MINI-DISSERTATION

World Heritage and Transfrontier Conservation Areas: Tourism Development and Community Participation in South Africa

by

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DECLARATION

I, Ramatsimele Norma Mengwai, declare that the dissertation, which I hereby submit for the degree MSocSci Heritage and Cultural Tourism at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

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ABSTRACT

In South Africa, World Heritage Sites are becoming more recognised as areas of significance which require more protection. This has also been recognised by the State in that the World Heritage Sites are now on the list of Protected Areas in the National Environmental Management and Protected Areas Act. Drawing from some of the best practices around the world, these World Heritage Sites, when protected, preserved, and conserved could boost the South African economy through tourism and other forms of socio-economic developments. South Africa alone has inscribed ten World Heritage Sites on UNESCO's World Heritage List and has more sites on the list than any other African countries which has ratified the World Heritage Convention. There are also six South African World Heritage Sites which form part of the Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) with neighbouring countries (Botswana, eSwatini, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Lesotho and Mozambique). This study focuses on community participation and involvement at South African World Heritage Sites and TFCAs and the challenges that result from tourism development initiatives imposed on communities without proper engagement and consultations. Like many initiatives, including world heritage nomination and the development of TFCAs facilitated by the State and State Entities, community participation and involvement has become an area of concern, in that communities are expected to be passive role players in the participation process and are not actively involved in the management of these sites. The purpose of this research is to look at the similarities of challenges experienced with community participation and involvement at South African World Heritage Sites and TFCAs, with special consideration to tourism developments and other socio-economic initiatives that have been developed to benefit the communities. The study seeks to open a dialogue on World Heritage Sites and TFCAs in South Africa as two emerging development initiatives with potential to grow the economy of the State, as well as those of local communities. In order for this to work, managing a community's expectations, awareness-raising, capacity building, skills development, and managerial and marketing skills, as previously demonstrated in other research, should be seen as crucial for the longevity of tourism development and other socio-economic initiatives aimed to empower communities. Until the State and State Entities recognise the importance of putting the communities first to actively be involved in these developments, their attempts to uplift communities will continue to yield the same results, and that is, communities choosing to be passive.

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ACRONYMS

ACHPR - African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights

ARTP - /Ai /Ais-Richtersveld Transfrontier Park

AWHF - African World Heritage Fund SANParks

CBD - Convention on Biological Diversity

CBNRM - Community-Based Natural Resources Management

CEO - Chief Executive Officer

CHDA - Centre for Heritage Development in Africa

CPA - Communal Property Association

DEA - Department of Environmental Affairs

DEAT - Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism

DEFF - Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries

EPA - École du Patrimoine Africain

GDP - Gross Domestic Product

GLTP - Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park

ICCROM - International Centre for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments

ICOMOS - International Council on Monuments and Sites

IUCN - International Union for Conservation of Nature

JMB - Joint Management Board

KWS - Kenya Wildlife Service

KGNP - Kalahari Gemsbok National Park

KTP - Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park

MEA - Multilateral Environmental Agreements

MoU - Memorandum of Understanding

NGOs - Non-Governmental Organisations

OUV - Outstanding Universal Value

PAs - Protected Areas

PNG - Papua New Guinea

PPF - Peace Parks Foundation

PNSAWHS - Procedure for nomination of South African World Heritage Sites

RETOSA - Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa

SADC - Southern African Development Communities

SANParks - South African National parks

SMMEs - Small-, Medium- and Micro-Enterprises

SOC - State of Conservation

TFCA - Transfrontier Conservation Areas

TFP - Transfrontier Park

UDP - uKhahlamba–Drakensberg National Park

UNDRIP - UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples

UNESCO - United Nations, Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

WHS - World Heritage Site

WHCA - World Heritage Convention Act

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INTRODUCTION

The Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention define the Convention as a legal instrument that deals with the protection and preservation of natural and cultural heritage which are deemed to have Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and are inscribed on the prestigious United Nations, Education, Scientific and Cultural Organisation's (UNESCO) World Heritage List. In South Africa, such sites are also recognised and protected under the World Heritage Convention Act, the National Heritage Resources Act, the National Environmental Management and Protected Areas Act, and the National Environmental Management Act. Some of these South African World Heritage Sites are simultaneously located within Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs)/Peace Parks, and therefore, are also part of the agreements and treaties signed between Southern African States in an effort to promote better relations, collaboration and cooperation in preserving and conserving the Southern African natural and cultural resources for the benefit of local communities.

As such, in South Africa, like in many countries across Africa, the involvement and participation of the so-called 'local communities' in heritage management is broadly developed within the framework of environmental conservation and Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes. Therefore, there is a need to discuss local communities' involvement and participation in environmental and heritage conservation by looking at some of the CBNRM projects, such as conservation and tourism initiatives, to also discuss issues of community involvement at the World Heritage sites and the TFCAs. This provides insight into the issues concerning the discourse on 'local community involvement and participation' at World Heritage Sites and TFCAs in South Africa and the Southern African region as a whole.

In recent years, South Africa has witnessed a slight change in visitors' interests when visiting the country and the shift is more towards culture, learning and understanding other people's traditions, and for tourists to integrate themselves with the local communities for the entire stay. This shift has opened opportunities for local communities to a point where the State and private sectors have now noticed the importance of tapping into the "community based tourism ventures" within protected areas (including World Heritage Sites) and TFCAs. Community-based tourism ventures are not a new phenomenon in that even the *1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism Development in South Africa* puts emphasis on communities playing an important role in tourism development. In terms of the *Operational Guidelines for Community-Based Tourism in South Africa (2016)*, the community has to have full ownership, control and responsibility of the community-owned tourism venture, and the majority of benefits should remain within the community.

According to Spierenburg and Wels (2006: 294), conservation organisations nowadays use the symbol of the fence to communicate their change in policy toward local communities: stressing the need to move "beyond the fences" by involving local communities in the management of protected areas and using these to promote economic development. The concept of Transfrontier Conservation Areas was established to explore tourism and other opportunities which were inclusive of other Southern African states that shared protected areas with neighbouring countries. These transboundary peace parks (founded in celebration or hopes of a lasting peace, or in some instances, established specifically to resolve conflicts) represent the hope that natural and cultural resources can also serve as a tool for cooperation between nations that facilitates both growth and stability. (Darnell, 2008: 02)

There have been numerous studies done on community participation and involvement that focused on developments such as protected areas, tourism destinations, heritage and conservation projects, and other ventures within World Heritage Sites across Africa, but not one focusing specifically on World Heritage Sites and TFCAs as two inter-dependent developments for community beneficiation in South Africa. This study seeks to introduce World Heritage Sites and TFCAs as two tourism developments that have the potential to positively impact on the local community's and the State's socio-economy when the approach on community participation and involvement is done right. It also encourages South Africa to open a dialogue and consider unique ways to resolve community participation and involvement challenges by looking at the lessons learned from the existing developments.

The methodology which was used to conduct this study was a literature review, which mainly included the reading of various published materials and primary research, centring around my employment under the World Heritage Management Directorate at the South African Department of Forestry, Fisheries and the Environment (DEFF). I have participated in numerous community engagements and consultations during the nomination processes and the UNESCO joint evaluation/reactive missions (by IUCN and ICOMOS) of sites, such as the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, ǂKhomani Cultural Landscape, Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains, Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape, Maloti Drakensberg Park, and iSimangaliso Wetland Park. All six sites are also part of a TFCA. The Departmental back-to-office reports I have developed after site visits, meetings and workshops were also used to supplement the information on some parts of the study.

The study is essentially a literature-based one, using both primary and secondary sources. In some instances, it did include participant observation in terms of informal discussions during the evaluation

missions or workshops that I coordinated, or at work with colleagues. Permission from the Department of Forestry, Fisheries and the Environment was obtained in order to make use of the information collected.

This study is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 explores the literature on community participation in tourism, focussing on community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism, and township tourism approaches. Chapter 2 considers the process by which world heritage is recognised and acknowledged, while Chapter 3 discusses South Africa's inscriptions on the World Heritage List. Chapter 4 looks at community participation at World Heritage Sites and Chapter 5 looks at tourism at World Heritage Sites. The final chapter considers Transfrontier Conservation Areas and community involvement, particularly where these transfrontier areas overlap with World Heritage Sites.

CHAPTER ONE: TOURISM AND COMMUNITIES

1.1. Theoretical Approaches to Community Involvement and Participation in Tourism

There is a variety of approaches to tourism depending on the needs of both the host and tourists. For the host community, the focus would be on what it is that they can offer a tourist that cannot be found anywhere else in order to generate not only an income, but to create other economic opportunities for their people. For the tourist, the focus is on what their interests are and what they need to experience which is different from their previous experiences. This is related to the supply and demand phenomenon.

The 21st century saw a shift in tourist behaviour with with tourists' need for 'experiences', which moved the demand towards other alternative forms of tourism in contrast to traditional mass tourism. This could have been due to the knowledge of new forms of unexplored destinations and the focus was more on local customs, history, ethics, and a particular culture. This shift has encouraged plans for the participation of new actors and strategies and for the involvement of civil corporations in the development process. However, one fundamental factor must be pointed out: the decision to exploit natural and cultural resources in order to draw up development policies should come from local communities themselves (López-Guzmán *et al*., 2011: 70). This means that the level of involvement by the local community, the control it has over its tourism products, as well as the type of tourists the community wants to attract, should be considered.

Due to tourists' demand for new experiences and tourism being seen as a potential avenue for economic development for the most underdeveloped regions, new approaches and trends have emerged to close the gap between urban and rural tourism, with an understanding that the two concepts cannot deliver the same experience, as the tourism market varies. It is for this reason that other forms/niches for community tourism have been established to cater for the unique experiences that the local communities could contribute towards the tourist experience, while actually benefiting from their involvement. Niches such Community-Based Tourism, Pro-Poor tourism and Township Tourism will be discussed in more detail below.

1.1.1 Community-Based Tourism

Community-Based Tourism (CBT) was generally understood as "nature conservation through ecotourism" (NDT, 2016:9). The concept has been broadened to include a number of tourism products, such as traditional performances and handicraft productions provided to visitors. CBT is a very broad

concept, but there are similarities in the definitions of the related concepts mentioned above. These are that CBT involves the community having some level of involvement in the tourism initiative (this could include decision-making, ownership, management or being involved in the delivery of the tourism service) and that the community benefits from the tourism initiative (these benefits could be economic, social, cultural or environmental). (Department of Tourism, 2016:9)

Sita and Nor (2012) regard CBT as a platform for a local community to generate economic benefits through offering their products, that range from the local communities, lifestyles, natural resources, and cultures, to tourists. It is a development programme which enhances the social and cultural benefits of the local community through cultural exchanges with tourists. This type of initiative encourages the host community to participate in tourism and the decision-making process thereof; which results in benefits being shared equally and the planning and development can be implemented without conflict.

Therefore, community participation is important. It should also be noted that the local communities' perceptions on tourism impacts are crucial since they are inevitably to be affected positively and negatively as a result of their participation. CBT should be a self-sufficient community initiative. However, the reality of it all is that an external agent is often needed to support the community, and those initiatives implemented solely by the communities are usually rare, due to a lack of resources required to sustain such initiatives. CBT, together with the involvement of external people/planners, could bring opportunities such as facilities and other infrastructural developments, such as improvements of roads for better access to tourism attractions, guesthouses and campsites for tourists, crafts shops, etc. (Sita and Nor, 2012)

Giampiccoli *et al.* (2014: 1141) suggest that the role of the external intervention should mainly be advisory and facilitative, which should provide the community with information, networking opportunities, and capacity building by providing skills training. It is said that this facilitative approach needs patience and persistence by all the stakeholders for long-term goals, but this long-term facilitation should not be understood as long-term dependency and any external entity involved in CBT should be seen as temporary. This approach will then empower the community and provide them with the necessary skills in managing the CBT opportunity and its development.

1.1.2 Pro-Poor Tourism

While CBT is an alternative to conventional mass tourism and it prioritises control by disadvantaged community members and the distribution of the benefits of the tourism sector within a social justice

perspective with redistributive aims, Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) is a new approach to the planning and management of tourism that puts those people living in poverty at the top of the agenda (Saayman and Giampiccoli, 2016: 155). Tourism utilises the natural and cultural resources of the poor, whereby they can utilise the resources for their benefit. The introduction of PPT was seen as a means of poverty alleviation through the use of these resources. Although there is a very thin line in separating CBT from PPT, as they are both not only restricted to economic benefits, but also include social, environmental and cultural benefits. PPT has a slightly different focus in its approach to tourism development and management through which linkages are developed between tourism businesses and impoverished people as a way of leveraging and increasing the tourism benefits to the poor. (Manwa and Manwa, 2014: 5699)

It could also be argued that, like CBT, the poor who are supposed to benefit from PPT are often marginalised from decision-making and as an initiative driven by the private sector, this often leads to operators and external investors being at the forefront of PPT. The lack of financial resources for the poor communities to sustain the tourism products results in communities depending on the private sector to provide these resources and the private sector then obtains the power to make decisions on where and how resources should be utilised. The profit attained from the development of tourism facilities then has to be shared in a form of commission to the investors (with bigger cuts going to the developers). This raises concerns on whether PPT is really an alternative form of tourism, allowing for poor communities to benefit.

Manwa and Manwa (2014: 5706) provide an example of the Botswana Forest Reserves where ecotourism has been identified as a tourism activity for poverty alleviation for the benefit of the Chobe District communities. Their study revealed that community members had limited access to the forest resources, which required permits for entry, purchased from the capital city of Gaborone, and these permits were only available to people from other parts of Botswana. With the use of the ecotourism resources, the outsiders benefited from the communities' resources. Therefore, the tour operators benefited more than the community. In this instance, the communities saw a need for partnership with the private sector, where the private sector would go into a joint venture with the community, so as to train and develop the community in business management skills. The community would therefore be equipped with skills and become active decision-makers when it comes to what happens to their own resources which are packaged for tourism purposes.

1.1.3 Township Tourism

Mass tourism has previously side-lined other markets which had potential for tourism development, and as a result, these unexplored ventures have been overlooked. But, as mentioned earlier, with the ever-changing tastes of tourists, these unexplored ventures are becoming rather popular in terms of tourist demands and those developers and communities open to these type of markets seem to be reaping the benefits. Township tourism is one such example and has emerged as an important part of the urban tourism product. The success of township tourism relies on the tourism products/offerings, as every township has its own unique history, culture (which could include arts and crafts, music, dance, etc.). In South African terms, townships are largely, if not exclusively, inhabited by "previously disadvantaged" sections of the (non-white) population whose living conditions have not improved due to the history of racial discrimination (Apartheid). Even after 27 years of democracy, the spatial demarcation of inequality has not changed. (Rolfes *et al*., 2009:17) Due to riots and protests against the apartheid regime and the involvement of the international community, South Africa's political events gained attention internationally and even after 1994, the international community were curious about the state of the country. This led to international visitors seeking knowledge about the country itself and the origins of the political figures who have fought against the regime of oppression. Since most of these political figures' families have moved from the "homestead" to the urban areas, such as Soweto, it was no surprise that Soweto became the most visited township in South Africa, making Soweto the prime example and case study for this type of tourism.

It still remains the most visited township to date. This is probably due to Soweto being positioned close to the heart of Johannesburg, where history proves that it was the economic hub of the country since the discovery of gold in South Africa in 1886. As a result, the township is easily accessible for visitors and convenient for a visitor whose interests are solely based on its history and political struggle. Therefore, it is not surprising that Soweto is flourishing, attracting tourists and that the young entrepreneurs have taken advantage of these opportunities by developing tourism facilities, such as eateries, accommodation (B&Bs), tour operations across the township to spots which commemorate political struggles, and sports and adventure. One cannot deny that this has improved the township in terms of job creation and poverty alleviation. For Soweto, it could not have been easier to introduce tourism, as the first township tours were already conducted during the era of apartheid and these served mainly as politically motivated propaganda tours for the apartheid regime. (Rolfes *et al*. 2009:17) The community of Soweto was already used to seeing and meeting visitors and they understood their history and the reason their township received more interest from the international community.

Rolfes *et al*. (2009:17) add that, with the end of apartheid and growing international tourism, a change took place towards a more socio-critical and increasingly cultural focus, because what started as a niche market for travellers with special political interests who wanted to see the sites of the fight for freedom against Apartheid, had now become a mass tourism phenomenon. Therefore, township tourism has become a highly lucrative sector within the tourism industry and there is a need for the township communities to expand on the tourism products, which should not only include visiting sites of historical events, but should also incorporate other aspects such as culture. George and Booyens (2014: 455) found that Soweto appealed to day visitor markets consisting mainly of international visitors and school children who participated in day tours and this affected the oversupply of certain tourism products, particularly accommodation, restaurants and events, such as concerts, festivals, sporting events and adventure activities. Therefore, there is a need to upgrade and diversify the township tourism product in other respects to meet tourists' demands. (George and Booyens, 2014: 455)

The Soweto township as a tourism product proves that when a community is involved in tourism and are well informed and value what it has to offer, other opportunities that tourism brings could be explored and therefore the aim of poverty alleviation and other benefits could be realised. Township tourism can generate revenue and create jobs in areas where it is much needed and can be a credible and successful practice that allows tourists to engage in meaningful and productive activities. (Rolfes *et al*. 2009:17)

Coversely, one can also argue that township tourism is exploitative of the suffering of others. Connoy and Ilcan (2013: 44) reiterate that township tourism can be linked to "pseudo-trips" that do not reflect past or present realities and that the current forms and practices of township tourism "inadvertently confirm the spatial arrangements of apartheid" and maintain the binary opposition between Blacks and Whites. Tourism has the potential to contribute to the "hierarchies and inequalities inherited from the colonial and apartheid past" (George and Booyens, 2014: 455). Township tourism is often founded upon affordable experiences that can devalue the feelings and experiences of township residents (Connoy and Ilcan, 2013: 44) and this is often justified by the stated "benefits" the local residents gain from tourism.

Conny and Ilcan (2013:44) in their study at Katutura Township in Namibia found that an introduction of township tourism to the local residents does not guarantee that tourists will purchase any goods from the township shops or stands, or that the revenue will be redistributed throughout the community by the tour operators. They further explain that the ongoing promotion of Katuturans as poor and traditional perpetuates negative perceptions and understandings that are typically associated with Africa and

Africans. Much like many other forms of tourism, it is important that the local communities are aware of the negative and positive impacts tourism may present when undertaking such an initiative.

1.2 Key Issues Concerning Community Involvement and Participation in Tourism

The local community's participation and involvement in tourism is very important, especially when developing tourism products at the local level. The community knows "the products" (culture and nature) better than anyone and when they are involved and engaged, they are usually willing to provide support to the developers/planners (these could be local or external). Participation of the local community means involvement in the decision-making process, development and management of tourism products, being equipped with resources, and receiving training on how to better manage these products. Tourism demands and the tourists' tastes are forever changing, therefore educating the local community about the supply and demand dynamic in tourism is crucial.

Most developers make the mistake of making the local community a supporting agent of their own tourism products and this could cause problems, as this undermines not only their capabilities, but it also suggests that their participation at the decision-making level is not as important. Chili and Ngxongo (2017: 4) note that even though community participation is one factor of tourism development, it regularly faces barriers, including operational, structural and cultural barriers to tourism development in many developing countries. Poor distribution of information about tourism development and a lack of harmonisation between the community, developer(s) and external stakeholders are some of the factors which hinder the community's participation in the tourism product development process. The lack of tourism knowledge limits the community members' opportunities to become the leaders of tourism projects in their community and this has been used as an excuse by many governments/developers in developing countries to exclude the community members from participating (Moyo and Tichaawalack, 2017: 3).

Based on the above, the following should be addressed in ensuring that the community's involvement in tourism is positively impactful:

1.2.1 Community's Understanding of Tourism

The community's involvement in tourism first begins with their understanding of the concept itself and the implications/impacts thereafter. Communities need to be educated to understand the mechanisms of tourism, as well as the potential impacts before deciding to initiate a tourism operation (Boronyak *et al*.,

2010: 07). Their understanding of tourism is just as important as their involvement in the process. Announcing the end product of tourism (benefits), without mentioning what it takes to make this process work, is fatal for any undertaking. The community's understanding of tourism development should be guided by their own understanding of the products (culture and nature) that they have to offer and what value is being placed on these products. Tourism initiatives cannot be successful when a community does not understand this. Understanding the value means ensuring its protection and interpretation so that the person visiting such a community would also appreciate and respect the importance of that particular culture. Communities need to understand that tourism will bring them into contact with people from other countries who are very different from them and have different cultures and traditions and who value things differently. This will enhance the community's awareness of their own culture and certain aspects of their culture which should be kept sacred and not be exposed for tourism purposes when there is no need. Moyo and Tichaawalack (2017: 3) explain that because most community members do not understand tourism and its impacts, external personnel who have an extensive knowledge of the tourism industry tend to dominate the tourism development process, hence there is an urgent need for community capacity building.

1.2.2. Meaningful Consultation and Engagement

One cannot talk about tourism without mentioning the benefits that come with the initiative and this often leads to misunderstandings when the end product does not produce the desired results. As observed by the researcher during engagements with various communities during the community consultation meetings by the DEFF, in most cases, when planners introduce tourism to communities, they find themselves focusing more on the benefits (job creation, poverty alleviation, infrastructural development) and these raise high expectations. If these unrealistic expectations are not managed, they could become the downfall of the initiative. This is where a thorough consultation and engagement with the targeted community is important. Engagement includes research on the targeted community's dynamics, including social, environmental, socio-cultural, and economic characteristics and structures.

Also observed by the researcher during engagements with various communities during the community consultation meetings by the DEFF, there will be those who value their culture and traditions and/or their positions within the community so much, that the idea of tourism may seem like a threat. These are usually the senior members of the community who have been there to instil all these cultural values to the younger generations and protected it from exploitation and they have important roles to play within the community. These are the people who hold the key and their involvement, or the lack thereof, can

either make or break the initiative. They are the most important stakeholders and have influence over what happens to their culture, traditions, and land. Should these stakeholders not be involved, the cultural and natural value of that community will not be well interpreted, and therefore will lack the authenticity which may result in loopholes on the "packaged" tourism product. It is important to communicate the tourism benefits to this group in a way that does not threaten their positions as leaders itself when it comes to managing the expectations.

Therefore, careful planning, awareness and education are required to balance the opportunities in a way that enhances the positive outcomes and minimises the potential for harm (Boronyak *et a*l., 2010: 11). Their expectations focus more on improving knowledge systems, protecting and safeguarding their culture and traditions, raising awareness, and passing the knowledge to the younger generation, and these should be the main objectives for any planner to consider. Participation is important as it encourages governments to be accountable and it also enables locals to be involved in the planning and implementation of projects in their respective areas.

It is fair to state that the modern world's influence on the youth has pushed young people to be more competitive and to be more ambitious, and as a result, tourism benefits may be more appealing to them than the latter group and the benefits may outweigh their consideration of the impacts of this type of initiative. To them, this means job opportunities, infrastructural developments, poverty alleviation – all opportunities that will help them compete in this evolving world. Before undertaking this type of initiative, the community needs to understand and assess the potential socio-economic, cultural and/or environmental impacts of tourism development. These impacts – both negative and positive – need to be managed at every stage of the project, from management to resourcing, capacity development, network building, product development, and marketing. A critical factor for success in tourism initiatives includes an understanding and acceptance by all members of targeted communities that the initiative is not a cure-all to improving community livelihoods. Communities also need to understand that the tourism market is a volatile one, and the demand for the tourism product or experience can change drastically over time. (Boronyak *et al*., 2010: 11)

1.2.3. Promotion vs Commodification of Community's Cultures and Heritage

At times, the planner (and the community) gets so excited with the idea of introducing tourism to a targeted community and wanting to package the tourism products that are unique and cannot be found elsewhere that they forget the importance of protecting certain aspects of that culture. The community is

also guilty of exploiting those treasured aspects of its culture in the hopes of making a profit from them that they do not consider the long-term implications/impacts this development might have. For example, with the VhaVenda, the Domba dance is actually done by the initiates (girls coming of age) and it is supposed to be protected and not be exposed to the outside world. But there has been so much interest in this dance, that it now forms part of the public touristic identity of the VhaVenda tribe. These days you even see it on TV and most tourists expect to see this when they visit Venda. At some point, the elders were against it, but with the growing interest in this particular dance, it has become part of the "packaged" products for tourism purposes as well. It is losing its cultural and authentic value. Therefore, it is the planner's responsibility to engage the community and let the community decide on which aspects of their culture can be "packaged" for tourism purposes. This does not only protect the culture, but also the identity of the community and it ensures that the value placed on certain aspects of culture are respected and considered "no go areas". The community should become part of the decision-making process when it comes to "packaging" tourism products, as they are more knowledgeable about their culture and understand the implications thereof.

1.2.4. Tangible Benefits for Communities

It is no secret that when a community involved in tourism has been properly consulted and understand the benefits (whichever those may be) that come with tourism, a planner will likely receive widespread support, more especially when the community becomes part of the decision-making process. In this instance, the planner receives buy-in from the targeted community. Community participation in the tourism participatory assessment and planning processes has the potential to empower local community members by building the skills, knowledge and confidence needed to direct tourism development in their communities. (Boronyak *et al*., 2010: 15) Their willingness in the process assists in the planning and packaging of the tourism products. In this context, local community involvement becomes fundamental in order to increase the benefits of tourism, and to minimise the negative impacts (Giampiccoli and Saayman, 2016: 3). Termed "Community Based Tourism", when the intent is to benefit the local communities, often vulnerable and previously marginalised groups (Giampiccoli and Saayman, 2016: 5), is the type of tourism where the main objective is to provide the local communities with economic benefits, to empower these communities, and to encourage them in planning, evaluation and control of resources. This is not meant for the local community to just participate in the decision-making, but to also own and control tourism products and the development process. Besides the obvious economic benefits that communities may acquire from tourism projects, there are other factors which are brought in as a form a

change through tourism, and these may include economic, cultural and social benefits, which will be briefly discussed below.

- **Economic Benefits**

When tourism is done right and managed properly, the results could be financially rewarding for a community. It could bring them a sense of accomplishment, financial security and development. The economic change it brings could lift the community's pride and provide them with necessary resources to grow and encourage them to compete in this ever-changing industry. The increased tourism can permit the local community to benefit from similar services and facilities established to support tourism. (Wijesundara and Wimalaratana, 2016: 59) Tourism provides opportunities which benefit many sectors, known as the 'multiplier effect', such as accommodation, communication, transportation, education, infrastructure, and so on. It opens the door to job opportunities for the community in these sectors. But the economic benefits also have a domino effect. When tourism flourishes for a particular community, the host country also attracts international investments. The more secure tourists feel about a certain host country when they visit their communities for cultural experiences, the better will be the reviews the host country receives and this has a positive impact not only on its revenue, but it also attracts global investors. This encourages the State to assign more resources to developing facilities for tourism and to put more effort into improving the livelihoods of the host community.

Tourism in most parts of the world show that proper planning and engagements for success of any tourism initiative is important. Garrod (2003: 4), in planning for ecotourism activity, suggests two approaches to planning: planning to overcome the physical and practical barriers to ecotourism development, thereby enabling the benefits associated with such activities to be experienced more fully and more widely in the local community, and 'participatory planning' which demands greater community involvement in ecotourism planning and management processes. It is further stated that the participatory planning approach implies a recognition of the need not only to ensure that local stakeholders become the beneficiaries of tourism development, but also to integrate them fully into the relevant planning and management processes (Garrod, 2003: 5). In Dominica, a small island nation in the Caribbean, not to be confused with the Dominican Republic, where river tours commenced informally in the 1970s, the activity has since become an organised and important tourism attraction. With the addition of other tourism facilities such as a catering facility and activities such as a Bush Bar, cruise ships, yachts etc., a stronger organisational capacity has increased the ability of the local tourist guides to influence national decision-making (Caribbean Tourism Organisation, 2009).

Dominica developed a 'Community Policy' with one of the objectives being to "actively open up opportunities for rural communities, local people and the informal sector to increase their involvement in the tourism industry, particularly in tourism planning and the running of enterprises" (Caribbean Tourism Organisation, 2009). The tourism development in Dominica involves government, NGOs and other sectors, but their main goal is to benefit the local communities. The local communities are capacitated with tourist guiding skills, tourism awareness, quality custom services, and the Forestry Division has taken it upon itself to improve on its own environmental awareness and nature interpretation skills, which will benefit the area, ensuring that tourism development is run sustainably for the benefit of everyone in the country, including the local communities.

A study from Dominica notes the following contributory factors for successful CBT and good practices (Caribbean Tourism Organisation, 2009):

- Funding mechanisms
- Product development on traditional/cultural activity
- Support of tourism companies
- Institutional support
- Capacity-building and awareness
- Community leadership
- Collective benefit distribution

Considering the fact that tourism is a highly competitive and demanding industry in which skills are needed to deliver quality experiences to ensure a more sustained tourism venture, it is therefore important to ensure that the community is prepared to manage the delivery. Hence, the above should be considered when planning tourism development for a local community.

In Enga Province, Papua New Guinea (PNG), a couple established a Kumul lodge with a grant from the PNG government to construct the lodge. The lodge is built on the couple's family's traditional land which is the second most visited bird watching destination in Papua New Guinea and home to many rare species, such as birds of paradise. (Asker *et al*., 2010: 114) The lodge provides employment to 15 villagers, but the benefits are spread out throughout the community. The owners pay US$4 for every guest that stays at the lodge and educates them on the importance of protecting the birds. The couple has a long-term aim of seeing the area turned into a National Park. The lodge has faced challenges such as a lack of internet access to attract international tourists, obtaining insurance for the lodge, seasonal

changes in tourist flow where during the peak season there is not enough accommodation for all tourists, and the business owners also realised that "in order to protect the environment of the local area and with it their own core business assets they would need to ensure they had the support of the local community" (Asker *et al*., 2010: 115). They have spread some of the economic benefits of the tourism enterprise through to the local community and have thus been able to ensure that the community as a whole has a stake in protecting the environment. Sharing and distributing tourism benefits among the frontline communities has constantly been seen as one of the various means of community participation in the industry. (Asker *et al*., 2010)

- **Social and Cultural Benefits**

Cultural awareness ensures that the community understands the uniqueness of its culture and the benefits of protecting it. The community can only appreciate tourism and the changes it brings when it understands that what they have to offer to the world is important and has value. Tourism is not only about providing the community with job opportunities and other profits, but it can also open opportunities for both the tourist and the community to educate themselves about the other. Any interaction with people outside one's community will shape and transform one's views of the world (be it bad or good). Therefore, the presence of foreign tourists can, and will, impact the host communities' culture. (Boronyak *et al*., 2010: 8) It is then important that the same community understands and is aware of its own cultural value, so that the impacts can be minimised, more especially on the youth. There are many cultural communities who have witnessed a shift in how their youth look at their own culture after exposure to the outside world and these changes usually result in the youth seeing the tourists' culture as more civilised and more appealing and they may end up undermining their own culture. Although these changes cannot be avoided entirely, they could be mitigated through education and cultural awareness raising. This means teaching the youth that the reason there are tourists visiting their community is because their culture is just as important and that the tourists are there to experience and appreciate these differences. This opens an opportunity for the youth to educate themselves about their own culture and encourages the elders to teach them. Therefore, it could be stated that tourism not only opens avenues for cultural exchange, but also opens an opportunity for cultural appreciation by both the community and tourist.

1.3. Community 'beneficiation' through World Heritage

A key aspect that has shaped recent efforts of preserving heritage has been the discourse on community beneficiation, or the idea that 'heritage must pay', to use Meskell's (2012) terminology. Although looking at

the particular case of Africa, Meskell's observations are also applicable to other contexts within the region where heritage has been relentlessly promoted as a socio-economic driver mostly for impoverished communities and particularly in the face of declining government services and failed delivery (Meskell 2012:55). Yet, a closer look into the discourse about community 'beneficiation' through heritage reveals that while the results of various 'heritage for development' types of initiative constitute a mixture of success and failures, negative results are far more common than positive ones. (Chirikure *et al*,. 2010; Marschall, 2010; Galla, 2012; Meskell, 2012; Taruvinga, 2014)

In Africa in particular, World Heritage Sites are seen as a potential catalyst for improving the livelihoods of local communities and to generate considerable income to the state since the designation of World Heritage status sometimes provides an opportunity for economic and social development (Galla, 2012; Ndoro, 2016). For instance, before World Heritage listing in 2001, less than 3,000 people visited the Tsodilo Hills in Botswana annually. After listing, the visitor numbers increased from less than 3,000 to 10,000 per year between 2001 and 2005, representing approximately a 40% increase. Between 2005 and 2014, visitor numbers fluctuated between 10,000 and 12,000 visitors per year (43.1% are foreigners while domestic visitors make up 34.6 %). Apart from infrastructural development, the lives of local communities' members, who provide crafts and other tourist-related products like tourist guiding to visitors to the World Heritage Site, has changed as seen in the upgrading of clay and grass huts to cement and asbestos houses. (Ndoro, 2016:400) Similar successful examples of community beneficiation through cultural heritage-based tourism around World Heritage properties can be seen in other countries in the region such as Great Zimbabwe, inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1986. Between 1989 and 2000, visitor numbers increased from around 30,000 to over 100,000 per year, with a peak of 121,000 in 1997 (Ndoro, 2016:401).

Despite these successful case studies, Ndoro (2016) also notes that the designation of World Heritage status does not necessarily bring increased socio-economic benefits or development, as demonstrated by the site of Kilwa Kisiwani in Tanzania. The site is an island that, together with the neighbouring island of Songo Mnara, was inscribed as a World Heritage Site in 1981. Kilwa Kisiwani has received considerable funds for the conservation of the fabric of the site from the World Monuments Watch, the Aga Khan Foundation, and the French, Japanese and Norwegian governments. Yet, none of these funds have been targeted at community development or projects that could be beneficial to the approximately 15,000 people living on the island. There is no private-sector investment on the island of Kilwa Kisiwani, hence the limited number of job opportunities and infrastructure. The visitor fee is very low, and not currently apportioned to the islanders. (Ndoro, 2016:404) But even when considerably large sums of money are invested in the

development of cultural heritage sites for tourism-based income-generation activities, the benefits deriving from such initiatives might also be insignificant for the most impoverished rural local communities.

In fact, despite the widespread dialogue on the potential benefits of World Heritage for local communities, with some notable exceptions such as the few cases discussed above (Galla, 2012; Taruvinga, 2014), one still struggles to find successful examples where heritage is used to generate 'meaningful and sustainable' livelihoods for communities living in and around many African sites inscribed on the World Heritage List. The example of Djenne, a World Heritage property in Mali, which reflects an elite, Eurocentric vision of cultural heritage that is imposed upon a disenfranchised local community, seems to apply to many cases across the continent. The residents of Djenne's daily realities are that of a struggle for survival with temperamental harvests, political uncertainty, and precarious economic lives, unsanitary living conditions, high levels of preventable disease such as malaria and typhoid, and low levels of access to education and employment opportunities, whilst UNESCO's vision of the town limits itself to its architecture and archaeology. (Joy, 2007:156; Colwell and Joy, 2015:117)

Preservation and protection of the cultural heritage should not be more important than the community who this heritage belongs to. Cases where the developers and authorities choose not to involve communities because they believe that this will impact negatively on their objectives for the development is a concern. Chirikure and Pwiti (2008:469) noted this problem in their case study in Domboshava, Zimbabwe. It is an archaeological site which was declared a national monument due to its spectacular rock art. The site has a geological tunnel which was used by local people to perform rainmaking rituals. The rainmaking ceremonies produced smoke which the archaeologists and authorities believed affected the rock art and therefore the communities were restricted from using the site. Chirikure and Pwiti (2008: 470) state that the local community became increasingly agitated and confrontational, committing several acts of vandalism in protest of their exclusion from utilising the site for their rainmaking rituals. They state that from the local community's point of view the message was clear: if they cannot benefit from their site spiritually and economically, then the archaeologists and authorities should not either.

Developers and authorities should not treat communities as passive players. If a community assumes that the authorities and government are interested in hearing their voices and will provide them with opportunities to become involved in the decision-making process, they will be encouraged to participate (Rasoolimanesh and Jaafar, 2016: 07). Khadar *et al.* (2014: 02) notes that community participation in the planning and development stages is a fundamental necessity for the sustainability of a development and essential for finding a balance between economic prosperity, environmental protection and social equity

and business opportunity. But a community cannot fully explore the opportunities that come with heritage and cultural tourism development when there are no capacity training programmes offered and some form of knowledge sharing to equip them with the necessary skills. Improvements in the form of training programmes to equip the community with skills and some form of financial assistance from the authorities and government are required and this can in fact increase the economic impacts of tourism development. (Khadar *et al*., 2014: 06)

In an attempt to illustrate the importance of community involvement in heritage conservation and management and the need to capitalise on long-term economic benefits, which come with sustainable tourism development, Jokilehto (2017: 01) noted the co-dependency between culture and economy. He states that culture is the generator and a product of development within the evolving framework of the economy of a community, and economy is a system within which a community arranges its resources management over time.

A brief scrutiny into the discourse on community beneficiation through heritage reveals that although some heritage sites have generated forms of economic development, mostly in the case of World Heritage properties, generally, "the knock-on effects generated by global tourism seem to be limited, and local communities are yet to see significant improvements in their lives and livelihoods" (Ndoro, 2016:407). In fact, despite the discourse of heritage projects creating jobs and resulting in a range of material benefits for the impoverished local community, mostly through tourism, in reality such benefits rarely materialise, apart from a few exceptions.

CHAPTER TWO: WORLD HERITAGE SYSTEM

2.1. The World Heritage Convention

During World War I (1914 to 1918) and World War II (1939 to 1945), the destruction of built heritage across Europe was widespread. Important historic towns and monuments, museums and archives across Europe were heavily damaged or destroyed in cities such as London (England), Warsaw (Poland), Dresden (Germany), and Florence and Rome (Italy). Formally known as League of Nations and established in 1919, the United Nations appealed for global cooperation for the protection of cultural heritage. This resulted in the establishment of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) as a specialised agency on 16 November 1945, to "contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science and culture" (UNESCO, 2015). This organisation was also tasked with the protection of cultural heritage. Its establishment came into force on 9 November 1946 after ratification by 20 countries[1]. In the decades that followed, UNESCO was instrumental in developing a framework for international collaboration in safeguarding the cultural heritage of 'humanity' as well as to globalise its views on heritage and its conservation doctrine. Initially, this involved the deployment of experts to advise nations on heritage policy, but then developed into a series of international campaigns, such as that for the preservation of the Abu Simbel Temples in Nubia in 1959 (in Egypt) and the Italian city of Venice in 1966 (Jokilehto 2017: 32-34).

The concept of "World Heritage" first appeared during the construction of the Aswan High Dam between 1960 and 1971 in Egypt (ICCROM, 2006:73). Saving the temples of Egypt and dismantling, stone by stone, the Abu Simbel temple of Ramesses II in the early 1960s was a first act to recognise this idea of "World Heritage", as mentioned above. UNESCO launched an international safeguarding campaign to save monuments in Nubia from being flooded by the waters of Lake Nasser. The construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt drew unprecedented international attention to the protection of cultural heritage (UNESCO, 2019). This resulted in UNESCO adopting the Convention concerning the Protection of the World's Cultural and Natural Heritage in 1972, commonly referred to as World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2017).

[1] These countries included: Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Dominican Republic, Egypt, France, Greece, India, Lebanon, Mexico, New Zealand, Norway, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Turkey, United Kingdom and United States.

This World Heritage Convention is an international agreement adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO to protect both the natural and cultural heritage threatened by population explosion, urbanisation, pollution, deforestation, and tourism (Leask and Fyall, 2006:07). The Convention is a legal instrument that deals with the protection and preservation of the natural and cultural heritage and is guided by the Operational Guidelines, which provides a series of instructions to signatory nations regarding the proper implementation of this Convention. There are 193 State Parties around the globe to date which have ratified the Convention. The purpose of the Convention is to "ensure the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to the future generations of cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value" (UNESCO, 2017).

The World Heritage Convention shaped the way that heritage is viewed. Previously, cultural heritage was defined exclusively as 'monuments', 'groups of buildings' and 'sites'. The Convention further established a system of international responsibility to conserve and monitor the evolution of sites deemed to be of 'outstanding universal value', both cultural and natural. (UNESCO, 1972)

To ensure that the Convention is effectively implemented, a number of important governance structures were set up to ensure the effective management of the World Heritage Sites, and these are:

- The General Assembly consists of 197 State Parties to the World Heritage Convention and meets every two years during the session of the General Conference of UNESCO to, among others, determine the percentage of State Party contributions to the World Heritage Fund, elect members of the World Heritage Committee, and consider reports from the Committee guided by the Rules of Procedure. The first General Assembly convened in 1976 in Nairobi, Kenya. (UNESCO, 2019)

- The World Heritage Committee is a 21-member UNESCO structure that is elected by the General Assembly of State Parties to the World Heritage Convention. The term of office of the members of the Committee was six years, but to ensure equitable representation and rotation, state parties were encouraged (in terms of resolutions of the 7th (1989), 12th (1999) and 13th (2001) meetings of the General Assembly) to consider voluntarily reducing their term of office from six to four years and were discouraged from seeking consecutive terms of office. The term was then reduced to four years. (UNESCO Operational Guidelines, 2019)

- The Bureau consists of seven State Parties elected annually by the Committee: a Chairperson, the five Vice-Chairpersons (from each of the regions), and the Rapporteur. The Bureau co-ordinates the work of the Committee and fixes the dates, hours and order of business of meetings. (UNESCO Operational Guidelines, 2019)

- The World Heritage Committee is assisted by a secretariat known as the World Heritage Centre, appointed by the Director-General of UNESCO. The secretariat is responsible for the co-ordination of the implementation of Committee decisions as well as the organisation of periodic reporting and reactive monitoring. (UNESCO Operational Guidelines, 2019)

There are three international non-governmental or intergovernmental organisations that advise the UNESCO World Heritage Committee. These bodies are the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) [2], the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS)[3], and the International Centre for the Study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property (ICCROM)[4]. Advisory Bodies, first and foremost, assess and evaluate the nominations for world heritage site status put forward by the State Parties for inscription, monitor the state of conservation of the listed world heritage properties, and advise on the implementation of the Convention in the fields of their expertise (nature and culture).

2.2. World Heritage Nomination Process

To be included on the World Heritage List, sites must be of Outstanding Universal Value (OUV) and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria. These criteria are thoroughly explained in the Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. The criteria are regularly revised by the Committee to reflect the evolution of the concept of World Heritage itself (Keitumetse, 2016: 32). Sites may be nominated on a cultural, natural or mixed basis, with designation dependent upon the types of criteria that they are deemed to represent in an exceptional form (Leask and Fyall, 2006: 7). Until the end of 2004, World Heritage sites were selected on the basis of six cultural and four natural criteria. With the adoption of the revised Operational Guidelines (2005), only one set of ten criteria exists.[5]

[2] *The IUCN is an international non-governmental organisation that provides the World Heritage Committee with technical evaluations of natural heritage properties and, through its worldwide network of specialists, it also reports on the state of conservation of listed properties.*

[3] *The ICOMOS is an international non-governmental organisation that provides the World Heritage Committee with technical evaluations of cultural and mixed properties proposed for inscription on the World Heritage List.*

[4] *The ICCROM is an intergovernmental body, which provides Member States with the best tools, knowledge, skills, and enabling environment to preserve cultural heritage in all of its forms, for the benefit of all people.*

[5] These include - Authenticity: Depending on the type of cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values (as recognised in the nomination criteria proposed) are truthfully and

They are:

(i) "to represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;

(ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;

(iii) to bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilisation which is living or which has disappeared;

(iv) to be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;

(v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;

(vi) to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);

(vii) to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;

(viii) to be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;

(ix) to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals; and

(x) to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation." (UNESCO, 2021b)

According to the UNESCO Operational Guidelines (2019), "Outstanding Universal Value" refers to cultural and/or natural significance that is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity, therefore the loss, through

credibly expressed through a variety of attributes). Integrity: is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. For sites nominated under criteria (i) to (vi), the physical fabric of the site and/or its significant features should be in good condition, and the impact of deterioration processes controlled. Sites nominated for consideration as World Heritage sites under criteria (i) to (vi) must meet the conditions of authenticity.

deterioration or disappearance, of any of these most prized assets constitutes an impoverishment of the heritage of all the peoples of the world. In order to be considered for outstanding universal value, a site must also meet the conditions of integrity and/or authenticity and must have an adequate protection and management system to ensure its safeguarding (UNESCO Operational Guidelines, 2019). The World Heritage Committee decides which sites are inscribed on the World Heritage List based on their justified OUV which indicate authenticity and integrity. These sites bear some of the extraordinary features of historical landscapes, places, monuments, museums, landmarks, objects, flora and fauna (biodiversity and protected areas), and geological features that have shaped landscapes that define human existence in the forever evolving world.

The inscription of a site on the World Heritage List is a long process requiring many steps. The first of these steps is for a country to ratify the Convention and become a State Party (UNESCO Operational Guidelines, 2019). The State Party would then prepare a Tentative List (essentially an inventory list) of cultural and natural sites within that State Party that it considers of Outstanding Universal Value and select the site/s to submit to the World Heritage Centre as a nomination (ICCROM, 2006: 75). The Advisory Bodies (ICOMOS and IUCN) evaluate the nomination and advises the World Heritage Committee. Based on the Advisory Bodies' recommendations, the World Heritage Committee can then decide whether or not a site meets the requirements for inscription. Should a site meet the necessary requirements, it will be approved as a World Heritage Site and then inscribed on the World Heritage List.

2.3 Issues with World Heritage nomination

In 2021, there were 1,121 sites around the globe on the UNESCO World Heritage List, with 869 Cultural, 213 natural and 39 mixed (both natural and cultural), and most of these sites are in Europe. The World Heritage List has always been historically dominated by properties in Europe (today, Africa accounts for less than 13% of the total World Heritage properties, with 137 inscribed properties of the 1121). (UNESCO, 2021a) South Africa contains the most World Heritage Sites in the African region, and this should be applauded, but overall, there is still no balance as far as recognition given to the African context when it comes to an understanding of the African OUV for nominated world heritage sites. For relatively small countries such as Spain, Italy and France to have the most sites enlisted on the World Heritage List, speaks volumes regarding the Convention itself and it contradicts and defeats its main purpose, which is to promote preservation and protection of natural and cultural heritage globally without discrimination.

As such, the World Heritage system has attracted criticism for failing to incorporate indigenous and local communities' heritage perspectives and for being overly focused on the kinds of tangible and monumental heritages that epitomise Western elite concepts (Jopela, 2017). The definition of cultural heritage in an African context is respectively different and should be dealt with as such. For instance, the distinction between cultural and natural values in world heritage sites is problematic because often the 'natural' and 'cultural' values (which are often of a Western perspective) deemed to be of 'outstanding universal value', do not account for indigenous cultural values. Because of the separation between cultural and natural values, local communities' and indigenous peoples' perspectives on the definition of OUV are often disregarded in the decision-making process for inscription of world heritage sites.

Moreover, often during the discussions on world heritage issues, I have observed that the ways in which the concept of OUV is applied by 'heritage experts' often result in a discrepancy between the local values attributed to a place by the local community (intangible heritage) and the recognised outstanding universal value that serve as the basis for world heritage listing. This has caused some scholars to argue that the world heritage system indeed fails to place heritage in its local context.

The World Heritage system has also been criticised for seeking to set global standards of heritage conservation behaviour and attempting to impose Western notions of heritage across the world (Fontein, 2006). This has, and continues to, put African countries under pressure to meet these global standards (Western standards) without considering the fact that the definition of OUV is broad and every case should be treated differently. Perhaps, more attention should be given to the selection criteria in justifying the OUV itself, as it does not cater for most countries in Africa or other developing countries which might consider nominations in future.

Another criticism comes from the socio-economic impacts associated with inscription. For countries such as South Africa, where mining is part of the socio-economy, the impact of nomination takes away the benefits that come with such prospects. The World Heritage Convention does not allow mining in and around World Heritage Sites and this implies that any mineral resource within a specified World Heritage Site cannot be extracted as it would impact on the OUV. What happens when the socio-economic benefit of the extraction of mineral resources outweighs the benefits of inscribing a site on a World Heritage List and the local community supports the mining? This is probably one of the reasons most developing countries do not bother to nominate sites, as it will have implications on the local communities economically, more especially when the inscription itself will not benefit them.

Another concern about the World Heritage system is that it is perceived to be politically motivated. Countries with little or no political influence seem to suffer the most when they attempt to lobby support for their nominations. Certain State Parties are held in such high esteem that their opinions about another country's nomination is sorely dependent on its political history in relation to their own, or any political interests towards said country.

The above discussion does question the effectiveness of the World Heritage Convention and its perceived exclusiveness. Nonetheless, South Africa (as a developing country) has benefited from the World Heritage Convention and still continues to meet these "global standards" with 5 sites on the World Heritage Tentative List and 10 on the World Heritage List.

CHAPTER THREE: WORLD HERITAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

3.1 World Heritage Sites in South Africa

During its 24 years of implementation of the World Heritage Convention, South Africa has inscribed ten (10) sites on the prestigious UNESCO World Heritage List (five cultural, four natural and one mixed (cultural and natural). These are:

NAME	CRITERIA	
	Nature	Culture
iSimangaliso Wetland Park	✓	
Robben Island Museum		✓
Fossil Hominid Sites of South Africa (i.e. the Cradle of Humankind, Taung Skull Fossil site and Makapan Valley)		✓
Maloti Drakensberg Park	✓	✓
Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape		✓
Cape Floral Region Protected Areas	✓	
Vredefort Dome	✓	
Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape		✓
‡Khomani Cultural Landscape		✓
Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains	✓	

I will only discuss the iSimangaliso Wetland Park, Maloti Drakensberg Park, Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape, Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape, ‡Khomani Cultural Landscape, and Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains world heritage sites, which overlap into the TFCAs and are the main focus for this study.

iSimangaliso Wetland Park

(Figure1. Picture of iSimangaliso Wetland Park - Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1999b)

The iSimangaliso Wetland Park, formally known as the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park, was inscribed on the World Heritage List as South Africa's first World Heritage site in 1999. The site is an example of a natural World Heritage Site and is situated on the central Zululand coast of KwaZulu-Natal Province. The park is made up of 13 adjoining protected areas with a total size of 234 566 hectares. (DEAT, 1999b)

The iSimangaliso Wetland Park was inscribed on the basis of having both one of the largest estuary systems in Africa and the continent's southernmost coral reefs. The site contains a combination of on-going fluvial, marine and aeolian processes that have resulted in a variety of landforms and ecosystems. Features include wide submarine canyons, sandy beaches, forested dune cordon and a mosaic of wetlands, grasslands, forests, lakes and savanna (UNESCO, 2019). The variety of morphology as well as major flood and storm events contribute to ongoing evolutionary processes in the area. Natural phenomena include: shifts from low to hyper-saline states in the Park's lakes; large numbers of nesting turtles on the beaches; the migration of whales, dolphins and whale-sharks off-shore; and huge numbers of waterfowl including large breeding colonies of pelicans, storks, herons and terns. The Park's location between sub-tropical and tropical Africa as well as its coastal setting has resulted in exceptional biodiversity including some 521 bird species. (DEAT, 1999b) The World Heritage site is part of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area with Mozambique and eSwatini. For this, it was inscribed under criteria (vii), (ix) and (x). The site shares a border with Mozambique and Zimbabwe as a Transfrontier Park.

Maloti Drakensberg Park

(Figure 2. Picture of landscape at Maloti Drakensberg Park - Department of Environmental Affairs, 2013)

The Maloti Drakensberg Park Site is located in South Africa and Lesotho. The park was previously inscribed on the World Heritage List as the uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park in 2000 before it was extended to include Sehlabathebe National Park in Lesotho, forming the Maloti Drakensberg Park World Heritage Site, adopted and approved in 2013. The site was inscribed under criteria (i), (iii), (vii) and (x). The South African part was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List as a mixed cultural and natural site. The site was inscribed on the basis of having exceptional natural beauty with soaring basaltic buttresses, incisive dramatic cutbacks and golden sandstone ramparts. Rolling high altitude grasslands, the pristine steep-sided river valleys and rocky gorges also contribute to the beauty of the site. The site's diversity of habitats protects a high level of endemic and globally threatened species, especially of birds and plants. (UNESCO, 2019)

The site also harbours many cave rock-shelters as well as the largest and most concentrated group of rock paintings in Africa, south of the Sahara, made by the San people over a period of 4000 years. These paintings depict animals and human beings, and represent the spiritual life of the San people, who now no longer live in their original homeland - making it a World Heritage site of both natural and cultural significance. (UNESCO, 2019) The World Heritage site is part of the Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation Area with Lesotho.

Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape

(Figure 3. Picture of the Gold Rhino discovered at Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape - Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2003)

The Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List as a cultural landscape in 2003 under criteria (ii), (iii), (iv) and (v). The landscape is set against the northern border of South Africa in the Limpopo Province, joining Zimbabwe and Botswana. It is 28168.6602 ha in size and lies in a savannah landscape at the confluence of the Limpopo and Shashe rivers. The site was inscribed on the basis of containing evidence for an important interchange of human values that led to far-reaching cultural and social changes in Southern Africa between AD 900 and 1300 (Mapungubwe is considered to be the first indigenous kingdom in Southern Africa, lasting for 400 years before it was abandoned in the 14th century.) (DEAT, 2003)

The remains in the Mapungubwe cultural landscape are a remarkably complete testimony to the growth and subsequent decline of the Mapungubwe state, which at its height, was the largest kingdom on the African subcontinent. The establishment of Mapungubwe as a powerful state trading through the East African ports with Arabia and India was a significant stage in the history of the African subcontinent. The remains in the Mapungubwe cultural landscape graphically illustrate the impact of climate change and record the growth and then decline of the Kingdom of Mapungubwe, as a clear record of a culture that became vulnerable to irreversible change. (DEAT, 2003) The World Heritage site is part of the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area with Botswana and Zimbabwe.

Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape

(Figure 4. Picture of indigenous plants at Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape - Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2007)

The Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List as a cultural site in 2007 under criteria (iv) and (v). The landscape is located in the north-western corner of the Republic of South Africa, within the Northern Cape Province. It is 160,000 hectares and is bordered to the north by the Richtersveld National Park, to the east by the Helskloof (Nababiep) Provincial Nature Reserve and to the south by the Richtersveld Communal Grazing Area. On its northeast border lies the Orange River which serves as the border with Namibia. (DEAT, 2007)

The Landscape has outstanding botanical universal value on the basis of having the highest botanical diversity and rates of endemism of any arid region and representing more succulent flora than any other part of the world with plants exhibiting unique ecological techniques to enable them to survive in such an extreme environment. The cultural universal value relates to the two thousand year-old transhumance pastoral livelihood of the Nama people and their sustainable use of and relationship with the environment of the Succulent Karoo. This World Heritage site is part of Ais-Ais Richtersveld Transfrontier Conservation Area with Namibia .(DEAT, 2007)

‡Khomani Cultural Landscape

(Figure 5. Picture of ‡Khomani-San people making fire - Department of Environmental Affairs, 2017)

The ‡Khomani Cultural Landscape was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 2017 as a cultural site under criteria (v) and (vi). The ‡Khomani Cultural Landscape is situated at the border with Botswana and Namibia in the Northern Cape of South Africa. The site is within the territory of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (KGNP). The outstanding universal value of the site is represented by the ǂKhomani and related San people who are unique in that they descend directly from an ancient population that existed in the southern African region some 150,000 years ago, and are considered to be the ancestors of the entire human race. The red dunes of the ǂKhomani Cultural Landscape are strongly associated with this unique culture stretching from the Stone Age to the present, a landscape that has changed little from a time when all humans were hunter gatherers. It is an outstanding associative cultural landscape in that the ǂKhomani are a living example of the unique technology and way of life that the San have developed to survive in this desert landscape. The ǂKhomani did not make rock art because there are no suitable rock formations in their territory, yet their culture represents a living link to the magnificent artistic legacy of the San in southern Africa. (UNESCO, 2019)

The expulsion of the ǂKhomani in 1931 from the area, their diaspora, and life on commercial farms, led to large-scale language and other cultural losses. Yet, the success of their land claims have enabled them to return and to take steps to preserve what remains of their language and living culture. Of enormous significance is the survival of the last speakers of the !Ui-Taa languages in the ǂKhomani community. The ǂKhomani are actively reclaiming cultural knowledge, practices and traditions, bringing to life a rich associative landscape. The ethos of living softly on the land and seeing themselves as part of nature, in a landscape where there is a respectful relationship between humans, plants and animals, links them to this land in a unique way that epitomises sustainability. This World Heritage Site is part of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park which share its borders with Botswana. (UNESCO, 2019)

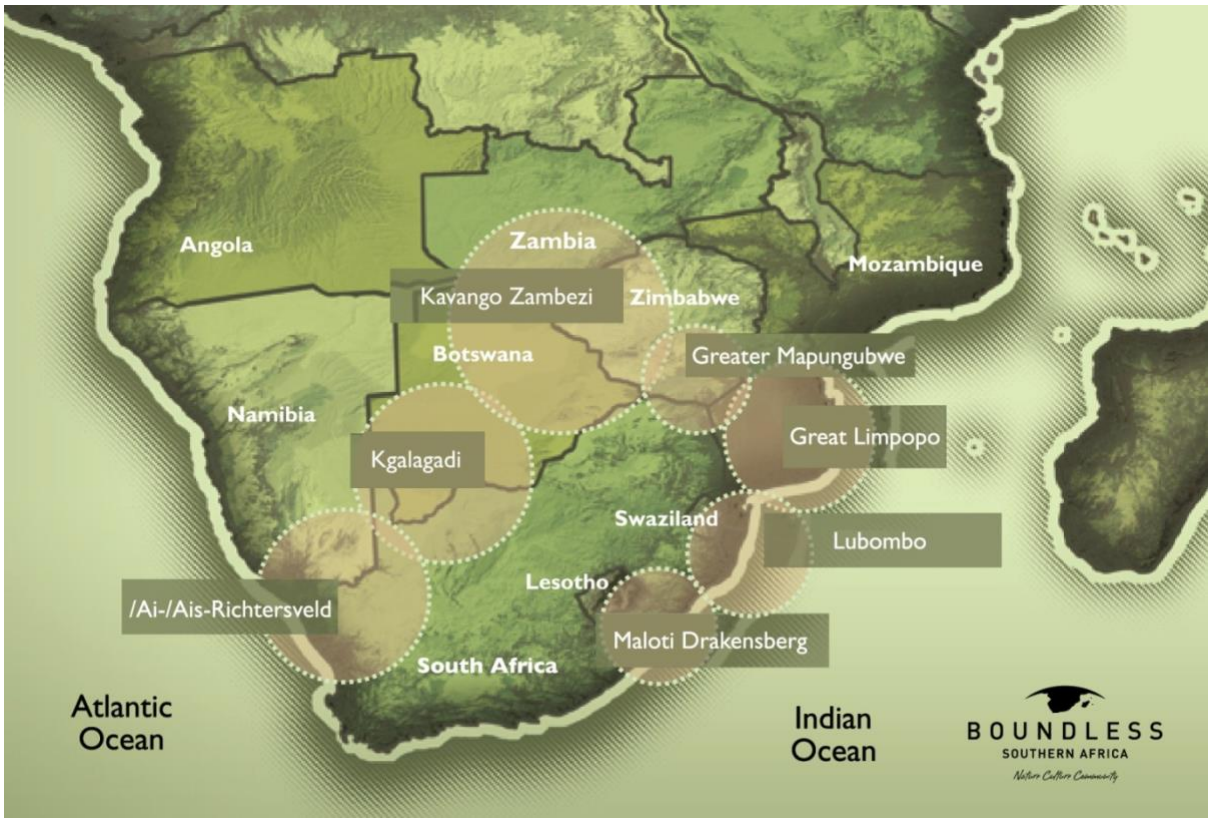
Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains

(Figure 6. Picture of view point at Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains – Department of Environmental Affairs, 2018)

The Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains World Heritage Site was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List in 2018 and is the tenth South African World Heritage Site. It was inscribed under criteria (viii). The Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains are referred to geologically as the Barberton Greenstone Belt (BGB). They are located in north-eastern South Africa, against the north-western border of eSwatini. This approximately 120 x 30 km stretch of rugged mountain terrain is substantially untransformed and includes a wide variety of Archaean rocks (from 3.6 to 3.25 Ga) that are highly accessible all year round. (DEA, 2018) The 113,137 ha property encompasses about 40% of the BGB, is protected by four major nature reserves and includes minor components of timber growing and livestock grazing lands (~15% each). Geoheritage values are identified at 300 registered geosites of which 51% (n=154) are encompassed within the property. A 38 km motorised geotrail linking key geosites was built with illustrated information panels at lay-bys along a public road in 2014. (DEA, 2018)

The Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains contain the best-preserved, oldest and most diverse sequence of volcanic and sedimentary rocks on Earth. These well-researched outcrops provide a globally unique source of information about the earliest measurable conditions of the Earth's gradually solidifying oceanic crust, from 3.5 billion years ago. From these rocks, more has been learned than from anywhere else about the surface processes at work as the Earth cooled from a molten body, to the creation of the primitive biosphere. This is the field repository for the genesis of life. Their OUV lies in both their remarkable state of preservation and in the variety of sites conveniently grouped together. Some of the nature reserves which make up the World Heritage property fall under the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Areas, consisting of South Africa, Mozambique and eSwatini. (DEA, 2018)

The map below illustrates exactly where the World Heritage Sites are located within the TFCAs in Southern Africa.



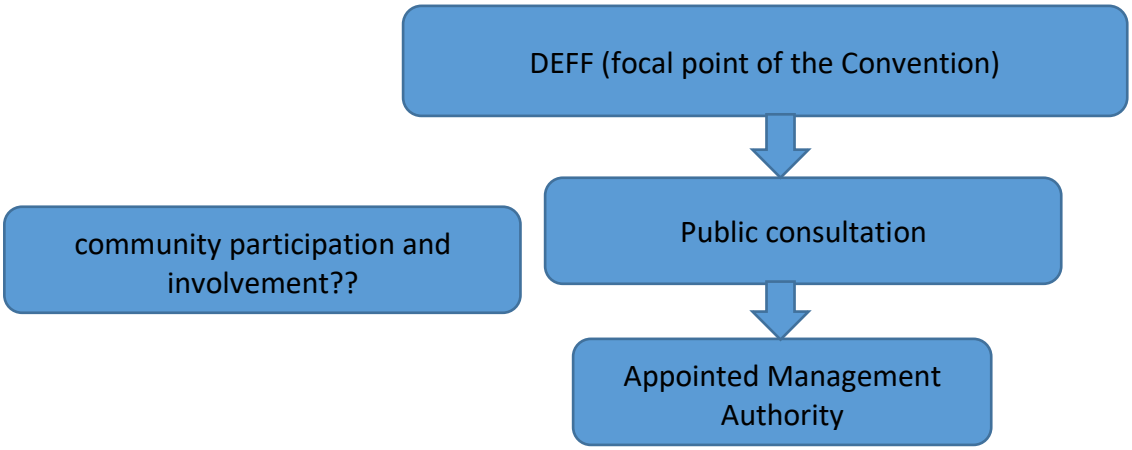
(Figure 7. A map illustrating the location of World Heritage sites within TFCAs – Boundless Southern Africa, 2018)

3.2 Management of World Heritage Sites

According to the South African World Heritage Convention Act 49 of 1999, a management authority should be appointed within six months after a property has been inscribed as a World Heritage property. The Minister of DEFF is responsible for the appointment and it is within her/his powers to specify an entity or a Department to take over the duties. Public hearings also take place in this part of the process, with even the method of consultation process specified. It states that the consultation process must include "notice in the gazette, in at least two nationally distributed newspapers, appropriate local newspapers and radio stations" (WHCA, 1999). Although prescribed in the Act, this process of consultation has not been entirely adhered to during previous nominations.

The need to put South Africa on the map and with communities largely unaware of the concept of World Heritage and its implications, often the communities involved were not given an opportunity to actively engage in the process. Studying the nomination dossiers, I have noticed that South Africa was able to

inscribe 8 properties between 1999 and 2007, which is impressive for a developing country. However, it also seems from the dossiers that public consultation was not done properly and entirely. Since inscription of the properties, the DEFF constantly had to deal with issues relating to management and developments within the core and buffer areas. Affected communities claim that they were not consulted during the nomination process and some insist that they have not agreed to be part of the nominated properties because they had plans for other developments. Others questioned the method of appointment of management authorities as it does not put the community anywhere within the structure. The following is an example of the appointment of a management structure in South Africa for the management of the inscribed properties. (PNSAWHS, 2015)



(Figure 8. The process of appointing a management authority at WHS)

The above structure illustrates that community involvement is optional. To rectify this, the management authorities are encouraged to establish community forums so that representatives of these forums could participate in the management meetings. This does not mean that the representatives can make final decisions, but they can raise issues of concern in terms of how their properties are managed. It would still be up to the appointed management authority to make decisions. Therefore, the structure is problematic. I have witnessed this as an issue in cases such as at the Vredefort Dome World Heritage Site where the landowners have objected to the proclamation of the property as a world heritage property in terms of South African law.

The property is situated in both the Free State and North West Provinces and both Provincial Departments of Environment were previously proposed as management authorities. The landowners objected to this as this does not place any responsibility for the property in their care. There are two community forums from both provinces and they requested that they be part of the management, or the

management of the property be put solely in their care with the assistance of the national department (DEFF) and the two provincial departments. The 2 community forums comprise of landowners (business owners) who have developed their businesses within the core and buffer zones and the World Heritage status does raise their property rates. Although this might have made sense to the landowners, there is a group of "other" community members who has not been considered in either of their proposed structures (proposed management authority and the community forums) and these are the local people also living within and in the surrounding buffer area.

The provincial departments are intended to represent this group, but even they have failed. I have noticed that the local people living in and around the world heritage property are not even aware that the Vredefort Dome has international significance. How does one become offended when they are not even aware of the development and its significance, or understand the concept anyway? To date, the Vredefort Dome is the only property which has not been proclaimed nationally in South Africa. There are still negotiations and mediations taking place in order to address the issue. But until the community involvement and participation is inclusive of everyone and not just "affected community forums" the property might remain without a functional management authority and unproclaimed nationally.

CHAPTER FOUR: WORLD HERITAGE AND COMMUNTY PARTICIPATION

4.1. Defining Communities

The concept of 'community' is often employed both in academic literature and in the so-called 'development' field as a geographically confined and 'marginalised unity' which practises 'collective participation', agency and demonstrates a strong sense of stewardship towards heritage (e.g., Chirikure & Pwiti, 2008). This notion of 'community' can be problematic at many levels. It has long been recognised that there are notable divergences inside any single 'community' because 'community' (however it is defined) is not an undifferentiated and homogenous whole, but includes many, and at times conflicting, interests (Gibson & Koontz, 1998). Inside a community there are individuals with different personal expectations, and individuals who are not at all interested in altruistic 'community development', 'empowerment' or 'environmental conservation', as many authors seem to suggest (Gibson and Koontz, 1998:622-623). Similarly, it has been demonstrated that in many contexts often the voices of disenfranchised community members remain unheard while the voice of the elite with prerogatives dominates (Guijt and Shah, 1998).

The participatory approach advocated in most African CBNRM-type policies is often premised on a homogeneous idea of 'community' (Fabricius, 2004:31). The expectation that local people, as a geographically confined and marginalised unity that speaks with one voice (represented by the Village Committees), practises collective participation, and has a single vision that encompasses all the aspirations of the group and demonstrates a strong sense of stewardship of natural and cultural resources, is very romanticised and often does not hold water (Fabricius *et al*., 2001; Fabricius, 2004). Yet frequently, once funds are allocated for CBNRM, then the first step is to identify the recipient community, which following 'consultations', the existing residents (or closest neighbours outside the area) become 'the community' (Boggs, 2004:150). It has long been acknowledged that the term 'local community' is difficult to define mainly because local groupings constantly redefine and re-align themselves and reformulate their objectives (Fabricius, 2004:22).

The apolitical approach to 'community' adopted by many CBNRM does not take into account the internal diversity, power relations and micro-politics amongst local actors. Advocates of CBNRM seem to be more concerned with presenting an image of conservationists (both from government and NGOs) working harmoniously with the 'local community' to achieve altruist conservationist goals, brushing aside conflicts resulting from the historical and macro-political context, as well as the current dynamics at play at the

locality (e.g. the complex and broader roles assigned to local communities within the democratisation processes; the impact of foreign intervention at local levels; political conflicts among local actors and groups within the current multi-party system; and the experience of local actors to deal with and take advantage of 'foreign' actors' interventions, be they conservationists or development experts) (Campbell, 2007:329). The romanticised idea of 'local communities' blinded implementers of CBNRM to intra-community conflicts. Conflicts within local communities abound, ranging from stock theft to squabbles over leadership, land and revenue (Boggs, 2004), and poaching by community members of their own wildlife (Johnson, 2004).

Many of these conflicts have emerged because of the framework of implementation of CBNRM projects, for instance, between elected representatives and co-management organisations, and traditional leadership who often expect their share of the benefits from wildlife by virtue of only their positions (Hara, 2004; Child, 2004). Conflicts are also exacerbated when newly formed institutions are co-opted by government and start acting like agents of the state rather than as elected community representatives, as illustrated by some CBNRM projects in Malawi and Zimbabwe (Hara, 2004; Fabricius, 2004:21-22).

The definition of a "community" is very broad and a challenging concept to delineate when one considers any form of community involvement in a project. Consideration must also be given to the history of the area, the background of the descendants and the current inhabitants. Rasoolimanesh and Jaafar (2016: 01) describe 'community' as a group of people who share a geographic area and are bound together by common culture, values, race or social class. This definition is narrow, considering the fact that it does not associate factors such as migration, forced removals, history and heritage associated with the area. Chirikure and Pwiti (2008: 467) expand on the definition to include a body of people inhabiting the same locality and those that operate at different scales that include local, national, regional and global. They further explain that in geographical terms, local communities reside close to archaeological and cultural resources, while national, regional and global communities live far from the area. It would be insensitive not to expand on the definition of the term 'community' by also including the indigenous/native groups, for they are the carriers of the oral traditions and culture including both tangible and intangible heritage; and any other person who comes after them, and for the purposes of this study, we shall refer to them as inhabitants.

Emmett (2000: 503) explains that although the majority of community-based practitioners resort to a geographical definition of community, there are clearly various alternative definitions and conceptions of community and these often become confused and entangled with the geographical definitions. As such,

with most beneficiation initiatives/programmes aimed at developing communities, the issue of defining and determining which communities should/want to be involved becomes problematic. Also, the dynamics within the community pose challenges when attempting to encourage community involvement.

For the world heritage concept itself, the theoretical approaches used to communicate its objectives by practitioners is dubious in that it does not capture the interests and understanding of a community involved, therefore it does not entirely encourage participation and involvement by the entire community. Emmett (2000: 502) notes that the problems associated with community participation/involvement do not occur so much on the level of methods and techniques, but on the conceptual and theoretical level. In order to translate a world heritage concept in a simpler form/term for a community to understand and be able to conceptualise, there is a need to determine "who are these communities". He further notes that communities are seldom, if ever, homogenous and unified. This is a cause for concern for any inscribed world heritage site (where a site is extended into the neighbouring countries) and different communities are supposed to play a role in ensuring the conservation of the property.

Here, I use local communities to refer to interested local groups, which are subgroups of a larger, but similarly, interested public. They are complex and heterogeneous, with fluid boundaries and membership, often consisting of groups within groups, with competing and overlapping factions, and with members who have diverse and conflicting perspectives, needs and expectations. (Pyburn, 2011: 30)

4.2 The trouble with the notions of community involvement and participation

In southern Africa, the preoccupation with the involvement and participation of local communities in heritage management and tourism was broadly developed within the framework of CBNRM programmes which arose in response to critiques of the traditional 'fortress conservation' approach to conservation in parks and protected areas (Chirikure *et al.,* 2010). It is commonly seen as having two central objectives: to enhance conservation of wildlife, biodiversity and/or the environment, and to provide economic, social, cultural, and political benefits to local people (Campbell, 2007: 329).

Although the so-called participation of communities in conservation initiatives has become a centrepiece of CBNRM programmes, the interpretation of 'participation' on the ground varies widely (Fabricius, 2004: 29). Some projects do not go beyond 'passive participation' when there are unilateral announcements by external professionals, from the government or Non-Governmental Organisations, without listening to communities' opinions and concerns. Local people are told what is going to happen or, worse yet, has

already happened, as illustrated by the case of the creation of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park between South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe in 2000, discussed in detail in Chapter 6. The Park constitutes one of the several examples of ways in which the promoters of TFCAs marginalise local communities, causing them to lose social capital and to surrender their access to natural resources under the guise of 'community conservation discourse'.

In many countries in the region, participation of local communities within CBNRM programmes is framed in terms of 'devolution', but what the multiple actors actually do on the ground varies from one country to another and from one project to the other. Thus, the interpretation of what constitutes 'participation' or 'devolution' differs from one context to another, and the degree of participation including the rights of 'poor rural local communities' to use natural resources depend on the political will of government departments and officials (Jopela, 2010). A closer look into the implementation of CBNRM programmes suggests that many officials feel it right that the state should control access to and decision-making over natural resources, with communities being passive participants. For these officials, often poorly equipped to deal with a people-centred approach, the purpose of involving local communities is simply to inform them of their role in nature conservation policy (Fabricius, 2004: 20). Consequently, in many national policy documents, 'participation' consists mainly in the creation of village councils to give local communities a sense of 'responsibility' towards the management of natural resources. Participation is often framed in terms of profit-sharing with local communities, that is to say, only downstream in the decision-making process. The structure, composition and operation of the local consultative and management structures are rather imposed than negotiated (Adams and Hulme, 1998). The implementers of CBNRM programmes have often "failed to operationalise community participation in project identification, design, and management. 'Participation' is, rather, often seen as a means to get people to support predetermined conservation programs" (Campbell, 2007: 329).

4.3. World Heritage Convention and Communities

Despite its global 'noble' mission (i.e. 'to create the conditions for genuine dialogue based upon respect for shared values and the dignity of each civilisation and culture'), UNESCO and especially its world heritage system, has attracted criticism for failing to incorporate indigenous and local communities' heritage perspectives and for being overly focused on the kinds of tangible and monumental heritages that epitomise Western elite ideas of heritage (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 2006; Labadi, 2012; Meskell, 2013). For instance, it has been suggested that the differentiation between cultural and natural values at World Heritage properties is problematic because often the "natural" values are deemed to be of outstanding

universal value, whereas the indigenous cultural values are not. Because of the separation between cultural and natural values, there is frequent exclusion of local communities and indigenous peoples from decision-making (IWGIA-FPP, 2015:7-9). Moreover, this has caused some scholars to argue that the World Heritage system indeed fails to place heritage in its local context, as mentioned earlier (Bouchenaki, 2003; Sullivan, 2003).

Another point of contention is the applicability of criterion (vi) for World Heritage nomination. According to this criterion, a site can be considered of outstanding universal value if is considered "to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" (UNESCO, 2015:21). Recent debates on whether criterion (vi) should be used in conjunction with other criteria (as stipulated in the Operational Guidelines) for the assessment of outstanding universal value of a site, or whether it is sufficient to justify an inscription on its own (Bouchenaki, 2003), has led some to argue that the present restriction on criterion (vi) is underpinned by the western European concept of heritage as being exclusively tangible in nature (; Fowler, 2003). Furthermore, the World Heritage system has also been criticised for its prescriptive powers by seeking to set global standards of heritage conservation behaviour (Logan, 2012); for being a totalising discourse representing a global hierarchy of value (Herzfeld, 2006); for attempting to impose a particular view or 'values' of 'heritage' across the world (Fontein, 2006); and for being hegemonic and therefore forcing what are essentially Western ideas of heritage onto countries that might not otherwise hold such interest in heritage (Byrne, 1991).

Nonetheless, many commentators (Logan, 2001, 2012; Labadi, 2010; Colwell and Joy, 2015) have also acknowledged that UNESCO itself has taken such critiques to heart and this has led to significant changes, such as:

- Concerted efforts to nominate World Heritage properties outside Europe, through the adoption of the Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List in 1994, to ensure that the list reflects the full spectrum of the world's cultural and natural heritage of outstanding universal value (UNESCO, 2005);
- The adoption of the Nara Document on Authenticity in 1994 recognising that the authenticity of a site is rooted in specific socio-cultural contexts, corresponding to specific values and can only be understood and judged within those specific contexts and according to these values (Labadi, 2010); and

- The development of the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage to recalibrate what is considered to be cultural heritage by moving strictly from the material world to the embodied social relationships enabled by the material (Colwell and Joy, 2015).

The 'Global Strategy' led to many positive achievements in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention, particularly in Africa, like the identification and inclusion of heritage more specific to the African continent (e.g. cultural landscapes and archaeological and paleontological sites); the development of a capacity-building programme in the heritage sector, such as Africa 2009, which made possible the establishment and development of two regional training and capacity-building centres (the École du Patrimoine Africain – EPA, based in Benin, and the Centre for Heritage Development in Africa – CHDA, based in Kenya); the founding of the African World Heritage Fund (AWHF) in South Africa in 2006, which through its World Nomination Training Programme, assisted African countries in preparing more robust nomination dossiers (between 2011 and 2016, fifteen African sites were successfully nominated through the AWHF's support), while also contributing to the improvement of the technical capacity and network of heritage professionals; and the introduction of the fifth "C" (for Communities) in the strategic objectives of the World Heritage Convention in 2007, leading to the recognition of the role of 'local communities' in World Heritage matters, including the recognition of traditional systems as legitimate mechanisms for the management of World Heritage properties. (Abungu, 2009, 2016; Rakotomamonjy, 2010; Deacon, 2014; Kiriama, 2014)

At its 31st Session of the World Heritage Committee, UNESCO realised the importance of adding the "fifth C" to its strategic objectives to enhance the role of the communities in the implementation of the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO, 2007). The previous four Cs included 'Conservation', 'Capacity building', 'Credibility' and 'Communication', while 'Community' became the "fifth C". The Committee cited the necessity to add the fifth 'C' based on the fact that, amongst others, "heritage protection without community involvement and commitment is an invitation to failure" (UNESCO, 2007). One would wonder why it took the Committee so long to realise the importance of making community involvement a requirement when evaluating nominations and whose heritage they have been protecting and preserving all this time.

The discussions around community involvement, or the lack thereof, was sparked by the idea of "popular participation" as a need for sustainable development (UNESCO, 2007). In most parts of the world, including South Africa, the issue of community involvement has been avoided and cases of communities being moved out of the areas/their homes for the establishment of national parks has caused conflicts

between authorities and communities (Dube, 2018: 02). As a result, communities do not trust authorities and government in their conservation initiatives as they believe their rights will be violated. The Committee also noted that with regard to the conservation of heritage ideas, the core idea is that areas created in isolation of local communities in terms of their values, participation, or sharing of benefits, risk failure (UNESCO, 2007). Dube (2018: 02) reiterates that local communities should be one of the important stakeholders in protected area management as they have valuable information to share about the area. UNESCO (2007) adds that this support is necessary because often it is the local/traditional and/or indigenous peoples who have the knowledge of how to successfully conserve sites of heritage value.

Yet, several case studies from the region clearly indicate that much of the rhetoric about participatory approaches to heritage management has never materialised (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006) and the promises of 'community involvement' and development remain unfulfilled (Chirikure *et al*., 2010; Fabricius *et al*., 2004).

4.4 Community involvement and participation in World Heritage processes

On 7 April 1999, the presidents of Botswana and South Africa signed an international agreement to manage two adjacent national parks – the Gemsbok National Park in Botswana and the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in South Africa, and so, the first Southern African Peace Park was launched in May 2000, which became known as the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP). However, the ancestral landowner, the ǂKhomani San communities of both countries, were marginalised in the whole TFCA negotiation process, including when a management plan was drafted, reviewed and approved by the conservation agencies of Botswana and South Africa in early 1997 (Magome and Murombedzi, 2003:122; Thondhlana *et al.,* 2011:5). The ǂKhomani San and Mier communities on the South African side were still not involved in the process, even after years of negotiation and verification of a land claim launched by the communities in 1995. The two communities were then awarded the land concerned after a successful post-apartheid land restitution case and a settlement agreement was reached. The Heritage Park was then established which is co-managed with SANParks as a contractual National Park (!Ae! Hai Kalahari Heritage Park). (DEA, 2016: 06)

The !Ae! Hai Kalahari Heritage Park (57,903ha) lies in the south of the KGNP and is subdivided into two segments: 27,769ha of land belonging to the ǂKhomani San and 30,134ha belonging to the Mier community (DEA, 2016:06). A Joint Management Board (JMB) was then established with representation

by the Mier community (3-5 members), ǂKhomani San (3-5 members) and SANParks (3-5 members) to oversee the implementation of the Management Plan for the area (SANParks 2006:3).

Although the Contract Park is supposed to generate socio-economic benefits through commercial ventures such as ecotourism (Thondhlana *et al*., 2011:5), human rights and environmental activists involved in the process have pointed out that many difficulties were experienced from the outset and could be ascribed to the park management's lack of ability to embrace and implement the settlement agreement, the internal political conflicts within the Mier community, and a dysfunctional Communal Property Association (CPA) Management Committee on the ǂKhomani San side (of which the park committee is a sub-committee). Therefore, aside from the construction of the joint !Xaus Community Lodge in July 2007, little was achieved in the first four years of the JMB's operations. Until 2006, no effort was made by any of the parties to assist the claimants (the majority living on farms located over 60 km away from the park with no transport enabling them to freely access the park), particularly the elders, to visit their land in the park and to re-establish their ancestral connections with their sacred places. Consequently, people grew increasingly frustrated with the realisation that 'ownership' and 'contractual rights' did not manifest in actual rights to enter the park and reconnect with their land. (Holden, 2007:60)

On the Botswanan side, the government strongly contests and continues to disregard indigenous peoples' rights and traditions, as attested by the treatment given to indigenous minorities living in and around protected areas across the country (e.g., the forceful removal of San communities from the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in the 1990s and early 2000s) (Magome and Murombedzi, 2003:122). This has resulted in South Africa only proclaiming the World Heritage Sites on the South African side and not into the neighbouring countries concerned and it could also be anticipated that any future plans for extensions into these countries are going to be problematic.

The above case constitutes one of the numerous examples of how the discourse on 'community conservation' and 'Peace Parks' championed by governments and other actors such as the Peace Parks Foundation (PPF) actually threatens and limits a community's benefits by over-regulating communities' ability to manage their own natural resources, especially where communities have been successful in claiming land inside protected areas (Magome and Murombedzi, 2003; Reid and Turner, 2004). This point can be further demonstrated by looking at the treatment of local communities by governmental agencies and the PPF in other 'Peace Parks', namely the /Ais/Ais- Richtersveld Transfrontier Park and the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. The Richtersveld National Park in South Africa is owned by the Nama communities, but the park is managed by SANParks. Accordingly, the management structure

should allow full participation, not only of local communities through elected members representing the four towns in the area (Kuboes, Sanddrift, Lekkersing and Eksteenfontein), but also of local pastoralists. These communities were keen to see the transfrontier park established, as they would all benefit from increased tourism to the area, while at the same time conserving its unique biodiversity. The transfrontier park would also help maintain the cultural heritage and traditional lifestyle of the Nama people.

However, Reid and Turner (2004) argue that despite the community majority on the Management Plan Committee, and the fact that local people continue to graze their livestock in the park, in a contractual park such as /Ais/Ais- Richtersveld Transfrontier Park, "natural resource management can never be wholly community based because of the nature of the partnership with the conservation agency" (Reid and Turner, 2004:230). While contract parks might help communities entrench their rights to the land in question, not all communities are able to 'win' the battle of improving their livelihoods in this kind of CBNRM. The people of the Richtersveld have won a few jobs in the park, mostly on low salaries. Occasional opportunities for ecotourism work as guides, guesthouse operators or handicraft makers make a marginal contribution to area livelihoods. Economically, Richtersveld communities have 'won' very little from this contractual park. The best they can say is that their assets have not been taken away from them. (Reid and Turner, 2004:233) On the other hand, SANParks appears to be the biggest 'winner' in this 'win-win' partnership, for through the contractual parks, it has avoided the reduction of its state, not only in relation to the Richtersveld, but also in the Kruger National Park and the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park where similar ventures were entered into with claimant communities (Reid and Turner, 2004:231).

In conclusion, the world heritage nomination and the development of TFCAs have the potential to empower countries in providing them with an opportunity and tools to preserve and conserve their natural and cultural resources, but can also exploit the ways in which the State manipulates/coerces communities into supporting initiatives to work in their favour. This will inevitably have an effect in the marketing of such initiatives for future tourism developments.

CHAPTER FIVE: WORLD HERITAGE AND TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

The National Department of Tourism states that tourism contributed R136,1 billion, or about 2.9% of the total gross domestic product (GDP,) in South Africa in 2017. It further stated that tourism directly and indirectly supported about 1.5 million jobs in 2017, or 9.5% of the total employment, and that there is potential to grow employment in this sector to 2.1 million jobs by 2028. This clearly indicates that tourism is important for the South African economy and its benefits surely outweighs its potential impacts when it is done in a correct and sustainable way. (ANON, 2019)

The concept of heritage tourism/cultural heritage tourism is particularly practiced in developing countries and some parts of Africa are reaping the benefits when it is done "correctly". Heritage tourism typically relies on living and built elements of culture and refers to the use of the tangible and intangible past as a tourism resource (Keitumetse, 2016:158). But what does this mean for World Heritage Sites where many forms of development are considered threats to the Outstanding Universal Value? What happens when tourism brings detrimental threats to the OUV that resulted in a site being listed on the World Heritage Danger List? The African continent only hosts 12.5% of the total properties on the World Heritage List and out of these, 23 properties are on the World Heritage List in Danger, which represents approximately 42% of the total 55 properties on the World Heritage List. (UNESCO, 2019)

De Ascaniis *et al.* (2018:23) state that for World Heritage Sites, tourism constitutes both an opportunity and a threat and it is a concern that ICCROM (2006: 73) lists tourism as one of the key threats to World Heritage Sites. This brings about the question how one determines when the impacts of tourism are beneficial or when they are problematic ('threatening'). The role of tourism at World Heritage Sites brings about benefits to the local communities living in and around these sites through job creation, cultural awareness, knowledge and information sharing, etc. The perceived benefits of tourism activity to an area are one of the key motivations for State Parties to nominate sites. The potential for heritage to produce local benefits can be demonstrated by the Cradle of Humankind World Heritage Site. The site is managed through a public-private partnership between the Gauteng Provincial Government, the University of the Witwatersrand and Maropeng a'Afrika Leisure (Pty), who jointly invested some R347 million primarily for the development of the Maropeng visitor centre and the Sterkfontein sites at the Cradle of Humankind WHS, as well as for construction and upgrading of roads around the area (Meskell, 2012: 71). The construction of the Sterkfontein and Maropeng tourism attractions has created 600 permanent and 1,200 temporary jobs, while the construction of roads in the area created a further 600 temporary jobs. The listing of the Cradle of Humankind as a World Heritage site has had the desired effect on growth in the

tourism sector. Site tourism products such as accommodation, tours, guiding, and so on have more than quadrupled – from 68 in 1999 to 405 in 2010. A study conducted in 2008 reported that tourist spending from visits to the Cradle of Humankind generated a total of about R695 million, or about 0.1% of Gauteng's GDP. (Ndoro, 2016: 402)

Another example of the involvement of local communities at World Heritage Sites centres around South African rock art sites. In the mid-1990s as part of the government-led tourism development initiatives aiming to correct the imbalances of the past and to promote the emancipation of previously disadvantaged groups, rock art sites, often located in rural regions marked by high unemployment (sometimes above 40%), were identified as cultural products "able to act as drivers of rural tourism and thereby to transfer capital and skills to previously disadvantaged segments of the population therefore help to rebalance South Africa's skewed socio-economic dynamics *[sic]*" (Duval and Smith, 2012: 2). It was hoped that South African rock art sites, once re-packaged, would be able to draw similar numbers of tourists as such sites in Europe, Australia and America, which in turn would create self-sustaining jobs for the local communities. Through this venture there was also the opportunity to "benefit all South Africans by informing, educating and inspiring locals and visitors about this proud South African contribution to world heritage and help to guarantee the long-term protection of rock art by sensitising people to its value, allowing many people to derive tangible benefits from it and putting in place world-class site-management and conservation practices" (Laue *et al*., 2001: 6). The government used the Poverty Relief Fund to develop tourism infrastructure at the rock art sites of Game Pass Shelter in the uKhahlamba–Drakensberg National Park (UDP) and Wildebeest Kuil, close to Kimberley in the Northern Cape, as well as the Living Landscape Project in Clanwilliam, Western Cape (Duval and Smith, 2014: 37).

The Kamberg Rock Art Centre, opened to the public in 2002, is situated in UDP which overlaps the border between Lesotho and South Africa as a transfrontier conservation area, or Peace Park. Given the outstanding natural beauty of its mountain flora and fauna and its exceptional richness in rock art, the UDP was also granted World Heritage Site status by UNESCO in 2000 as a mixed cultural and natural heritage property (Duval and Smith, 2012: 1). Other rock art tourism developments in the UDP had already been launched, just before and after the development of the Kamberg Rock Art Centre. In 1998, the Main Caves tourist site was completely refurbished by Amafa (the provincial heritage agency for KwaZulu-Natal province) in conjunction with the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Service and the Rock Art Research Institute of the University of Witwatersrand. Guides were employed and trained to explain the rock art to visitors. In 2003, the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Service opened a new

Rock Art Interpretation Centre at Didima, near Cathedral Peak, with museum-style displays and an auditorium for audio-visual presentations. In spite of these important developments, the new rock art developments did not attract significant numbers of tourists: rock art has never developed into a major attraction and source of social empowerment in South Africa. (Duval and Smith, 2012:12) In 2009, out of the estimated 740,000 tourists who visited the UDP region, only about 27,300 (less than 4%) tourists paid to enter any of the 23 rock art sites open to the public, including the Didima centre. Income of between R1,218,823 and R1,425,213 was generated, excluding income from the sale of food and accommodation. (Duval and Smith, 2012: 4-5; 2014: 36)

However, it is difficult to quantify these sorts of benefits. The key dilemma here is that it is difficult to balance tourism activity with the conservation role, often creating tension or conflict between the usually large number of stakeholders involved (Leask and Fyall, 2006:13). This is evident in cases such as the Khomani People (‡Khomani Cultural Landscape) and the Nama People (Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape), where communities at times are compelled to meet consumers' demands and standards at the expense of their socio-cultural norms and practices. In such situations, the cultural heritage value which is one of the major reasons the site was inscribed in the first place, may be compromised. This can become a form of exploitation of local communities. Leslie (2012:142) states that some studies have described tourism as a modern form of acculturation, pointing out that tourists are less likely to borrow from their hosts than their hosts are from them. Therefore, local perception of western culture is usually flawed as a result of the impact of tourism on local perception and therefore tourism benefits are often flawed and cannot be determined. The seeming linear influence of acculturation has however been challenged by several authors.

With 10 sites inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage Sites, South Africa is one of the African countries with semi-effective management tools in managing these sites. With that said, there are still sites such as those of the Khomani People (‡Khomani Cultural Landscape) and the Nama People (Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape), that have not benefited from these inscriptions, specifically through tourism. This is largely due to a lack of stakeholder engagement, a lack of implementation of overall management plans including ones for tourism, developments within the buffer zones and core areas, and a lack of resources and funding. The information regarding tourism benefits and how it is presented to communities is often misleading and communities are left on the side-lines once a site is inscribed. Often, "assumptions and dreams" are sold to communities by the heritage "experts", feeding the communities with skewed knowledge on what it means for a site to be inscribed and the implications that may result from such a process, for example, World Heritage listing brings tourists = money for the poor. These

assumptions are not interrogated prior to inscription and it is astonishing to learn that stakeholder engagement was not even properly done before inscription. With no proper systems in place on how to manage the sites, it cannot be determined whether tourism can benefit local communities living in and around such sites. But it is clear that there are impacts as far as tourism is concerned resulting from the inscription/nomination of a site as a World Heritage Site.

CHAPTER SIX: TRANSFRONTIER (TRANSBOUNDARY) CONSERVATION AREAS

6.1 Historical background

Previously, during the Apartheid regime, nature conservation in southern Africa was used as an important political tool, where it played a role in fostering Afrikaner nationalism and plotting a policy of political destabilisation of neighbouring countries (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006: 294). As a result, nature conservation brought about feelings of mistrust and antagonism between the wildlife authorities and local communities living in and around the areas and between the neighbouring countries. This mistrust was brought about by the wildlife authorities excluding the local communities from the wildlife areas through fences and by excluding them from the management of the areas. Spierenburg and Wels (2006: 295) note that the strategy to exclude the locals from the wildlife area was counterproductive, hence conservation organisations started advocating strategies to generate benefits for communities in proximity to protected areas and sometimes even community participation in the management of these areas. This new approach was often referred to as moving "beyond the fences" and was developed in the wake of the Bali Declaration of 1982 and the 1987 Report of the Brundtland Commission.

Just ten years on after the beginning of CBNRM in southern Africa, the discourse on CBNRM had lost some of its 'flavour' as debates became more complicated and increasingly focused on weaknesses rather than the strengths or solutions of this participatory approach, leading to a progressive shift in donors funding from 'community' to 'transfrontier' conservation initiatives. For instance, the United States Agency for International Development (USAID), which was a key supporter of CBNRM in the 1980s and early 1990s, made a dramatic switch between 1996 and 1997 from CBNRM in favour of supporting Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) (DeGeorges and Reilly, 2009:758). According to Wolmer (2003), donors and CBNRM practitioners were looking for a new paradigm. This was particularly true of the USAID Regional Centre for southern Africa, which, in the late 1990s, came under pressure to justify its existence. Thus, the discourse regarding a need for a regional approach to natural resource management, which presented TFCAs as an "opportunity to apply the lessons learned in CBNRM at a larger scale", provided USAID with a further *raison d'être* for its regional office (Wolmer, 2003:267).

The States and NGOs have vested interests in establishing TFCAs for a number of political and economic reasons. It is often assumed that TFCAs constitute mechanisms for promotion of regional peace, for overcoming economies of scale, for consolidation of the conservation of key ecosystems across political boundaries (including wildlife migration corridors), and for accessing large sums of money on a grander

scale than CBNRM (DeGeorges and Reilly, 2009:758). Although CBNRM has not disappeared in favour of TFCAs, it has been illustrated that since the early 2000s there has been a drastic decrease in CBNRM funding at the same time that the funding for TFCAs was strongly on the rise (Büscher, 2010:648).

Within much of Southern Africa, effective management of natural resources requires at least some degree of management across boundaries. This is due to the fact that boundaries, drawn to divide countries, were set without taking into consideration the ecosystem boundaries, resulting in the undesired consequence of dissecting natural ecosystems into unsustainable components which are restrictive to the movement of wildlife and tourists, as well as splitting the management of important ecosystems and natural resources between parties which do not always share the same objectives or mandate (DEA, 2014). Unsustainable natural resource uses on one side of a border may unfavourably affect resource use in neighbouring countries and reduce the potential of the ecosystem to provide a wide range of goods and services that are of importance to the livelihoods and economies of the region. Pollution, water supplies, migratory species, fires, alien and invasive species, and illegal activities surpass state borders. Consequently, international cooperation is the key to not only addressing these problems in a collaborative manner across national jurisdictions, but also to effectively reorganise the management of transboundary ecosystems with a view to enhancing the quality of the environment and ensuring sustainable utilisation of shared natural resources in southern Africa. (DEA, 2014)

Although the problems that follow from these divisions have long been recognised, it is only in the 1990s that a concerted effort was made to identify such situations and to attempt to rectify them. Central to this process has been the development and establishment of a series of TFCAs as a vehicle for the conservation of biological and cultural resources and promoting sustainable development. A TFCA is defined as the area or component of a large ecological region that straddles the boundaries of two or more countries, encompassing one or more protected areas, as well as multiple resource use areas where the natural and cultural resources are collaboratively managed by the Governments and/or Authorities involved (Boundless Southern Africa, 2018:01). In cases where two or more protected areas are adjoined and collaboratively managed across the international borders, the term 'Transfrontier Park (TFP)/ Transboundary Protected Area/Park' is used. The main objectives of TFCAs and TFPs are to secure the integrity of major ecosystems in southern Africa; to promote socio-economic development through cross-border natural resource management and tourism development; and to deepen regional integration (DEA, 2014).

One of the prime lobbying and facilitating organisations for these TFCAs in the region is the South African Peace Park Foundation (PPF). The PPF is a non-governmental organisation, founded in 1997 by the late South African billionaire entrepreneur Anton Rupert, the late Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands, and the late former South African President Nelson Mandela, with the sole purpose of stimulating the establishment of TFCAs (Büscher, 2010:653). The PPF has discursively strengthened the political dimension of TFCAs by directly equating them with 'peace-making'. Such discourse has gained firm ground (e.g., during the World Conservation Congress in 2004 the 'Parks for Peace' initiative was launched by PPF and IUCN) to the extent that such TFCAs are also commonly referred to as 'Peace Parks'. (Büscher, 2010:653; SADC, 2013:8)

In the early 1990s, a start was made to dismantle the system of Apartheid. Within this context, and aided by the different initiatives to reconcile local communities with wildlife managers, a normalisation of relations within the region was initiated. The idea of promoting the creation of TFCAs to stimulate this normalisation matched perfectly with the political feeling at that particular time. The overall cooperative ideal was couched in romantic parlance about the way that the joint management of nature "would heal old wounds" at both the state and community levels, hence the name 'peace parks'. (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006: 298) Figuratively speaking, the TFCAs represented attempts to 'break down the fences' that have hindered community participation in wildlife conservation.

The origin of Transfrontier Conservation Areas development within the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region can be traced back to the signing of the International Treaty between Botswana and South Africa in 1999, which led to the establishment of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. Since then, significant strides have been made across the region to establish additional TFCAs. Efforts to coordinate conservation efforts across boundaries are being complemented by initiatives to boost tourist arrivals to these TFCAs. There are 18 TFCAs across the SADC region that are in different stages of development. Out of these, 6 TFCAs fall between South Africa and its neighbouring countries, including Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, eSwatini and Zimbabwe. (Boundless Southern Africa, 2018:01)

6.2. Legal Framework of Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa

The legal foundation for the establishment, development and management of TFCAs is the SADC Protocol on Wildlife and Law Enforcement (1999), which was ratified by Member States in 2003. The protocol encourages the Member States to create ecological linkages across international boundaries to

safeguard the integrity and welfare of shared natural resources. One of the objectives of the Protocol, as stipulated in Article 4, 2 (f), is to "Promote the conservation of shared wildlife resources through the establishment of Transfrontier Conservation Areas" (SADC Protocol, 1999). All international agreements establishing the TFCAs are based on this Protocol. The rationale for establishing TFCAs taps into the notion that nature knows no boundaries and aims at promoting interaction in regional initiatives for economic, social and conservation benefits across the subcontinent and to bring Africans together. (Boundless Southern Africa, 2018:01)

Although there is no unifying legal regime on the establishment of TFCAs at a global level, such as a convention for TFCAs, extensive justification for them is contained in international laws. In 2004, the countries that have ratified the Convention on Biological Diversity – CBD (1992), including South Africa, adopted the goal of establishing and strengthening "*regional networks, transboundary protected areas and collaboration between neighbouring protected areas across national boundaries*" under its *"Protected Areas Programme of Work"*. (IUCN World Conservation Congress, 2004)

In addition to the Convention in Biological Diversity, TFCAs also complement the goals and objectives of other Multilateral Environmental Agreements (MEAs), such as the Convention on Wetlands Conservation – Ramsar (1971), UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Programme (1971), the World Heritage Convention - WHC (1972), the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Flora and Fauna - CITES (1973), the Convention on Migratory Species – CMS (1979), and the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification – UNCCD (1994). TFCAs not only make a significant contribution to the conservation of biodiversity, but equally help to mitigate the consequences of climate change within the context of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change - UNFCCC (1994).

These conventions focus on collaboration in the sustainable use of shared natural resources and the effective participation of local communities in the management of the resources, as well as deriving meaningful economic and social benefits. The development and implementation of TFCAs therefore make a meaningful contribution to the international efforts on biodiversity conservation, sustainable tourism development, and climate change mitigation. (Boundless Southern Africa, 2018:02)

A TFCA is formally established through the signing of a legal agreement by participating countries, such as a Memorandum of Understanding and/or a treaty. The principal signatories to the international agreements on the TFCAs are either the Heads of State or Political Heads of Government Departments (Ministries). Once a TFCA is established, the participating countries are required to establish joint

management structures and plans to guide the management of TFCAs as integrated effective units. The institutional arrangement of each TFCA is enshrined in the Treaty/Memorandum of Understanding that establishes it and provides an appropriate environment for parties to the treaty to discharge their duties effectively.(DEA, 2014)

At national level, the development of TFCAs is underpinned by the South African Constitution and all other relevant legislation and policies applicable to the government. In terms of the provisions of the South African Constitution, the Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries has the mandate with the approval of the President to enter into international agreements on the establishment of TFCAs. The South African Government, under the leadership of the Presidency and the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO), is responsible for implementing South Africa's foreign policy in an effort to strengthen collaboration and cooperation on the continent, and as part of BRICS, to position itself as one for the continent's powerhouses that would lead African development and influence in world affairs. (DEA, 2014)

6.3 World Heritage and Transfrontier Conservation Areas

The establishment of TFCAs followed a process which South Africa embarked on in the 1990s and this was an inscription of the World Heritage Sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Currently, there are 6 South African World Heritage Sites which are within TFCAs and these include iSimangaliso Wetland Park and Barberton Makhonjwa Mountains (both part of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation and Resource Area between South Africa, eSwatini and Mozambique), the Mapungubwe Cultural Landscape (part of the Greater Mapungubwe Transfrontier Conservation Area between South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe), the Richtersveld Cultural and Botanical Landscape (part of the !Ai-!Ais/Richtersveld Transfrontier Conservation Park between South Africa and Namibia), the Maloti Drakensberg Park (part of the Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation and Development Area between South Africa and Lesotho), and the Khomani Cultural Landscape (part of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park between South Africa and Botswana), also discussed in detail in Chapter 3.

The World Heritage Convention can now form part of the international law that protects the TFCAs since they do not have specific international conventions dedicated for their protection. But this only applies to the South African side, as most of these WHSs do not extend to the neighbouring countries, save for one – the Maloti Drakensberg Park.

The establishment of both the TFCAs and World Heritage Sites, particularly in the SADC region, have experienced challenges given the history of some of the National Parks in South Africa that extend into neighbouring countries, such as the Kruger National Park and Kgalagadi National Park (Darnell, 2008; Nelson, 2013). While peace parks have been in existence since 1932, until very recently they were being used as agents of conservation, not development (Darnell, 2008: 18). TFCAs have become an important aspect of environmental protection and have received enthusiastic backing from a number of global actors, ranging from the World Bank to environmental non-governmental organisations (NGOs), governments, conservation biologists, and park officials (Wolmer, 2003; Duffy, 2006; Ramutsindela, 2007). The following are some of the benefits which are brought about by the establishment of the TFCAs and some of the World Heritage Sites:

- **Expansion of the Conservation Estate**: The network of TFCAs across the region is home to unique biodiversity, including several threatened species. Such areas support the maintenance of healthy ecological systems that are critical for regulating climate and water stores and safeguarding livelihoods in the region (Boundless Southern Africa, 2018:03). Since wildlife resources are a major component of the natural resources base of the region, it can safely be argued that TFCAs contribute to the expansion of the conservation estate through the extension of a network of well-managed conservation areas (DEA, 2014).

- **Creating an enabling environment for collaboration in dealing with issues of transboundary significance:** For instance, TFCAs call for harmonisation of policies and regulations governing land use and natural resource management, as well as strategies and practices across international boundaries. Legal agreements establishing TFCAs create an enabling environment for countries to work together in dealing with cross-border issues, such as environmental crimes, fires, and control of alien and invasive species. However, this potential can only be realised if relevant policies and regulations are harmonised across international borders and/or joint strategies on cross-border operations are developed and implemented. (DEA, 2014)

- **Creating economic opportunities for rural communities through sustainable development of tourism**: Nature-based tourism is a prominent ecosystem service of conservation areas and a key economic driver linking conservation and development initiatives by providing a viable land-use option in marginal lands. Apart from the conservation of threatened wildlife and fragile

ecosystems, the contribution of tourism revenue from TFCAs to national, regional, and local economies is also significant, which in turn supports socio-economic development. Consequently, one of the key objectives of TFCAs is to promote cross-border ecotourism as a means of fostering regional socio-economic development. Tourism development, investment, and rehabilitation of ecosystems in TFCAs will promote economic development by creating employment in remote areas with limited employment opportunities and thereby contribute to poverty reduction in these areas. (DEA, 2014)

- **Information Exchange**: TFCAs provide a platform for participating countries to work together in addressing issues of mutual interest, including those of World Heritage, such as between Lesotho and South Africa. In the process, relationships are built that prove to be useful in many areas and the capacities of conservation agencies to manage natural resources is enhanced through sharing experiences and pooling expertise. (DEA, 2014)

- **Regional Integration:** TFCAs offer the SADC region a unique opportunity to integrate the economies of the Member States through strengthening trade between countries in general, and cross-border tourism in particular, enabling the region to increase access to international tourism. Given the fact that TFCAs straddle national boundaries their development is a key driver for regional integration. (DEA, 2014)

The above discussion focused mainly on the TFCAs as they have become the main focus here because there is only one South African World Heritage Site (Maloti Drakensberg Park) which has been approved as an extension into a neighbouring country.

The speed with which the parks have been established, the fact that they are driven largely by South African interests, and the fact that they were supported by elites have spurred accusations of pushing through conservation goals at the expense of the fragile lower classes (Darnell, 2008: 15). Although most of the neighbouring countries are on board with their signatures on the signed treaties and Memoranda of Understanding, a number of challenges have been noted since the establishment of TFCAs. Despite successes, an International Cooperation, Trade and Security Cluster (ICTS) Meeting held on the 4th of February 2014 noted the following challenges:

- **Absence of guidelines on the establishment and implementation of TFCAs:** Regional guidelines on the establishment of TFCAs need to be developed to guide and harmonise the development of TFCAs while leaving room to accommodate the inherent differences and specific requirements of each TFCA (DEA, 2014).

- **Conflicting laws and policies that have bearing on the implementation of TFCAs across political jurisdiction:** Even though there are in fact numerous laws and regulations at national level, as well as agreements and protocols at regional level, they usually tend to conflict rather than complement each other when it comes to the implementation of TFCAs. Existing laws are incoherent, fragmentary, sometimes conflicting, and above all have weak law enforcement mechanisms across borders. This hinders the ability to tap into the potential of using TFCAs to enhance the effectiveness of law enforcement operations, research and monitoring through the implementation of joint activities, thereby saving costs and leveraging comparative advantages of participating countries. Harmonisation of policies and legal frameworks is critical in order to overcome gaps and to resolve confusion and conflicts within and between policies and laws, resulting in a streamlined approach to the development and implementation of TFCAs. (DEA, 2014)

- **Cross-border crimes:** There are growing safety and security concerns over the use of TFCAs for fraudulent and illicit activities, such as wildlife crimes and human and drug trafficking, as a result of the removal of fences (DEA, 2014).

- **Lack of sustainable funding mechanisms for TFCAs:** Most TFCAs suffer from funding deficiencies, as their funding is usually not prioritised in national budgets. Funding remains a major limiting factor in the establishment and implementation of TFCAs (DEA, 2014).

- **Lack of adequate and reliable information exchange on TFCA activities and their results:** Much of the information on the management of TFCAs already exist and are readily available. What is actually missing is a clearing house mechanism to adequately select and process this data and to present it in an easily accessible form for adaptive management and learning purposes. A regional information exchange, as well as learning and innovation networks, are critical to facilitate the process of gathering and dissemination of TFCA-related

information and to initiate additional research necessary for management effectiveness. (DEA, 2014)

Other challenges include disparities in capabilities and capacities of partner countries; limited individual skills and technical expertise in the various fields of cross-border natural resources management; and poor infrastructure.

6.4 Transfrontier Conservation Areas and Tourism

Although TFCAs promote the transboundary mobility of tourists and investors, communities increasingly become immobilised and bounded (Hughes 2002). TFCAs may also improve opportunities for tourism, by allowing visitors to disperse over greater areas and obtain better quality experiences (Singh, 1999), and by offering more diverse attractions. During 2000, nature-based tourism was estimated to generate an aggregate of $3.6 billion from Africans and non-Africans and contributed 9% of the total Gross Domestic Product for the SADC region in 1999. The nature-based tourism sector was responsible for an estimated 2.8 million non-African arrivals and 6.1 million African arrivals. (Scholes & Biggs, 2004) The characteristics of the nature-based tourism market in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique indicate a relatively strong demand in two of the participating countries, with 78.9% of South African and 76% of Zimbabwean tourism arrivals participating in nature tourism. Income from nature-based tourism across the three countries generated an estimated US$2.45 billion each year. (Scholes & Biggs, 2004*)*

Establishing TFCAs is a complex process and daunting challenge. In recognition of the complexity and cross-cutting nature of development and implementation, as well as the demonstration of commitment for the establishment and development of the TFCAs, DEFF established the Transfrontier Conservation Areas Directorate. The main purpose of the Directorate is to provide strategic guidance and coordinate the establishment, development and management of a comprehensive, ecologically representative and effectively managed regional network of TFCAs. Its functions include, but are not limited to, setting regional targets for TFCAs and facilitating the establishment of TFCA's in terms of the targets; promoting the establishment of co-ordination and governance mechanisms to enhance collaboration between relevant member states in the SADC region; ensuring synergies between relevant SADC instruments and TFCA policies, strategies and plans; strengthening harmonisation of relevant policies and legislation within TFCAs; and promoting cross-border law enforcement, research and information dissemination. (DEA, 2014)

The Directorate is therefore coordinating the inputs of diverse stakeholders, which include South African National Departments, Provincial Governments, Municipalities, Non-Governmental Organisations, the Private Sector, Implementing Agencies, as well as Partnering States and their Institutions. The effort to mainstream the TFCA into the broader Government and SADC agendas has revealed a need to increase capacity to deal with the emerging opportunities and challenges, such as leading the implementation of the TFCA initiatives under SADC mandates and securing cooperation of national departments. (DEA, 2014)

South Africa, through DEFF, is also coordinating the implementation of the TFCA Development Strategy for 2010 and beyond (commonly referred to as the 'Boundless Southern Africa Initiative'). The strategy was endorsed and adopted in 2005 by the SADC Ministers responsible for the Environment and Tourism. The objective of the strategy is to increase the tourism potential of Southern Africa by consolidating the marketing, infrastructure development and investment promotion efforts of existing transfrontier initiatives. The initiative is focusing on 7 TFCAs straddling the borders of 9 SADC countries, including Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, eSwatini, Zambia and Zimbabwe. Under this initiative South Africa is working closely with the SADC Secretariat, the Regional Tourism Organisation of Southern Africa (RETOSA) and relevant Member States to promote tourism growth in the region, using TFCAs as the anchor within the broader tourism destination. (SADC, 2012: 09)

This includes developing and implementing programmes aimed at increasing worldwide knowledge of TFCAs as exciting cross-border destinations, and thereby generating interest to visit as well as stimulating investment in tourism facilities and the improvement of tourism infrastructure in TFCAs in order to enhance the tourism attractiveness of these destinations. A key economic driver linking these conservation and development initiatives is nature-based tourism that seeks to maximise returns from marginal lands in a sector where southern Africa enjoys a global comparative advantage. (SADC, 2012)

One of the main objectives of the TFCAs is also to promote sustainable tourism that not only benefits the tourists, the governments and entities involved, but also the adjacent communities living in and around the TFCAs.

TFCAs also present stronger tourism products when they collaborate, massively increasing their tourism appeal and drawing power. For example, Boundless Southern Africa (2018) reported that due to the distances involved, tourists never go to the Richtersveld or /Ai-/Ais as a one-stop destination – it is always a combination of destinations. The introduction of a pontoon has increased the attractiveness of the

destination by enabling tourists do a long trip that includes the ARTP, but then also travel through Namibia and cross over into the KTP via Mata Mata. The real value of the TFP Pontoon was realised during the floods of 2011 that resulted in the closure of the pontoon for 7 months. The Richtersveld National Park had a loss/cancellation of bookings to the value of R 1 million due to the absence of this facility.

6.5 Community Involvement and Participation in Transfrontier Conservation Areas

The SADC Secretariat (2013) defines the TFCAs as conservation areas comprising two or more state-run PAs, as well as intervening land units, often including communal land and community-managed conservation areas. In some cases, communities are neighbours to TFPs and in others they are natural resource users on land between State-run PAs. In some countries there are legally established community organisations managing Community Conserved Areas, such as the Community Trusts in Botswana, Conservancies in Namibia, and Wildlife Management Associations in Tanzania. In three South African cases, communities are owners of land within national parks that are part of TFCAs. (SADC Secretariat, 2018: 10) In many cases throughout SADC, a crucial relationship exists between communities and State-run parks in TFCAs in the form that the communities were the former owners of the land and in several cases were removed from the land so that protected areas could be established.

In the TFCAs' context, the concept 'community' consists of people with actual or claimed rights to reside and use resources in the areas between the protected areas that form part of the TFCA, or groups of people that are resident in the PAs and are non-staff members (SADC Secretariat, 2018: 11). Within these broad categories, there will clearly be sub-groups of 'local communities' made up of different ethnic or tribal groups with long-term historical associations with the land and its resources and sharing a common culture and set of norms. Such communities are often under the jurisdiction of their own traditional authorities, but will also be under the jurisdiction of decentralised forms of government such as provincial or district authorities. Such communities may also be organised under some form of community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) institution, such as a Community Trust, Conservancy or Wildlife Management Association.

As demonstrated earlier, it is generally recognised that there is a need for the 'involvement' or 'participation' of communities in conservation. The SADC TFCA programme acknowledges that rural communities have an "intrinsic right" to be involved in decision-making in TFCAs. Community engagement is not only about how practitioners approach and interact with communities, but it is also about how communities can *positively contribute* to successful TFCA development, implementation and

management (Spenceley, 2006: 656). Especially in the south, TFCAs are hailed as opportunities for economic growth through tourism (Wolmer, 2003). By arguing that local communities living in or close to TFCAs will also benefit from this growth, TFCA proponents claim social legitimacy for large-scale conservation efforts. In this sense, they propose to continue to "move beyond the fences" that used to keep communities out (Spierenburg and Wels: 2006: 295). For instance, the San in South Africa were displaced during the construction of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Preserve in 1931, now known as Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP), but have recently benefitted from these pro-poor development policies that can address their needs. The San gained recognition by the government as an impoverished community and received land restitution, both inside and along the borders of the park.

By utilising South Africa's Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994, which was designed to give land rights back to those displaced after 1913, the San presented a successful claim for access rights and sustainable resource use rights within the KTP (Magome and Murombedzi, 2003). Gaining access to the park was seen as a way of addressing some of the socio-economic challenges (such as high levels of unemployment, low education levels, dependence on state grants, alcoholism, domestic violence and associated social problems) that became characteristic of the San after being displaced (Thondhlana *et al.,* 2011).

In order to minimise friction between the park and local communities, SANParks established Park Forums to encourage participation in park management and to allow local concerns to be voiced (SANParks, 2009). The success of the San's land claim regarding the KTP necessitated this drastic change in SANPark's approach to conservation. The San received 25,000 hectares of land inside the park in several categories of access availability. Three types of parkland access rights are recognised and organised into three main zones situated from the southern outskirts to further into the park's interior. (Hughes 2011)

The Contract Park, located on the outer edge of the KTP, supplies job opportunities through ecotourism ventures, including traditional use of wild resources, camping trails, walking trails, and a tourism lodge. The second zone, just inside the park, the Commercial Preference Zone, is exclusively for the San to exercise commercial and cultural rights. In this zone, the San partner with SANParks and are allowed to use traditional hunting methods on the Auob river system. The third zone covers the remaining interior of the park and is called the San Symbolic and Cultural Zone (Nelson, 2013:26). According to the co-management agreement with SANParks, only members of the San are allowed relatively free access to visit culturally and symbolically important sites (Thondhlana *et al.,* 2011).

Based on the example above, it could be argued that the establishment of TFCAs does not only provide socio-economic benefits for the countries involved, but also promotes social justice to communities affected by forced removals predicated on the Authorities' and conservationists' claims of "conserving the wildlife" (SADC Secretariat, 2018: 15). This way of viewing communities changes their role from being passive beneficiaries of possible trickle-down benefits as a result of tourism development, to active managers of land and resources who participate in planning and decision-making in a co-management system with governments.

6.6 The Trouble with Communities in Peace Parks

According to its official website, a long-term strategic objective of the PPF outlined in its Community Development Programme is:

> *"[T]o promote economic growth and development for local communities living adjacent to the TFCAs, based on the sustainable use of natural resources. This will include the provision of alternative livelihoods, the implementation of viable and sustainable community-based agriculture, conservation and tourism-related projects and securing business opportunities arising" (PPF, 2018).*

By arguing that TFCAs will be a prime driver for economic development of local communities living in or close to TFCAs, PPF and other proponents of TFCAs claim social legitimacy for large-scale conservation efforts (Spierenburg and Wels 2006:295). The 'Peace Parks discourse' promoted by the PPF is allied with the political line of donors and other international actors in which environmental concerns were linked to economic development through the agenda of sustainable development (Draper *et al*., 2004:342).

Besides conserving nature and reducing poverty, Peace Parks are supposed to facilitate participation by empowering communities, enhancing international cooperation and understanding, promoting peace and enhancing security, encouraging economic growth and tourism, reuniting and reinvigorating cultures, and adhering to good governance, serving ultimately the basic ideals of the African Renaissance (Van Amerom and Büsher, 2005:1; Büscher, 2010:654). Thus, by adopting the term 'Peace Parks', transboundary conservation has joined the arena of other elusive development concepts such as 'sustainable development', 'decentralisation', 'community ownership' and 'good governance', which share a similar, all-embracing, motivational purpose (Van Amerom and Büsher, 2005:6; Wolmer, 2003:266), but their tangible benefits for the supposed 'beneficiary' communities are often very difficult to evaluate.

The Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) Programme for TFCAs of 2013 states that:

> *"TFCAs in the SADC region are founded on the principle that conservation should embrace active participation and involvement of local communities in the planning and decision making processes of natural resources management. The SADC Member States acknowledge that the primary beneficiaries of TFCAs should be the local communities living in and around the TFCAs and as such, there must be direct and equitable benefit flow to these communities" (SADC 2013:11).*

As mentioned earlier, the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) constitutes an example of how the promoters of TFCAs marginalise local communities and cause them to lose social capital and relinquish their access to natural resources under the guise of the 'community conservation' discourse. On 10 November 2000, the governments of Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe signed an international agreement on the development of a second TFCA. The three adjoining cross-border areas (Limpopo National Park in Mozambique; Kruger National Park in South Africa and Gonarezhou National Park in Zimbabwe) together form a 35 000km² reserve. When the idea of the TFCA was first put forward in 1995, it was presented as a TFCA with multiple land uses, which would especially help impoverished communities in communal lands in Mozambique.

However, soon after the signing of the agreement to establish the TFCA, Coutada 16, which was a Wildlife Utilisation Area located directly opposite Kruger National Park, was declared a national park and the TFCA was launched in November 2001 and renamed Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP). This was done without any consideration about what this would mean for the approximately 27,000 people living within the boundaries of the new TFCA. (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006:303) In fact, the conceptualisation and agreement in the creation of the GLTP took place without any consultation with local communities. For instance, by 2003 only two workshops had been held with local representatives of concerned communities. At the time, an estimated 40% of the households in the Mozambican portion of the GLTP had never heard of the TFCA concept and of their involvement in this donor-driven, top-down process. (Magome and Murombedzi, 2003:126-127)

Likewise, on the South African side of the GLTP (Kruger National Park), there had been no consideration of the effects of the TFCA for the Makuleke, an indigenous group that was forcibly moved from the far north in 1969 and legally reclaimed some 250 square kilometres in 1995. Similarly, to the case of

reclaimed land in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, the precondition of land restitution to the Makuleke Communal Property Association was the assurance that biodiversity and conservation would remain paramount. (Van Damme and Meskell, 2009:87) Hence the reclaimed land is now managed as a Contract Park, which constitutes a massive compromise.

In fact, while a few leaders have been able to develop their capacities and careers and have received modest salaries for the dedicated work that they have done over the years, and donor funding has supported the Makuleke's planning and capacity-building for their role in the co-management of the contractual park, the ordinary citizens have yet to see material benefits flowing from this agreement with SANParks. They have not moved back onto the reclaimed land to farm it. Collection of wild plant resources there remains a problematic issue, and hunting is prohibited. (Reid and Turner, 2004:233)

In addition to, and despite of the announcement that South Africa would start moving 300 of 1,100 elephants earmarked for Mozambique's protected area through the Makuleke reclaimed land in August 2001, the preparations and signing of the memorandum of understanding between governments affected by the GLTP went ahead without attention being paid to the aspirations and concerns of the Makuleke (Magome and Murombedzi, 2003:123-124). An example of the government's position was illustrated by the refusal of the then South African Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Mohammed Valli Moosa, to allow the Makuleke community representation access to a top meeting of the three Ministers for Environmental Affairs on the Greater Limpopo (Van Amerom & Büscher 2005).

According to Spierenburg and Wels (2006), representatives of various organisations (directly and indirectly) involved in the implementation of the TFCA felt that the GLTP had become a matter of prestige for the PPF, seeing that the park would be the largest TFCA on the continent. For this to happen, the Kruger National Park and Limpopo National Park had to be merged and the forms of land use harmonised. The Kruger National Park was taken as a model for the entire TFCA, resulting in the abandonment of the initial multiple-use status of the Limpopo National Park. In fact, during presentations to Mozambican authorities and some communities, PPF staff members presented the success of tourism in Kruger as an example of what the entire TFCA could become. They strongly suggested that the communities would benefit from these economic opportunities. However, by taking the Kruger National Park as a model for the Limpopo National Park, the communities living within the latter's borders became an 'obstacle' and 'undesirable'. (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006:304)

As Elizabeth Lunstrum (2010:133) argued, the GLTP was discursively constructed as an important "transnational prime wildlife habitat" where the removal of "artificial political borders" imposed by the colonisers and "wildlife conservation" have enabled "local community development" (through job creation and opportunities to generate revenue). One consequence of such discourse is the legitimation of specific land-use options (i.e., wildlife conservation), which then ends up justifying the eviction and relocation of communities (Lunstrum, 2010:136).

In 2003, the Limpopo National Park inhabitants living along the Shingwedzi River (c. 6,500 residents) were told they would be moved outside the park. The Mozambican authorities and PPF presented the resettlement project as a development initiative that will offer possibilities for better access to state services such as schools, health facilities, public transportation, and jobs. However, it has been argued that the possibility that either transfrontier conservation or resettlement initiatives will lead to development is doubtful. (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006; Milgroom and Spierenburg, 2008)

Often, residents are portrayed as poor and unable to develop themselves as long as they stay inside the park. This discourse of (state-driven) modernisation did not resonate well with some villagers in the Shingwedzi valley who still have fresh memories of the different occasions when they have been forced to move for various reasons over the last forty years (e.g. removals during the rural villagisation policies of FRELIMO since 1977 when dispersed families were forced into conglomerated 'communal villages', and the removal of the population for the creation of Massingir Dam in the late 1970s) (Milgroom and Spierenburg, 2008: 437-442). Although government officials and representatives of the PPF have insisted that no forced relocation will take place, Spierenburg and Wels (2006) have demonstrated that the new TFCA status of the area seriously impinges on the communities' livelihood strategies.

According to national parks legislation in Mozambique—based on the Guidelines for Protected Area Management Categories of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources—cultivation inside national parks is forbidden. The communities along the Shingwedzi River are allowed to continue farming the fields they had cleared before the declaration of the park, but they are not allowed to clear new ones. Most farmers rotate their fields every few years and are worried about what will happen if their current fields lose their fertility.

Furthermore, accessing the "emergency pastures" used in times of drought has become illegal. Fishing is no longer allowed, nor is subsistence hunting. The communities receive no compensation for wildlife damage. As a result of the restrictions and increased damage, many people living along the Shingwedzi

River now believe that resettlement is inevitable. A village leader formulated it this way: "They say that the resettlement is not forced, but that is not true. We are forced because we are no longer allowed to live our lives as before, we can no longer cultivate where we want, we can no longer take our cattle out to graze. Yes, we agreed to move, but we did not do so freely". (Spierenburg and Wels, 2006:304)

Though officially resettlement is still labelled as 'voluntary', it is generally recognised as being 'induced', as an ex-park administrator described it, given that the park was established without any consultation with the villagers and now they are forced to live with the consequences (Milgroom and Spierenburg, 2008:442). Nevertheless, the label 'voluntary resettlement' persists because of political allergies to the word 'involuntary', both in Mozambique and in donors' home countries. "No donor would ever agree to involuntary resettlement. It cannot be involuntary. It indeed should be called negotiated or accepted resettlement. In fact, what goes on is involuntary resettlement, but people are given incentives to convince them to leave". (Milgroom and Spierenburg, 2008:443)

Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that there is no unanimous local opinion about moving, but rather a wide range of opinions that have fluctuated over time. Although there are still people, up until 2015, who declined resettlement (e.g., mostly in the villages of Chimangue and Mashamba), more than a decade into the process, many people have "accepted" to leave (are now in the process of leaving or have resettled) for diverse reasons associated with what resettlement means for them, including previous experiences with relocation and increasing problems with wildlife. (Milgroom and Spierenburg, 2008:441) Undoubtedly, the change of status of the area communities are living in, from a Wildlife Utilisation Area to a National Park, has undermined local communities' right to the land and their livelihoods strategies (Spierenburg *et al.,* 2006:28; Van Amerom and Büsher, 2005:14).

It could therefore be argued that despite the much-publicised discourse of 'community development' in and around Peace Parks, the reality on the ground clearly illustrates the difficulties of translating the creation of TFCAs, such as GLTP, into improved livelihood prospects for local communities. And the reasons for unfulfilled promises of better economic rewards from the GLTP are common to those implementing the CBNRM across the region. First, the donor funding for the GLTP has thus far predominantly been directed towards wildlife management, especially to elephant relocations. Second, predictions of a massive increase in tourism to the GLTP are proving to have been premature and exaggerated, thus even when the GLTP is fully operational, the generation of jobs and income through increased ecotourism is likely to remain highly limited for local communities. Third, the number of local people surrounding the GTLP is relatively high (e.g., the area bordering the south and west of the Kruger

National Park alone hosts 6 million people). Fourth, business considerations and social welfare are not necessarily complementary (e.g., in 2001, 660 Kruger Park employees, the majority of them unskilled workers from neighbouring communities, were retrenched as part of privatisation strategies). (Van Amerom and Büsher, 2005:14)

In addition, it is important to note that contrary to official discourse about the need to economically uplift local communities, soon after the agreement establishing the GLTP was signed, PPF dropped a community project near Zinhave National Park for which it had promised to invest US$300,000. After only US$8000 was spent, the project was halted through 'writing one single letter' and no further comments. (Draper *et al*., 2004:349)

Likewise, the hallowed discourse on 'community development' and beneficiation from TFCAs that *all* the participating governments and PPF subscribe to the democratisation and decentralisation of power and decision-making to the community level within the implementation process of the GTLP, does not seem to guide the actions of TFCA promoters on the ground. In fact, the local and most affected communities were never invited to take part in official negotiations or have a seat in the International Technical Committee, which drafted the conceptual plan, the action plan, and the trilateral agreement for the GLTP. (Van Amerom and Büsher, 2005:15)

Although governments claim that democratisation in the GLTP has been promoted through the establishment of community forums, the truth is that the respective governments are not formally obliged to consult these forums before undertaking action. In practice, this arrangement is only to ensure 'passive participation', seeing that communities are often only informed of the plans of their governments after these have already become official policy. Even where local communities have relatively strong rights to land and representation, the exercise of their rights in the GLTP tends to remain highly limited. For example, although the Makuleke are officially recognised as owners of part of the GLTP, they are not treated as equal partners in the management of this Peace Park. They have no direct representation in the Technical Committee. Nor are they allowed their own community forum group, which means that their rights are represented by the general community forum, alongside communities that do not own land in Kruger and as such have different priorities and rights.

The developments on the Mozambican side of the GLTP seem to justify the conclusion that much of the rhetoric about community-based natural resource management in southern Africa is yet to materialise. Community participation has often been mere 'window-dressing' and the notion of Peace Parks often do

exacerbate inequalities between local communities on one side and national governments and the PPF on the other. In fact, the above analysis of the 'community conservation discourse' seem to suggest the persistence of colonial paradigms embedded in the long-criticised and supposedly "abandoned" 'fortress conservation' approach to nature (e.g. the idea that people do not have a place in nature because they constitute a threat to a park's ecosystems, hence conservation areas must be 'defended' against local people, by force and coercion if necessary (Dressler *et al*., 2010:114). Therefore, I concur with Dressler *et al.* (2010: 06) when he argues that the 'fortress conservation' paradigm is still alive and well and has, in some cases, like the ones discussed here, seen major reinforcements.

CONCLUSION

The World Heritage Convention functions as an instrument that ensures the preservation and protection of cultural and natural World Heritage Sites globally. The processes of nomination, including the criteria thereof, suggest that even developing and underdeveloped countries, through a process of ratifying the convention, stand a chance of inscribing their most precious and unique sites of global significance without prejudice. Listing of a site on the World Heritage List not only puts a country on the international map so to speak, but also, one way or the other, has an impact on the socio-economy of a State. The analysis of World Heritage tourism in South Africa reveals that, although some WHS have generated forms of economic development, generally, the community benefits mostly generated by global tourism rarely materialise and when they do, they seem to be limited, apart from a few exceptions. Thus, local communities are yet to see significant improvements in their lives and livelihoods from World Heritage listing.

Besides World Heritage Listing, the study also looked at other forms of community-based initiatives that communities can explore and perhaps be willing to participate and involve themselves in and that they can directly benefit from, such as pro-poor tourism, township tourism and community-based tourism. The study revealed that for tourism development at the community level to have some potential to improve the livelihoods of the community involved, the participation and inclusion of the community in tourism initiatives are critically important. It also revealed how the success of tourism initiatives is dependent on community involvement when the community is capacitated with relevant skills to not only develop, but to also sustain a tourism initiative. In the case of the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, it is a perfect example of how government and the private sector, with political motivations to develop tourism initiatives, have not only taken advantage of the community's lack of information and knowledge on such developments, but these communities which should be benefiting from their natural resources have been side-lined in all planning and consultative processes. It could then be argued that it is a wrong perception that tourism initiatives developed by the state/private sector at community level are all meant to sustain and benefit communities. This is to reiterate the significance of capacitating communities with all relevant skills (like leadership, ownership, development, planning and networking) in order for the community to understand and appreciate their role in participation and involvement in tourism development and becoming (if not completely) part of the decision-making.

The lack of community involvement in a country such as South Africa remains an issue and this has great implications on efficient management and conservation of the World Heritage Site and TFCAs. The lack

of community involvement at World Heritage Sites has also forced communities to explore other opportunities which will uplift them. A lack of social and economic benefits also demotivate communities and therefore, the need to look into other ventures for socio-economic improvements becomes a deciding factor in their involvement with the protection, management and conservation of these areas. The World Heritage Sites and TFCAs programme present South Africa and the SADC region with a major opportunity to address the challenges of economic empowerment of rural communities, biodiversity conservation, natural resource management, and regional integration through tourism development. Effective implementation of the World Heritage Convention and TFCA programme in South Africa could therefore help to improve the region's attractiveness as a holiday destination for international tourists and the communities living in and around these areas. Perhaps new studies can further expand on looking at World Heritage Sites and TFCAs as two developments that could be packaged together as tourism products to not only meet the tourists' demands, but to open new opportunities for community empowerment. The combination of community involvement, World Heritage Sites and TFCAs remains one of exceptional potential, albeit plagued by problematic implementations.

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