reassert their traditional knowledge in the management of the environment inevitably led to conflict. An analysis of Africa's response to European imperialism and environmental ownership gives an understanding of the historical developments of ecological conflicts in Africa (Falola & Shanguhyia, 2018).

4.3 AFRICAN ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN THE INDEPENDENCE ERA

Wood (2015) asserts that colonialism has left an enduring mark on the development of former colonies. These colonial legacies take political, economic, social and geographic forms and have often undermined the post-colonial state. In terms of direct environmental control by European powers, Smith (1999) notes that colonial rule in Africa was finally ended in the third quarter of the 20th century due to anti-colonial struggles in former European colonies. Colonialism had introduced a fortress style of environmental management assimilated by now independent states. Most leaders of independent Africa shared with their predecessors the mindset of strict separation of nature from humans (Bruce, 1998).

In Africa today, environmental management laws are part of an intricate web of international, regional and national legal norms. Current normative frameworks for environmental control and management still draw primarily from colonial laws and policies, with little done to make them context-specific (Kameri-Mbote & Cullet, 1997). Hardin and Baden (1977) further articulate that

most post-colonial governments have continued with developments and frameworks formulated by their former colonial masters and have retained legal frameworks established during colonialism, leading to more environmental conflicts over resources, such as land.

The independence of African states was expected to transform community-environment relations and set aside colonial regulations that restricted the utilisation of land and resources. However, independence did not result in transformative changes involving environmental management and regulation of communities. More specifically, conservation areas were viewed by communities as government properties and often led to antagonistic relations, characterised by conflicts between the government and communities (Shiva, 1991).

Kameri-Mbote and Cullet (1997) note that despite independence, African governments have retained strong ties with their former colonisers, impacting local environment management and conservation endeavours. Current environmental management has emphasised the privatisation of rights to natural resources, which has been encouraged by strong ties with former colonisers. Privatisation means the neglect and exclusion of communities as capable environmental managers.

As Shiva (1991) asserts, the driving factor behind this exclusion was the quest for economic efficiency. Laws and policies that excluded local communities were formulated to alienate communities from resources to pursue profits. As Kameri-Mbote and Cullet (1997) note, the other reason was to own large tracts of land for leisure activities, such as game hunting.

Most African countries, including Kenya and Botswana, nationalised land rights, giving the government or its agents the authority to administer and regulate land. This was motivated by colonial control and the financialisation of the environment. According to Ostrom (1990), the goal was to establish the state as a guarantor of land rights, decreasing or eliminating the power of

customary tenure. The intended aim was to regulate the land-ruling power of traditional monarchs, *kgosi*, judges and elders.

Furthermore, nationalisation reinforced the state's power to confiscate land for development and conservation purposes. Independent African countries likewise centralised command and control over forest reserves, national parks and other state properties. Foreign aid increased the government's power to act and their actions frequently mirrored the priorities of their international donors (Castro, 2005).

4.4 POST-COLONIAL LAND TENURE SYSTEMS IN AFRICA

According to Toulmin and Quan (2000), practically all sub-Saharan African governments implemented land reforms that changed existing tenure structures following independence to boost economic growth, encourage more sustainable management and alleviate poverty. Land, as a source of revenue, food, settlement, as well as a symbolic and ritual resource, continues to be a valuable asset for African economies and people. Furthermore, Magsi (2013) notes that the land supplies various valuable environmental services, such as water, biodiversity and a diverse range of natural goods. As a result, access to land is critical for many impoverished people with few options for generating viable off-farm income (Mugo, 2021).

La Croix (2002:3) defines land tenure as "the way land is held or owned by individuals and organisations, or the collection of legally or traditionally recognised relationships among people respecting land". In other words, tenure represents direct links between people and land and relationships between individuals and groups in their interactions with land and natural resources.

Land tenure refers to the connection, legally or conventionally defined, between people, individuals or groups with respect to land. It includes the norms that civilisations have formed to

manage behaviour. Tenure rules describe how property rights to land are distributed among society. They establish how rights to use, control and transfer land are awarded and the related obligations and constraints (see fig. 16 below). Land tenure systems determine who can use what resources for how long and under what conditions (FAO, 2002).
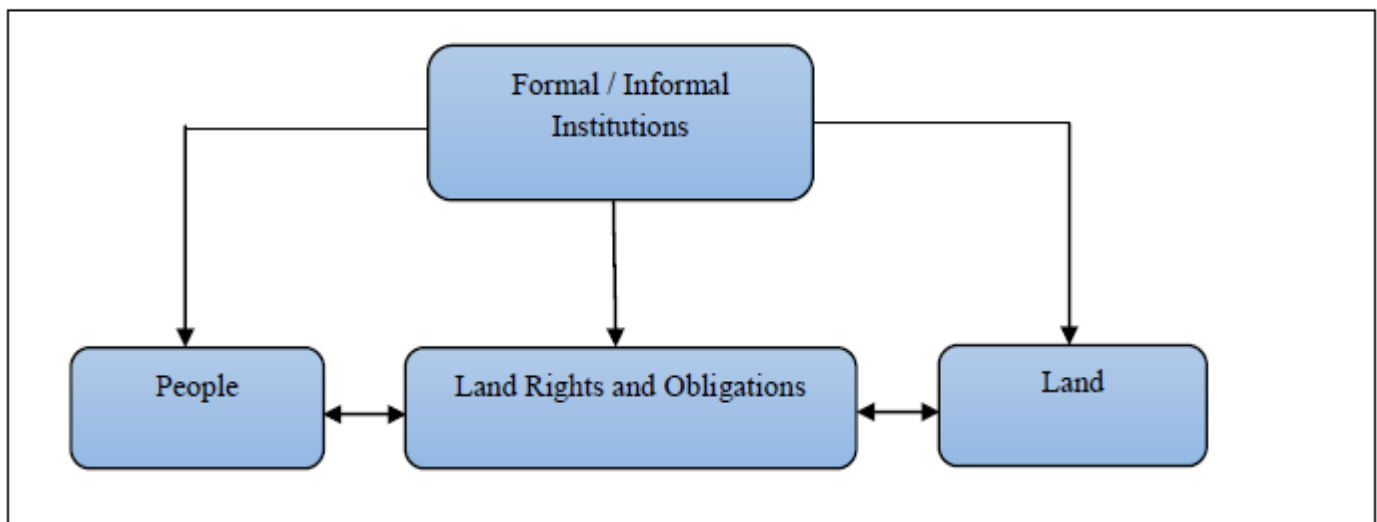
Fig. 16: Land tenure systems (Simbizi et al., 2013)

La Croix (2002) further explains that land tenure can be classified into three categories: (1) the presence or absence of a formal land title, defined as registration of ownership rights with a government authority; (2) the extent of landowner and landholder rights to contract voluntarily for the use of the land; and (3) the spectrum of private-communal property rights to the land (La Croix, 2002).

Toulmin and Quan (2002) regard present land tenure systems in Africa as an evolution from Africa's experiences with colonialism. Colonising nations imposed alien legal systems on customary rules for managing land, which disadvantaged locals. Customary land tenure in the pre-colonial era afforded communities "traditional" rights to land and other natural resources. This

tenure system was associated with indigenous communities and administered following their customs, instead of statutory tenure usually introduced during the colonial period (FAO, 2002).

Using Zimbabwe as a case study, Tshuma (1998) argues that colonialism restructured customary land tenure, leading to the local community's land alienation. Cheater (1990) further mentions that removing customary tenure in Zimbabwe resulted in land grabbing. The alienation of land eventually led to the liberation struggle. Reference can also be made to the Belgian Congo, where colonial land policies dictated that communally owned land could be used for the profit of the colony where it was commercially feasible. That colonial intervention created a new type of local authority with unprecedented powers and little need for accountability (Pottier, 2005).

Post-colonial African governments in countries such as Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo have embarked on land reforms to alter the tenure system and offer land benefits to local populations, while reserving some for economic use by governments (Hall, 2004).

The tenure systems adopted by some African countries in the post-colonial era are threefold: customary land tenure, where land rights are either held by the Land Board itself or by eligible applicants as customary grants or common law grants of leases; freehold, which entitles the owner to perpetual and exclusive rights to the land; and state land, which is controlled by the government and is usually reserved for national parks, game reserves, wildlife management areas, towns and cities (Khama & Seleka, 2014).

Table 4: Land tenure systems in post-colonial African states (Khama and Seleka, 2014)

Land Tenure System	Explanation
Customary Land Tenure	The land is owned and controlled by indigenous people under customary land tenure, as opposed to statutory tenure, which was imposed during the colonial period. Ownership is vested in the tribe, group, community, or family under this kind of tenure. Customary authority, such as chiefs, allocate land. Individual and group rights to exploit local land resources are included in customary land rights, which are location-specific and often flexible and overlapping. They frequently contain conflict resolution systems, such as local chiefs handling them, and access to property is normally regulated by kinship or ethnicity, barring outsiders and regulating land purchases.
Freehold Land Tenure	Absolute ownership rights are foreseen under freehold land tenure, suggesting the power to possess, control, manage, use, and dispose of the property. While such land rights are retained in perpetuity, they may be encumbered by State involvement when land is sought for takeover in the event of eminent public interest (For example, construction of roads, expansion of urban areas, etc.). The conventional western definition of individual property ownership is freehold tenure.
State Land Tenure	The State has complete ownership of land rights under this tenure. In Ethiopia, for example, land is administered under a federal and decentralized State system. A nationalized land tenure system still governs land access and usage. The State has primary rights to land and related resources like as woods and pastures, whereas people merely have usufruct rights. The State owns land through legislative laws and allocates it through a legally created entity. Governments reinforce the notion of state ownership over property while protecting residents' rights of use and benefit under this land tenure system.

While some African states, such as Botswana, Namibia, Kenya and Zambia, reinstated customary land tenure systems and devised state and freehold land tenure systems, the process has been complex and often met with resistance (Akinola & Wissink, 2019). De Janvry and Sadoulet (2011) share the same sentiments by articulating that as much as governments claimed to be impartial, objective and pragmatic in the implementation of land tenure systems, political consideration and

the self-interest of government officials, rather than social justice and equity, have been the driving force behind land tenure review. The politicisation of land reform has plunged many societies into socio-economic peril, as land has became a commodity subject to market forces (Delville et al., 2001).

In this context, it is evident that land tenure changes in post-colonial Africa has brought about winners and losers. As land competition increased and resource relations became monetised, those with more access to financial resources could gain control over land. Post-colonial African states have been challenged with a wide range of national land disputes, reflecting their failure to address historical injustice, institutional violence and human rights abuses. State officials approach land reform proposals emotionally, with little regard for the social-economic and political repercussions of changing land relations (Akinola & Wissink, 2019).

Despite the optimism accompanying Africa's economic progress and rebirth, poverty has prompted a return to pessimism. Poverty in Africa, particularly among rural populations, may be connected to inefficient land and agrarian reforms. Indigenous peoples in Southern Africa have faced recurrent conflicts for land access and control (Cotula, 2007).

4.5 ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS IN THE SADC REGION

In southern Africa, the question of natural resources, land use, ownership and access is important. Land issues are invariably viewed in light of historical injustices inflicted on local communities by colonial masters. Depending on the degree of colonial expropriation of land, many unresolved land debates persist. This is particularly the case in Zimbabwe and South Africa, where white settlers annexed prime land and pushed indigenous populations to the periphery. The control, use and ownership of land in southern Africa are embedded in broader development challenges. While

the first part of the chapter mapped the environmental history and development of the land-related conflict in Africa, this section focuses entirely on the SADC region (Moyo, 2005).

The lack of progress in implementing effective and objective land reform, particularly in redressing post-independence unequal land ownership, discriminatory land-use regulations and insecure land tenure systems that marginalise most rural and urban poor populations, is the broader land issue confronting southern Africa. The legacy of racially uneven land management, which predominantly faced former settler colonies, was preserved at independence through constitutions that ensured private property protection by sanctifying willing-seller-willing-buyer systems to freehold redistribution (Mamdani, 1995). The experiences of Zimbabwe and South Africa illustrate the historical pathways generating environmental disputes in southern Africa.

As the International Crisis Group (2004) reported, Zimbabwe suffered from a long tradition of racially skewed patterns of land-use and access. At independence in 1980, white farmers controlled roughly 40% of the country's territory. The 1979 Lancaster House talks ended the illegitimate white regime that had ruled Rhodesia and established Zimbabwe's Constitution, which shaped many processes and approaches to land management issues (Alden & Anseeuw, 2011). The new government embarked on radical land redistribution in Zimbabwe to reverse the land-related injustices perpetuated by the former Rhodesian government. Furthermore, the declaration of rights gave the new government powers to acquire under-utilised land for resettlement purposes with compulsory compensation (Kinsey, 1999).

The struggle for land distribution in Zimbabwe continued into the 1990s. Initially, the Lancaster House agreement of 1979 proposed a voluntary return of land with significant compensation. However, the agreement's expiration in 1990 led to the amendment of the constitution to allow for compulsory land acquisition with little compensation and limited rights to appeal, followed by the

1991 Land Acquisition Act, which necessitated the buying and reclaiming of farms (Thomas, 2003).

In 2000, Zimbabwe embarked on the Fast Track Land Reform Programme (FTLRP) to redress colonial land dispossession and address land concentration and foreign land ownership that emerged in the 1990s. The Fast Track Land Reform policy was aimed at speeding up the compulsory acquisition of 5 million hectares of land for resettlement; accelerating the planning and demarcation of acquired land and settler emplacement of this land; and the provision of limited basic infrastructure and simultaneous resettlement in all provinces to ensure that the reform programme was comprehensive and evenly implemented (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2009).

While in practice, it seemed justifiable, the growing land grabs did not follow acceptable processes that value fairness, leading to strained diplomatic ties between Zimbabwe and Britain. The souring relationships were further curtailed by the tendency to reallocate the repossessed farms to politicians aligned with the ruling party, ZANU-PF. The land seizures continued unabated despite repeated international efforts to defuse the conflict. The land debates also led to internal disputes between the Ndebele and Shona, the two main ethnic groups in Zimbabwe. The chaotic land reform spiralled out of control and Zimbabwe's economy approached a freefall by 2004. The country had the highest inflation rate in the world (International Crisis Group, 2004).

South Africa also presents an excellent case study, though the two countries differ in crucial aspects. For instance, South Africa has the region's highest population and the most developed economy. Nevertheless, land issues remain politically charged and explosive (Adams & Howell, 2001). Historically, land has been a source of conflict and contention in South Africa. Colonial and apartheid policies dispossessed millions of black South Africans of their land and moved them into overcrowded reserves.

As Aliber and Mokoena (2003) explain, these racially-based land policies caused great discontent and resulted in inefficient land use patterns for the black population. However, when South Africa became a democracy, the ruling Africa National Congress (ANC) initiated land reform policies and statutory laws, including the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme and the 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy. The procedures and statutory instruments committed the government to redistribute 30% of agricultural land and complete the adjudication process on land restitution claims in the first five years of South Africa's democracy (Aliber and Mokoena, 2003).

Furthermore, it compelled the government to develop additional land reform programmes to address the injustice of land dispossession, reduce poverty and contribute to economic growth, provide security of tenure for all and establish a land management system that would support sustainable land-use patterns and rapid land release for development (Thwala, 2001). However, the land issue in South Africa remains unsolved, in part due to the country's gradualistic neo-liberal approach to land reform. These tendencies have escalated land conflicts due to the rising but obstructed black poor. Some communities have resorted to violence against farmers in rural regions, raising the prospect of future violent attacks (Moyo, 2005).

These two case studies demonstrate the trajectory of environmental conflicts in southern Africa, depicting a history of land conflicts deriving from colonial foundations. Nonetheless, land reform in Zimbabwe and South Africa has failed to erase land-related conflict caused by colonialism. This can be attributed to post-independence land reform initiatives drawn from those enacted during the colonial period. Furthermore, Thomas (2003) argues that land reform issues in Zimbabwe and South Africa have been clouded by debates about the merits of black empowerment versus land for the landless poor. Despite significant efforts, land remains a contested resource.

4.6 MANAGING ENVIRONMENTAL CONFLICTS EMANATING FROM COLONIAL EXPERIENCES IN AFRICA

As Castro and Nielsen (2003) articulate, African nations have historically formulated ways of dealing with environmental conflicts. However, conflict management processes have been complex, owing to the nature, political dynamics and cultural value systems of the conflict. Environmental conflicts are also historical and have created internal patterns of inequality, resulting from the social structure that values wildlife over people. Nonetheless, these situations have not discouraged the pursuit of conflict-free societies.

Merry (1992) notes that the management of environmental conflicts has occurred within legal pluralism in which legal orders co-exist and overlap within the same context. According to Castro and Ettenger (1997), the use of legal pluralism has been catalysed by the use of the following techniques to resolve environmental conflicts in Africa:

- **Coalition building:** The collaboration of several individuals, groups or associations through alliances or networking.

- **Conciliation:** A third party meets individually with the conflict parties, attempting to help them focus on addressing conflict through negotiation.

- **Facilitation:** A third party assists in organising or moderating the meeting or making other logistical arrangements.

- **Fact-finding or research:** The parties or appointed neutrals gather information about the conflict, its background and possible agreements.

In articulating the adoption of the above conflict management techniques, Castro and Nielsen (2003) cite four case studies shown in table 5 below.

Table 5: Selected case studies of environmental conflict management in Africa (Castro, 2005)

Country	Conflict Setting	Key Theme	Conflict Management Process
Uganda	Converting forest reserves into national parks limits local access and usage of forest resources.	An international non-governmental organization (NGO) organizes a mediated dispute resolution process with officials and communities in order to re-establish restricted local access to forest resources.	Rapid vulnerability assessments, participatory research, facilitation, meetings and other fora, negotiations, a multi-use resource program, and participatory monitoring are some of the services provided.
Zimbabwe	The government designated botanical reserves for forests maintained by rural people for religious and economic grounds, restricting local access and use.	Conflict resolution techniques must take into account power imbalances and management objectives among parties. The adoption of participatory data gathering methods can aid in local participation in negotiations.	Local government adjudication (in the past), coercion, public dialogues, facilitation, official adjudication, needs assessment, local development committee, participatory fast evaluation workshops, stakeholders meetings, and negotiations
Ethiopia	Conflicts over water for irrigation, grazing, and forests are exacerbated by policies and market forces inside communities as well as between local and foreign agencies.	Local, informal dispute resolution forums continue to exist, but state agencies increasingly control conflict resolution procedures. The nature of dispute, the stakeholders, and the power dynamics influence the outcome.	Avoidance, peer pressure, elder and religious leader mediation, divine penalties, coercion, appeals to authorities, and adjudication
The Gambia	Members of three communities are at odds over the usage and control of local woods due to increased market pressures and decentralisation.	Local and state governments have attempted to handle forest problems through mediation, arbitration, and adjudication, but the issues have proven difficult to resolve. There is still a lot of miscommunication between the parties.	Villager coercion, mediation and arbitration by local elders and authorities, negotiation and judgment by a committee and an administrator

These four case studies suggest various legal orders of conflict management processes have been employed across Africa. However, no single approach has offered an overwhelmingly superior solution to meet the range of needs for conflict management processes. Alternative dispute resolution, national legal systems and informal conflict management practices all possess strengths and weaknesses that should be explored and analysed.

4.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The environmental history of Africa paints a picture of dispossession of and alienation from the land and its resources for local communities. The chapter highlighted that the current land conflicts result from historical experiences. Most notably, the colonial era introduced alien land statutory instruments and policies that overlooked local dynamics and separated Africans from natural sources necessary for sustenance. While environmental history underlines the politics of land dispossession and emergence of competition, the historical discourse does not document attempts to reduce or resolve the conflicts. The chapter further discussed the different conflict management techniques implemented with legal pluralism to ameliorate land-use conflicts. However, environmental conflicts persist in Africa, with little effort being made to review the conflict management techniques employed. Additionally, the efforts to reverse colonial impacts on land access and use have been dominated by a radical black consciousness movement perpetuating violence. The chapter has shown that it is vital to link conflict management strategies and their evaluation to historical processes, as they have laid a foundation for the narratives on land-use and conflict management.

<p style="text-align:center;">**CHAPTER FIVE**</p>

<p style="text-align:center;">**CONTEXTUALISING LAND MANAGEMENT, PROTECTED AREAS AND LAND-USE CONFLICTS IN BOTSWANA**</p>

5. INTRODUCTION

As previously established, there are linkages between historical developments, economic systems, land tenure systems, conservation practices and conflict emergence. Understanding the historical context in which protected areas can cause land conflicts is the starting point for evaluating conflict management strategies in Ngamiland, Botswana. The chapter starts by providing a brief history of Botswana's political economy. It then presents the development of Botswana's land tenure system, policy environment, land and identity politics, and the development of the protected area system, as well as the emergence of land-use conflict and its management. The chapter positions Botswana's historical experiences and socio-economic development trajectory to identify land management systems, policies and conservation through the protected area system and how these factors have marginalised communities from land resources. The chapter further expounds on managing disputes, explicitly looking at Ngamiland District and the study area of Mababe.

5.1 A BRIEF HISTORY OF BOTSWANA

Botswana is a landlocked country in southern Africa and dominates the central plateau. The Kalahari Desert comprises 80% of the land mass, with most of its inhabitants living on the eastern side and in the north-east, with clusters of small towns and villages near the Chobe River and Okavango Delta (Main, 2007). This section discusses the political economy of Botswana in the colonial era, while the post-colonial context is highlighted to show the transition from

independence to indirect foreign control. These two periods are critical, as they provide a platform to trace the institutional and policy orientations that govern land and its associated conflicts.

An important pointer in understanding the pre-colonial period of Botswana is the migration of Tswana-speaking groups into the area of modern-day Botswana from South Africa in the 18th century. Schapera (1955) asserts that it was common for Tswana groups to split and form new groups that dominated others, called *merafe*. Nonetheless, these groups remained closely connected and developed common cultural institutions and a common language, while non-Tswana tribes were structurally integrated and largely absorbed into Tswana states (Parsons & Robinson, 2004).

Although Tswana *merafhe* followed their cultural norms to organise their social, political and economic life, culture also facilitated the creation of institutions such as the *kgotla* led by the *kgosi*, which handled all aspects of pre-colonial Tswana daily life (Schapera, 1955). The *kgosi* ruled over the *kgotla*, an adult male assembly that served as a judicial chamber, administrative body and advisory body. The subordinates could utilise the *kgotla* to convey their displeasure. Before making any significant decisions, the *kgosi* consulted with all concerned people (Schapera, 1955). The *kgotla* also gave a framework for commoners to express themselves, but the custom of consulting and finding consensus was far older. Tswana rule, decision-making, and the *kgosi*'s statement of his commitment to serve his people were all based on it; hence the Tswana proverb, "*Kgosi ke kgosi ka batho*", which translates as a leader is a leader through or by the will of the people (Siedler, 2011).

Holm and Botlhale (2008) argue that the *kgosi* and his headmen through the *kgotla* were the locus of political authority for the many peoples residing in Botswana, summarising the importance of the *kgosi* in pre-colonial Botswana. They distributed practically all economic resources, such as

126

land for grazing, crop cultivation and housing, and lent enormous herds of cattle (*mafisa*) to people in need or impoverished. The *kgosi* made all judicial and political decisions. This comprehensive authority was bolstered by widespread respect, stemming from the common belief that the *kgosi* and headmen had strong ancestors, ready to interfere in temporal matters. Tswana society's social structure was also based on traditional authorities. Their families had the most power and provided much leadership for all age groups, which allowed for a great deal of socio-political action. Conflicts between royal families were common, but most groups banded together to defend the existing Tswana political framework (Sharma, 2005).

However, the British colonisation of Botswana in 1885 resulted in the decline of traditional leadership (Griffiths, 1986). The Zulu's military advance provoked significant migration between 1818 and the 1830s. Military engagements became unavoidable. Tswana communities banded together and finally protected their homeland from immigrants from other tribes. Sechele, the Bakwena *kgosi*, travelled to Cape Town in 1853 to convince the British to grant protection against the Boers. Until the Germans seized South West Africa (present-day Namibia), the British rejected the petition and similar wishes from other *dikgosi*. However, the Tswana possessed a critical strategic position, preventing the Germans from entering South West Africa and the Boer nations. In 1885, most of Botswana became the Bechuanaland Protectorate (Siedler, 2011).

While the colonisation of neighbouring South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe was attracted by the abundance of raw materials, Britain's colonisation of Botswana was attributed to strategic military interests. Botswana became a British protectorate in 1885, named Bechuanaland Protectorate (Mogalakwe, 2006).

Holm and Botlhale (2008) argue that although the British recognised the authority of the Tswana *dikgosi* within their lands and granted protection against the Boers and other African communities,

it brought parallel and indirect rule. The scholars further mention that the *kgosi* remained largely unopposed, authoritarian rulers. The colonial administration required the traditional authority to collect hut taxes, maintain peace in their reserves and encourage local economic growth. Ten percent of taxes were paid to the *kgosi* as a wage to cover the costs of a small police force, the running of local courts and a few bookkeeping duties. The *kgosi* received additional income through commissions for recruiting workers for South African mines.

Over time, as Tlou and Campbell (2001) note, it became clear that protectorate status held different meanings to the *merafhe* and the British. *Dikgosi* hoped that being a protectorate would ensure protection against Cecil John Rhode's British South Africa Company and its ambition to control the strategic trade route to the north of Africa, as well as the threat posed by the advancing Boers from South Africa, but with little interference in their internal affairs and traditional structures of governance. Most notably, the colonial administration introduced foreign governance institutions, forums, policies and structures of government, placing all *dikgosi* under the strict control of colonial authorities. The removal of Kgosi Sebele and Kgosi Tshekedi illustrated the significant reduction of the tribal chieftaincy powers. The two *dikgosi* were removed for opposing the hut tax and other introduced policies and structures by the colonial authorities (Human, 2019).

The management of land resources during the colonial period also supports Rodney's (1972) assertion that the general tendency of colonialism was to subvert and subjugate colonised societies, retard their economic progress and destroy the material base of the indigenous ruling class. Initially, land administration revolved around *dikgosi*, who were also responsible for development issues within the tribe, adjudicating disputes, such as inheritance, and holding communities together. It is also important to note that the *kgosi* was the custodian, not the landowner himself (Malatsi & Finnstrom, 2011).
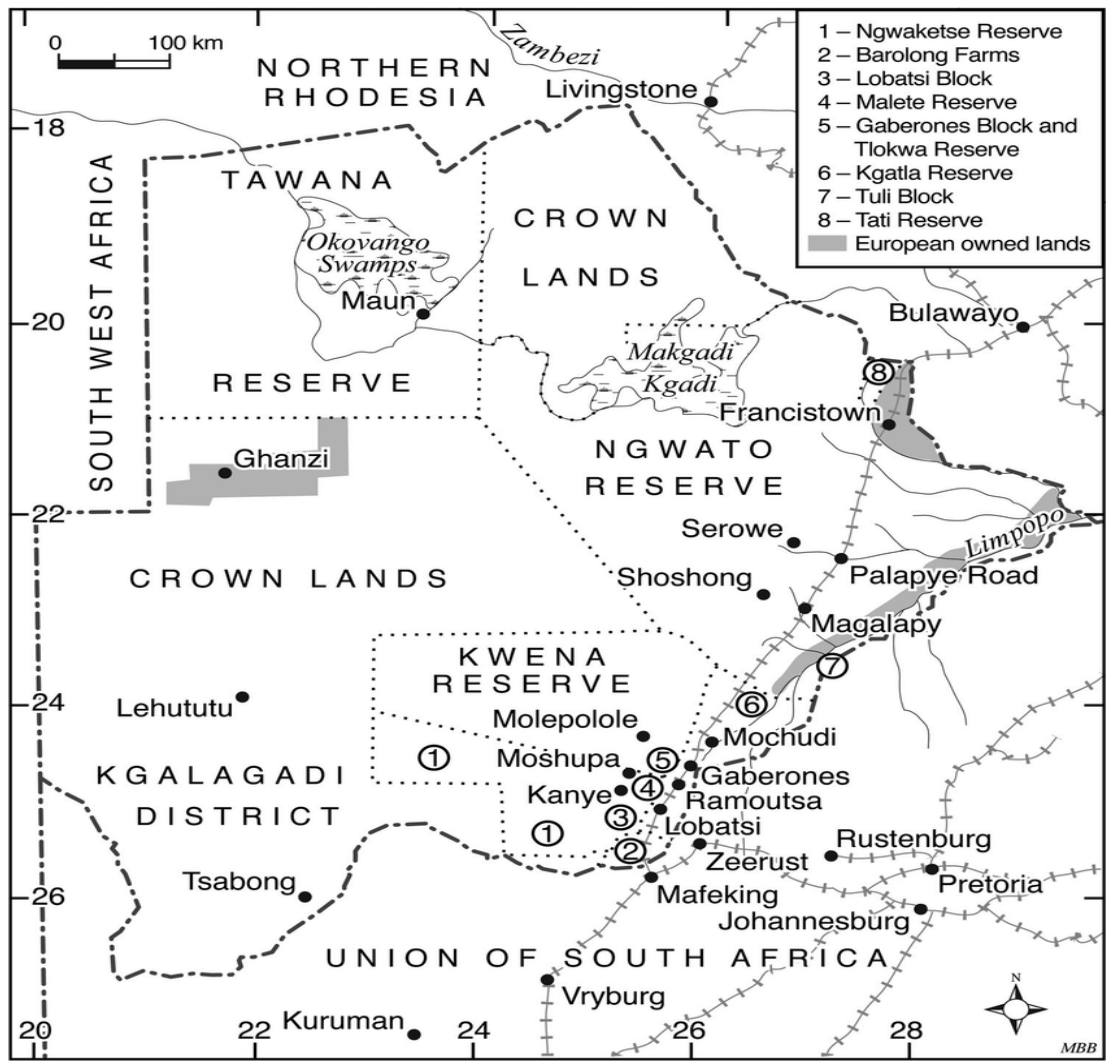
Fig. 17: Map showing colonial land tenure in Botswana (Hitchcock, 2002)

However, changes in land tenure introduced by the colonial government stripped the *dikgosi* of land administration powers (see fig. 17 above). These changes included carving out certain pieces of customary land and turning them into freehold and crown lands. Under the management of *dikgosi*, customary land was now called native reserves. Freehold land was for the allocation to settlers, mainly for agricultural (cattle ranching) use, while crown lands were reserved for developing the towns which were now springing up in the country (Holm & Botlhale, 2008).

The historical events discussed above provide a backdrop to the contemporary period. It captures the pre-colonial and colonial era's economic, social and political environment, creating an impetus for the newly independent Botswana (Maipose, 2008). Botswana gained independence in 1966 after almost 80 years of colonial rule. The new government, led by the late Sir Seretse Khama, created a unitary state. Furthermore, the former Bechuanaland Protectorate did not have capital, with the Commissioner to the Cape Colony overseeing colonial administration in Bechuanaland. Mafikeng, the administrative capital during the time, was replaced by Gaberone (present-day Gaborone) as the capital city. District councils replaced tribal reserves and the legislative council was replaced by a parliamentary system in which the country was divided into constituencies (Mogalakwe, 2006)

The number of constituencies is based on the size of the population. The government adopted a Constitution with a Bill of Rights, that is, fundamental rights and freedoms of individual citizens (Mogalakwe, 2006). Main (2007) mentions that Botswana in the 20th century was a parliamentary democracy, with elections held every five years. The Botswana Democratic Party (BDP), under Sir Seretse Khama's leadership, won the elections in 1966 and has remained in power ever since. Opposition parties have been unable to unseat the ruling party, despite enjoying support in urban areas (Seabo & Molebatsi, 2017).

5.2 BOTSWANA'S ECONOMIC GROWTH TRAJECTORY

Identifying the factors that drive long-term continuity and change in development trajectories is a perpetual and essential issue. As Cooper (2002) asserts, understanding economic history is critical to understanding development trajectories. For instance, the scholar mentions that Botswana's current economic status is as a result of its past. Botswana started receiving proper colonial

funding, termed the Colonial Development Fund in 1934, which provided a basis for initiating development-related projects.

While colonial administrators had initially been occupied with conquering territories and establishing political control, the later part of the colonial period saw efforts to formalise income derived from local production and revise existing development strategies (Hillbom, 2014). Masire (2006) notes that during the last decades of colonial rule, there were attempts to formulate development strategies in conjunction with local populations. However, the principles of indirect rule encouraged each colony to maximise incomes and minimise efforts to bear costs. Accordingly, colonial administrations depended on their revenues to invest in social development and were modest in terms of development investment (Frankema, 2011).

On gaining independence from Britain in 1966, Botswana was among Africa's poorest and least developed countries, with high poverty rates and no notable infrastructure. The population survived on subsistence agriculture, community formulated self-help initiatives and social services provided by *dikgosi*. However, Botswana has progressed to a middle-income country, largely due to the discovery of diamonds, political stability, well-coordinated development interventions, sound policies and performance-oriented governance (Harvey & Lewis, 1990).

Table 6: Botswana's performance-oriented policies and governance (Maipose, 2008)

Policy Area	Sample Policies	Anticipated Policy Outcomes
Minerals	Mines and Minerals Act, 1967 Mines and Minerals Act, 1999 Establishing agreements directed at state-ownership in mineral extraction	Mining rights were vested in the state so that mineral resources might be channeled to national goals. This includes the use of measures like as royalties, equity shares, and state control of extractive firms along the value chain.
Trade	Renegotiation of the Southern African Customs Union (SACU) agreement in 1969. Special protections for beef exports in the 1975 Lome Convention.	Increased government income and access to major export markets.
Money	A Monetary System for Botswana, Government Paper No. 1 (1975). Creation of the Bank of Botswana.	Created a new currency (the pula, which was introduced in 1976) and built a framework for monetary policy that benefited local enterprise and the national economy.
Labour Market	National Policy on Incomes, Employment, Prices and Profits, Government Paper No. 2 (1972). Public sector-led skills training.	Created a nationwide minimum wage that varied by industry and increased skilled labor to combat unemployment.
State-owned enterprises	The National Development Bank (1965) and the Botswana Development Corporation (1970). Creation of public enterprises providing utilities including water, electricity, telephones, and transportation.	Supported the growth of Indigenous enterprises and investment while ensuring vital services without depleting government funds.
Industrialisation	Financial Assistance Policy (1985) Industrial Development Policy (1996) Citizens Entrepreneurial Development Agency Economic Diversification Drive (2011-2016).	Diversified the economy beyond minerals extraction.

In addition to these growth-promoting policies (shown in table 6 above), Botswana's economic transformation may be credited to the sustainable utilisation of the country's natural resources. Botswana's development is based mostly on managing and utilising natural resources, such as land and minerals. Currently, land and minerals are considered strategic resources and their ownership and control are crucial to the country's growth prospects (Sebudubudu et al., 2014). The utilisation of natural resources for economic and developmental purposes is also noted by Grynberg (2013), who asserts that since independence, Botswana's economy has been resource-based. Labelled the "African miracle" by Samatar (1999), Botswana has avoided the so-called resource curse, the phenomenon in which countries rich in natural wealth are badly run and experience poor economic growth, through its sound institutions and governance. As Leith (2005) purports, these institutions spared the country from the economic and political instability of the resource curse. The primary economic sectors are diamond mining, tourism and the beef industry. These economic sectors are discussed in detail below.

5.2.1 The diamond industry

The discovery of diamonds and growth in mining marked an era of economic transformation in Botswana. The rapid expansion of local mining activities generated jobs and considerable foreign income. Diamonds were first discovered at Orapa in central Botswana in 1967 and the industry quickly grew to become high-density mining in the 1970s. Orapa was the world's second-largest diamond pipeline, and its exploration and exploitation were financed by De Beers, a subsidiary of Anglo-American of South Africa. Mining outputs eventually increased, and more diamond mines were opened in Letlhakane in 1977 and Jwaneng in 1982 (Morton & Ramsay, 2018).

The growth in Botswana's diamond production contributed to the country's increased reliance on diamond revenue. Since discovering diamonds, mining has remained the mainstay of development

in Botswana. The advent of diamond mining placed Botswana on a sustained self-generating development path. As mineral revenues grew strongly and consistently for many years, Botswana's economy performed spectacularly well. Indeed, over 20 years in the 1980s and 1990s, some international statistics show Botswana achieving the highest sustained GDP growth rates in the world (Grynberg et al., 2015). Botswana's economy and development foundations are firmly embedded in diamond wealth and it remains the largest diamond producer globally (Main, 2007).

Furthermore, the primary basis of Botswana's development philosophy is to optimise the benefits of diamond revenues by reinvesting them into developing additional productive economic capacities, such as education, health and infrastructure. Revenue derived from diamond mining allows the government to rapidly spread development and services across the country (Good, 2008). The country's value of minerals as a percentage of total exports also shows how important it is to local development. Diamonds accounted for 85.9% of total exports in 2014. In late 2016, the figure soared to 92.5%. Another development that expanded diamond revenue is the localisation of raw diamond processing. New institutions, such as the Diamond Trading Company Botswana (DTCB), were established to sort and value diamonds (Modungwa, 2017) .

While the diamond industry remains of critical importance to the economy, scholars like Hillbom (2008) and Good (2008) note that the industry is susceptible to economic shocks due to reduced demand for diamonds. Nonetheless, the government has intensified efforts to diversify the economy through the Economic Diversification Drive (EDD), creating an opportunity for other sectors to comprehensively contribute to the economy as well (Government of Botswana, 2011).

5.2.2 The tourism industry

Like other southern African nations such as Zimbabwe and South Africa, Botswana embraces tourism to diversify its economy and encourage ecologically conscious growth. Wildlife resources and foreign leisure travellers are critical to the tourism industry. In the past few decades, Botswana's tourist sector has concentrated on consumptive and non-consumptive tourism (Mbaiwa 2015). Botswana's tourism growth is tied to the country's first modern conservation programme, the Wildlife Conservation Policy, which was implemented in 1966 (Campbell, 2004). As an important industry, tourism is linked to the country's colonial history and its fast economic growth, following the discovery of diamonds. As Beaulier (2003) asserts, the tourism industry has progressively experienced rapid growth that largely depends on wildlife and wilderness, just like the mainstream economy. Tourism is the second-highest contributor to GDP (Saarinen et al., 2022).

Analysing the expansion of tourism in Botswana, Vumbunu (2020) attributes it to Botswana's economic transformation, directed by a series of policies and national strategies, such as a series of National Development Plans in the 1970s. Reference can also be made to the 1990 Tourism Policy which expanded the tourism industry and reduced over-dependence on diamonds. The policy explained tourism as the new engine of growth, and its development was based on three issues: the tourism sector not being fully recognised and appreciated, the need to capitalise on its growth potential and the absence of a policy, resulting in minimal benefit (Government of Botswana, 1990). As discussed in the literature (Mbaiwa and Darkoh, 2006; Maude, 2010; Morupisi and Mokgalo, 2017), tourism has been central to conservation and economic sustainability goals. The focal points of Botswana's tourism industry are around internationally sought-after wilderness areas, teeming with wildlife, such as the Chobe National Park, Moremi

Wildlife Reserve in the heart of the Okavango Delta, the Okavango Panhandle and the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) (Human, 2019).

The importance of the tourism industry in the development of Botswana is also articulated by Mogende (2020), who documents the political will to develop the tourism industry by former and current presidents. The scholar refers to the expansion of tourism for economic purposes as "greening" the economy. The term "green economy" refers to efforts to reconcile economic growth and environmental utilisation, particularly for tourism purposes. UNEP (2011) defines the green economy as improving human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities. It can achieve a resilient economy that provides a better quality of life for all within the planet's ecological limits. Hence, through nature-based tourism, Botswana has remained a "green state" (Mogende, 2020).

The government's revised Tourism Strategy and Master Plan (2019–2029) reaffirms the importance of tourism as an economic contributor in Botswana. The strategy aims to elevate the status of tourism as a priority growth sector and provide the overall vision, targets and objectives of developing and managing the industry, with a view to the efficient management of tourism resources, both cultural and natural; the mainstreaming of tourism in the government planning process; and increased participation and ownership of local communities in tourism development.

The 1998 Tourism Policy has also been revised, and the National Assembly approved the 2021 Tourism Policy on 14 April 2021. The revised policy allows the sector to comprehensively address broader tourism objectives: creating an enabling environment to enhance the competitiveness of Botswana as a tourism destination and encouraging the growth of private sector initiatives (Government of Botswana, 2021). Against this backdrop, it is notable that tourism still plays a

significant role in the Botswana economy, contributing 11.5% to GDP and providing 26,00 jobs, according to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC, 2019).

5.2.3 The cattle and beef industry

Gumbo (2010) affirms that cattle rearing was the principal economic activity among Botswana's rural communities from the Tswana people's early settlement. Tswana were and are still agro-pastoralists, with an agricultural system based on crop production and cattle rearing. As Schapera (1955) notes, cattle served economic purposes and were also the basis for social relations, such as marriage and patronage, reinforcing traditions. Cattle were also slaughtered for ceremonies and used as a sign of wealth. Furthermore, cattle involved power relations within families and the larger community. Status was not so much measured in the number of cattle one possessed, but in how one could help others through loaning cattle (the *mafisa* system). A poor man could borrow an ox for ploughing or a cow for milk (Molutsi, 1988).

The historical salience of cattle in the socio-economic landscape of Botswana highlights several challenges. For instance, persistent droughts in recent years have led to the loss of high numbers of livestock in the Kgalagadi-North District (Mabula & Angassa, 2020). Reference can also be made to Ngamiland, the study area. Tsetse infestation in Ngamiland from 1916 to 1955? decimated livestock numbers, curtailing the subsistence patterns of communities. The first measures used to control tsetse in Ngamiland were based on the argument that tsetse flies depended on the blood of wild and domestic animals for nourishment.

Hence, the culling of livestock was regarded as the only alternative to destroying the tsetse fly. After the tsetse fly and illness were eradicated in the late 1960s, the colonial administration and later, the post-colonial government, supported cow ownership. By the late 1970s, Ngamiland had

grown to resemble the rest of the country, where cattle functioned as commodities for sale and as the foundation of social interactions, particularly among the wealthy (Gumbo, 2002). Despite the challenges faced by the cattle industry, the government recognised the cattle and beef industry as a significant contributor to the economy. First, it was one of the country's leading components of commodity exports and sources of foreign exchange. Second, the cattle and beef industry was a critical component of the agricultural value chain. For instance, from 1994 to 2013, the livestock industry (dominated by beef cattle production) accounted for 46% to 65% of agricultural value-added products and has remained the leading agricultural activity (Seleka & Kebakile, 2015).

As Samatar and Oldfield (1995) attest, the formation of the Botswana Meat Commission (BMC) in 1965 further indicates the government's commitment to the beef industry by an act of parliament to promote the development of the country's beef and related products globally. The first abattoir was opened in 1952, located in Lobatse, with Maun and Francistown Abattoirs following in 1983 and 1989 respectively (Seleka & Kebakile, 2015).

The Botswana Meat Commission continues to be the governmental trade agency for Botswanan beef, with a legislative export monopoly on fresh, canned and live cattle to the United Kingdom and Europe. To fulfil the high standards expected by the European Economic Community, the BMC has increased its production facilities, while maintaining tight quality controls over beef processing in its operations. Although a multilevel financial analysis revealed that current profitability levels are low throughout the value chain, the beef industry remains an important economic sector. Nonetheless, recent problems associated with the mismanagement of funds and corruption at the BMC point to the need for a complete overhaul (Van-Engelen et al., 2013).

5.3 THE LAND QUESTION IN BOTSWANA

Griffiths (2019) states that Botswana's contemporary land dynamics result from historical engagement with regional players, such as Namibia and South Africa. Land in Botswana encompasses several topographical, socio-economic and cultural features that create contexts within which policy governs it.

5.3.1 The current land tenure systems in Botswana

The management and institutionalisation of land in Botswana have undergone considerable transformation since independence. Initially, all land in Botswana was communal. After annexation by the British in 1885, three tenure systems emerged, namely: native land (now tribal land), crown land (now state land) and freehold land (see fig. 18 below).

Pre-Protectorate	Protectorate	Post-Independence
All land was customary land before the protectorate years	*Native Reserves*	*Tribal Land*
	Crown Lands	*State Land*
	Freehold Land	*Freehold Land*
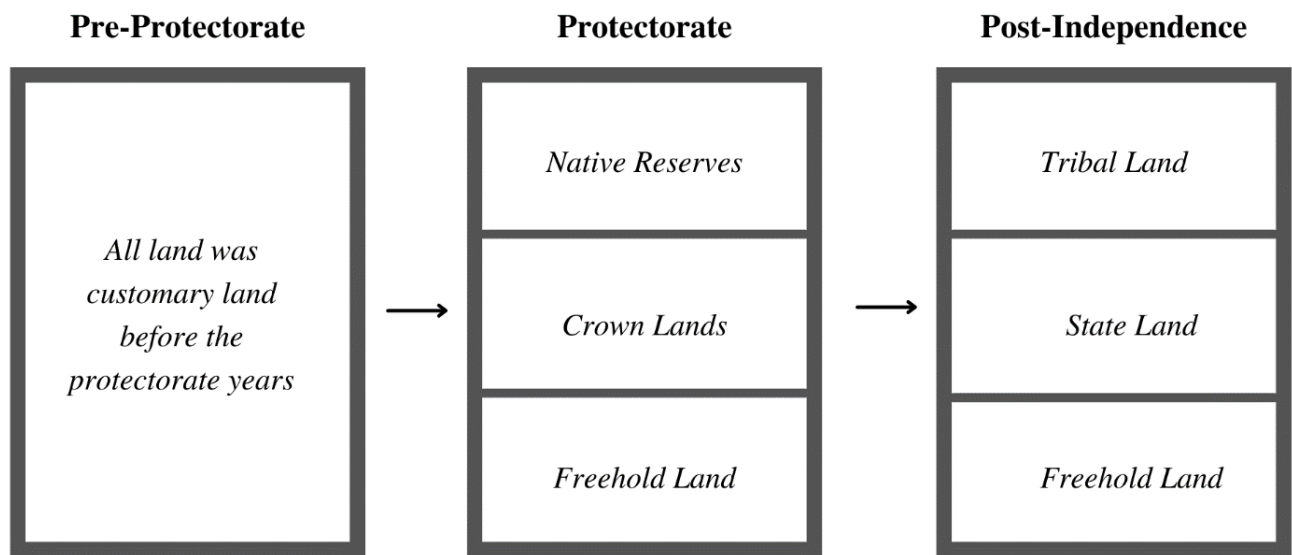
Fig. 18: Transformation of Botswana's tenure system (Malatsi & Finnstrom, 2011)

5.3.1.1 Tribal Land

Until the 1970s, tribal land was administered by *dikgosi,* assisted by ward heads. However, the implementation of the 1968 Tribal Land Act (CAP 32:02) in 1970 limited the powers of *dikgosi.* To suit national economic and social aims and ambitions, the act was adopted to modernise land management, rationalise land distribution and introduce leaseholds. The Tribal Land Act established land boards as corporate bodies to govern tribal land. It gave the land boards ownership of all land rights and titles in tribal territory (Government of Botswana, 1968). The Tribal Land Act of 1968 was revised and amended in 2018 to provide for the continuation of Land Boards (Government of Botswana, 2018).

Under the Tribal Land Act (TLA), Botswana's land boards administer customary land grants and common law leases. Neither of these types of tenure confer ownership on the recipients, as control over the land vests in the land boards, which hold it in trust for the benefit and advantage of all citizens (Griffiths, 2019). According to Manatsha (2019), there are twelve (12) main land boards and forty-one (41) subordinate land boards, all of which are overseen by the Ministry of Lands and Water Affairs (MLWA). The main land board's mission is to assign land under customary and common law for residential, agricultural and other purposes. Furthermore, it reverses grants given on any land, even those granted by *dikgosi* before the land boards were established and considers appeals from subordinate land boards. Land boards establish and enforce land-use restrictions and carry out land-related government programmes, such as the TGLP and the fencing component of the 1991 New Agricultural Policy. They are also responsible for preserving tribal territory within their authority (Griffiths, 2019).

On the other hand, subordinate land boards award land for customary purposes, set usage limitations and propose cancellation of customary land rights to the main land board. They accept,

140

examine and recommend common law and borehole applications to the main land board. In addition, they arbitrate land disputes. However, subordinate land boards have no authority to award commercial or industrial grazing property or authorise land-use changes (Kalabamu et al., 2003).

5.3.1.2 State land

The colonial administration controlled state land, known then as crown lands. As Isaacs and Manatsha (2019) note, crown land was ceded by the British colonial administration and bestowed on England's reigning monarch. The State Land Act of 1966 converted crown lands into state land. The act vested authority of state land in the president to provide sound management of such land. Furthermore, the government owns and controls state land in rural and urban regions. The land is governed by the State Land Act (Chapter 32:01) of 1966 (Bornegrim & Collin, 2010). In metropolitan areas, state land is given to people and organisations for residential, commercial and industrial reasons. State land is dispersed in rural regions to build national parks, as well as game and forestry reserves. Because of its low cost, a certificate of rights is a practical way for the urban poor to obtain state land. Land can also be provided through a fixed-term state grant, the most prevalent option in cities (Nkwae & Dumba, 2009).

5.3.1.3 Freehold land

In Botswana, freehold land was created for settlers during the colonial era, mainly for agricultural purposes. It is owned in perpetuity. Furthermore, freehold land also exists in urban centres for residential and commercial use. Moreover, the government introduced the 1975 Land Control Act (CAP 32:11) to avoid the transfer of freehold land to non-citizens. Nonetheless, freehold land in Botswana has fallen into the hands of non-citizens (Malatsi & Finnstrom, 2011).

5.3.2 Milestones in Botswana's land policy

Despite transformation in Botswana's tenure system, land-use planning remains a challenge. For instance, the diversity in livelihood activities results in differing perceptions towards specific tenure systems, creating conflicts between land users (Nyamoga, 2012).

Cheshire and Sheppard (2002) reveal many challenges in determining appropriate land allocation between alternative and competing users. Furthermore, scholars argue that the solution to determining optimal land use and allocation is through sound policy mechanisms that maximise social benefits. In Botswana, several policies and acts have been formulated to address land use, management and administration issues. Such efforts have resulted in several land-related policies and statutory instruments being enacted, as summarised in the table 7 below.

Table 7: Land-related policies in Botswana (Government of Botswana, 2019)

Policy Document	Summary
Government Paper No. 2 of 1975 on Tribal Grazing Land Policy	The Tribal Grazing Land Policy aimed to enhance rangeland management and allow the commercialization of cattle ranching. The strategy proposed for the country to be divided into three land use categories: communal, commercial, and reserve land. Commercial cattle ranches and wildlife management zones were established, with the other land remaining communal. A total of 505 commercial farms have been assigned. There could be no reserve area because all of the land was already under common use for diverse activities. The strategy also included conservation measures, such as requiring a distance of 8 kilometers between livestock boreholes. The distances policy was so successful in maintaining rangeland and animal resources that a policy review in 1991 lowered drilling distances from 8 to 4 kilometers.
Government Paper No. 1 of 1985 on National Policy on Land Tenure	In 1983, the president created a Commission to investigate Botswana's land tenure policies. The Commission determined that no drastic adjustments were required and suggested fine-tuning various state and customary land tenure aspects. The Commission's findings and recommendations led to the publication of Government Paper No. 1 of 1985, which altered the Tribal Land Act, extended Common Law Leases to residential plots in favour of citizens, and modified Common Law Leases for enterprises. It also supported the work of the State Land Allocation Advisory Committees for urban land and addressed issues of land accessibility and affordability for residents. The most significant alteration brought about by the Tribal Land Act modification was replacing the word tribesman with citizens.
Government Paper No. 1 of 1986 on Wildlife Conservation Policy	The goal of this strategy was to promote the long-term development of the commercial wildlife sector. The strategy assured resource management in such a way that use generates economic possibilities, jobs, and revenue for the rural people as well as the national economy. The strategy recommended recognizing wildlife's potential economic contribution in terms of historical and aesthetic value, and hence asking for land use planning to provide it a position commensurate with that contribution. As a result, community concession zones were established to directly benefit the community surrounding the region.

Government Paper No. 2 of 1990 on Tourism Policy	This strategy was developed to highlight the tourism industry's economic impact, encourage official recognition and designation of regions for commercial tourist activities, and regulate such activities. Since the implementation of this program, the tourist sector's contribution to the national economy has expanded significantly.
Government Paper No. 1 of 1991 on National Policy on Agricultural Development:	The initiative aimed to boost agricultural productivity by providing farmers with a safe and productive environment. The procedure's fencing component allowed for the extended determination of land for cattle ranching by awarding defined ranches to farmers in grazing regions with boreholes. By mid-2013, 738 farms had been distributed under the scheme. However, their contribution to the beef business has been minimal, since 80% of beef is still sourced from community grazing grounds.
Government Paper No. 1 of 1992 on Land Problems in Mogoditshane & Other Peri-Urban Villages	A Presidential Commission was formed in 1991 to study land issues in Mogoditshane and other peri-urban settlements. The purpose of the investigation was to determine the extent to which the Tribal Land Act had been violated by illegal land allocations in Mogoditshane and other peri-urban regions, as well as the causes behind such violations. Following the Commission's Report, a Government Paper was issued. This Government Paper resulted in the Tribal Land Act being amended in 1993.
Government Paper No. 2 of 2004 on National Settlement Policy:	The policy establishes principles and a long-term plan for constructing and growing human settlements, as well as transportation and utility networks, in order to enhance functional links between communities. This enhanced the 1998 National Settlement Policy, which was designed to halt the spread of settlements. The settlement threshold was raised from 250 to 500 residents, with the exception of Remote Area Communities (RACs) settlements, which remain at 250. Since then, various towns have sprouted up around the country.

These policies have been complemented by statutory instruments that guide land use, management and administration. Table 8 below shows a few selected land statutory instruments.

Table 8: Botswana's land-related statutory instruments (Government of Botswana, 2019)

Statutory Instrument	Summary
State Land Act, CAP. 32:01	This Act was created in 1966 to define Botswana's state land and the mechanism for disposing of it. Townships, Game reserves and National Parks, rural and urban state lands, and land bought outside Botswana are all examples of state land. To date, the Act has specified this land tenure.
Tribal Land Act, CAP. 32:02:	This Act was passed in 1968 and went into force in 1970. It established Tribal Territory Boards and gave them control over tribal land. The Tribal Land Act has been amended multiple times throughout the years. The most important is the 1993 amendment, which replaced the term "tribesman" with "citizen" to provide all Batswana access to land anywhere in the country. The legislation also created Land Tribunals to hear appeals from Land Boards. It allows for the formation of policies by Land Boards, which results in some differences in land allocation policies across Land Boards.
Tribal Territories Act, CAP. 32:03	It was established in 1933 to determine the borders of tribal territory. This Act is the foundation upon which modern Botswana was founded.
Town and Country Planning Act, CAP. 32:09	It was passed in 1977 and into effect in 1980. It calls for the orderly and progressive development of land in both urban and rural regions, as well as the preservation and enhancement of amenities. The Act also gives authorization to develop land, as well as powers of control over land use and other reasons related to and associated with the aforementioned subjects. The Act was recently updated and adopted on April 17, 2013, with the major change being the transfer of planning powers from the Central Government to Local Authorities. As a result, the Councils are established as planning authorities. This shift aims to improve service delivery by bringing services closer to people.
Land Control Act, CAP. 32:11	The Act went into effect in 1959. It calls for a land survey in Botswana. Surveying assures the certainty of plot borders, providing confidence and security of one's claim to a piece of property. Land registration is eased in this manner.
Deeds Registry Act, CAP. 33:02	It began in 1960. This Act establishes a system for registering land titles and other registrable rights. Except for customary grant certificates issued by Land Boards, it applies to all land tenures. As a result, the Act does not cover the vast majority of the country's territory. Such gifts become registrable only once they are converted to common law leases, a time-consuming procedure for ordinary Batswana. Holders' rights, however, are legally safeguarded if properly registered under this Act.

The Revised Botswana Land Policy of 2019 is the overarching land policy. It was enacted in the early 1970s and constantly reviewed to make it relevant and sensitive to local diversity (Hinchey, 1979). The first comprehensive land policy was introduced in 1985, based on the presidential commission on land tenure recommendations instituted in 1983. The most notable aspect of this policy was its emphasis on rural agrarian reform, which led to a moratorium on converting tribal land to freehold land and introducing 50- to 99-year common-law leases in tribal land areas (Kalabamu, 2021).

In 2002, the government revised its land policy. The review was influenced by constant land-use conflicts between the government and local communities (Kalabamu et al., 2003). Furthermore, as economic development coupled with rapid urbanisation progressed, the buying, selling and leasing of property increased rapidly due to rising demand (Government of Botswana, 2002). The policy was once again reviewed in 2015 (Kalabamu, 2021). This time, the new policy emphasised protecting and promoting all landholders' land rights and sustainable human settlements. However, the policy was flawed in several ways. As Kalabamu (2019) notes, the policy was silent on the land conflicts and claims that had affected the country for decades, including dual-grazing rights enjoyed by ranch owners, acquired under the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP). Secondly, the policy failed to guarantee tenure security.

The limitations of the 2015 Botswana Land Policy subsequently led to the introduction of the Revised Botswana Land Policy of 2019. The specific objectives of the 2019 revised policy are:

i.   To direct all land activities for long-term human settlements, land use and socio-economic development.

ii.   To improve access, fairness, efficiency, land rights security, and land management and administration openness.

iii.   To be responsive to emerging opportunities and dynamics of planning and development in the country.

Despite Botswana's significant milestones in land policy development, Kalabamu (2019) highlights persistent conflicts related to land. More specifically, the scholar cites land-use conflicts in conservation and urban areas where population dynamics have increased the demand for land. Ngongola (2017) makes similar observations that the revised policy has limitations that require reviewing and, where necessary, amending to make it more effective. Another comment made by Molebatsi (2019) was that policy evaluation and reform efforts were confined to land administration, encompassing repossession of land, cancellation of land rights and authorisation of land transfer. However, land-related conflicts are ongoing and the policy is silent on identifying amicable, effective and sustainable conflict management strategies. Therefore, Botswana's land policy environment needs to be revised to develop robust land rights instruments.

5.3.3 Land rights, identity politics and conflict in Botswana

Cheng et al. (2003) note that the expressions "sense of place" and "place attachment" are used to depict the complex connections people have with the environments they exist in. These connections are based on emotional sentiments that govern how communities perceive, experience and value land. People-place relationships are challenging to define and measure, since they vary across places over time. The scholars further suggest that places are not merely the physical

backdrops of human action. Places constitute those actions, helping people find order and meaning in the world. Hence, alienation from the land in Botswana has often resulted in identity politics. Hayward and Watson (2010) define identity politics as politics in which people engage based on their experiences, political problems and aim for the good of identity groups. Therefore, the content of identity politics reflects the social, political and economic context. Furthermore, Boone (1998) and Migdal (1988) note that the entanglement of natural resources' use and control with social identity makes land policies, management and administration a powerful arena for identity politics.

In Botswana, progress made on policies and statutory instruments regarding land is overshadowed by land conflict and politics regarding marginalised groups that attach their identity and culture to land. Kiema (2010) affirms that Botswana has struggled to accommodate San groups in its political and socio-economic land governance. According to Nyati-Ramahobo (2008), the exclusion of San in land-related discourses by the government is also a result of the Chieftainship Act, born out of colonial experiences. The act recognises eight tribes, namely Barolong, Bakwena, Bangwaketse, Balete, Bakgatla, Batlokwa, Bangwato and Batawana, and regards them as the major ethnic groups in the country (Nyati-Ramahobo, 2008).

The issue of San land and resource rights in Botswana remains contested and it was further perpetuated by the introduction of the Tribal Grazing Land Policy (TGLP) in 1975. The TGLP led to the zoning of communal lands and the establishment of ranches that dispossessed marginalised groups of their land. Hitchcock (2012) argues that the policy also led to ethnic discrimination against the San groups, as the government undermined their land rights (Hitchcock, 2002).

As mentioned in chapter one, the San are descendants of hunter-gatherer groups and were the first to inhabit the southern African region. Suzman (2001) states that most San communities live in small, primarily polyethnic settlements. Some live on freehold farms and cattle posts, and some as

settlers on the outskirts of villages. Also, an anthropological study by Saugestad (1998) highlights that San groups in Botswana have experienced the racial and ethnic stigma associated with pre-modernity and so-called primitiveness. Often, their land rights are curtailed and prone to relocations, leading to identity politics. It is also evident that the San's depiction as perpetual "discursive others" that lack livestock and permanent settlement also alienates them from the land (Motzafi-Haller, 1994).

According to Taylor (2000), there are shared elements in the San's traditional land tenure systems that determine the value of land and how it articulates a sense of belonging. Using the concept of territoriality, Taylor (2002), Saugestad (1997) and Solway (2002) argue that land forms part of San identity. The scholars expound that San communities have occupied defined territories and have adopted social mechanisms to regulate outsider access and use of resources in these territories. Therefore, land is under the custodianship of that particular San community and land rights are guaranteed by belonging to that community.

Furthermore, Haram (2005) notes that ownership and entitlement to land and resources amongst San groups are expressed as an inherited position in a kingship or social network. However, land and identity politics have increased over time. The growing commercialisation of land and the formulation of land policies has led to the gradual breakdown of the San's traditional land tenure systems. Without the consultation of San groups, land was annexed by neighbouring communities and the government for use in cattle, tourism and conservation activities. Ngongola and Moeletsi (1996) attribute the San's land dispossession to a stereotypical notion held by Tswana communities that San groups lack law and land ownership systems.

The protracted land conflicts between the government of Botswana and San groups in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR) provide an excellent pointer to elucidating land and identity

politics. The CKGR is a vast expanse of land, encompassing 52,800 square kilometres and is the second-largest game reserve in Botswana (Marobela, 2010). The British protectorate government established the game reserve in 1961 to protect wildlife and secure a resource base for traditional use by hunter-gatherer communities. Initially, the Botswanan government supported the existence of San communities in the CKGR. It introduced government provisions, such as drilling boreholes for drinking water and welfare services through social assistance programmes. However, growing concerns over the compatibility of wildlife conservation with human settlement led to the 1985 appointment of a task force (Haram, 2005).

Albertson (2002) explains that the task force's recommendation was to promote strict separation of humans from nature, as it was evident that the two were incompatible. Hence, the Remote Area Dwellers Programme (RADP) was formulated. Implementing the RADP meant that San communities had to be relocated from the CKGR. Ultimately, social assistance and infrastructure development projects were suspended, intensifying the San's plight. From 1997 to 2002, San communities residing within the CKGR were forcibly relocated to resettlement camps outside of the reserve. The government cited the "improvement" of the San's development prospects and the need to preserve wildlife in the reserve as the reasons for their resettlements to New Xhade, Xere and Kaudwane (Suzman, 2002).

Eventually, all social services in CKGR were stopped. The Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) also intensified its strict conservation measures to punish residents who had refused to relocate. Hunting and gathering now required a licence that was hard to obtain by San communities (Hitchcock, 2002). Haram (2005) observed that the government provided the following reasons for the relocation of San communities from the CKGR:

- Continued human settlement is incompatible with wildlife conservation and the development of the tourism potential of the reserve because residents have increasingly taken up non-sustainable activities, such as keeping livestock and growing crops.

- The government felt it was expensive and inefficient to service communities in a particular conservation area. Furthermore, the National Settlement Policy stipulated that the government is only obliged to provide services to 500 residents or more, which was not the case with San communities living in the CKGR.

- The opponents to the relocation are only a small but vocal group, which has manipulated and pressurised San communities to remain in the reserve against the government's wishes. They are interested in the San staying primitive and pre-historic so they can be exploited as objects of Western films and tourism.

- Relocation is a normal government process. Because San communities were relocated to establish Jwaneng Diamond Mine and Botswana Concessions Limited (BCL) in the town of Selebi Phikwe, these communities will be offered compensation.

- San communities cannot enjoy equal rights and opportunities as Botswana citizens while remaining in the CKGR.

The heightened land-use conflict in the CKGR caught the attention of many organisations. Locally, Ditshwanelo and the First People of the Kalahari, two human rights non-governmental organisations (NGOs), condemned the San communities' forced removal (Woof, 2014). At an international level, Survival International (SI) initiated its aggressive campaign to advocate for the land rights of the San. Survival International (SI) is a global advocacy organisation, working for the rights of indigenous and tribal peoples worldwide. It has followed the plight of the San in the region since 1975 and in the CKGR in particular over the past decade. In their pursuit to reclaim

their land, the San enlisted Survival International's assistance, putting international pressure on the Botswanan government (Sapignoli & Hitchcock, 2013).

In 2002, through their NGO, First People of the Kalahari, the San of CKGR, took the government to court to protect their land rights and access to CKGR. In 2006, the court ruled that the refusal to allow the San into CKGR was unlawful (Kiema, 2010). Nonetheless, the ruling did not require the government to provide services, such as water to any who returned. The San communities cannot use government boreholes inside the reserve that the government currently uses to provide water to wildlife and cannot drill any new boreholes for them. This forces them to travel 40 kilometres outside the reserve to obtain water (Marobela, 2010). The land conflicts in the CKGR are far from declining. The San argue that despite the High Court of Botswana ruling, the government of Botswana continues to push them out of the CKGR. Led by Roy Sesana, a prominent San activist, the San have vowed to continue fighting for their ancestral land (Mpuang, 2022).

The above discussion summarises the discourse between land, identity politics and conflict in Botswana. Wilmsen (2009) argues that throughout history, marginalised ethnic groups like the San in the CKGR were thought of as rootless nomads without systemic notions of property with usufruct rights to land. Saugestad (2000) observes that the management of land, people and resources has been to the detriment of San groups, as individuals and as a collective. Both the TGLP and RADP development projects meant to uplift the welfare of the San have curtailed their land rights and, in the process, demeaned their dignity. The CKGR relocations can be regarded as an example of a violation of land rights, affecting identity politics and serving as a catalyst for land-use conflicts (Hohman, 2003). While the government maintains that the relocations were in good faith and for the benefit of the San communities, their approach was very culturally

insensitive. It overlooked the social and cultural repercussions of the resettlement, resulting in identity politics, violation of land rights and land conflicts. To date, many cases of the curtailment of the rights of the San continue. More recently, there is an ongoing court case in which the Government of Botswana denied the burial of the body of an elderly San in his ancestral land in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve (CKGR). The ruling also ordered the mourning son of the deceased to bury his father outside the reserve or face 30 days in custody (Gazette Reporter, 2011). Though the 2006 landmark ruling in which the High Court ruled that San residents in the CKGR had been forcibly and unconstitutionally removed from their ancestral land and have the right to return, the government still does not recognise the order as many San still live outside the CKGR.

5.4 THE CONSERVATION DILEMMA: PROTECTED AREAS AND LAND-USE CONFLICTS IN NGAMILAND

Botswana's government prioritises conservation because biodiversity protection and upkeep are required for long-term growth (Government of Botswana, 2009). The protected area system (PAS) is the most commonly regarded method of conserving Botswana's biodiversity. Maude and Reading (2010) state that about 37% of Botswana's land area is committed to wildlife protection, with around 17% designated as protected national parks and game reserves and the other 20% as wildlife management areas.

According to the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act, national parks and game reserves are managed by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP). The district is also distinguished by a variety of land uses. Existing land uses and management activities in Ngamiland broadly reflect its natural resources endowment. The district can be zoned into various land use activities (seen in fig. 19. below) that comprise communal areas, game reserves, national parks and wildlife management areas (WMAs) (Bendson, 2003).
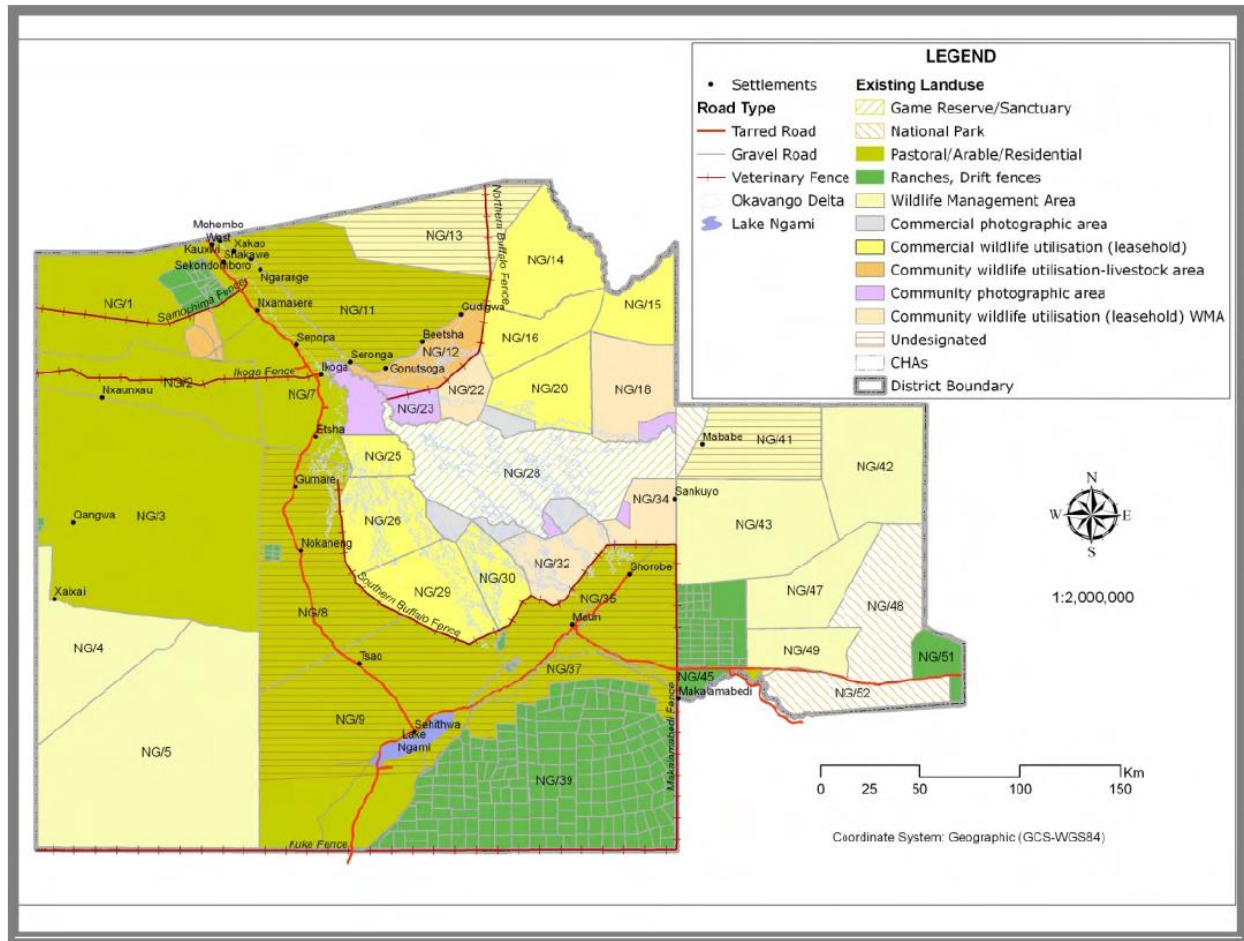
Fig. 19: Ngamiland District land-use zones (Magole, 2009)

As Mbaiwa (2005) and Taylor (2000) contend, Moremi Game Reserve and wildlife management areas in Ngamiland promote wildlife use and tourism as a significant land-use practice in the Okavango Delta. Despite their significant contribution to wildlife conservation and the country's economy through tourism, establishing protected areas has resulted in competing land-use activities between conservation authorities and communities. Furthermore, a closer look at how protected areas were formed in Botswana helps us understand how intense conflict exists between humans and wildlife in a country as vast and sparsely populated as Botswana. The protected area system is premised on the strict separation of humans and nature. However, Magole (2009) notes

that while conservation separates biodiversity from human activities, land-use decisions were taken with local resource needs, use and conservation in mind.

Nonetheless, land-use conflicts in Ngamiland, particularly the study area of Mababe, which is lodged between Moremi Game Reserve and Chobe National Park, are widespread. Bolaane (2013) disputes the claims made by Magole (2009). He argues that the proposal to establish these two protected areas did not primarily come from local communities in Ngamiland. Moremi Game Reserve was formed at the instigation of the Fauna Conservation Society (FCS), a group based in Maun with both expatriate and Batswana members. On the other hand, Chobe National Park was established by the colonial officer, Sir Charles Rey (Taylor, 2000). Though the *kgotla* forum was used to present the proposals for establishing these protected areas, it prevented marginal communities, such as the Ts'exa of Mababe from accessing land.

Moremi Game Reserve was established on 15 March 1963 for its scientific and environmental importance, as it is located within the Okavango Delta. Moremi Game Reserve's boundaries were extended in subsequent years to incorporate the sand island, now popularly known to tourists as Chief's Island. With this addition and a further extension made in 1991, the reserve now covers over 4,871 square kilometres and is almost a third of the size of the Okavango Delta (Bolaane, 2013). On the other hand, Chobe National Park was established earlier than Moremi Game Reserve. Taylor (2000) states that an increase in local hunting activities in the Chobe area led to a stretch of 15,400 square kilometres of Chobe Crown Lands being gazetted as a game reserve in 1960, which incorporated the villages of Mababe and Sankoyo. However, the park boundaries were later reduced to exclude Mababe and Sankoyo from the park area.

Creating these protected areas in Ngamiland meant that local communities lost significant land areas they relied on for survival. While the people of Mababe do not keep any domestic animals,

land provides them with veld products and raw materials needed in their daily activities. Mbaiwa (2002) notes that the community of Mababe is restricted from accessing areas they once traversed as their hunting grounds. Coupled with the booming tourism industry and growing recognition of ecosystems, communities realised that the demarcation of protected areas presented opportunities to monetise natural resources that did not benefit them, escalating their land-use conflicts with the DWNP.

The growing concerns over land use created an urgency to engage with the community of Mababe, leading to the implementation of a CBNRMP programme to reduce land-use conflict. Mogende (2016) notes that the community of Mababe utilise CBNRMP opportunities through their trust, Mababe Zokotshana Community Development Trust (MZCDT). Through the trust, the community has been given a wildlife management area (WMA) NG41, designated for extractive wildlife utilisation. The goal of awarding the WMA to the community of Mababe was to promote the empowerment of the local community and share the economic benefits of protected areas to avoid land alienation protests (Mbaiwa, 2002). Furthermore, the community utilizes the WMA for CBNRMP activities that are meant to motivate the community to conserve natural resources and benefit economically from their efforts (Masunga and Thebe, 2021). Despite the efforts to manage the conflict, it remains a recurrent feature in Mababe. The competition for land resources between the DWNP and the community of Mababe has escalated, leading to resentment toward the general practice of conservation.

5.5 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter presented the links between Botswana's historical experiences, economic systems, the development of land tenure, identity politics and the realm of conservation and protected areas. The chapter highlighted the fact that prior to colonisation, land in Botswana served an important

purpose and was controlled by local leaders. However, the arrival of the British reshaped the country's politics and economy, including land management systems, giving birth to new tenure systems that superseded local leaders' powers in managing land resources. Furthermore, the chapter recorded the growth of the diamond, tourism and beef industries, three land-intensive economic systems, as catalysts of the current land tenure systems that perpetuate contested relocations.

The chapter also positioned identity politics in the struggles of marginalised groups who have been dispossessed of land. The chapter further examined the dynamics of the protected area conservation system in Mababe and how it has resulted in conflict between the community and the DWNP. This chapter reviewed several issues on protected areas, land-use disputes and their management in protected area management. However, it is evident that most literature concentrates on the nature of land-use conflicts emanating from protected areas and often overlooks their mitigation through various strategies. More emphasis is placed on CBNRMP programmes as conflict management strategies without relating them to conflict sensitivity and conflict management theory.Furthermore, the literature on land-use conflicts and protected areas has confined itself to linking land to livelihoods and how restricted access to land due to protected areas has led to disputes. Little has written on the conflict management strategies employed and their effectiveness. Hence, the study attempted to fill this literature gap by examining and evaluating the efficiency of conflict management strategies used to deal with protected areas and land-use conflicts in Mababe in the Ngamiland District.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

6. INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the study's results, focusing on the field research and findings. It summarises field research data from community and key respondents, observations and comprehensive literature reviews. The study sought to critically evaluate the effectiveness of strategies employed by the Botswanan government through the DWNP to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe, Ngamiland District. The specific objectives of the study were:

- To investigate how protected areas restrict access to land and resource utilisation by the community of Mababe.

- To assess the causes, types, nature and intensity of land-use conflicts in Mababe.

- To assess community perceptions about protected areas, land use and their relationship with stakeholders.

- To identify the strategies used by the DWNP to manage land-use conflicts in the area.

- To critically review the effectiveness of the DWNP strategies to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe.

6.1 DEMOGRAPHIC OVERVIEW OF RESPONDENTS

This section presents the demographic characteristics of eighty-seven (87) respondents interviewed for this study. It highlights their age, gender, highest education level and employment status. The age distribution of respondents varied. Most respondents were 45 to 65 years old and

represented 56% of the total. Respondents between 25 to 45 years of age represented 26% of the total. Those below the age of 25 made up 11%, while 7% were above 65 years old. The researcher also collected data from both genders, 64% were male, while 36% were female.

The education levels of the respondents also varied. The respondents included those without education and those with some level of education, ranging from primary and secondary to tertiary education. Out of the eighty-seven (87) respondents, 45% had tertiary education, 36% had no education, 4% had secondary education and 15% had primary education. Though 36% of the respondents had no formal education, the researcher acknowledged that they possessed indigenous knowledge. Most of those with no formal education were equally familiar with the issues surrounding protected areas and land conflicts as those who had received formal education. Regarding respondents' employment status, 53% of the eighty-seven were formally employed by the government, private tourism facilities and community trusts, 21% relied on informal employment opportunities (Ipelegeng Public Works Programme) and 23% were unemployed.

Table 9: Demographic characteristics of the respondents

Demographic Characteristic	Number	Percentage %
Age (in years)		
65+	5	7%
45–64	49	56%
25–44	23	26%
Below 25	10	11%

Gender		
Male	56	64%
Female	31	36%
Educational Level		
No Education	31	36%
Primary Education	13	15%
Secondary Education	4	4%
Tertiary Education	39	45%
Employment Status		
Formal Employment	46	53%
Casual Employment	18	21%
Unemployed	23	26%

Though the respondents' age, gender, educational levels and employment status varied, they all demonstrated considerable knowledge about protected areas and land-use conflicts. The diversity of the respondents also provided different experiences, opinions, perceptions and suggestions regarding protected areas, land-use conflict and conflict management in Mababe and beyond.

6.2 NATURE AND MANAGEMENT OF PROTECTED AREAS IN MABABE

Botswana's protected area conservation system dates to the late 1800s (Campbell, 2004). It is rooted in the British colonial government's land-use and management policies. In Ngamiland, the first protected area was Moremi Game Reserve in 1963 and Chobe National Park in 1967. The study area of Mababe is located between these protected areas, Chobe National Park to the north and Moremi Game Reserve to the south. Research has already been done in the area with regards to livelihoods and people–environment issues (Taylor, 2000).

The abundant wildlife around Mababe makes it an ideal tourism destination. The Botswana government's interest in the effective and sound management of the protected areas on the village's periphery is in part linked to the desire to promote sustainable tourism development. The Ministry of Lands and Water Affairs (MLWA)[3] is Botswana's custodian of land resources. However, the Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) makes recommendations regarding the gazetting of protected areas. The key informants from the MLWA cited that the DWNP is mandated to implement national policies to promote conservation. Therefore, the department is responsible for identifying conservation areas and advising the MLWA on allocating land for communal use or as protected areas. The process for the demarcation of land for protected areas from the MLWA is as follows:

- **Stage 1:** Identification of resource-endowed areas by the DWNP. (These include areas rich in biodiversity.)

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[3] The Ministry of Lands and Water Affairs (MLWA) was founded in 1968 to manage Botswana's land and water resources. The Ministry's mandate is to provide effective land administration and management in order to promote socio-economic development through land servicing. It also provides water delivery and grey water re-use for home and agricultural growth.

- **Stage 2:** The DWNP alerts the MLWA on the identified areas for protected area status for demarcation and gazetting.

- **Stage 3:** The MLWA assesses the identified areas and how the decision to protect them might impact future land uses.

- **Stage 4:** The land recommended by the DWNP as a potential protected area is demarcated by the MLWA and powers to manage the area are transferred to the DWNP. Although the MLWA is the custodian of land in Botswana, the study established that the powers to manage protected areas are vested in the DWNP by the 1992 Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act. Reference can also be made to the establishment and management of Nxai and Makgadikgadi National Park, which was done through the recommendations of the DWNP (Mbaiwa, 2005; Stone, 2013, Darkoh and Mbaiwa, 2009).

The study highlighted that the process of demarcating land for protected areas lacks sufficient public participation. The DWNP and the MLWA acknowledged the possibilities of loss of livelihoods and increased poverty as a result of establishing protected areas. The Department of Social and Community Development (S&CD) in Maun responsible for community livelihoods is excluded in the process, an occurrence that is likely to lead to overlooking socio-economic factors in the establishment of protected areas. Brown and Bird (2011) cite the importance of stakeholder engagement in establishing protected areas. The scholars mention that expert advice is needed from all stakeholders, particularly those responsible for livelihood promotion, which has not been the case in Ngamiland. While the DWNP acknowledges the participatory governance model of conservation, they fail to create spaces for participation. As Taylor (2000) argues, this is because DWNP has tended to adopt a preservationist approach that promotes conservation over human dynamics.

The study provided insights into the management practices of protected areas employed by the DWNP. The 1990 National Policy on Natural Resources Conservation and Development documents the importance of co-management of wildlife resources with Botswanan communities. However, the field research in Mababe revealed that government officers do not fairly implement the principle of participation. Instead, a top-down and exclusionary approach that disadvantages the community is adopted. Government officials also dominated the management of these protected areas at the expense of including community members. A village elder, during the in-depth interviews, mentioned that:

The PA management system makes us feel insignificant as the primary custodians of our land and its resources. We also have ideas and opinions necessary to conserve such resources, but our continual exclusion from decision-making processes hurts and disadvantages us. That is why we constantly approach the DWNP and the MLWA with anger.

The literature and interviews with MLWA and DWNP officials noted that protected areas are classified as state land[4]. The Revised Botswana Land Policy of 2019 indicates that the government owns and controls state land. Decision making regarding its use is, therefore, the responsibility of the state. The study observed inconsistencies between the policies and statutory instruments regarding the management of protected areas. While the 1990 National Policy on Natural Resources Conservation and Development favours co-management and participatory decision making, the State Land Act, which encompasses protected areas, places the sole responsibility for managing land resources on the state. MLWA officials further affirmed that state land and what

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[4] State land refers to an area owned, controlled or operated by a department, agency, institution or political sub-division of the Botswana government.

happens within it is the government's prerogative. This does not provide a significant opportunity for other land users to be part of the land management process. As Taylor (2002) observes, management of protected areas in Mababe is restricted to the DWNP and fails to acknowledge the overlapping relationship between management and community land rights, opinions, choices and perceptions.

Protected areas in Mababe alienate the community from land and its resources, leading to unsustainable livelihoods. As Krantz (2001) notes, land contributes to the resource base that communities depend on for sustenance. With the aid of the sustainable livelihoods approach framework, the policies and statutory instruments concerning land and conservation can be classified as transforming processes. These policies and statutory instruments negate the community's opportunity to manage, use and control land resources. Moreover, the DWNP and the MLWA enforce policy principles that undermine the community's participation in the management processes of protected areas. The study observed that the state's top-down approach is a significant impediment to community participation in establishing and managing Mababe's protected areas.

6.3 LAND USE AND STAKEHOLDERS IN MABABE

Freeman (1984) defines stakeholders as those affected by decision makers' choices and actions, as well as those who can influence those choices. In protected area management, stakeholders can be individuals, groups, communities and organisations (Mannetti et al., 2019). This study categorised stakeholders into three broad groups: the policy and legislative makers, communal land users and the private sector. The study further examined the stakeholders' different land-use patterns, needs, interests and positions, which provided an overview of their influence and roles in land use and the conflicts emanating from the different land-use patterns.

6.3.1 Policy and legislative makers

The Department of Wildlife and National Parks (DWNP) and the Ministry of Lands and Water Affairs (MLWA) were identified as the key stakeholders in managing Mababe's protected areas. The MLWA is confined to demarcating land for protected areas and documenting these protected areas to avoid allocating land for other uses nearby, such as residential plots. The DWNP, on the other hand, implements conservation policies in the demarcated areas. Interviews with key respondents identified the DWNP as the driver of conservation policies through its parent ministry, the Ministry of Environment and Tourism. The policy formulation process in Botswana is initiated by identifying a concern, such as the extinction of wildlife, in the case of the DWNP. The suggested policies are then discussed at the parliament level and legitimised. Once legitimised and approved, the policy is implemented by identified stakeholders (Mbaiwa, 2005). The key informants substantiated that the DWNP uses the land to carry out their conservation mandate and purposes. A respondent from the DWNP also indicated that their department uses an ecosystem approach to conserving and managing renewable natural resources adopted by the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD). The respondent stated that:

> *Our interest in land and protected areas is to conserve natural resources by reducing pressure to ascertain sustainable utilisation. We also strive to create fair and equitable access to biodiversity benefits by various stakeholders.*

This finding supports the perspective scholars like Andrade and Rhodes (2012) share on the roles of government agencies and protected areas. They mention that these agencies use land for conservation purposes and influence the formulation of policies and regulatory frameworks that support conservation and economic benefit.

6.3.2 Communal land users

The communal land users for this study were identified as the community of Mababe. To many communities, land has specific cultural and spiritual values, which ultimately form the basis of their existence (Isdori, 2016). Furthermore, land is an important natural capital that facilitates community livelihoods, coping strategies, adaptation and resilience, making it vital for community sustenance. The current understanding of livelihoods in Mababe emphasises access to land, as the community largely depends on land and its resources for its livelihood. Hence, land remains the most fundamental resource in Mababe. Through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, community respondents were asked to state the significance of land in their daily lives.

In the study, community respondents, particularly women, emphasised the importance of land to food security. The respondents mentioned that land acts as their food bank, as it offers a variety of edible veld products and wildlife. Hence, the community has configured its food system to utilise the land and resources for subsistence. In one of the focus group discussions with elderly women they explained that:

> *Land is our source of food. Without land and its resources, we cannot survive. The land has wild berries, wild fruits, wild vegetables and wildlife that we collect and hunt to survive.*

The timing of data collection also coincided with the harvest season. The researcher observed that both men and women collected *rothwe* (Cleome gynandra)*,* a staple food in Mababe. The leaves of the plant were harvested, boiled and dried to preserve it. The study also noted that *motsentsela* (Berchemia discolour) and *mokgomphathe* (Grewia flavescens) form part of their diet. Elderly women stated that land is host to animals that provide meat for their dietary needs. Some

166

community members explained that land access allows them to uphold their spiritual and cultural practices. The respondents mentioned that, as a San community, they engage in annual spiritual and cultural activities, including marriage, trance dances and thanksgiving. An elderly man indicated that iconic places around the village of Mababe serve spiritual purposes. She gave an example of a pond used for annual thanksgiving celebrations. As stated by the respondent, they grew up to find their parents and elders visiting the pond and could not specify why they use it and not others found nearby. The thanksgiving ceremonies praise the ancestors for their protection and rainfall, and serve as an opportunity to ask for further blessings. Guenther's (1979) study on San belief systems highlights that their most important belief is in the deity[5], a sky god, the creator of the world who withdrew after creating humans. The exaggerated importance of the pond to their culture and spirituality depicts a belief system that is vastly different from Western philosophy and locality specific. As Darier (1999) asserts, conservation efforts are based on the nature-culture divide, a viewpoint that perceives separation between human culture and nature, with culture being seen as something distinct from and often opposed to nature. Hence there is a tendency to ignore the interdependence of humans and the natural world, an occurrence perpertuated by DWNP in Mababe.

Furthermore, access to land for the Mababe community offers an opportunity to preserve their culture and language. Cultural continuity ensures cultural and social capital development and builds resilience in social systems. An elderly man revealed that:

> In Mababe, we have areas where we usually gather for our cultural activities, which I
>
> cannot reveal to you. Again, we teach our young generation our language as some are

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[5] A deity is a supernatural being, like a god or goddess, that is worshipped by people who believe it controls or exerts force over some aspect of the world (Olupona, 2014).

taught in Setswana and English at schools and often forget their language. We need land because it harbours the natural features, vegetation and wildlife we cannot name in our Ts'exa language. We take young people out on short trips and teach them the names of these trees, animals and natural features in the Ts'exa language. We cannot deny the importance of land in preserving our culture and language.

Cultural entrepreneurship also emerged as an important practice that is dependent on land. Respondents from the village development committee cited that:

There are specific activities that encompass cultural values, but also have the potential to generate financial revenue. For instance, we mimic the trance dance and healing activities when outsiders visit our village. This has become a business of making money, using our cultural themes to sustain our families. In doing so, we are particular about where we perform and therefore need unrestricted access to land.

Cultural heritage performances done by the San are locality specific. Similar cases include the Kuru Arts Festival of the San in the Ghanzi area, the Sedibelo Festival of Bakgatla, the Dithubaruba of Bakwena and the Domboshaba Festival of the Kalanga. These ethnic groups have translated their indigenous traditions, rituals, culture and heritage into economic activities for the entertainment of tourists. A commonality across these cultural festivals is that they are land-based and performed in particular areas of cultural importance (Rapoo, 2016).

The DWNP and the MLWA officials also confirmed the different land-use practices shared by the community respondents. An MLWA official noted that they are aware of the various land-use practices in Mababe and try by all means to promote the community's sustainable use of land resources. However, the DWNP officials, though knowledgeable on the different land-use

activities in Mababe, were critical of them, stating that the community brings them up to substantiate their arguments over land access in protected areas. Generally, the study espoused the importance of land to the Mababe community. The findings on land-based culture and livelihoods are consistent with that of Suzman (2001), who argues that without land, the identity, culture and livelihood of the San are compromised.

6.3.3 The private sector

The principal private sector land users in the region are safari operator companies. Madzwamuse (2005) notes that private safari tour operators have been attracted to Ngamiland and Mababe by an opportunity to benefit from protected areas. The researcher also observed two private safari companies operating in the area using Mababe's land. A official from the DWNP noted that:

> *Through its trust, the community of Mababe has been issued concession areas to manage sustainably, paying attention to conservation objectives and using them for income-generating activities. Wildlife tourism remains a priority for the trust. Without resources, they are compelled to lease these concession areas to external companies.*

The study established that although safari tour operators sign agreements with community trusts, land management officers under the MLWA oversee the process and assist communities in determining favourable contracts. The village *kgosi* explained that private tour operators have been interested in securing leases to operate in the area. Community respondents corroborated the statement from Mababe-Zokotsama Community Development Trust (MZCDT):

> *Private tourism uses land resources to promote consumptive tourism, such as safari hunting. They also promote photographic tourism, establishing safari lodges and accommodation facilities.*

While the private safari companies claim that their mandate is to assist with conservation and create employment for community members, their interests are more likely in making profits, often to the detriment of the community. Community activists noted that the construction of large-scale tourist infrastructure discourages small community-based tourism initiatives. These private companies use land for ecotourism.

The land users in Mababe and the protected areas surrounding the village have diverse, often competing interests. The stakeholders have different interests, perceptions and preferences regarding land use. Government officials focus on their mandate to protect the resources identified as protected areas. The findings are consistent with those of Darkoh and Mbaiwa (2009), who note that land users in Ngamiland have economic interests, conservation interests and subsistence objectives. The focus group discussions and in-depth interviews highlight the existence of different parties with various land-use goals, preferences and opinions. The more diverse perceptions and objectives, the more variations in land-use activities.

6.4 THE CONFLICT ACTORS

This section analyses land-use conflict between the DWNP and the Mababe community, looking at its causes, types, nature and intensity. Given the focus of this study on conflict analysis, it was important to understand the parameters and the profile of conflicts. Data regarding the land-use conflicts were collected through in-depth interviews, research and focus group discussions.

The study identified the Mababe community, the DWNP, the MLWA and private tourism and safari companies as the conflict actors. The Mababe community and the DWNP were identified as the main conflict actors. The MLWA is the custodian of land resources, including the allocation and management of land resources. As a result, the state emerges as a central figure in land-related

conflicts. On the other hand, the study revealed that private safari companies are involved in land-related activities, which also brings them in competition with local community users. Therefore, they are indirectly involved in land-use conflicts. Based on the data collected, the conflict actors and the relationships between them are illustrated in fig. 15 below.
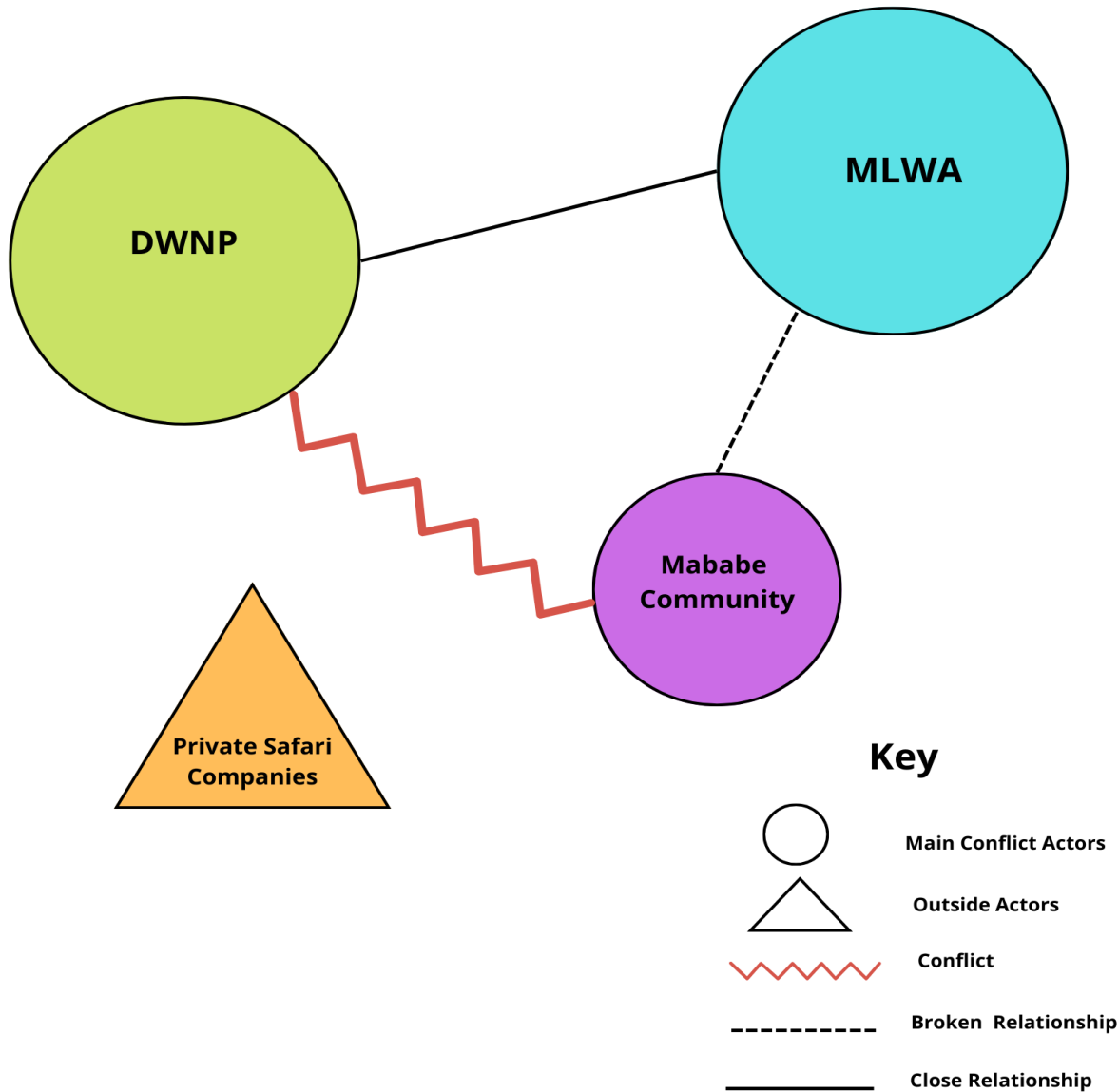
Fig. 20: Conflict map showing the relationship between conflict actors in Mababe (designed by the researcher)

The conflict map above shows the relationship between the conflict actors. The single line connecting the DWNP and the MLWA depicts a close working relationship between the ministry and the department. The MLWA demarcates proposed conservation areas with the advice of the DWNP. The dotted lines connecting the community of Mababe and the MLWA show a broken relationship between the actors. As observed during in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, community respondents partially blamed the MLWA for demarcating land for conservation areas without their consent. Community members argue that as custodians of land resources, they should be consulted and fully involved in the demarcation of conservation areas. The conflict map places private safari companies in a triangle, indicating that they are not connected to any actor. This is attributed to private safari companies being only indirectly affected or involved in land-use conflicts. However, the establishment and management of protected areas by the DWNP support their business interests, as they lease concessions in these conservation areas.

The zigzag line between the DWNP and the Mababe community signifies the conflict between the two, as the study's two main conflict actors. The study revealed that power relations between these two actors varied. Being a government department, the DWNP, on behalf of its parent ministry and the government, has the authority and legitimacy to implement conservation policies and take decisions beyond the community of Mababe. Hence, the community engaged in heated consultations with the DWNP regarding the conservation policies implemented. The policies have a reciprocal relationship with local land-use patterns, which has led to land conflicts. In one of the in-depth interviews, a community leader cited that:

> *Our complaints regarding land issues mainly involve the DWNP because they are the ones who manage and control these protected areas.*

The statement made by the community leader was reiterated by a DWNP official, who stated that they mostly disagree with land-use activities advanced by the community within protected areas. Against this backdrop, the DWNP and the Mababe community remain the main conflict actors. At the same time, the MLWA and private safari companies support the DWNP in advancing its mandate of managing land within protected areas.

6.5 CAUSES OF LAND-USE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE COMMUNITY OF MABABE AND THE DWNP

The study identified several factors regarding land utilisation as drivers of land-use conflicts between the Mababe community and the DWNP. The discussion below will highlight how conflicts on land use and access to resources developed between the Mababe community and the DWNP. It is argued that over time such conflicts have escalated.

6.5.1 Perceived land tenure insecurity

Springer and Almeida (2015) emphasise the importance of tenure systems when analysing land-related conflicts. The scholars define land tenure as the relationship between land, legally or customarily defined, and people, either individuals or groups. Land tenure encompasses rules established by societies to regulate behaviour. Rules of tenure define how property rights are allocated within communities. Tenure insecurity implies that holders of land rights risk losing them and is a significant cause of land-related conflicts, as discussed by Mbaiwa et al. (2008) and Mutangadura (2007).

Data collected from in-depth interviews and focus group discussions highlighted land tenure insecurity as one of the causes of conflict between the Mababe community and the DWNP. While some community members acknowledged that they possess land ownership certificates from the

Tawana Land Board, they believed they were invalid since the law does not permit land ownership within state land. Verification with land officials from the MLWA affirmed their concerns. They cited that the existing land ownership certificates in possession of the community and issued in the early 2000s had been nullified and new ones would be given to the community. In addition, the study revealed that the MLWA had suspended land allocations in Mababe. Although the suspensions were not documented, the MLWA official noted that they are in the process of formulating a new land-use management plan that will facilitate the conversion of Mababe into tribal land, a process he said would guide the re-allocation of land certificates.

However, community members raised concerns that formulating a land-use plan and converting Mababe from state to tribal land is long overdue, leading to discontent. The community respondents attributed the delayed issuance of land-ownership certificates to the expansion of protected areas, citing the desire of the DWNP to relocate the Mababe community. A community activist further corroborated these claims, stating that:

> *It is no secret that Mababe sits in a prime and ideal area for conservation purposes,*
> *but as custodians of these natural resources, we cannot move. The DWNP is working*
> *with the Tawana Land Board to deny us documented land ownership to make it easy*
> *to take it from us the day they want to expand the protected areas.*

Furthermore, during discussions with the village *kgosi* and headman, it emerged that Mababe is in an area demarcated as state land. In Botswana, state land is controlled by the government and is usually reserved for national parks, game reserves and wildlife management areas (Khama & Seleka, 2014). When Chobe National Park was gazetted in 1967, portions of the Mababe community's land were part of the park. Though they were initially regarded as squatters by the colonial powers, the Chobe National Park Committee recommended that it would be wrong to

174

relocate them, as they had lived in the area for a long time. Hence, the village remains as state land to the present day. Against this backdrop, official land management in and adjacent to protected areas undermines local-level mechanisms, leading to disagreements. Another issue raised by the village leadership was that of property rights. They stated that the Mababe community, through their history, culture and linkages, has land rights that are not documented. Therefore, the conflict is bound to continue if the state claims the land for protected areas to their detriment.

Officials from the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC) and Tawana Land Board, on the other hand, specified that they had at some point allowed the Mababe community to remain living on state land or initiate the conversion of their land to a tribal tenure system to afford them legal land rights. However, the community opted to continue living on state land. Nonetheless, it was clear from community respondents that the deliberations on changing the land tenure in Mababe were deceiving and misinforming. For instance, one village elder said that:

> *We were given the impression that tribalising our land would delay developments in our village and that state land and tribal land aren't actually that different. Desperate for developments, we believed what the officials from the MLWA told us.*

The village elder's response implies that the tenure conversion process eventually failed and escalated their risk of losing land rights to the DWNP for conservation purposes. While the MLWA remains the custodian of land, the study revealed that the DWNP controls wildlife-endowed areas through the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 and the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992.

Ali (2013) argues that the protected area tenure system does not provide rights and security for all land users, specifically communities, to access and utilise land. This resonates with the

community's public opinion, as they felt that because they live on state land, they can be evicted at any time to allow for expansion of the protected areas; they do not hold any documentation to secure their property rights. Hence, land-use conflicts between them and the DWNP are fuelled by tenure insecurity. Furthermore, Kvitashvili (2005) notes that communities with insecure tenure rights are often indiscriminately or forcibly removed from their land. The Mababe community finds itself in this predicament. They believe they possess informal land rights by living in the area and practising land-based culture. The community further cites that they also possess formal land rights by having land certificates that are now being nullified. They justified their standpoint by stating that the government recognises their land rights, as the Chobe National Park boundary was reduced to place them outside the park.

6.5.2 Restricted access to land and its resources

The sustainable livelihoods approach by Chambers and Conway (1992) identifies land as natural capital that offers social and economic empowerment opportunities. Land is, therefore, an opportunity from which to escape food insecurity. As Manneti (2017) confirms, restricted access to land is a driver of land-use conflicts between protected area management and communities in conservation areas. In determining the causes of land-use conflicts in Mababe, the study identified restricted access to land and natural resources.

Officials of the DWNP and the MLWA revealed that they recognise administrative-based access to land by communities. The officials expounded that administrative-based access to land and its resources in protected areas is gained through seeking permission. Access is granted by looking at the scope of land policies and statutory instruments. On the other hand, community respondents emphasised land inheritance as a means to access land and its resources. Elderly community respondents also noted that their lineage determines their access to land and its resources, as they

were the first settlers in the area before formal land management structures and policies. However, administrative-based access to land and its resources remains accepted and recognised, curtailing opportunities for the Mababe community. The study further established that access to land improves their food security. Land as natural capital offers resources vital for community sustenance. However, the protected area system in Mababe adopts an exclusionary approach that sets boundaries that restrict access to land and its resources.

Community members in Mababe are not allowed to access nor gather any livelihood resources within the protected area[6] (see fig. 21 below). Land-use conflicts occur because of the need to fulfil conservation policy obligations. These conservation policies restrict the gathering of veld products within protected areas. Restricted access to land resources therefore disrupts community livelihoods and food security. Community respondents voiced their concerns about the restrictions, maintaining that it is the reason why poverty is so high in Mababe.

While the community acknowledged receiving social welfare assistance from the government, such as old-age pensions, Poverty Eradication Programmes and the Remote Area Development Programme, they stated that these programmes perpetuate dependency and do not meet all their basic needs[7]. Hence, access to land and its resources would be ideal for supplementing the government benefits they receive. An elderly respondent also cited that these programmes are short-lived and do not improve their lives materially because they are a community that prefers to work sustainably, drawing benefits from nature.

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[6] The Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1986 and the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992 do not allow communities to gather veld products from conservation areas.
[7] The government of Botswana has a comprehensive social protection system. Botswana has about thirty overlapping welfare programmes, implemented by various government departments.

Fig. 21: Signage showing protected area boundary and restricted access for community members (Credit: Malatsi Seleka)

Community leaders were critical of the land access restrictions. The headman cited that:

> *Land is a food source and provides resources we use in crafts to generate income. Seeing the DWNP cordoning off an area we have utilised for many years is disheartening. What disturbs us more is the fact that wildlife is prioritised over us. These protected areas deny us access to our traditional social safety net. We don't have a choice, but to fight for our resources.*

Elderly women also echoed the words of the headman regarding land access and food security. The villagers were unhappy that the DWNP restricted their access to land and the opportunity to

harvest veld resources. However, officials know that some community members survive off the land. They further argued that the protected area management has cordoned off Sedungu, a place abundant in wild vegetables and fruits, even though it has served as a source of food for the Mababe community before the establishment of the Chobe National Park. Respondents from the Village Development Committee noted that restricted access to land compromises their economic activities. Hence, secure access to land and resources is important in promoting investment, improving economic growth and indirectly reducing poverty. While the community also depends on social grants and remittances from family members working in the safari companies, harvesting veld products remains their preferred and primary source of livelihood. The resultant conflicting interests between rural economic development and conservation thus drives land-use conflicts in the area.

Restricting community land-use patterns also hinders the performance of cultural activities. During the focus group discussions, it emerged that community cultural activists and the elderly in Mababe had initiated a cultural preservation project to preserve the Ts'exa language. This preservation includes documenting local trees and wildlife in the Ts'exa language and engaging in nature trips to teach Mababe youth about these resources. Protected area management policies compromise the cultural preservation initiative by restricting access to land and resources. Community members attributed the land-use conflicts to restrictions on their land access and their inability to access certain natural resources, such as ponds and veld products. Like any other remote community, Mababe residents rely on their natural capital to earn a livelihood. The SLAF (Krantz, 2001) recommends that for communities to sustain their livelihoods, access to natural capital should be facilitated by transforming existing structures, such as the DWNP in the case of Mababe. However, the restrictive policies adopted by the DWNP have denied the community access to land and

resources, leading to discontent and disputes. Haller (2010) maintains that if communities are not allowed to utilise land to sustain their livelihoods, as well as for cultural and spiritual purposes, conflicts will be a recurrent feature of life around protected areas, such as in Mababe.

6.5.3 Exclusionary governance of land resources by the DWNP

Probst and Hagman (2003) argue that participatory land management processes can assist communities in reaching an agreement on boundaries and help bring land disputes to light. However, the participation of the Mababe community regarding land-related issues is limited. The study revealed that the DWNP makes decisions regarding land without community participation. The community felt that PA management's exclusionary approach undermines their local conservation knowledge. During a focus group discussion, respondents from the Village Development Committee highlighted that their exclusion in PA management processes overlooks local knowledge and heritage systems. They maintained that when their local knowledge is not respected, a subtle form of hostility exists, ultimately leading to conflict. The frustration further escalates the conflict, as they do not contribute to policy processes. Ideally, participation in policy-making should adopt a bottom-up approach, where consultative forums such as the *kgotla* are used to convene and iron out conflicting issues. However, that is not the case in Mababe, as a top-down approach that overlooks the involvement of councillors and village organisations is adopted.

DWNP officials who furnished information during interviews validated the concerns raised by the community about participation in policy-making and implementation. They stated that they manage protected areas using the guidance of policies and acts; some operations, they argued, are straightforward and do not require the community's consultation. While they acknowledged the importance of participation, their understanding of the practice suggested that they saw participation as a consultative process, rather than a collaborative one. It is therefore unsurprising

180

that the absence of a participatory approach in PA land management has broken trust between the DWNP and the Mababe community.

The community also raised concerns about DWNP's PA boundary management processes. The Village Development Committee (VDC) cited the construction of a cutline[8] on the fringes of the village. During a *kgotla* meeting, the DWNP maintained that the cutline is a fire breaker to manage the spread of veld fires. However, it later turned out that the cutline was the new Chobe National Park boundary. The VDC argued that the community was deceived and given false information regarding the cutline's purpose, which led to discontent and escalation of land-use conflicts with the DWNP. The improper operation of PA land management and governance institutions, including a lack of transparency, trust and equity, is a driver of conflict between the DWNP and the Mababe community.

6.5.4 Population Growth

Mosroe (2011) notes that rapid population growth and migration reduce land availability, causing communities to move towards PAs and triggering land-use conflicts. Population growth is linked to land-use conflict by the additional land required for livelihoods. In Mababe, population growth has increased the community's demand and competition for land. The land overseer noted that the rise in Mababe's population in recent years has increased the demand for land, as homesteads have multiplied and more land resources need to be exploited. This is confirmed by the variations in the 2001 (157 people), 2011 (230 people) and 2021 (373) national population censuses. Key respondents from the MLWA acknowledged that the land-use conflicts between the community and the DWNP are triggered by population pressure, negatively affecting informal land

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[8] A cutline refers to a strip of land that has been cleared to prevent a fire from spreading. The construction of a cutline can be done by mechanised equipment, such as bulldozers.

arrangements and conflict resolution mechanisms. However, the Village Development Committee stated that the MLWA should have considered population dynamics and projected increases when demarcating land for protected areas to avoid future land-use conflicts. The increased demand for land resources in Mababe has escalated land-use conflicts, as the community now encroaches on protected area boundaries in search of food resources.

According to Wehrmann (2008), land-use conflicts can be classified according to their social dimensions. In the context of Mababe, the study established that the conflict occurs at a non-violent level. This is because respondents from the Technical Advisory Committee, the DWNP and community members stated that the differences regarding land-use patterns have not resulted in any use of physical force, but rather in other ways, such as dialogue.

Furthermore, the study revealed that the land-use conflict between the DWNP and the Mababe community could be classified as structural, interest and value conflicts. According to Moore (1996), structural conflicts emanate from oppressive or unequal human interactions or relationship patterns. Interest conflicts occur when two or more contradictory interests relate to an activity or process, whereas value conflicts arise when actors hold strong personal beliefs in disagreement. During the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, it emerged that the land-use conflicts are as a result of oppressive patterns of land management imposed by the DWNP as an arm of the government. Hence, the conflict is a struggle between the DWNP and the Mababe community, with the DWNP initiating structural changes and processes that have bred discontent in the community.

The study further revealed that land-use conflicts have interest-based dimensions. The study showed that the community's interests regarding land are purely for livelihood purposes, while the DWNP is interested in conserving land resources. The study also highlighted the value-centric

nature of land-use conflicts in Mababe. It emerged that the land-use conflicts result from incompatible land value systems. The divergent beliefs regarding the importance and significance of land and its resources by the DWNP and the Mababe community necessitate the classification of the conflict as value-based.

6.7 COMMUNITY PERCEPTIONS ON THE PROTECTED AREA SYSTEM AND LAND-USE CONFLICTS

Understanding the attitudes of local communities towards protected areas and their associated land-use conflicts is important in the long-term management of conflict to facilitate win-win situations (Morril 1995). The Mababe community, particularly the youth, expressed their displeasure at the establishment of protected areas around the village. The youth noted that they resented the protected areas and their management by the DWNP. During a focus group discussion, one youth stated:

> *I don't understand why someone should like something that draws his life backwards. In Mababe, no one likes the protected area system because it takes away our sources of livelihood. Our disapproval of the protected areas signifies that we don't want anything to do with them.*

Other community members also echoed the statements made by the youth. They felt that although, in principle, protected areas are meant to conserve natural resources and make their livelihoods sustainable, it has heightened poverty in the community, despite the existence of social welfare programmes. The escalating poverty, resulting from exclusionary management and control of land within protected areas, has created animosity between the two conflict actors. These claims were further corroborated by a cultural and human rights activist in Mababe:

The way protected areas are managed has led to anger and hatred. It is even worse because when we see vehicles from the DWNP passing through our village, we look at them as looters. After all, their offices and practices have taken away our livelihoods.

The negative attitude towards protected areas has resulted from communities' marginalisation and restricted participation in PA management processes. The community believes their local conservation knowledge was overlooked when formulating the protected area management policy. Hence, they cannot uphold and support the use of alien knowledge (government policies) while their own knowledge systems are ignored.

DWNP officials confirmed their awareness of the community's negative attitudes towards protected areas. The officials attributed this to the strict management of protected areas and resources, stating that uncontrolled access and utilisation leads to unsustainable use of biodiversity. They believe the community does not want to be guided on utilising these natural resources. They further mentioned that these negative attitudes are increased by the community's fear that protected areas might encroach on their village, leading to their displacement. This shows that the community views protected areas as an impediment to their continued existence.

Community members perceived the existence of land-use conflicts in different ways. The youth and village extension team members[9] viewed land-use conflicts as harmful. Community members stated that the protracted disputes over land and its resources delay the village's economic development. A member of the village development committee cited that:

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[9] The village extension team is made up of government workers in particular villages, including teachers and nurses.

We spend much time deliberating on these land-use conflicts during the kgotla meetings. It does not end there. Even VDC and community trust meetings are always about land conflicts. The community has channelled all its energy into these conflicts, rather than investing their time in bettering the community.

All of the community respondents confirmed the existence of land conflicts – most notably, community elders. The respondents stated that land-use conflicts imply unjust and unpleasant PA management processes that need to be re-evaluated. The conflict emanates from the community's attempt to defend its natural capital. One elderly community member noted the following:

I support the existence and openness of land-use conflicts between the Mbabe community and the DWNP. This is because conflict signifies our disagreement and displeasure regarding protected areas and their management. Without a clear argument, it will show that we have no complaints and support the PA's establishment and management patterns.

6.8 CONFLICT MANAGEMENT STRATEGIES EMPLOYED IN MABABE

Communities marred by conflicts are prone to social, economic and political failures (Galtung 1996). Managing conflict is important for the effective functioning of society and individuals' personal, cultural and social development. Therefore, as Fedreheim and Blanco (2017) note, conflict management strategies should be chosen depending on one actor's concern for others versus the concern for self. Any actor involved in the conflict should have an innovative and productive conflict management objective. Warner (2009) further notes that conflict actors' nature, history, intensity, values and interests determine the strategies they come up with to reduce

disagreements. He states that one or both conflict actors can opt to withdraw, accommodate the preferences of the other, use force and even use consensual approaches to manage conflict.

The land-use conflicts between Mababe residents and the DWNP have created an unreceptive environment. The ongoing differences between the DWNP and the community point to the need to formulate and introduce a conflict management strategy. The study noted several attempts by the district commissioner in 2012 and 2018 to mediate the land-use conflict between the DWNP and the community through negotiations and reconciliations, which were unsuccessful. The mediation attempts started through dialogue initiated by the Mababe community, the MLWA and the DWNP. Since the conflict is based on access, an ideal conflict management strategy requires co-management principles to offer the Mababe community access to land management and utilisation.

The Community-Based Natural Resources Management Programme (CBNRMP) remains the only conflict management strategy employed by the DWNP to ease land-use conflicts with the Mababe community. According to DWNP and VDC respondents, the CBNRMP offers an opportunity for co-management that facilitates a collaborative decision-making platform, allowing both parties to negotiate, define and guarantee equitable sharing of management functions, entitlements and responsibilities regarding land and protected areas. A DWNP official stated that:

> *CBNRMP is our co-management tool that also serves as a conflict management strategy. We know that the conflict will never end without devolving powers to the community in managing PAs and land resources within them.*

Discussing the parameters of the CBNRMP as a conflict management strategy, it was observed that it acts as a mechanism to empower the Mababe community to leverage existing natural

resources in ways that enhance economic opportunities. Using the SLAF framework, the study established that the CBNRMP was an attempt to allow the community to utilise its natural capital and generate financial capital from these resources (c.f. Krantz, 2001). The introduction of CBNRMP was meant to create livelihood alternatives for the Mababe community, thus reducing discontent over land within and on the periphery of protected areas.

The position of DWNP officials is that the land and resources within PAs belong to the state. All resources within protected areas are thus not for public use. However, as custodians, communities cannot be denied the opportunity to utilise them for their own subsistence. Officials maintained that CBNRMP is a tool for conserving and managing state-owned natural resources. The benefits that accrue to local communities are the cost of living with PAs. Utilised by both the community and the DWNP as a land-use conflict management strategy, CBNRMP offers significant means of addressing many of the concerns that propel land-use conflicts.

The CBNRMP intends to harmonise all the divergent land-use interests and preferences within PAs to reduce the potential of conflicts by using a multi-stakeholder participation approach. Though a few community respondents were not knowledgeable about the CBNRMP, most were aware of its implementation through the activities of the village development trust, known as the Mababe Zokotsama Community Development Trust (MZCDT). However, they were sceptical of its success in dealing with their land-use conflicts with the DWNP. Regarding MZCDT, CBNRMP, land resources and conflicts, the village *kgosi*, Mr Kebuelemang, stated that:

> *The DWNP realised they needed to compensate us for the restricted access to land and its resources within protected areas, which caused conflict. They have decided to empower us through CBNRMP by awarding MZCDT wildlife management area NG41*

to derive economic opportunities and benefits. This reduces our over-reliance on land

and concentrates on extractive wildlife utilisation.

MZCDT members are sourced from the community; they elect trust administrators to implement CBNRMP initiatives. Mbaiwa and Thakadu (2011) expound that community trusts draw from the CBNRMP framework and the concept of social capital to engage in natural resources management for communal benefit and resource conservation. The MZCDT mainly engages in tourism projects, especially natural resources-based tourism ventures. As members of the trust confirmed, their tourism activities range from sub-leasing their concessions[10] to private safari companies providing cultural tourism and marketing ornaments created by community members. In terms of the governance of MZCDT, community respondents and the DWNP officials noted that the operation of the trust is guided by a constitution that dictates the membership and duties of the trust, the power of the board of trustees, consensual processes and decision-making. Furthermore, they noted that the board of trustees leads and directs MZCDT.

The MZCDT is responsible for liaising with potential investors, the MLWA and the DWNP regarding land use and striving to equitably share the benefits of using natural resources of the leased areas without discrimination. During the interviews and focus group discussions, the history of implementing the CBNRMP as a land-use conflict management strategy in Mababe was brought up. While the CBNRMP was introduced at a national level in 1993, it was first implemented in Mababe in 1998. Some community members acknowledged the programme, but emphasised that the DWNP and other external NGO stakeholders formulated it. Regarding programme management, the DWNP remains the facilitator and is guided by different frameworks, such as the

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[10] A concession is the right to undertake a commercial or management operation within a protected area granted by a government, community or other controlling or management body (the concessioning authority) to another party (the concessionaire), usually in exchange for a fee or share of revenues (Spenceley et. al, 2017).

Wildlife Conservation Policy and the National Conservation Strategy. Although introduced as a strategy to devolve natural resources management in Botswana, the CBNRMP remains the only programme used to manage land-use conflict and transform disagreements between the DWNP and the Mababe community.

6.9 THE EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CBNRMP PROGRAMME IN CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

Azar (1990) and Galtung (1996) maintain that successful conflict management depends on the strategy's effectiveness. Hence, the parameters of conflict management should consider the history and intensity of the conflict. In the case of land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the Mababe community, an effective conflict management strategy should be built on two foundations. Firstly, a capacity to envision conflict positively as a natural phenomenon creates the potential for constructive growth. Secondly, there needs to be a willingness to respond in ways that maximise this potential for positive change. The following section evaluates the effectiveness of the CBNRMP in ameliorating land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the Mababe community. At a national level, CBNRMP was first piloted in 1993, with several projects with the Chobe Enclave Conservation Trust. The second pilot implementation was done with Sankoyo Tshwaragano Management Trust in 1995. In Mababe, it was only in 1998 that the DWNP initiated the first CBNRMP, following the training of MZCDT trustees in Maun (Mbaiwa, 2005).

The study established that land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the Mababe community persist, despite the introduction of CBNRMP as a conflict management strategy. Furthermore, the consensus among community respondents, particularly the elderly, youth and activists, was that CBNRMP is an ineffective conflict management strategy. Many cited that its introduction has escalated, rather than reduced conflict levels. Although respondents confirmed they had initially

189

supported the programme to ease tensions with the DWNP, they were now critical of it. They were disappointed because they thought CBNRMP would devolve power to allow them equal access to land and resources, which it has not. In the community's eyes, the CBNRMP has failed to live up to its mandate to give them greater access to natural resources within protected areas and create a win-win situation by reducing competition over land resources.

The CBNRMP has resulted in more tension due to a lack of genuine devolution of authority to manage, control and utilise natural resources from the state to the community. It is also clear that there is a gap between the CBNRMP policy and its implementation. Though it gives the community the responsibility to manage natural resources, they are not given the authority to make decisions regarding the resources. While Community Development Trusts are purported to be independent, it is not the case, as the final decisions lie with the DWNP. This finding was confirmed by the VDC chairperson:

> *The CBNRMP is far from lessening our land conflicts. It is claimed that it gives us considerable power to utilise land and its resources, but the DWNP seems to be taking all the decisions and imposing them.*

However, DWNP officials refuted this allegation, asserting that the community is aware of the power it has regarding the utilisation of land and its resources. The failure of conflict management strategies can result from uneven power-sharing, which is necessary for peace (Galtung 1996). In the case of CBNRMP in Mababe, it is evident that compared to the community, the DWNP has more power and therefore possesses "competitive resources" in the form of policies and acts that support conservation. Statutory instruments, such as the Wildlife Conservation and National Parks Act of 1992, give the DWNP more power, as they are national instruments implemented in other parts of the country, such as the Central Kalahari Game Reserve and Nxai National Park. Against

190

this backdrop, a tremendous power imbalance within CBNRMP leads to the programme's failure as a conflict management strategy. The asymmetry of power suggests greater authority lies with the DWNP and this increases the probability of imposing their preferences and opinions that undermine the indigenous knowledge systems of Mababe.

The study also observed that though "power" dominated the discussions regarding CBNRMP and conflict management, the DWNP and community respondents understood the concept differently. While the community understood power as total control, a DWNP official stated that:

> *Power in CBNRMP implies a participatory interface that facilitates interaction with the community in decision-making. It is based on consensual processes that enable co-management, not one party being dominant over the other.*

The different interpretations of power by the two actors seemed to be one of the drivers of the failure of CBNRMP in managing land-use conflicts. Interviews with MZCDT officials also revealed that power dynamics hinder the success of CBNRMP as a conflict management strategy. Officials stated that although the trust represents community interests, they are not given substantial decision-making power regarding land and its resources within PAs. Hence, the community and MZCDT as a community organisation are further disempowered and cannot protect or advance their interests and preferences regarding land and resources, leading to discontent. In light of Lederach's (2014) thoughts on conflict transformation strategies discussed in chapter one, CBNRMP's failure to create an outcome beneficial to both parties and find a "win-win" solution renders it an ineffective conflict management strategy. Furthermore, the power disparities between the DWNP and the Mababe community fail to foster trust and mutually beneficial options for both parties involved in the conflict.

Bayrak and Marafa (2017) argue that social capital is vital for mutually beneficial collective action upon which communities and other stakeholders rely on managing land resources and resolving land-related conflicts. Therefore, as an adopted conflict management strategy to lessen disagreements over land-use between the DWNP and the Mababe community, CBNRMP should build its effectiveness around social cohesion and unity. However, the study revealed that as a conflict management strategy, CBNRMP has failed to build a solid foundation of social capital that has a bearing on its success. As one community member, Mr Keikabile Mogodu, stated, CBNRMP lacks the evolutionary process of changing community dynamics and affecting social capital. The programme has brought discontent among community members, making it difficult for them to work together, reach out to the DWNP and resolve their land conflicts. The programme requires that the community utilise land and its resources through a community organisation – in this case, MZCDT.

The youth and the VDC secretary raised a concern regarding MZCDT. They noted that some officials in the trust do not serve the community's interests, which undermines efforts to reduce land-use conflicts. They stated that there are cases of maladministration, favouritism and an urge to satisfy the DWNP at the expense of the community by MZCDT trustees. During data collection, community respondents stated that CBNRMP only enriches MZCDT trustees and does not have a clear beneficiation strategy that ensures an equal distribution of proceeds from CBNRMP activities. Most notably, the community stated that MZCDT entered into joint venture agreements with external partners on numerous occasions without consultations with the community. According to the VDC members, CBNRMP allowed them to do so. Meanwhile, engaging with the DWNP on the matter failed, as they protected the interests of trustees. The researcher also observed during MZCDT's AGM that the community is disjointed and at loggerheads regarding the

192

coordination and implementation of CBNRMP and its activities. While CBNRMP was introduced to reduce land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the community, ironically, it has resulted in more disputes between community members, hence rendering it ineffective.

Magsi (2013) states that in order to be effective, the conflict management process should integrate the actors' different perceptions, opinions and preferences to transform the conflict by articulating its genesis. Hence, a conflict profile should be generated to establish the conflict's parameters, the conflicting parties, stakeholders and their perceptions of the different conflict variables. However, community members hinted that CBNRMP, in its conception and implementation, has failed to integrate other needs, preferences and opinions of community members. Respondents reiterated that they were disappointed that the programme has failed to consider indigenous perceptions of nature and how it is utilised. Most importantly, they expected the programme to be constantly revised to integrate preferences and indigenous processes initially left out. An older woman stated that:

> *The CBNRMP fails to consider that a community is rarely homogenous. What makes sense to one person might not necessarily make sense to another. In this regard, pockets of conflict will always exist.*

Officials from the MLWA and NWDC corroborated the claims made by community members that the programme is exclusionary. They noted that CBNRMP was formulated and is managed and coordinated exclusively by the DWNP. The DWNP failed to engage stakeholders or interested parties in implementing CBNRMP to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe. It is important to note that the MLWA are custodians of land resources, while NWDC address issues of community development, building sustainable livelihoods and social empowerment for community sustenance. Hence, in carrying out their mandates, land resources are important. For instance, an

NWDC official noted that most of the VDC community projects involve the provision of housing, which is dependent on land resources. They are therefore affected by land-use conflicts and should be included in implementing conflict management strategies, as their expertise will be useful in formulating sustainable and context-specific strategies.

CBNRMP emphasises that communities utilise land and its resources for ecosystem services through tourism initiatives to generate income for development purposes, reduce over-reliance on land and reduce land-use conflicts. Although community respondents appreciated the employment opportunities brought by the provision of ecosystem services facilitated by CBNRMP, they said their needs are not only about generating income. Youth respondents stated that:

> *The DWNP assumes that because CBNRMP and its initiatives create employment for the community of Mababe, we will not raise land issues. Not all of us want or need land and resources for income-generating purposes. We don't all want to work. We also want to harvest wild berries and vegetables and traverse our land for spiritual or whatever reasons.*

Youth respondents also noted that the failure of CBNRMP in resolving land-use conflicts can be attributed to the fact that it does not offer tenure security. Community activists stated that even though it intends to give communities access to land and resources, the programme is silent on who owns the land itself. It emerged that CBNRMP does not indicate who has property rights. Community respondents further maintained that CBNRMP does not offer any transition of land control from the state to the community. The land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the Mababe community centre around access and control of land and its resources, which is also dependent on the nature of the land tenure system. The community is aware of potential competing claims, encroachment or eviction, since CBNRMP does not transfer property rights to the

community. Community respondents also noted that they have insufficient capacity to defend their property rights, as CBNRMP does give them the traditional authority to manage and control land and its resources. Gilbert (2014) argues that government institutions and communities should be involved in all processes for formulated conflict management strategies to work. A win-win situation would be ideal for fostering conflict transformation and developing a participatory interface in efforts to ease conflict.

Another observation made during interviews with DWNP officials was the inconsistent narrative that CBNRMP is the ideal vehicle for managing land-use conflicts. The interviews revealed that CBNRMP lacks legal and institutional support and can be superseded by other frameworks, such as the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1989. Furthermore, there are no legal obligations for CBNRMP to offer the community an opportunity to access land and its resources. Conservation, rather than development motives, fundamentally drive CBNRMP initiatives, as there are no overarching frameworks that garner more community benefits to reduce conflicts. Hence, overlooking these occurrences further contributes to the existence of land-use disputes. Focus group discussion respondents also cited that the state and its private-sector allies had manipulated CBNRMP to suppress the community's economic, institutional and social interests, escalating land-use conflicts. Although officials from the DWNP and the Technical Advisory Committee (TAC)[11] considered CBNRMP as an ideal conflict management strategy in dealing with land-use disputes in Mababe, they cited it does not have an acceptable degree of political acceptance and budgetary commitment from the government. For instance, they mentioned that community capacity for CBNRMP implementation had not been built to the necessary level and community

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[11] The TAC is a district body, coordinated and facilitated by the Department of Wildlife and National Parks and is comprised of NGOs and government departments who give guidance on community-based natural resource management.

structures are not sufficiently capacitated to coordinate and implement CBNRMP initiatives. The lack of MZCDT and community capacity for natural resources management overshadows the effectiveness and potential of CBNRMP. Warner (2000) maintains that the success of conflict management processes hinges on the ability and knowledge of the conflict actors about the strategy employed.

The CBNRMP has failed to ameliorate land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the community in Mababe. The study also revealed that the inefficiency of CBNRMP has consumed time and resources, without necessarily addressing the conflict. In summary, disputes over land in Mababe need to be viewed in the context of a complex web of community needs, demographic change, new development pressures, structural, economic, legal and political inequalities and the multiple interests and values of different stakeholders. CBNRMP needs to be scaled up to reduce land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the Mababe community.

6.10 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter presented the results of the field research, including interviews with various stakeholders. Attempts to understand land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the Mababe community were at the core of the study. What emerged is that there are disagreements on issues relating to access and use of natural resources and land ownership in the village. As a result, conflicts have emerged and the effectiveness of the conflict management strategies is questionable. The emergence of land-use disputes in Mababe is attributed to several factors, such as the restricted access to land and its resources, land tenure insecurity, demographic changes and exclusionary approaches to land management processes. The disputes between the principal actors are classified as structural, interest-based and value-driven conflicts. The Mababe community resent the protected areas system and other wildlife conservation initiatives around the village. They view

the protected areas as disruptive to their livelihood, igniting conflict between them and government officials, namely the managers of the protected area (DWNP). CBNRMP, introduced in Botswana in 1993 as a strategy to devolve powers to manage natural resources to communities, has been used as a conflict management strategy. The programme is aimed at creating incentives and conditions for an identified group of resource users within defined areas to use natural resources sustainably to meet their livelihood needs. Despite the introduction of the programme in Mababe, conflicts have persisted.

The respondents argued that the programme is ineffective in managing land-use conflicts because it lacks the basic features of a conflict management model. They suggest that an evaluation of CBNRMP is necessary. The programme's effectiveness in managing land-use conflicts with the DWNP would be a key starting point. Its current weaknesses should be reassessed, as it was initially conceived to promote community-based resources management initiatives. Based on these discussions, the following chapter discusses options and frameworks for improving the efficacy of CBNRMP as a land-use conflict management strategy in Mababe.

<p style="text-align:center">CHAPTER SEVEN</p>

<p style="text-align:center">CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS</p>

7. INTRODUCTION

The study explored how a small community in the Ngamiland District engaged with the local authorities, government officials and policies. In an area with conflicting claims to land, the people of Mababe find themselves competing with the DWNP for access to land. Indigenous communities worldwide are fighting for recognition of their right to own, manage and develop their traditional lands, territories and resources. Communities are confined by government policies, which regulate how land and various resources are accessed and used for everyday livelihood activities, such as collecting veld products. The study sought to evaluate the effectiveness of strategies employed in managing land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the community of Mababe. The study further sought to understand the causes and drivers of the conflict and to propose information that would assist in reforming or developing improved conflict management strategies to address them. The issues explored were conservation policy implementation, governance of resources, government-people relationships and local governance operations. The land-use conflicts between the Mababe community and the Department of Wildlife and National Parks were studied in the context of a peace and conflict management paradigm.

7.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The study highlighted several factors which are drivers of land-use disputes between the DWNP and the Mababe community. The DWNP, as an arm of the government, has more power to make decisions than the community. This power draws from their role as the authority implementing the process of creating protected areas. Thus, the community has been restricted from utilising land

and its resources by the DWNP, leading to conflicts between the community, government officials and other actors.

Community respondents believe land-use conflicts with the DWNP are fuelled by land tenure insecurity, demographic factors, restricted access to natural capital necessary for livelihoods and the exclusionary nature of decision-making processes in land management and resources. Furthermore, the study revealed that land-use conflicts between the community and government officials are non-violent in nature. Violent conflicts can arise where there is inequitable access to natural resources, such as in the Great Lakes region of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The conflicts in Mababe are escalated by the inability of the government to ensure equitable access to natural resources to meet the community's basic needs.

The conflicts are classified as structural, value- and interest-based. The conflict is also a result of opposing value systems and interests over land-use practices. Since the establishment of protected areas in the 1960s and the implementation of conservation policies in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the community of Mababe has, over time, been affected by the protected areas. Respondents from the DWNP attributed the negative attitudes of the community to the strict management of protected areas and resources. The challenges experienced in implementing the policies for land management in Mababe eroded the social capital necessary to simultaneously promote conservation in PAs and community livelihoods. Thus, CBNRMP was introduced to ameliorate land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the community of Mababe.

The study revealed that as a tool, CBNRMP has limitations as a conflict mitigation solution. In addition, CBNRMP lacks conflict sensitivity and transformative qualities. The community respondents stated that the programme results from a top-down approach. Hence, it fails to recognise cultural values, community preferences, power imbalances and land tenure dynamics

which are necessary success factors of conflict management strategies. CBNRMP is therefore not land-focused but rather wildlife-focused, making it an ineffective land-use conflict management strategy.

7.2 STUDY LIMITATIONS

The study experienced several limitations during the data collection exercise. The first limitation was the community's reluctance to be interviewed, as they were suspicious of the researcher's identity due to the ongoing DWNP anti-poaching patrol. With time and patience, the researcher managed to interview the community by providing an identity card, research permit and cover letter and because of intervention of the village *kgosi*. The second limitation was linked to the researcher's mobility due to the high movement of wild animals in Mbabe. Wild animals frequently roam the village and the households are scattered, with thickets obstructing a clear view of the landscape. With interviews conducted at the respondent's homes, the researcher sought the assistance of a local guide as an escort.

The third limitation is attributed to the timing of data collection. Community members spent most of their time on the outskirts of the village, collecting wild vegetables, making it a challenge to schedule interviews. Through the VDC's assistance, the researcher managed to schedule interviews in the late afternoon when community members were done with their daily activities. The researcher also intended to observe the gathering of wild vegetables and how much was harvested. However, the limiting factors were that community members trespassed into protected area boundaries in order to do so, which is also not permitted by law.

Furthermore, fatal encounters with wildlife were reported and recorded. These two factors compromised the opportunity to make observations. Lastly, the COVID-19 protocols introduced

by the Ministry of Health to curb the spread of the pandemic disrupted in-depth interview schedules. In mitigating this challenge, the researcher prolonged the data collection process and rescheduled the interviews. Despite the above limitations, the researcher is confident that the difficulties did not substantively undermine the research's objectivity and trustworthiness.

7.3 VALUE OF THE RESEARCH

The greatest value of the research lies in its theoretical contribution and that it provides a unique constructive conflict transformation lens for engaging with land-use conflict management. The study offers an innovative analytical and theoretical conflict approach to critically evaluate land-use conflict management strategies adopted by the DWNP and the community of Mababe. The research rests firmly in the critical tradition by combining constructive conflict transformation with natural resources management and land-use conflicts. Current studies mainly employ ecological theories and do not sufficiently integrate the conflict management domain to understand the dynamics of managing land-related conflicts. The study is part of a larger discussion of increasing the importance of conflict transformation in managing land-related conflicts.

Moreover, in transforming conflicts, it is imperative to look beyond the interests of the conflict actors and consider variables, such as existing structures, culture and rules and how they intertwine with the conflict management process. Hence, the research provides an opportunity to consider the effectiveness of land-use conflict management strategies and how they relate to political issues, culture and rules. The research in Mababe recorded the dynamics of land-use conflicts in novel ways, using the constructive conflict transformation theory. Furthermore, there is no similar theoretically innovative and in-depth study of land-use conflicts through the conflict management domain in Ngamiland.

Furthermore, literature that specifically addressed the topic in the context of Botswana were limited. The effectiveness of strategies employed by the DWNP and the community to manage land-use conflict in Botswana and Mababe, in particular, were reviewed. Literature on the protected area conservation system in Ngamiland entirely focuses on the nature of land-use conflicts and community livelihoods, without evaluating the employed conflict management mechanism. Furthermore, the literature generalises the nature of protected areas and conflict dynamics, overlooking contextual factors. This study therefore focused on Mababe and explained how resource use compares with other communities locally. The study also avoided generalisations by focusing on Mababe, which was subsumed under studies of the neighbouring village, Khwai. This study addressed the research gap by evaluating the adopted CBNRMP to assess its effectiveness. A further contribution is the strategy evaluation framework that enriches existing literature on participatory conflict management strategy.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study highlighted gaps and opportunities in land-use conflict management in Mababe. Based on the findings, the study makes the following recommendations:

1. **Areas for future research:** As expounded in the dissertation, the study critically evaluated the effectiveness of strategies employed by the DWNP to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe, Ngamiland District in Botswana. However, the fact that the case study represents the management of specific land-use conflicts unique to Mababe may make the lessons learnt not easily transferrable to other contexts and communities. Expanding the study to different community contexts within Ngamiland and Botswana would be interesting to emphasise cross-cultural influences. A comparative study that applies the same research parameters would be highly informative.

2. **Harmonisation and consolidation of overlapping policy instruments**

The study revealed discrepancies between the Revised Botswana Land Policy of 2019 and the Wildlife Conservation Policy of 1989. Both policies state that communities should utilise land and other resources to create economic opportunities, jobs and income. However, the land policy gives the right to access land for sustenance to the community. By contrast, the wildlife conservation policy does not mention how communities should utilise land and its resources and to what extent. The absence of coherence between these policies makes it difficult to redress conflict in land and natural resources programmes. The policies should be harmonised to reduce inconsistencies in their stated objectives, which will benefit the CBNRMP. Furthermore, there is a need to align policy actors around formulating and implementing cohesive policies that are cognisant of institutional roles, relationships and responsibilities.

3. Comprehensive review of CBNRMP in Botswana to assess its effectiveness

CBNRMP was last reviewed by the Centre for Applied Research in 2016 on behalf of the DWNP. However, the programme still does not address the underlying values and interests of the community. In its conception, it is evident that the DWNP overlooked meaningful consolidation with the Mababe community to plan, design and implement the PA system. To resolve conflicts, an effort must be made to involve all significantly affected stakeholders. For instance, the constructive conflict transformation theory emphasises that to resolve disputes, a host of factors, such as the nature of the dispute and the goals each person or party aims at achieving, are fundamental in determining the kind of alignment a party will bring to the negotiating table. The failure of the DWNP to recognise the community of Mababe's land-based spiritual, livelihood needs and values has resulted in the failure of the programmes employed.

The exclusion of the Mababe community in the formulation of CBNRMP means that their interests and concerns were not factored into implementing the programme in the village. The DWNP, as the implementor of the programme, needs to create a stakeholder interface to improve the programme's efficiency. For instance, the MLWA and NWDC officials bemoaned the exclusionary nature of CBNRMP, despite their critical roles in general community processes, including land allocation and utilisation.

Against this backdrop, it is recommended that the DWNP evaluate CBNRMP through a participatory interest-based approach. This can facilitate acceptance in the community and promote tolerance of diversity. In this respect, CBNRMP is likely to be context-specific and promote peace, rather than escalate conflicts over land use between the DWNP and the Mababe community. The participatory framework shown in fig. 22 below is recommended for the policies

and policy guidelines that influence CBNRMP to integrate conflict variables and dynamics into the programme.
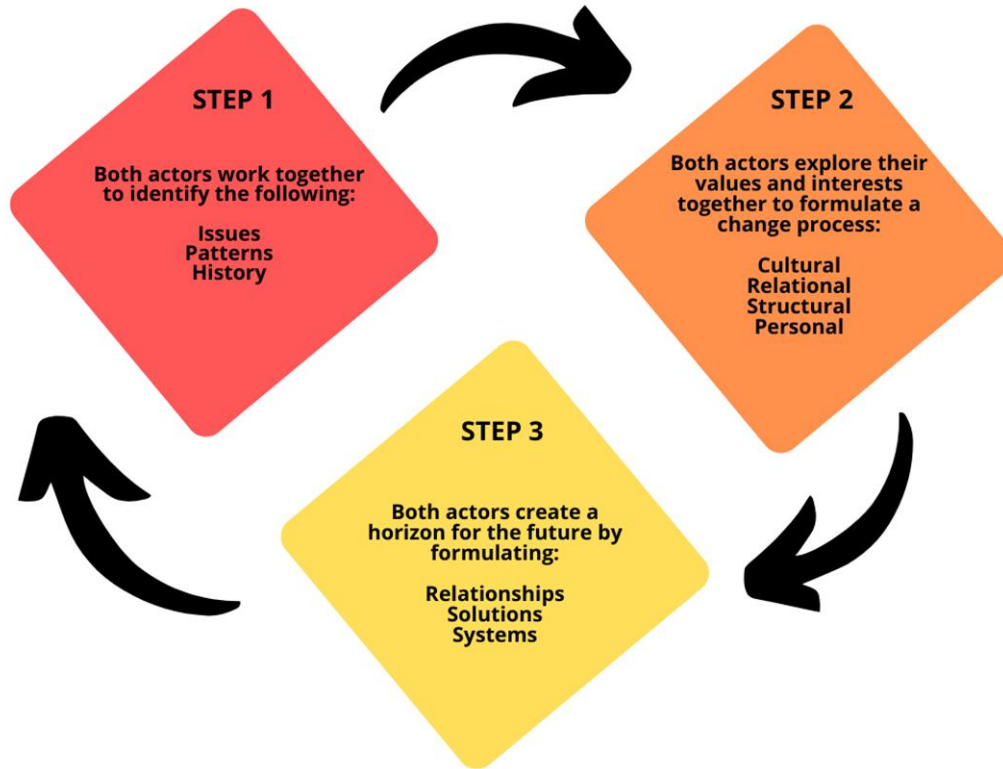
Fig. 22: Proposed CBNRMP evaluation framework (Credit: Malatsi Seleka)

The framework implies a participatory CBNRMP evaluation by the actors, the DWNP and the community of Mababe. The starting point is the framework above (fig. 22) which represents the diagnosis of the conflict and the impediments to its resolution. This step would provide an opportunity for the DWNP and the community to unpack the context of the conflict and the patterns of relationships in the past. Ideally, the main problems and the conflict profile should be identified and explained. Furthermore, there is a need to examine the historical patterns of the land-use conflicts and the attempts to ameliorate them through CBNRMP and other strategies. Understanding the context, patterns and history of the land-use conflicts will create an opportunity

to connect the past and present conflict dynamics, which will assist in identifying the factors that can be integrated into CBNRMP to make it an effective conflict management strategy.

The DWNP and other government, community and private-sector stakeholders need to explore their interactions and approaches. Most importantly, expectations concerning interests, values and protected areas, as well as land and community sustenance should be discussed. The actors should identify the values and needs of communities, social structures, organisations and institutions affected by the implementation of land-use programmes. From the perspective of the SLAF, these are referred to as transforming structures. These structures are important as groups utilise them to organise their social, economic and political relationships for sustenance. Cultural needs and values are important, as specific resources dictate the patterns of group life. Hence, identifying cultural values by the community is necessary, as the CBNRMP will be built on existing cultural processes and resources. The relational needs and values will also assist both parties in understanding interdependences and power matrixes, which will optimise mutual understanding between the community and government officials. Personal values and needs are concerned with the individual. Nonetheless, individuals belong to community units. Therefore, communities are diverse and diversity is informed by what individuals bring to the process of collective identity.

Exploring and analysing needs and values will go a long way to acknowledging diversity and promoting tolerance. This, in turn, will lay the foundation for a change process. This step is important, as recognising diverse values and interests can improve effectiveness when commitment levels to end the conflict are raised. The third step concerns what can be constructed and built to manage conflict. The last step concerns relationship formation, recognising differences, considering trade-offs and developing a proper land-use conflict management strategy. At this stage, DWNP officials and the community brainstorm on the solution (strategy or

programme) considering the conflict profile built in Step 1 and their interests and values mapped in Step 2. The actors envision a peaceful environment with positive relationships, a solution in place and systems that improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the solution.

The recommendation above is vital to make CBNRMP interest- and value-neutral. From this study, it was evident that a clash of interests is the leading cause of the conflict and that the failure of CBNRMP is due to its insensitivity to the community context that includes land-related livelihoods, interests and values. Therefore, the framework will provide a process structure for revising CBNRMP.

4. Community empowerment through capacity building and peace education

The starting point to effectively resolving conflicts is for the conflict actors to understand how peaceful relationships and structures are created. This situation necessitates capacity building and empowerment through peace education. Askerov (2010) defines peace education as a philosophy and process involving listening, problem-solving, cooperation and conflict resolution skills. It is a process of empowering people with skills, attitudes and knowledge to create better societies. Harris and Morisson (2003) further note that peace education aims to create a commitment to peace in the human consciousness and strengthen the basis of peaceful co-existence, which is instrumental in transforming human values. Effective peace education helps transform the conflict actors' knowledge, skills, dispositions and relationship (Noonan, 2014) .

Through their corporate social responsibility initiatives, private safari companies in the area and the district commissioner should facilitate conflict management workshops that cover key knowledge areas, skills, attitudes and values integral to creating peaceful environments. The workshop would assist the conflict actors in appreciating the need to resolve conflict. It would be

useful to harness the potential of empowerment and capacity building through peace education. Furthermore, it would be an entry point toward community-based education in conservation, livelihoods and land-use to promote peaceful co-existence between communities and government officials.

5. **Results-based monitoring and evaluation of the protected area system and CBNRMP to measure its conflict sensitivity**

Land-use conflicts occur in a continuum that constantly evolves. The study revealed that land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the community of Mababe have existed for many years. Nonetheless, the protected area system of conservation lacks substantive evaluations. Instead, emphasis has been put on procedural evaluations that overlook the outcomes. Evaluations are concerned with how the protected area system is implemented rather than its conflict sensitivity, despite resentment from the community. Results-based monitoring and evaluation would therefore give insights into ways to improve conflict management in the area.

Furthermore, the study revealed that CBNRMP was conceived to stimulate community-based natural resources management. Ultimately, the programme lacks indicative pointers to show whether conflict management is affected or not, though it has been employed to resolve land-use conflicts. An ideal conflict management strategy contains very clear performance indicators that assist in measuring its impacts. CBNRMP is a programme with activities; therefore, indicative pointers should be integrated to measure its success. These indicators would measure changes throughout its implementation, looking at actions, outputs and outcomes. Therefore, there is a need to formulate SMART indicators. This acronym stands for Specific, Measurable, Attainable, Realistic and Timebound objectives of CBNRMP in relation to managing land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the Mababe community. CBNRMP and conflict management

performance indicators would help track the programme's performance, inform resource allocation decisions, forecast potential conflict, while assessing the actual impact, and inform evaluative dialogues.

7.4 CONCLUSION

The study evaluated the effectiveness of strategies employed by the DWNP to manage land-use conflicts in Mababe, Ngamiland District in Botswana. The study established that land-use conflicts between the community and officials responsible for protected area management can occur where communities live adjacent to protected areas. While resolving or managing the conflict is necessary, the study has shown that it requires a participatory process where all actors are equally involved. The literature reviewed in the study also shows that, if not managed adequately, land-use conflicts can undermine social cohesion and the optimal functioning of government institutions. Nonetheless, when sound, participatory and context-specific land-use conflict management strategies are applied, conflict resolution and transformation are realistic. The study has established that CBNRMP was not conceived as a conflict management tool. In its current form, it is inadequate in ameliorating land-use conflicts. The conflict between the community of Mababe and the DWNP requires other interventions to diffuse tension and develop sustainable solutions. The research demonstrated that the programme overlooks community preferences, opinions and values. The revision of the programme by the DWNP has been confined to formative factors, rather than the results it brings to communities. This has been attributed to the nature of its conception, which followed a top-down approach. The DWNP's exclusionary nature in managing land resources in PAs, restricting utilisation and access to land and its resources, as well as its failure to integrate community culture and values undermines the successful management of land-use conflicts between the DWNP and the Mababe community.

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Appendices

Appendix One: In-depth interview guides (English, Setswana and Sisubiya)

In-depth Interview Guide in English

Interviewee's Name   : ……………………………….

Age   : …………………………………

Occupation & Position   : …………………………….....

Education   : …………………………………

Date   : …………………………………

1. Please tell me about conservation practices and the protected areas around Mababe village.

2. How are the boundaries of such protected areas established? Is the community involved?

3. How have protected areas affected livelihoods of communities in Mababe. Are there any restrictions regarding use of land and resources?

4. Since the inception of the protected area system in Ngamiland, particularly Mababe, are you aware of any land-use issues?

5. What are the main challenges faced when balancing community land needs and conservation efforts?

6. What forms of land conflicts exist and who are the involved parties?

7. Between the involved parties, who has the rights over the contested land area?

8. What are the impacts of these conflicts on conservation and community livelihoods?

9. As an important stakeholder, what are you interests on the land conflicts?

10. How do you think the community of Mababe perceives the land conflict?

11. What has been the government's response to counteract the land -use conflicts?

12. Which strategy/ strategies have been adopted to manage the land use conflicts?

13. Who formulates and implement these strategies and how long have they been implemented?

14. What are the biggest challenges faced when implementing the conflict management strategies?

15. Are these strategies making a difference? Why?

16. Is there anything you would like to add that we have not discussed?

In-depth Interview Guide in Setswana

Leina La Moithaopi   : ……………………………..

Dingwaga   : ……………………………..

Tiro le Maemo   : ……………………………........

Thutego   : ……………………………..

Letsatsi   : ……………………………..

1. Ka tswee tswee mpolelle ka tsa tlhokomelo/pabalelo diphologolo tsa naga le lefatshe le le segetsweng tlhokomelo diphologolo mo kgaolong ya Mababe.

2. Seelo sa lefatshe la tlhokomelo diphologolo se tlhomamisiwa jang? Morafe wa Mankgodi o tsaya karolo mo tlhomamisong e?

3. Mafatshe a tlhomamiseditseng tlhokomelo ya diphologolo a amile matshelo a morafe wa Mababe jang? A go nale kganelo mabapi le tiriso ya lefatshe mo morafeng?

4. E sale go simolodiwa tlhomamiso ya mafatshe a sirelegetsileng a tlhokomelo diphologolo a go nale makgwere mangwe a o a itseng ka tiriso ya lefatshe?

5. Ke dikgetlho dife tse di leng teng mo go lekeng go tsaa tsia tiriso ya lefatshe ke morafe le tshireletso ya diphologolo?

6. Dikgotlhang tse di leng teng mabapi le tirios ya lefatshe ke tsa mofuta mang? Le gone ke bo mang ba aba amegang?

7. Mo go b aba amegang, ke mang o naleng ditshwanelo mo lefatsheng le le tsosang kgotlhang?

8. Dikgotlhang tse di ama tshireletso ya diphologolo le matshelo a morafe jang?

9. Ka o nale seabe ebile o amiwa ke dikgotlhang tse, dikeletso kgotsa seemo sa gago ke eng mabapi le tsone.

10. Go ya ka wena, morafe wa Mababe o tlhaloganya kgotlhang e ya lefatshe jang? Morafe o leba dikgotlhang tse jang?

11. Goromente o tsibogetse kemiso ya dikgotlhang tsa tiriso lefatshe jang?

12. Ke maano afe a dirisiwang go laola dikgotlhang tsa tiriso ya lefatshe?

13. Ke mang yo tlhamileng ebile a tsamaisa maano a? Go lebaka le le kafe a ntse a dirisiwa?

14. Ke dikgoreletsi dife tse di leng teng mo tirisong ya maano a thibelo dikgotlhang?

15. A maano a a thibelo kgotlhang a dira pharologanyo? Ke eng o rialo?

16. Go nale se o ka buang kgotsa wa tlaleletsa?

In-depth Interview Guide in Sesubiya

Mazina a yoo vuuzwa: ……………………………………………

Zirimo za mazalo: …………………………………………….

Mosevezi ne mazimo: …………………………………..................

Mapampiri e chikoro: …………………………………..............

Mweezi nee zuva lya suunu: …………………………………...

1. Ni kumbira kuti mu ni lwire che tokomero ye zinyolozi ze nkanda zi waanwa mu muzi weenu wa Mababe, Ne inkada I vikirwa ku vavalyera izi zinyolozi

2. Ku pangiwa vulye inkanda che I fundirwa zinyolozi? Vantu vo muzi veena iyanza che ku wavirwa zinyolozi inkanda?

3. Inkanda I va wavirwa zinyolozi mu muzi weenu, e mu haza vulye mu mahalo eenu e zuva ne zuva muzi? A kwina chi mu kanerwa ku tendesa mu muzi chi swana ne inkada nandi zintu zi waanwa mu muzuka

4. Chinga ku va tangwa mohopolo o ku vavalyera inkada ne zinyolozi, a kwiina makande a sa sangisa a wiizi chaawo a yenderinzana ne ku tendeswa kwe nkada?

5. Vukaavo vu kando njo vuhi, vu mu lyi waana mwiina mu vulyi che ku kweetwa ku lyiikwa kuti mahalo a vantu mu muzi a yenderinzane ne ku vavalyerwa kwe inkanda ne zinyolozi?

6. Makwiitakwiita eena hateni a yenderinzana ne ku tendeswa kwe nkanda nje eena vulye? Hape nje vaani va lyi waana ne veena mwi ndava za teni?

7. Mu vantu va lyi waana mwa a makwiitakwiita e ndava ze nkada, njeni wiina iswanero nandi iyanza lyi kando mwi ndava ya teni?

8. Izi inkondo/ makwiitakwiita zi chita nzi kuvavalyerwa kwe zinyolozi ne mahalo a vantu mu muzi?

9. Mu kuti wiina ne iyanza mane izi inkondo naawe zi ku lyivahene, mazimo ako nwe zi ndava nje ahi?

10. Hurumende o kweete ku chita nzi che ku lyika ku manisa inkondo ze ku pangisa inkanda?

11. Nje ahi maano a kweete ku chitisiwa ku watula inkondo zo ku pangisa inkanda?

12. Njeeni a veeza nandi a va tangi iyi mehupulo? Kwina luvaka lo sika hayi mehupolo ya teni ne I kweete ku tendesewa?

13. Nje zihi zintu zi kweete zi tendeswa ku kanera aa maano o ku kanera inkondo.

14. Aa.Mehupolo yo ku kanira inkondo e lyeetete ichincheho? Chinzi ha o cho vulyo?

15 Kwiina che o saka ku wamba nandi kwi zuzirikiza?

Appendix Two: Focus group discussion guide

Focus Group Discussion Guide: English Version

Date : ………………………………………………….

Village : ………………………………………………….

Venue : ………………………………………………..

FGD Composition : ………………………………………………….

1. Please tell me about land use patterns in Mababe.

2. How important is land to your livelihoods?

3. How have protected areas affected you daily livelihood activities? Are there any restrictions on how you access or utilize land?

4. Is there any conflict between the community and those tasked with managing these protected areas? How long have the conflicts existed?

5. What forms of conflict exist and how intense are they?

6. How would you describe the current situation regarding the conflict?

7. What are the impacts of these land use conflicts on the community?

8. What are your thoughts regarding the emergence and escalation of these conflicts?

9. Do you have any options on the land conflicts?

10. Are there any conflict management strategies implemented to reduce the land-use conflicts? If yes, list and explain them.

11. How long have they been existing?

12. Who are involved in the conflict management processes?

13. How effective are the strategies? Are they making a difference?

14. Where do you think the conflict management strategies need improvement?

15. Which conflict management strategy would you prefer or suggest to ameliorate the land use conflicts?

Focus Group Discussion Guide: SetswanaVersion

Letsatsi : …………………………………………….

Motse : …………………………………………….

Lefelo : …………………………………………..

Batsenelela puisano : …………………………………………….

1. Ka tswee tswee mpolelle ka tiriso ya lefatshe mo Mababe.

2. Lefatshe le botlhokwa jang mo matshelong a morafe wa Mababe?

3. Tshego ya lefatshe le le sireletsegileng la tlhokomelo ya diphologolo le amile go itshetsa ga lona jang? A go nale kganelo ya ditshwanelo tsa tiriso ya lefatshe mo morafeng?

4. A go nale kgotlhang ha gare ga morafe le b aba thapilweng go tlhokomelang mafelo a? Go lebaka le le kahe dintse dile teng?

5. Kgotlhang e leng teng ke ya mofuta mang? Seemo sa tsenelelo ya tsone se eme ha kae?

6. Le ka tlhalosa seemo sa kgotlhang ye jang?

7. Ditlamorago tsa kgotlhang e mo matshelong a morafe ke dife?

8. O tlhaloganyo seemo sa tshimologo le tswelediso ya kgotlhang e jang?

9. A le nale kgetho nngwe mabapi le kgotlhang e?

10. A go nale maano a tsamaisiwang kgotsa a dirisiwang go hokotsa dikgotlhang tsa tiriso ya lefatshe? Fa di le teng ke kopa le di mpolelle

11. Maano a a go feditsa kgotlhang ya tiriso lefatshe a nale lebaka le le kahe a le teng?

12. Ke bo mang ba tsaya karolo mo tsamaisong ya maano a go fedisa kgotlhang e?

13. A maano a dirisiwang go fokotsa kgotlhang a dira pharologanyo?

14. Go ya ka lona, maano a a go fokotsa kgotlhang a ka tlhabololwa kgotsa a baakanngwa fa kae gore a dire pharologanyo?

15. Dikgakololo tse le ka di fang mabapi le maano a go fokotsa kgotlhang e ke dife? Le ka batla kgotlhang ye e rarabololwa jang?

Focus Group Discussion Guide: Sesubiya Version

Izuva lya suunu: …………………………………

Muzi: ………………………………………….

Mekalyiro e ndava: ……………………………

Vantu ve njiririre indava: ………………………

1.Ni kumbira kuti o ni lwiire che kutendeswa kwee inkanda mwa Mababe

2.Inkanda ina mosola vulye mu mahalo a vantu va Mababe?

3. Inkanda I vikirwa ku vavalyera zinyolozi ze nkanda I va mu viiki mu chizimo chiina vulye cho ku lyi haza? A kwiina ikanero ye ku tendesa inkanada mu muzi weenu?

4. A kwiina makwiitakwiita ha kati ka vantu vo muzi wa Mababe naavo va heerwa musevezi o ku vavalyera inkanda ye zi nyolozi? Che luvako lu sika hai aa makwiitakwiita ne ena hateni?

5. Inkondo ziina hateni nji zo muchovo wiina vulye? Maane zi njiririre ku sika hayi?

6. A mu wooka ku tu lwiira chizimo che zi nkondo?

7. Izi nkondo zi va lyeeti nzi mu mahalo o morahe wa Mababe?

8. Ku ya chaako, wiizi izi nkondo ha va tangi vulye, mane zi va tantuki vulye?

9. Kwiina ha mu lyi salyira mweezi nkondo ze inkanda?

10. A kwiina mehupulo I tendeswa ku hunguja makwiita makwiita o ku tendeswa kwee nkanda, chi kuti ku eena ni kumbira kuti moa ni lwire

11. Mehupulo yo ku zimika inkondo zo ku pangisa indanda, eena luvaka lu sika hayi, nee ina ha teni?

12. Nje vaani va kweete indava zo ku manisa makwiitakwiita e inkanda?

13. Mehupulo e kweete ku tendeswa ku hunguza inkondo, a kweete a panga ichincheho?

14. Ha mu lolyerera, iyi mehupulo yoku hunguza inkondo e woolwa ku weerwa nandi ku shiyamiswa hayi kuti zintu zi sanduke?

15. Nje ihi mehupulo nandi maano a mu woola ku aha ku lyika ku hunguza izi nkondo, Mu saka kuti aa makwitakwita a maniswa vulye?

Appendix Three: Informed consent forms

INFORMED CONSENT FORM IN ENGLISH

<u>Research Project Title:</u>

People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land-Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana

Researcher	Research Supervisor
Malatsi L. Seleka	Professor Alinah Segobye
Po Box 502086, Gaborone, Botswana	Private Bag 13388, Windhoek, Namibia
+267 72988862	+264 61 207 2418
malatsis@gmail.com	asegobye@nust.na / Alinah.segobye@gmail.com

Dear Participant,

I invite you to participate in a research study titled People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land-Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana. The purpose of the study is to contribute to the existing body of knowledge on protected areas, land use conflicts and their management strategies using the village of Mababe as a case study. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because of your social position, experience, background and knowledge on protected areas, land use and conflict management. Before you sign this form, please ask any questions on any aspect of this study that is unclear to you. You may take as much time as necessary to think it over.

What you should know about this research study:

- We give you this informed consent document so that you may read about the purpose, risks, and benefits of this research study.

  - You have the right to refuse to take part, or agree to take part now and change your mind later.

  - Please review this consent form carefully. Ask any questions before you make a decision.

  - Your participation is voluntary.

Procedures and Duration

If you decide to participate, you will be interviewed on matters related to protected areas, land use and conflict dynamics in Mababe village. You will be interviewed for a maximum of two hours. However, the interview duration can be increased or rescheduled for further discussion if more information emerges.

Risks and Discomforts

273

The study does not anticipate any risks or discomforts. Your participation will not pose any risks and discomforts. However, should you wish not to answer any particular question that you feel are risky or make you uncomfortable, you are free to decline.

Confidentiality

The data from this investigation will be analyzed and used for study purposes. Your responses will be kept strictly confidential and anonymized. Your name will not be linked with the research material and you will not be identified or identifiable. None of these will be used for commercial use.

Voluntary Participation

Participation in this study is voluntary. If you decide not to participate in this study, your decision will not affect your future relations with the University of the Free State, its personnel, and associated institutions. If you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw your consent and to discontinue participation at any time without penalty. Any refusal to observe and meet appointments agreed upon with the central investigator will be considered as implicit withdrawal and therefore will terminate the subject's participation in the investigation without his/her prior request.

Yours Faithfully,

_____

Malatsi L. Seleka, Researcher

Please fill in and return this page. Keep the letter above for future reference

----

You are making a decision whether or not to participate in this study. Your signature indicates that you have read and understood the information provided above, have had all your questions answered, and have decided to participate.

Authorization

- I hereby give free and informed consent to participate in the abovementioned research study.

- I understand what the study is about, why I am participating and what the risks and benefits are.

- I give the researcher permission to make use of the data gathered from my participation, subject to the stipulations he/she has indicated in the above letter.

_____

Name of Research Participant (please print)   Date

_____

Signature of Staff Obtaining Consent   Date

Leina La Patlisiso:

Batho le Didirisiwa tsa Tlholego: Taolo ya Dikgotlhang tsa Tiriso Lefatshe ko Ngamiland, Botswana

Mmatlisisi	Mookamedi wa Patlisiso
Malatsi L. Seleka	Professor Alinah Segobye
Po Box 502086, Gaborone, Botswana	Private Bag 13388, Windhoek, Namibia
+267 72988862	+264 61 207 2418
malatsis@gmail.com	asegobye@nust.na / Alinah.segobye@gmail.com

Go Motsayakarolo,

Ke go laletsa go tsaya karolo mo patlisiong ya go seka seka ditsela kgotsa maano a go laola dikgotlhang tsa tiriso ya lefatshe mo mafelong a tshireletso diphologolo. Patlisiso ye, e dirisa motse wa Mababe ko Ngamiland ele sekai. O tlhopilwe go tsaya karolo mo patlisisong e ka o nale kitso ka tsa tiriso ya lefatshe, mafelo a segetsweng go tlhokomelong diphologolo le dikgotlhang mabapi le mafelo a. Pele o baa monwana mo lekwalong le, botsa potso nngwe le nngwe e o naleng yone mabapi le patlisiso e go e tlhaloganya.

Se o tshwanetseng go se itse ka patlisiso e:

- O fiwa lekwalo le go itse ka maikemisetso le maitlhomo a patlisiso e.

    - O nale tetla ya go gana go tsaya karolo mo patlisisong e, kgotsa go ikgogela morago. mo go yone nako nngwe le nngwe.

    - Ka Tswee tswee seka seka lekwalo le o botse dipotso pele o tsaa tshwetso.

    - Go tsaa karolo ga gago mo patlisisong e ke ga boithaopo.

Tsamaiso Le Nako

Ha o tsaya tshwetso ya go tsaa karolo mo patlisisong e, o tla nna mo puisanong le mmatlisisi ka tsa tiriso ya lefatshe, mafelo a segetsweng go tlhokomelong diphologolo le dikgotlhang mabapi le mafelo a. Puisano e e tla tsaa sebaka se se sa feteng oura tse pedi. Ka go nale kgonagalo ya gore go nne le dintlha tse dintsi tsa botlhokwa, nako e ka atologa go feta oura tse pedi kgotsa ga nna le puisano e nngwe nako esele.

Ditlamorago

Mo patlisisong e, ga gona ditlamorago tse di solofetsweng tse di ka go amang. Go tsaya karolo ga gago ga gona matshosetsi le ditlamorago dipe. Mme fela, ha go ka diragala gore o botswe potso e karabo ya one e ka go tsenyang mo diphatseng, o nale tetla ya go gana go e araba.

Tiriso ya dintlha tsa patlisiso

275

Dintlha tse di tla bonwang mo patlisisong e di tla seka sekwa go dirisediwa tsa thuto. Mo tsheka tshekong ya patlisiso, dintlha tse o di fileng, maina a gago a tla bewa sephiri mme ope a seka a itse gore o ka go bona kae.

Boithaopo

Tsela ya go tsaa karolo mo patlisisong e ke ka go ithaopa. Ha o sena kgatlhego ya go tsaa karolo mo patlisisong e, tshwetso ya gago ga ena go ama bokamoso jwa tirisanyo ya gago le University of the Free State, babereki ba yone le maphata a dirisanyang le yone. Mme ha o tsaa tshwetso ya go tsaa karolo, o nale tetla ya go ikgogela morago nako e nngwe le e nngwe go sena ditlamorago. Godimo ga moo, go tlhoka go dira le mmatlisisi jaaka le dumalane go tla dira gore botsaa karolo jwa gago mo patlisisong bo emisiwe.

Ka Boikokobetso,

_____

Malatsi L. Seleka, Mmatlisisi

Ka tswee tswee tlatsa tsebe e o e buse. Baya sentse lekwalo lele ko godimo go le dirisa nako nngwe.

O tsaya tshwetso mabapi le go tsaya karolo mo patlisisong e. Monwana wa gago o supa fa o badile gape o tlhalogantse dintlha tse di mo lokwaleong le. Godimo ga moo, o kgotsofetse ka dikarabo tsa dipotso tse o di boditseng mabapi le patlisiso e ebile o tsere tshwetso ya go tsaa karolo mo patlisisong.

Tumalano

- Ke dumalana go tsaya karolo mo patlisisong e.
- Ke tlhaloganya maikemisetso a patlisiso e le mabaka ago tsaya karolo ga mmogo le ditlamorago tsa teng
- Ke fa mmatlisisi tetla ya go dirisa dintlha tse ke tla mo di fang. Dintlha tse tshwanetse tsa dirisiwa go tserwe tsia dikgato tse di mo mokwalong o fa godimo.

_____   _____

Leina la Moithaopi   Letsatsi

_____   _____

Mmatlisisi   Letsatsi

INFORMED CONSENT FORM IN SISUBIYA

Research Project Title:

People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land-Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana

Researcher	Research Supervisor
Malatsi L. Seleka	Professor Alinah Segobye
Po Box 502086, Gaborone, Botswana	Private Bag 13388, Windhoek, Namibia
+267 72988862	+264 61 207 2418
malatsis@gmail.com	asegobye@nust.na / Alinah.segobye@gmail.com

Murumere va siiyi ndava

Ni ku sumpira kuti wi njirire indava zo ku sakisisa mehupulo nandi maano o ku laola makwiitakwiita e ndava yo ku tendesa inkada e vikirwa ku vavalyera zinyolozi. Uku ku sakisisa, ku tendesa muzi wa Mabebe mwa Ngamiland ne ilyi chiswaniso nandi chikai. O va salwa kwi njiriria uku ku sakisisa mu kuti wiizi che zamaiso yo ku tendesa inkanda, inkanda zi fundirwa ku vavalyera zinyolozi nee nkondo ziina hateni che vaaka lye zi nkanda. Che o seeni ku viika munwe waako mwe lyi pampiri, vuza chimwi ne chimwi cho o saka kwi zivisisa ahulu chaacho mu uku kusakisisa.

Che o swaneezi ku chii ziiva chooku kusakisisa

- O heewa uwu mungolo kuti oo vaalye, mane wii zive vutokwa, vurai ne zi lotu zi lyeetwa nooku kusakisisa.
- Wiina ku lyi salyira kwi njiriria nande ku kana kwi njiriria uku ku sakisisa, mane o woola ku lyi kwitira mwi sulye imwi ne imwi nako.
- Ni kumbira kuti o vaalye ilyi ingolo, o vuuza mapozo ne o seeni ku manisa muhupolo waako.
- Kwi njiriria kwaako mooku ku sakisisa, u ku chit ache vuitaopo.

Izamaiso ne nako

Chi kuti o zumina kwi njiriria uku ku sakisisa, o keeza ku wambinsana ne muntu yo sakisisa che ndava yo ku tendesa inkanda, inkanda I fundirwa ku vavalyerera zinyolozi ne makwiitakwiita a lyeetwa ne zi nkanda. Uku ku wambinsaka ku keeza ku hinda chivaka chi sa zambi mahour oo veere. Ku woola ku pangahala kuti inako I tu siiye mukuti makande o vutokwa mangi cho ku waana kuti ku wambinsana kweetu chi kwa hita mahour oo veere, nandi ku sala izuva lyingi lyo ku wambisana.

Zi woola ku pangahala mu masulye

Mooku ku sakisisa ka kwiina zi tu lyiverere zivilala zi woola ku ku pangahalyira. Ha ku pangahala kuti o vuuzwa che ntanda yo o sa woolyi ku yi tava, wiina ne ku lyi salyira kuti sanzi u yi taavi.

Ku tendeswa kwa makande a keeza kuswa mooku ku sakisisa

Indava zi keeza ku zwa mooku ku sakisisa zi keeza ku pangiswa mu zintu ze tuto. Hoonse ha o keeza ku viika mazina ako, a keeza ku wungulwa mane ka kwiina yo o woola kwi ziva kuti njoowe o vaalyi kwi tava.

Ku lyi sala

Inzira yo kwi ngiririra mooku kusakisisa nje ye vuitaopo vulyo. Heeva ka o suni kwi njiririra uku ku sakisisa, muhupolo waako keeti che o ku sinyeza mahalo ako, ku tendensana kwaako ne University of the Free State, vavereki vaayo, ne vonse va tendinsana naavo. Ha o lyi salyira kwi njiririra, o woola ku volyera ku masulye inako imwe ne imwi ne ku seena zivilala zi ku pangahalyera. Chi kuti ka o tendisane sinte ne muntu yo kweete ku sakisisa, o keeza ku zimikwa ku zwirira havusu

 Cho Vuntu,

Malatsi L. Seleka, Yo o sakisisa

 Ni kumbira kuti wi taave mapozo mwe lyi pampiri, ku zwaaho o lyi vooza kwaangu. O vike sinte ingolo lyiina kwi wulu, kuti ze tu lyi chitisa hape mu chivaka chi keeza.

Mweechi chivaka o hinda muhupolo o kwi njiririra mu ku sakisisa. Ku viika munwe waako ku shupa kuti wa vala, mane wa zuwisisa sinte chimwi ne chimwi chi ngolyeetwa. Hape o zuminzana ne kwi njiririra uku ku sakisisa.

Ku zuminzana

- Ni zumina kwi njiririra uku kwi zivisisa

- Na zuwisisa sinte maikairero oku ku sakisisa ne mavaka hape ne zones zi woola ku pangahala mu masulye

- Ni watwira muntu yo o kweete ku sakisisa kutri o woola ku tendensa zonse zeeti ni zi wambe mooku ku sakisisa

---

Izina lya yoo lyisalyite   Izuva lya suunu

Yo o sakisisa   Izuva lya suunu

Appendix Four: Telephone and Verbal Script for Contacting or Recruiting Respondents

Telephone and Verbal Script for Contacting or Recruiting Participants

Researcher	Research Supervisor
Malatsi L. Seleka	Professor Alinah Segobye
Po Box 502086, Gaborone, Botswana	Private Bag 13388, Windhoek, Namibia
+267 72988862	+264 61 207 2418
malatsis@gmail.com	asegobye@nust.na / Alinah.segobye@gmail.com

Hello, My Name is Malatsi Livingstone Seleka from the Centre for Gender and Africa Studies (CGAS), University of the Free State. I am working on a research study titled People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana. The study's objective is to review the nature of conflicts over land use critically and evaluate the effectiveness of conflict management strategies in Mababe, Ngamiland District in Botswana.

I have identified you as a potential research participant based on your experience and knowledge on issues surrounding conservation, livelihood and conflicts. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be involved in an interview not lasting more than two hours. It is important to note that your participation in the research study does not pose any risks or harm as high anonymity and confidentiality levels will be maintained.

Do you have any questions?

Would you like to participate in the research study?

For further questions and setting up an interview date contact me on +267 72988862 or email: malatsis@gmail.com

Thank you

Appendix Five: Ethical clearance and research permits

GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

30-Sep-2019

Dear Mr Seleka, Livingstone Malatsi LM

Ethics Committee feedback

Research Project Title:
People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana

With reference to your application for ethical clearance for your research: Find attached the letter and decision from the GHREC meeting.

Ethics Admin

GENERAL/HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (GHREC)

27-Sep-2019

Dear Mr Seleka, Livingstone Malatsi LM

Application Approved

Research Project Title:
People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana

Ethical Clearance number:
UFS-HSD2019/1447

We are pleased to inform you that your application for ethical clearance has been approved. Your ethical clearance is valid for twelve (12) months from the date of issue. We request that any changes that may take place during the course of your study/research project be submitted to the ethics office to ensure ethical transparency. furthermore, you are requested to submit the final report of your study/research project to the ethics office. Should you require more time to complete this research, please apply for an extension. Thank you for submitting your proposal for ethical clearance; we wish you the best of luck and success with your research.

Yours sincerely

Digitally signed
by Derek
Litthauer
Date: 2019.09.28
19:44:28 +02'00'

Prof Derek Litthauer
Chairperson: General/Human Research Ethics Committee

Office of Research and Development

Corner of Notwane and Mobuto Road, Gaborone, Botswana	Pvt Bag 00708 Gaborone Botswana	Tel: [267] 355 2900 Fax: [267] 395 7573 E-mail: research@mopipi.ub.bw

UNIVERSITY of BOTSWANA

UBR/RES/IRB/SOC/068

14th October 2019

The Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation and Tourism
Private Bag 0068
Gaborone, Botswana

<u>RE: REQUEST FOR EXPEDITED REVIEW OF A RESEARCH PROPOSAL</u>

TITLE: "People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana."

RESEARCHER(S): Malatsi L. Seleka

Since it is a requirement that everyone undertaking research in Botswana should obtain a Research Permit from the relevant arm of Government, The Office of Research and Development at the University of Botswana has been tasked with the responsibility of overseeing research at UB including facilitating the issuance of Research Permits for all UB Researchers inclusive of students and staff.

I am writing this letter in support of an application for a research permit by the above-mentioned Principal Investigator who is pursuing a Degree Doctor of Philosophy (PhD in Africa Studies: Peace and Conflict in Context) in the Centre for Africa Studies at the University of the Free State. The main purpose of this study is to critically review the nature of conflicts over land use and to evaluate the effectiveness of conflict management strategies in Mababe, Ngamiland District in Botswana. Study findings will help highlight the importance of balancing conservation and livelihood patterns when dealing with communities hence identifying the key elements in management of land use conflicts related to wildlife conservation. It is hoped that the findings from this study will contribute towards the enactment of sound and effective conflict management activities and will be relevant for land use planning professionals, policy formulators and conservationists in Botswana.

The Office of Research and Development is satisfied with the process for data collection, analysis and the intended utilization of findings from this research and is confident that the project will be conducted effectively and in accordance with local and international ethical norms and guidelines.

Your kind and timely consideration of this application will be highly appreciated and we thank you for your usual cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely,

The Secretariat, University of Botswana Institutional Review Board
Office of Research and Development

Office of the Deputy Vice Chancellor (Academic Affairs)

Office of Research and Development

Corner of Notwane   Pvt Bag 00708   Tel: [267] 355 2900
and Mobuto Road,   Gaborone   Fax: [267] 395 7573
Gaborone, Botswana   Botswana   E-mail: research@mopipi.ub.bw

UBR/RES/IRB/SOC/068

14th October 2019

Permanent Secretary
Ministry of Lands and Housing
Private Bag 00434
Gaborone, Botswana

RE: REQUEST FOR EXPEDITED REVIEW OF A RESEARCH PROPOSAL

TITLE: "People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana."

RESEARCHER(S): Malatsi L. Seleka

Since it is a requirement that everyone undertaking research in Botswana should obtain a Research Permit from the relevant arm of Government, The Office of Research and Development at the University of Botswana has been tasked with the responsibility of overseeing research at UB including facilitating the issuance of Research Permits for all UB Researchers inclusive of students and staff.

I am writing this letter in support of an application for a research permit by the above-mentioned Principal Investigator who is pursuing a Degree Doctor of Philosophy (PhD in Africa Studies: Peace and Conflict in Context) in the Centre for Africa Studies at the University of the Free State. The main purpose of this study is to critically review the nature of conflicts over land use and to evaluate the effectiveness of conflict management strategies in Mababe, Ngamiland District in Botswana. Study findings will help highlight the importance of balancing conservation and livelihood patterns when dealing with communities hence identifying the key elements in management of land use conflicts related to wildlife conservation. It is hoped that the findings from this study will contribute towards the enactment of sound and effective conflict management activities and will be relevant for land use planning professionals, policy formulators and conservationists in Botswana.

The Office of Research and Development is satisfied with the process for data collection, analysis and the intended utilization of findings from this research and is confident that the project will be conducted effectively and in accordance with local and international ethical norms and guidelines.

Your kind and timely consideration of this application will be highly appreciated and we thank you for your usual cooperation and assistance.

Sincerely,

The Secretariat, University of Botswana Institutional Review Board
Office of Research and Development

Republic of Botswana

MINISTRY OF LAND MANAGEMENT, WATER & SANITATION SERVICES

CMLWS 1/ 17 /4 III (1)(Tempo file)

5 November, 2019

Mr Malatsi L. Seleka
P.O. Box 502086
Gaborone

(Attention: Mr Seleka)

RE: APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT BY MALATSI L. SELEKA ON PEOPLE, NATURE AND RESOUIRCES: MANAGING LANDUSE CONFLICTS IN NGAMILAND, BOTSWANA

The above subject matter refers.

➢ Permission is being granted to conduct research titled "People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land-use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana".

➢ We trust the research programme will be conducted in accordance with local and international ethical norms and as per research guidelines of July 2004 issued by the Office of the President attached herewith.

➢ We request an oral presentation on the findings to the Senior Management and the final copy to be submitted to the ministry.

Vision: Sustainable Human Settlements
Mission: Management of land and water resources for socio-economic development

BOTSWANA

➢ The focal person for the ministry is head of research Mr. Khawulani Ace Bachobeli.

➢ The following personnel will be involved in the research:

    i.   Malatsi L. Seleka (Principal Investigator)
    ii.   Prof. Alinah K Segobye(Principal Supervisor)
    iii. Dr Stephanie Cawood (Co-supervisor)

➢ Any changes on the research personnel should be communicated to this Ministry.

➢ The research will be undertaken in the following areas:

    i.   • Ngamiland District and Gaborone or (Gaborone, Maun and Mababe)

The research permit will last for a period of Twelve Months (12), commencing from 5th Novemeber 2019 to 5th Novemeber 2020.

Yours Faithfully,

5/11/2019

Khawulani Ace Bachobeli
Principal Research Officer
+267 71576661

Vision: Sustainable Human Settlements
Mission: Management of land and water resources for socio-economic development

BOTSWANA

285

MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT, NATURAL RESOURCES CONSERVATION AND TOURISM

12th November 2019

To Whom It May Concern:

CONFIRMATION OF RESEARCH CLEARANCE: MR MALATSI L. SELEKA

This letter serves to confirm that Mr Malatsi L. Seleka holds a valid Research Permit issued by Ministry of Land Management, Water and Sanitation Services. Mr Seleka is a PhD student at University of the Free State in South Africa and will be conducting his research on "People, Nature and Resources: Managing Land Use Conflicts in Ngamiland, Botswana."

The Ministry of Environment, Natural Resources Conservation and Tourism equally endorses the above mentioned research; and you are requested to provide any support as may be necessary for a successful completion of the research project.

Yours Sincerely,

Dr Michael V. Flyman
FOR/PERMANENT SECRETARY

MINISTRY OF ENVIRONMENT, NATURAL RESOURCES
CONSERVATION & TOURISM
RESEARCH & DEVELOPMENT UNIT
1 2 NOV 2019
TEL: +267 3914955
P/BAG BO 199, GABORONE