



2015

Symposium on Border Regions in Southern Africa



UNAM,
Katima Mulilo Campus,
Namibia
7 – 8 September 2015

Alfred Colpaert
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CONTENTS

Foreword: Symposium on Border Regions in Southern Africa	3
Program.....	4
Session 1 - Creation of Borders, identities.....	6
Geohistory of Public Monuments. A case of the Finnish Border City of Vyborg	6
Boundary deleniation and demarcation in Africa: Sources of economic underdevelopment, political instability, resource curse and migration challenges.....	7
A People of Two Worlds? Reflections on the Role of Cross-border Ethnicity in Sustaining a Partitioned Ndaou Community between Mozambique and Zimbabwe (1975-2014)	8
Ethnic Communities in Two Colonial Worlds: a preliminary assessment of the Luvale in Eastern Angola and Western/North-Western Zambia, c.1880's – c.1920	9
Crossing borders, creating boundaries -Identity making of the Angolan diaspora residing in the border town of Rundu, northern Namibia	10
The Fine Line That Separates Us – Processes of Namibian Identity Making and Tribalism in a Border Region	12
Session 2 – Struggle for independence.....	13
Where southern Africa's Borders Meet: Colonial Perceptions of land and people that shaped the history of the Zambezi Region.....	13
Exile, experience and identity – Exile narratives and the formation of identity of Namibian exiles during and after the war of independence	14
The Pursuit of Control over the Zambezi Region of Namibia - Challenges and Opportunities.....	15
Session 3 – Economies of border regions	16
Life in the fringes: economic and sociocultural practices in the Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique borderlands in comparative perspective.....	16
Local social and economic cross border activities at the Botswana-Zimbabwe frontier: perspectives on regional integration	17
Borderland Governance from Above and Below – 11 Years of the Trans Caprivi Corridor.....	18
Session 4 – Cultural borders, migration.....	20
Frontiers of the Self: Borders and the Imagination of Difference in Contemporary Africa	20
Of Borders and Fortresses: South Africa's attitude towards cross-border movement as a critical factor in SADC's integration project.....	21
The human side of regions: grassroots non-state actors and informal cross-border traders in the Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique growth triangle	22
Dialectal variation in Fwe, a Bantu language of Zambia and Namibia	23
Session 5 – Borders in nature conservation	24
The Green Belt of Africa.....	24
On the boundaries of a South African nature-space.....	25
The Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA): Bringing in the human dimension	26
Community-based natural resources management in border regions – the Chobe Experience	28

List of participants.....	29
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FOREWORD: SYMPOSIUM ON BORDER REGIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Borders are a major subject of interest in Europe, Asia and the Americas, but African borders do get far less attention and often are less well presented in international border conferences organized by BRIT (Border Regions in Transformation) and ABS, Association for Borderlands Studies (<http://absborderlands.org/>). It is our goal to start a regional discourse related to border regions and borderlands in an African context.

The present symposium in Katima Mulilo focusses specifically on issues of importance to southern African border regions. As such the scope is broad and multi-disciplinary. Issues related to trade, economics, geography, history, languages and culture, nature protection and cross-border governance will be discussed.

Modern borders in Africa are mostly a legacy of the past colonial era, dividing more than 177 ethnic groups (<http://mgafrica.com/article/2015-01-09-africas-real-borders-are-not-where-you-think>). Although a fabric of the past, these borders are still very much unchanged, and rarely contested. Separatist movements, however, are a fact of life in Africa, over 20 separatist conflicts are presently going on in the continent (<http://www.theatlantic.com/international/archive/2012/09/the-dividing-of-a-continent-africas-separatist-problem/262171/>). These movements are often small and do not prove a threat to the present accepted borders. The African Union has established a specific AU Border Program (AUBP) to *Unite and *Integrate Africa through peaceful, open and prosperous borders* (<http://aubis.peaceau.org/home>).

To organize a symposium on border regions of Southern Africa I could not imagine any better place than Katima Mulilo, in the Zambezi region of Namibia. A long narrow corridor created by the European colonial powers to enable a connection between German East and South-West Africa. Although the German involvement was just a brief period, and the Caprivi Strip hardly used or administrated, it still remained a part of the border framework of southern Africa, and today is a viable part of the Namibian state. It is here where Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe meet and interact, and where all elements of border related social, cultural and economic border issues are present and can be studied.

The organizers hope that this first regional meeting will provide a forum for fruitful discussions and create new contacts between researchers, academia, local and regional government, students and the general public.

We sincerely thank the Kone Foundation in Finland for providing funding for this symposium, the Universities of Namibia and Eastern Finland, the local government and the Governor of the Zambezi Region, and the traditional authorities for their generous support and interest.

Alfred Colpaert, Professor
University of Eastern Finland

PROGRAM

7 September

8:00 – 9:00 Registration

Official opening session, Director of Ceremonies, Dr. B. K. Kangumu

9:00 Anthem and opening prayer

9:15 Opening words by the Governor of Zambezi Region, Honourable Mr. Lawrence Sampofu

9:30 Keynote address by Prof Lazarus Hangula, Vice Chancellor, University of Namibia

9:50 – 10:00 Closing of official opening session

10:00 – 10:30 Tea break

10:30 – 13:00 Session 1, Creation of Boundaries, Identities, Chair Dr. Bennett Kangumu

Lere Amusan: Boundary delineation and demarcation in Africa: Sources of economic under development, political instability, resource curse and migration challenges

James Hlongwana: A People of Two Worlds? Reflections on the Role of Cross-border Ethnicity in Sustaining a Partitioned Ndaou Community between Mozambique and Zimbabwe (1975-2014)

Bernard K. Mbenga: Ethnic Communities in Two Colonial Worlds: a preliminary assessment of the Luvala in Eastern Angola and Western/North-Western Zambia, c.1880's – c.1920

11:45- 12:15 Short break

Emelie Danielsson: Crossing borders, creating boundaries -Identity making of the Angolan diaspora residing in the border town of Rundu, northern Namibia

Ninja Hernodh: The Fine Line That Separates Us – Processes of Namibian Identity Making and Tribalism in a Border Region

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch break

14:00 – 15:15 Session 2, Struggle for independence, Chair Prof. Alfred Colpaert

Bennett Kangumu: Where southern Africa's Borders Meet: Colonial Perceptions of land and people that shaped the history of the Zambezi Region

Kari Miettinen: Exile, experience and identity – Exile narratives and the formation of identity of Namibian exiles during and after the war of independence

Lieneke de Visser: In Pursuit of Cross-Border Control - The Strategic Significance of the Eastern Caprivi during Namibia's War of Independence.

17:00 Welcome braai at UNAM Katima Mulilo Campus

8 September

9:30 – 10:45 Session 3, Economies of border regions, Chair Dr. Wolfgang Zeller

Christopher Changwe Nshimbi: Life in the fringes: economic and sociocultural practices in the Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique borderlands in comparative perspective

Inocent Moyo: Local social and economic cross border activities at the Botswana-Zimbabwe frontier: perspectives on regional integration

Wolfgang Zeller: Borderland Governance from Above and Below – 11 Years of the Trans Caprivi Corridor

10:45 – 11:00 Tea Break

11:00 – 13:00 Session 4, Cultural borders, migration, Chair Dr. Bennett Kangumu

Jendele Hungbo: Frontiers of the Self: Borders and the Imagination of Difference in Contemporary Africa

Inocent Moyo & Christopher Changwe Nshimbi: Of Borders and Fortresses: South Africa's attitude towards cross-border movement as a critical factor in SADC's integration project

12:00 - 12:15 Short break

Christopher Changwe Nshimbi: The human side of regions: grassroots non-state actors and informal cross-border traders in the Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique growth triangle

Hilde Gunnink: Dialectal variation in Fwe, a Bantu language of Zambia and Namibia

13:00 – 14:00 Lunch break

14:00 – 15:30 Session 5 Borders in nature conservation, Chair Dr. Wolfgang Zeller

Alfred Colpaert: The Green Belt of Africa

Luregn Lenggenhager: On the boundaries of a South African nature-space

Ndangwa Noyoo: The Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA): Bringing in the human dimension

Kenneth Matengu: Community-based natural resources management in border regions– the Chobe Experience

15:30 – 15:45 End of scientific program, tea break

15:45 – 16:15 Discussion of publication of conference articles – Alfred Colpaert

17:00 Zambezi river cruise

SESSION 1 - CREATION OF BORDERS, IDENTITIES

Geohistory of Public Monuments. A case of the Finnish Border City of Vyborg

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The paper examines the public monuments of the previous Finnish town of Vyborg from the beginning of the 19th century to 1944 when Finland lost the border area of Karelia to the Soviet Union. The focus is here on the monuments' political nature and their sites of the cityspace, as well as on their significance and meanings in local and national contexts by using the geohistorical approach. In Vyborg the adapted monument policy faced surprisingly complex, multilayered political processes and negotiations related to the question of the changing language and ethnic dominance, economic positions and fights of local administrative power. The campaigns were linked in addition both to strengthened Finnish nationalist (Fennomans) and Pan-Slavic activism especially in the turn of the 19th and 20th century. Monuments seem to have first of all been instruments of ideological and cultural power fights rather than artefacts for all the main interest groups, that is, Finnish and Swedish speaking city elite and Russian authorities.

Keywords: Urban history, public monuments, 1809–1944, geohistory, border region, Vyborg, Finland, Russia, Baltic Sea Region

Boundary deleniation and demarcation in Africa: Sources of economic underdevelopment, political instability, resource curse and migration challenges

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Boundary demarcation and delineation inherited from colonialism are two challenges to economic development in Africa. The same also influence political instability, resource curse and breeding ground for migration problems in many part of the continent. Industrial revolution of the 17th century gingered the arrival of the Europeans which later led to the Berlin Conference of 1884-85 with its negative implications for development of Africa. Redrawn of Africa map against the basic attributes of established emirates, kingdoms and empires challenged ethnic and cultural uniformities and sources of relative stability. This remains a vampire that continues to checkmate the very survival of different states in the 21st century through violent crises that ricochet across the continent. Improve in the level of technology and imposition of the western type of democracy, economic system and socio-cultural variables through globalisation concretised by World Trade Organisation (WTO) type of international regime, further account for underdevelopment of Africa. Climate change and climate variability caused by the industrial revolution influencing migration of a complex nature despite the basic tenets of sovereignty and boundary theses. Implications of these are hydra-headed as it translates to negative coterminous politics as experienced in the continent. Neutralisation of ideological war, which should have led to political stability, brought about creation of micro-nationalism and formation of unsustainable, fragile, failing and failed new states. Formation of economic union through much publicised African Renaissance is envisaged to have ensuring continental stability and economic development. This paper intends to employ social constructivism as a theoretical position couple with triangulation sources of data collection. Tentative conclusion of this paper suggests that coterminous states should come up with different international regimes to deal with crises associated with boundary problems on the continent as the African Union cannot handle some peculiarities to some sub-regional areas.

Keywords: Africa, Development, Boundary problem, Resource curse, Migration, Globalisation.

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A People of Two Worlds? Reflections on the Role of Cross-border Ethnicity in Sustaining a Partitioned Ndaou Community between Mozambique and Zimbabwe (1975-2014)

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The arbitrary establishment of the border during the process of European colonisation in 1891 split the Ndaou people into Zimbabwean and Mozambican citizens. As a result the freedom of movement of the Ndaou people and their goods was outlawed. Men and their merchandise had to pass through the designated entry points. In response to natural calls to engage their ethnic brethren across the border, the Ndaou have routinely and informally crossed the border to transact social and economic business. The consequence is that the border has become borderless. The paper highlights how manipulation of cross border ethnicity has rendered the border ineffective to contain informal trans-boundary movement. The study utilised qualitative research methods such as document interrogation, field observation and interviews in the process of data gathering. The data was subsequently analysed qualitatively and laid a foundation for the views which are expressed in this paper. The research established that cross-border ethnic relations have made it easier to smuggle goods, obtain clandestinely citizenship rights, access health and educational services and to secure employment and refuge in the other side of the border. The paper asserts that ethnic cross-border cooperation among the Ndaou has made the border obsolete and permitted exploitation of opportunities abound in the borderland.

Keywords: Ethnicity, border, borderless, movement, cooperation, demarcation, smuggle

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Ethnic Communities in Two Colonial Worlds: a preliminary assessment of the Luvale in Eastern Angola and Western/North-Western Zambia, c.1880's – c.1920

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The Luvale-speaking people, who are also linguistically and culturally related to the Luchazi, Chokwe, Lunda and Mbunda, today straddle across the north-south international border between western/north-western Zambia and eastern Angola.⁴

Using contemporary colonial and secondary sources, the paper very briefly traces Luvale history in the Angola-Zambia border region from the 1880s to c.1920. Originally a part of the Lunda kingdom in today's southern Shaba province in the Democratic Republic of Congo, the Luvale seceded from the kingdom in c.1750, migrated southwards and settled in the general Upper Zambezi region, while others went south-west into the easternmost parts of modern Angola, from where they later emigrated into western Zambia. The demarcation of the Zambia-Angola border in 1905, divided the Luvale into two segments, locating them and their chiefs into the two countries and consequently speaking two very different European languages.

The 1905 border demarcation also ended well-established and lucrative long-distance trading by the Luvale with the Angolan coast in beeswax, rubber, slaves, etc. That stoppage in turn impacted negatively upon the economies of that border region in ways the paper discusses. An obvious effect was, of course, the creation of colonial administrative centers on both sides of the border, which had their own ramifications. But more importantly, the Luvale and related peoples became located literally, geographically on the eastern periphery of Angola and the western periphery of Zambia. Thus they were societies on the margins of both territories. Such location had negative consequences for these societies in both colonies (and later even in the independent states), which the paper discusses. The paper also attempts to delve into the impact of the imposition of two very different European colonial languages, Portuguese and English, upon the respective Luvale segments and related peoples on both sides of the border.

⁴ The paper, however, is entirely about the Luvale, except where any of the above-mentioned related groups were also involved with the former.

Crossing borders, creating boundaries -Identity making of the Angolan diaspora residing in the border town of Rundu, northern Namibia

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Identity making of border communities has gained an ever increasing interest among border scholars within a number of disciplines during the last decades. The African continent is no exception to this enquiry, and provides a particularly dynamic venue as postcolonial societies transform European artificial constructs to self-asserting sovereign state-projects. This study centers identity-formation of the Angolan diaspora residing in urban Rundu, a Namibian town situated by the Okavango River and the Angolan-Namibian border. It is based on a series of qualitative interviews and intends to voice some experiences of this diverse group with perspectives from migrant cohorts as well as second and third generation immigrants. Incentives for migration vary greatly from involuntary, former war refugees, to voluntary, migrant workers and students.

The scope of this work in progress focuses on notions of national, regional, cultural, tribal and ethnic identity. The tentative analyses suggest that these social categories are continuously produced and reproduced as both top-down and bottom-up processes, potentially creating an *us* and *them*, an *inside* and *outside*. The results further suggest that the historical legacy of the border region weighs heavy on present identity formation of the Angolan diaspora; echoing colonial construction of ethnic groups (see Wallace 2011); the Cold War in Africa which influenced regional politics, independence struggle and fueled civil war; and new national identities asserting the legitimacy of the Angolan and Namibian states. The border creates physically and psychologically different places and has enhanced ideas of national traits based on these historical events. The individual migrant has thus been greatly influenced by the political conditions of the time of arrival to Namibia, as those shifted greatly and regulated border crossing, determined legal status, life opportunities and thus identity making.

As Paasi (2011) and Newman (2011) suggests, the quest for an all-encompassing border theory is perhaps neither possible nor desirable. This study, focusing on the interrelation of borders, migration and identity making, must indeed reach out into a broader realm of context-bound social-cultural theory (Paasi, 2009) to help illuminate causalities. Results suggest that migrants acquiring Namibian documentation and thereby rights, did redefine their national identity to a greater extent than those denied documentation as their agency has become curtailed leaving this group in an identity-limbo. Despite globalization and contrary to transnational arguments, this study therefore joins those who propose that borders and boundaries remain important as they emerge as bearers of meaning. They are creators of difference in terms of spaces, places and social categories, in which identity making processes both confirm and enforce their existence.

Keywords: Border, Namibia, Angola, identity, diaspora, migration, colonialism, liberation, civil war, proxy war

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The Fine Line That Separates Us – Processes of Namibian Identity Making and Tribalism in a Border Region

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Borders and boundaries are lines that mark a separation and they exist in different dimensions. These boundaries can both be boundaries within us, but also external boundaries and actual borders which separate one territory from another. The border in the Kavango region is drawn by the Kavango River, and this was a result of the colonial powers, Portugal's and Germany's, claim of water as a scarce resource in this arid region. The border was drawn without second guessing how the divide would affect the indigenous tribes living in the area. The Kavango tribes lived in the area on both sides of the river, moving back and forth depending on favourable conditions, not considering that they then also crossed an administrative border. With time the administrative border created two different spaces with different conditions, and the border became apparent for the people in the region. Hence, the creation of the border influenced how the people looked upon themselves and others. My study investigates how the national identity has emerged and how this relates to tribal identity. It takes a historical perspective, considering how the historical legacy from different colonial systems of Germany and Great Britain, but foremost South Africa, and also including the influence of the Angolan Civil War on the study locale (which is Rundu), had an influence on peoples creation of national identity and sense of place. This will be compared to a contemporary perspective where the focus are the experiences of the urban citizens of Rundu. Because this study is still under progress the theoretical framework is still not fully decided. With that said, my aim is to borrow theories from different disciplines like social science, anthropological science and geographic theories. Some examples are Social Identity Theory, Othering and Stereotyping and Sense of *Place* (see for ex. Pickering 2001; Stets & Burke 2000; Donnan & Wilson 1999). The tentative results show that Independence was a turning point on peoples' notion of belonging and identity. Before independence the tribal belonging was the foremost important factor for one's identity, whereas after Independence, the national belonging became more important. However, historical situations such as the implementation of Bantustans and the hinder of internal migration, had an effect on cementing differences between the different tribes, and today there is a notion in Rundu of significant inequalities between the tribes hence an increasing tribalism has emerged.

SESSION 2 – STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

Where southern Africa's Borders Meet: Colonial Perceptions of land and people that shaped the history of the Zambezi Region

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“Politically, Caprivi Strip is most disadvantageous to Britain...such a strip, penetrating like a wedge between three British Administrations (Bechuanaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia), is sure to be a source of trouble. Further, the strip could not be delimited without causing annoyance and irritation to the Barotse and Batawana Chiefs who lived in that area.”⁵

“The people are, with natural exceptions, neither prepossessing nor attractive. As far as money is concerned, they are very poor...except for the desire to adopt European clothing, and a very superficial desire for very superficial education, the Natives show no tendency to abandon their own customs.”⁶

The history of the now Zambezi Region is characterized by isolation, remoteness, neglect and contestation during the pre – and colonial period. As a result it appears that it is peripheral when looked from a Namibian national state formation perspective. But it is here where Namibia meets three other countries: Zambia, Botswana, and Zimbabwe - in what is believed as a quadri-point, making it the most international part of Namibia. Viewed from this regional southern Africa perspective, the Zambezi is and was very central to the happenings and going-ons in the sub-region. It is this dichotomous and binary conceptualization of ‘usefulness’ and ‘uselessness’ or ‘source of trouble’ that characterizes the colonial encounter and informs the perceptions regarding the land and its people.

This paper seeks to narrate, interrogate and put into perspective the different perceptions of the land and people of the Zambezi Region formulated over time as a result of the interaction or encounter between the colonizer and the colonized. This aspect has not yet received serious scholarly engagement. Its significance lies in the fact that it brings to the open the agency of the colonized in the construction of the colonial moment in the former Caprivi Strip.

⁵ Selborne to the Secretary of State, 23 December 1907, F.O. 367/79, Foliob8448, quoted in Akweenda, S., International Law and the Protection of Namibia's Territorial Integrity, P.133.

⁶ Trollope, L.F., ‘Report on the Administration of the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel, 1940’ (NAN: 2267, A503/1-7), p.11.

Exile, experience and identity – Exile narratives and the formation of identity of Namibian exiles during and after the war of independence

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This paper discusses how Namibians who were in exile in Angola and Zambia from the mid-1970s to 1989 experienced their exile and how these experiences may have affected their identification as members of social groups. The main sources of the paper consist of nine life story interviews with former exiles supplemented with secondary sources for analytical purposes. Discourse analysis is used to find out how various phases of exile were experienced; whether experiences were predominantly similar, or whether (and why) there may have been various ways of experiencing the exile. The phases to be analyzed are: 1) decision to go into exile, 2) the act of flight, 3) the attributes of life in camps and 4) repatriation.

As tentative analysis of exile narratives, it can be said that they predominantly follow the discourse of so called liberation narrative, i.e. they reproduce individual life stories in the context of what after independence has been a “politically correct” way of depicting exile. The few exceptions in this respect are made by narratives of those people who, for one reason or another, were strongly disappointed by their experiences in exile.

Exile as an experience clearly changed the exiles’ identity. When they fled Namibia, they were cut off from most of their social networks, while in exile they met new people with whom they shared the same aims, experiences and hardships. In exile camps collectivity was emphasized and individuality discouraged, and therefore people adopted a primary identity of an exile or freedom fighter. After repatriation this identity was strengthened by the returnees’ feeling of alienation from those who had not been in exile. They now formed an identity as “ex-exiles”, which replaced other identities (like family or ethnicity) as the primary definer of social relations, at least for the first few years after repatriation.

The Pursuit of Control over the Zambezi Region of Namibia - Challenges and Opportunities

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Historiographies of the Namibian struggle for liberation readily concede the military importance of the Caprivi strip during the early days of the war. The strip was 1 important to SWAPO because the main route from SWAPO military head quarters in Dar es Salaam to central Namibia passed through the Eastern and Western Caprivi. As a result the region became the focus of SWAPO assaults. The Eastern Caprivi was also important to the South Africans, who perceived it as a buffer zone shielding the Republic of South Africa from hostile states to the north, while driving a wedge between Botswana, a potentially antagonistic neighbour, and Zambia, an enemy state.² However, the strategic value of the Eastern Caprivi is generally deemed to have waned after Angola became independent and offered an alternative and more convenient base for SWAPO activities. The paper seeks to revise this narrative by demonstrating that up till the end of the war Caprivi remained a strategic forward post from which the South African regime sought to influence and extend its control over states to the north.

Strategically located at the very north-eastern periphery of South Africa's domain, the Eastern Caprivi offered a line of defence against SWAPO, and constant patrols were meant to bar SWAPO insurgents from entering Namibia, and potential recruits from leaving. Moreover, the extensive militarization of the Eastern Caprivi served a second function. Geographically, the Caprivi strip resembles a finger jutting into Africa, and thus offered a strategic forward base from which control could be extended beyond formal state borders. Based on research at the South African National Defence Force archives in Pretoria, and interviews with former military commanders of the Eastern Caprivi, the paper argues that the South African regime sought to dominate neighbouring territories from this advantageous position in three ways, that is through information gathering, military operations and attempts at destabilization.

First and foremost control depended on gathering accurate knowledge and information. A keystone in this enterprise was the clandestine establishment in the Eastern Caprivi of a listening post that allowed monitoring of radio networks across Africa. Secondly, direct control was established through military operations into neighbouring states, especially Zambia, with the joint objectives of eliminating enemy insurgent bases, as well as intimidating host states into withdrawing support for such organizations. Thirdly, indirect control was pursued through covert recruitment and sponsoring of rebel groups that might destabilize neighbouring governments.

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- 2 SANDF DOD, AMI/HIS Group 3 Box 430, *Die Caprivistreek: Strategiese Belang*, 1967, pp.12-13.

SESSION 3 – ECONOMIES OF BORDER REGIONS

Life in the fringes: economic and sociocultural practices in the Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique borderlands in comparative perspective

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This paper examines the cross-border economic and sociocultural activities of the inhabitants of the contiguous border areas of Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. Specifically, it compares the economic activities of informal cross-border traders (ICBTs) in these areas and the sociocultural practices of the inhabitants including accessing social services as well as the fulfillment of ethno-cultural obligations across borders. Further, it compares perceptions towards each of these practices by various actors including, among others, the ICBTs, ordinary locals, non-governmental organization (NGOs), and State and local authorities. Legislations, policy reports and scientific publications are thoroughly reviewed and interviews with key policymakers, ICBTs, and locals are conducted. Qualitative and quantitative analyses of data collected from the interviews are also performed. Various stakeholders generally regard accessing social services (such as education and health) across borders by nationals of neighboring countries as something that is acceptable and normal while some forms of informal cross-border trade are considered undesirable. However, both economic and ethno- or sociocultural actors engage in cross-border activity out of necessity, convenience, as means of survival, and something that they have traditionally engaged in as inhabitants of the borderlands. Representatives from State and local governments of the adjacent provinces in the contiguous border areas should establish trans-border coordinating committees to establish systems for addressing and coordinating, especially, the sharing of the burden of providing social services.

Keywords: borderlands, informal cross-border trade, social services, Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique growth triangle

Local social and economic cross border activities at the Botswana-Zimbabwe frontier: perspectives on regional integration

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The supposed territorial extent and sovereignty of Botswana and Zimbabwe is expressed by the Botswana-Zimbabwe border which materialises in for example the Ramokgwebana border post. For all that, however, the geographical, economic and social cross border activities by local people on either side of the border between these countries suggests the existence of strong cross border relations. Characterised by cultural, economic, historical and geographic interactions, which do not seem to be deterred by the border controls, the activities between the local people on either side of the border seem to suggest that such border inhabitants are influenced more by a non-post-colonial, than a post-colonial border. Consequently, this paper is situated within the debates around borders and continental and regional integration in Africa. Based on the African Union's desire to create an African Economic Community (AEC) founded on regional blocks such as the Southern African Development Community (SADC), of which Botswana and Zimbabwe are part, this paper reflects on bottom up strategies of regional integration, based on the case study of the cross border relations at the Botswana – Zimbabwe frontier. By deploying a qualitative study of such border citizens, this paper argues that there is a vibrant local political clout characterised by strong cultural, economic, geographic and historical interactions, which can be utilised to achieve regional integration in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). As opposed to top down approaches to regional integration, this paper advocates for a bottom up approach which can be used as a useful vehicle to achieve regional integration in the SADC.

Keywords: Botswana-Zimbabwe border, regional integration, SADC.

Borderland Governance from Above and Below – 11 Years of the Trans Caprivi Corridor

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I intend to contribute a presentation to the symposium based on ongoing and upcoming research I plan as part of a larger 5-year comparative project I am involved in, titled 'Transport Corridors, Border Towns and Port Cities in Africa'. The timing of the symposium coincides with the end of a 4 week preliminary field work visit to Namibia and Zambia. I am planning this visit to gather fresh data which will add an up-to-date perspective on extensive and partially unpublished material I have collected during 10 months of field work in 2002 and 2004 in Namibia's Caprivi/Zambezi Region and Zambia's Western Province.

With the opening of a new road bridge across the Zambezi in May 2004 the remote twin border towns Katima Mulilo (Namibia) and Sesheke (Zambia) became connected to the Trans Caprivi Corridor (TCC), a 2600km transnational asphalt road link between the copper mining regions of DRC and Zambia and the deep sea port of Walvis Bay in Namibia. Increased trade and investment along the corridor route has since contributed to highly accelerated urban growth in the twin border towns, both formally planned and informally regulated. The provinces on both sides of the border still show the lowest national socioeconomic indicators in their respective countries and long-term separatist tendencies remain a relevant undercurrent in regional and national politics.

My past and upcoming data-gathering process has been and will be concerned with two separate but related topics: Firstly, I will focus on the TCC to investigate the topic of cross-border transnational governance 'from above'. The TCC is part of a wider ongoing phenomenon of spatial re-ordering across Southern and other parts of Africa. It combines the colonial logic of extraction of valuable resources from the African hinterlands for export overseas with a 21st century approach to create globally integrated, efficiently managed and transnational zones of commerce. The TCC is managed by the Walvis Bay Corridor Group. The WCG is a public-private partnership with substantial external donor support and includes relevant ministries and municipalities in Zambia and Namibia, the Walvis Bay port as well as corporate actors like transport and logistics operators, agribusiness and copper mining companies. My field work will involve gathering reports and statistical data from these formal actors, as well as interviews in Windhoek (government ministries, University of Namibia, civil society actors), Walvis Bay (WCG head office; port authority; logistics operators; office of Zambian Export Processing Zone), Tsumeb (site of a large copper smelter operation along the TCC), and the twin border towns of

Katima Mulilo and Sesheke (town councils; customs; immigration and security at the border; local business; civil society actors).

Secondly, I will investigate the topic of cross-border transnational governance 'from below' through studying regulated and unregulated urban growth and cross-border trade in the twin border towns Katima Mulilo and Sesheke. This takes place in a context of fast rural-urban and cross-border migration, extremely high HIV prevalence and generally low socioeconomic development in the borderland. If and how the notoriously under-resourced local authorities are able to keep up with the 3, rapid development and associated social phenomena brought by the TCC and other large-scale developments in the region will be of particular interest. What pre-existing and new forms of informal and civil society regulation of urban space and cross-border movement of people and goods are there? What are the links of cooperation and areas of contestation between the formal and informal regulatory bodies? Interviews with representatives of town council, hospital and border authorities, local transporters, entrepreneurs and traders will be augmented by spot-surveys of cross-border trade and international border post situated at the Zambezi bridge just outside Katima Mulilo and Sesheke. The research topic is situated in the following academic disciplines: Political and Economic Geography, Political Anthropology, Development Studies, African Studies.

Keywords: Borders, borderlands, transnational governance, respatialization, transport corridors, strategic infrastructure, border towns, urban growth, cross-border trade, smuggling.

SESSION 4 – CULTURAL BORDERS, MIGRATION

Frontiers of the Self: Borders and the Imagination of Difference in Contemporary Africa

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Borders have gradually moved beyond identifiable markers of territory to become significant entities embedded in different layers of the human fabric. In short, borders are very significant in the lives of the individual as well as the modern state. As different measures, including biometric technologies, are being deployed to control the movement of people across territorial boundaries, individuals increasingly seek to identify markers of difference which set them apart within the context of social interactions. This paper, in forging a more nuanced understanding of borders, probes a step beyond the physical barriers put in place to check the movements of people from one place to another to look at the social construction of boundaries as they occur in various communities and in the end contribute to the determination of power relations among different categories of people. It draws textual illustrations from two generic domains of popular culture, Alfred Bell's *The Land of Fetish* (1883) and 'The Redi Direko Show' on Talk Radio 702 to show how 'border-making practices' (Parker and Vaughan-Williams et al, 2009: 583)⁷ constitute part of processes of self-fashioning physically and socially. The paper concludes that fixed and tangible territorial lines as well as constantly shifting intangible lines of difference which continue to separate different categories of people in contemporary African society on a daily basis are significant factors in the current dystopia that defines the continent.

⁷ Parker, Noel and Nick Vaughan-Williams et al. "Lines in the Sand? Towards an Agenda for Critical Border Studies." *Geopolitics*. 14, 2009, 582-587

Of Borders and Fortresses: South Africa's attitude towards cross-border movement as a critical factor in SADC's integration project

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South Africa attracts migrants from other parts of Africa, Asia, Europe, Australia and the Americas. However the immigration debate within the country apparently revolves around immigrants from the other parts of Africa, including the the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region, and projects them as undesirable in a way best interpreted as discriminatory and exclusionary. This paper argues that this, coupled with South Africa's immigration legislation, policies and practices that include massive deportations, intensive border patrols and policing, amounts to the establishment of a fortress South Africa and starkly contradicts the country and its neighbors' aspirations for a regionally integrated southern Africa. The paper situates the SADC integration efforts, of which South Africa is part, in a comparative perspective with major regions of the world such as the European Union and argues that countries that promote free cross-border movement of people witness significantly greater levels of integration than those that adopt stringent immigration regimes. A thorough review of South African, its immediate neighbor's and the immigration legislations and policies of member States of other major regions in the world is conducted. Primary data is also gathered through participant observations and interviews with respondents at South Africa's major borders and ports of entry with its SADC neighbors and its major cities such as Johannesburg. As one of the few SADC member States that have signed the unratified SADC Protocol on the Facilitation of Movement of Persons, South Africa domesticating and implementing this instrument would set a much sought-after precedent for a region that exhibits apathy towards a regional migration regime that fosters integration. Therefore, South Africa should further seriously consider establishing an immigration regime that promotes the free movement of SADC citizens in order to enhance integration in Southern Africa.

Keywords: Borders, migration, regional integration, SADC.

The human side of regions: grassroots non-state actors and informal cross-border traders in the Zambia-Malawi-Mozambique growth triangle

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This paper examines the activities of grassroots non-state actors and informal cross-border traders (ICBTs) in the contiguous border areas of Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique to: determine the feasibility of the growth triangle phenomenon imported to the area from Southeast Asia and; assess the potential of the growth triangle to augment wider Southern Africa's integration. A thorough review of the literature on informal activities including cross-border trade, networks of ethnic entrepreneurs, and reports on informal cross-border trade from relevant organizations such as the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) Famine Early Warning Systems Network (FEWS NET) is conducted. Literature on regional integration in southern Africa and other major regions of the world is also reviewed to provide the regional context for the discussion of integration among the three countries. The primary data gathered through extensive fieldwork conducted at selected border posts, major border towns of the adjacent provinces of the three countries, and markets and villages in their contiguous border areas is statistically analyzed using the software package SPSS. ICBTs in these areas fall into one of two categories: affiliates to traders' associations and non-affiliates. The contiguous border areas of the three countries also comprise a young population of ICBTs with low incomes that has spent relatively few years in cross-border trade. The traders also use social services (some for free) in the neighboring countries they go to conduct business. State authorities should not only recognize and promote ICBTs' activities, but also establish sub-regional intergovernmental units of representatives from the respective countries to spearhead the provision of social services to cross-border service users.

Keywords: Grassroots non-state actors, informal cross-border traders, sub-regional integration, growth triangle, ZMM-GT, Zambia, Malawi, Mozambique

Dialectal variation in Fwe, a Bantu language of Zambia and Namibia

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Fwe is a Bantu language classified as K.402 (Maho 2009) spoken in the Zambezi region (formerly known as the Caprivi strip) in Namibia and the Imusho and Sinjembela regions of the Western Province of Zambia. Although the language has only about 20.000 speakers (Sakuhuka *et al.* 2011), it exhibits a fair degree of dialectal variation. Speakers tend to distinguish between “Namibian Fwe” and “Zambian Fwe”, though empirical data show that the dialectal border is not identical to the national border. Rather, the Imusho region of Zambia, which directly borders on Namibia, represents a transition zone, in which both northern and southern elements are used interchangeably. This paper discusses some of the linguistic features distinguishing northern Fwe from southern Fwe, and the way these features are mixed in the “hybrid” dialect of the central Imusho region.

There are a number of differences between northern and southern Fwe in their morphology; each dialect has its own morpheme for, for instance, the negation marker (*ka-* vs. *ta-*), the past tense marker (*-a-* vs. *-na-*), and the progressive construction (*-kuri* vs. *-kwesi*). For many of these morphological differences, the northern variant is similar to that found in other Bantu languages spoken in the Sinjembela area, most notably Shanjo, whereas the southern variant is similar to other Bantu languages spoken in the Zambezi region, most notably Yeyi. In the central Imusho region, which is situated between the northern Fwe-speaking area and the southern Fwe-speaking area, both the northern and the southern forms are used interchangeably. There are also a number of phonological differences between northern and southern Fwe, the most important of which is the absence of clicks in the northern variety. Again, this is a feature each Fwe dialect shares with its linguistic neighbors; click languages are virtually absent in the area where northern Fwe is spoken, whereas in the Zambezi region, click languages are still spoken, such as the Bantu language Yeyi and the Khoisan language Khwe. In the central Imusho region, the hybridization of northern and southern Fwe forms has led to free variation between clicks and non-clicks, and even the insertion of clicks in formerly clickless words, a crosslinguistically highly uncommon process.

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SESSION 5 – BORDERS IN NATURE CONSERVATION

The Green Belt of Africa

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The European Green Belt is conceived as a network of national parks, protected areas and biosphere areas along the former Iron Curtain, stretching from the Arctic Ocean to the Black and Adriatic Sea. It can also be seen as a less densely populated area, with abundant forests and natural areas. As such it can be followed on satellite images through Europe.

In Africa there was no Iron Curtain, but there were conflicts related to the Cold War era, for example the war in Angola and northern Namibia. Other areas in South-West Africa were for other reasons, flooding and endemic diseases sparsely populated. Other areas are too dry for human settlement, as for example the Skeleton Coast or the Namib desert. Many of these areas have been transferred into protected areas.

From the map of protected areas of Africa we can distinguish a clear belt of protected areas from the Namibian coast towards the horn of Africa in the north-east. It includes deserts, wetlands, and mountains savannah and forest habitats. However, many of the conservation areas have only a limited protection status, like communal and private conservancies. Nevertheless, there is a distinct “Green Belt” visible crossing Africa from South-West to North-East Africa. This Belt may prove to be very valuable for safeguarding species under a changing climate, enabling north-south and east-west movement of species.

As many African mammals are exceptionally large and migratory, conservation areas need to cover huge areas, across national borders. Elephants can not even be restricted to one country, but migrate over long distances, for example between Botswana and Angola. The migration routes however, cross national borders, roads, rivers, sanctuaries and hunting areas. In order to facilitate large mammal migration the Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA) has been established, a transnational effort to facilitate better protection and management of wild animal stocks. At present the increased illegal ivory and rhino horn trade and subsequent poaching are a major threat to both elephant and rhino populations in Africa. Also the increase of population, agriculture and cattle herding causes conflict between wildlife and humans. Illegal settlement and farming in parks and conservancies is common and puts strain on animal populations as both humans and animals need water and space. In the Namibian Zambezi Region local people demand the reduction of national parks in a drive for more farmland.

On the boundaries of a South African nature-space

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The recent developments towards the Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (Kaza) show how renewed scientific interest in the Zambezi Region's flora and fauna and the remapping of the region has fed into new claims over space, borders and economic development.

In my PhD thesis I am concerned with claims over the control of borders and nature in the Caprivi Strip, from a historical perspective that begins after the Second World War. In the 1960s the Caprivi became of high strategic importance for its South African colonizers, because it was seen as a last stronghold against what they called 'black' or 'communist' Africa. Consequently the Caprivi was developed as a military base for the control of the border region and as a base for cross-border attacks into neighbouring countries. In order to 'mask' its military oppression as a 'development project' and gain the support of the local people, South Africa also invested heavily into ecological research for the 'development' of agriculture, forestry, fishery and particularly wildlife protection.

In my paper I will focus on the control of *Salvinia molesta*, an invasive alien plant overgrowing the border-rivers of Caprivi from the late 1950s. The 'fight' against this plant is a powerful example to show the interdependences of the military control of border regions, ecological research and notions of 'development'. *Salvinia* was considered a security threat not only because it made the control of cross-border movements of people more difficult, but also because of its negative consequences on the 'development' of fisheries. Using this example I will elaborate on the cooperation between the military and the civil administration in researching and controlling the borderlands of Caprivi to show how the region was drawn into a South African nature-space nurtured by ideas of 'development' as well as of fighting 'alien plants'.

The South African interventions into Caprivi's 'nature' were powerful means to tie the peripheral border regions closer to South Africa's centres of economic, political and academic power. The 'South Africanization' of the region's nature added to the changing awareness of the national borders in the Caprivi. Based on interviews I did in the Zambezi region between 2012-2014, as well archival material from South Africa, Zambia and Namibia I trace the strategies implicit in South Africa's ecological policies towards the Caprivi in 1960-1990 as well as discuss their local impacts, cooperation and contestations. Further I propose that my research has important contributions for conceiving present day developments in the border areas of the Zambezi Region, particularly the Kavango Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (Kaza).

The Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA): Bringing in the human dimension

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After almost ten years of protracted negotiations, the Kavango-Zambezi Transfrontier Conservation Area (KAZA), was finally officially inaugurated in March 2012. This landmark achievement entails that almost thirty-six protected regions of five Southern African countries namely: Angola, Botswana, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Zambia are to be incorporated into the KAZA. Of crucial importance, this area will not only be one of the largest conservation areas in the world, covering a landmass of approximately 444,000 km² (171, sq. miles) and encompassing the Okavango and Zambezi river basins and more than a dozen national parks, but it is also home to unprecedented ecological diversity of salt pans, arid grassland, woodland and scrubland; seasonal wetlands and permanent marshes supporting 3,000 species. A host of wildlife inhabitants ranging from more than 100 species of fish, roughly 50 of amphibians, over 100 species of reptiles, 600 of birds and nearly 200 of mammals can be found here (Pallardy, 2013). Despite all the hype that accompanied this development, there was little that was actually said about the people who live in close proximity to this conservation area. It must be borne in mind that most national parks or protected conservation areas are situated near human settlements, which are mostly villages in rural locations. People living in these localities are usually the most marginalized and neglected people in Africa (Noyoo, 2012, p. 267).

Using Western Zambia or Barotseland and the northern Caprivi region of Namibia as case studies, this paper argues for inclusive approaches in the quest for creating conservation areas in Southern Africa, which seem not to have been brought to the fore in the case of the KAZA. These two areas have been chosen due their proximity to the KAZA and also because the author is very familiar with them. In regard to Barotseland, the Living Conditions Monitoring Surveys conducted by the Central Statistical Office (CSO) (2012) from 1991 to 2006, have shown that even though the incidence of poverty has reduced over the years in Zambia, Barotseland has consistently emerged as the poorest area in all the six surveys. In fact the incidence of poverty in Barotseland remained the same (84 %) in 1991 and 2006. In the same vein, although Namibia is classified as a middle-income country, the income gap between rich and poor is one of the most marked in the world. Although a tiny proportion of the population enjoys considerable wealth, overall poverty rates are high. About 27.6% of households are classified as poor and 13.8% as severely poor; poverty is especially prevalent in rural areas. Poverty is particularly concentrated in the northern regions of Namibia, home to the majority of the indigenous population (IFAD, 2015).

This paper further contends that if initiatives such as the KAZA have to make any meaningful development that will accrue to humans, animals and other natural resources, they need to be predicated on the *Sustainable Livelihoods Approach*. This is because this approach encompasses the

capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living. In this regard, sustainable livelihoods programmes have the potential to become an important area of work for national parks, biosphere reserves, regional governments and other areas and can make a significant contribution to addressing socio-economic and community issues in the conservation of the natural, historical and cultural heritage of countries (Tarasov, et al., 2002 as cited in Noyoo, 2012, p. 268.). In its arguments and expositions, this paper will use the *Sustainable Livelihoods Approach* which will also serve as its theoretical lens.

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Community-based natural resources management in border regions – the Chobe Experience

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Namibia is renowned for its community-based natural resources management programme, which among others, is viewed as an empowering mechanism but at the same time instilling conservation ethos in communal areas. Numerous studies, project reviews and practitioner reflections point to a success story but also points to a lack of progress in terms of making meaningful impact to people's lives. This article examines community conservation from a perspective of mediation and justice. It argues that the lack of progress, has caused erstwhile supporters of CBNRM to argue that this approach has broadly failed to stem poaching in conservancies and has not delivered on its promise of improved livelihoods. Using data from Salambala Conservancy and nature conservation officials in the region, the article argues that the failure has not been a result of poor performance in operational principles of CBNRM, but in the inability to recognize and understand the sociology of communities in border regions. The paper concludes with a call for more research on communities in conservancies in border regions.

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