# Critical Factors Influencing the Establishment of Protected Areas –

# A Case Study of Lesotho

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
Master of Environment and Development:
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in the
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## PREFACE

This research arises from my interest in Jane Carruthers' seminal work "*The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History*" (1995) where the author seeks to strip the history of South Africa's largest national park of the considerable mythology which surrounds its proclamation and management history. Subsequent research by Carruthers, and the works of the environmental historian, John MacKenzie, led me to the conclusion that the present international interest in environmental issues, and more especially with the declaration of additional protected areas, can be traced to particular historic events which occurred in the 19th century. The current international concern with environmental issues has a strong cultural bias and its roots can be found in 19th century colonial history. In the words of MacKenzie (1997), "humans, it seems, not content with worrying about the future, also worry about the past." Indeed, this "worrying about the past" was used in this research to explore critical historic factors which took place mostly in the colonies established by British settlers, and then was used as a basis for the development of a conceptual framework which seeks to explain the recent heightened international interest in establishing protected areas.

This research examines the factors which influences the establishment of protected areas in English-speaking colonies, and particularly in British Africa, and then looks at the conservation record of Lesotho against this context. Further comparative research, especially in former French and Portuguese African colonies, would add considerable insight to our understanding of environmental history.

The research is divided into two components according to CEAD requirements. Component A includes a literature review and methodology statement. Component B is written in the form of a journal article, and includes the results of the interviews conducted as an appendix, and is intended for publication in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*.

The research described in this mini-dissertation was carried out at the Centre for Environment and Development, University of KwaZulu-Natal, under the supervision of Professor Rob Fincham and Drummond Densham.

This mini-dissertation represents the original work of the author and has not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma at any university. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

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# COMPONENT A

# LITERATURE REVIEW AND METHODOLOGY

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

This research is divided into two main sections. First, it examines the important historic processes, which resulted in the declaration of the first modern protected area in 1872. From a review of the literature an attempt was made to structure a framework of events which occurred at a critical historic juncture, and which have greatly impacted on the conservation movement ever since the 1870s. The second component of this research is a case study, which examines the conservation record in Lesotho, and attempts to explain the current scarcity of protected areas within the context of the framework which applied in other colonies of the Anglo world.

### 1.2 Problem Statement

The current world network of protected areas is intrinsically modern. The modern history of protected areas is closely tied to the history of settler societies, and protected areas were initially established predominantly in British colonies, or in countries with close ties to Britain. The settler economies and their over-consumption of natural resources produced environmental anxieties, and later the social conditions that were conducive to setting aside the first protected areas. Once the first protected areas were established, although in any nation state the setting aside of protected areas is often contentious, they have become accepted features of the political economy.

British interest in setting aside protected areas was mostly linked to the preservation of diminishing populations of wild animals, whereas initial concern in the United States of America was with protecting dramatic landscapes. Where wildlife had been exterminated prior to increasing interest in conservation towards the end of the 19$^{th}$ century, then there was little motivation to establish protected areas in British colonies.

The current percentage of land conserved in Lesotho is 0.45 per cent, which is one of the lowest in the world. Lesotho is a poor, land-locked country and has few natural resources apart from an abundance of water and mountainous terrain. However, the presence of the highest, rugged mountainous country in southern Africa could have resulted in a comprehensive network of protected areas as in neighbouring South Africa where most major mountain chains are protected either as IUCN categories I, II or III (Appendix 1). This occurred historically in South Africa as mountains are

important water-producing regions in a country where water is scarce, are less suitable for commercial agriculture, and their rugged, broken terrain is regarded as having a high aesthetic value and is therefore suitable for nature-based tourism. However, this trend has not occurred in Lesotho and the country currently has only 4 protected areas. The two largest reserves encompass approximately 6000 hectares each, which not only makes it difficult for ecological patterns and processes to function effectively, but also limits their potential to generate sufficient tourism revenue as they have to compete regionally against many large national parks which offer a greater variety of attractions. (See total land area set aside for protected area in African countries in Appendix 2)

The challenge facing government agencies in Lesotho is the need to create an enabling environment that will result in the achievement of the following objectives:

- Improved conservation of biodiversity;
- Effective catchment management;
- Sustainable utilization of natural resources;
- Poverty alleviation;
- Capacity building in communities bordering protected areas;
- Meaningful employment creation through tourism development.

# 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.1 Introduction

Protected areas are modern, democratic land-use designations that are designed to serve a number of purposes, which include biodiversity conservation, nation-building, regional economic development and the promotion of tourism. Where visitor access is restricted to certain protected areas, such as wilderness areas or strict scientific reserves, such restrictions are determined by management objectives. In the majority of nations, this modern day institution is represented by the national park or equivalent reserve which is "not merely a physical entity, a geographical area, or a suite of ecosystems and species, but a mirror of society and a vigorous symbol." (Carruthers, 1995: 1) Not only are protected areas designated to conserve biodiversity and endangered species, but concurrently the majority of protected areas

also accommodate some form of visitor access and non-consumptive recreational utilisation.

Although the notion of conserving nature on land designated specifically for that purpose is an ancient one, prior to 1872, efforts to set land aside for nature were restricted to the establishment of deer parks and hunting preserves for the ruling elite. These forms of nature preservation were enacted in the old, established nations of the world, were pre-ecological in their management philosophy, and were a response to a rapidly diminishing natural resource, such as deer herds. These hunting preserves existed in Europe and Asia and were associated with the ruling elite's interest in hunting. In many African societies, a system of controlled utilisation of wild animals was also present (MacKenzie, 1988: 54-84).

The preservation of nature in pre-19$^{th}$ century Europe and Asia was motivated by economic and class considerations, which became more acute as human populations increased and resources decreased. The same supply:demand equation motivated the proponents of the world's first national park who became increasingly concerned by the rapid alteration of the American landscape and the drastic decline in populations of wild animals. Historically, when faced by a rapid decline in important wildlife resources, ruling elites had often established hunting preserves, but the first modern conservationists went a step further by advocating a complete withdrawal of the area from any possible consumptive or economic use. Against a background of many thousand years of utilisation, national parks were conceived as 'no take' zones where the only interaction between humans and wild animals would be explicitly based on a rejection of any forms of consumptive utilisation. The national park was therefore not intended as an area of land where hunting would be banned until wildlife populations had recovered, which was the intention behind some of the first African protected areas, but was to be an area of land withdrawn from human consumptive access.

The emergence of this major theme in modern conservation - the non-consumptive conservation of nature – begins a trend that would run parallel to the older, established theme of preservation closely linked to renewable resource utilisation. Conflicts have arisen between these two differing views and these conflicts are still very much in the spotlight in environmental debates. (Miller, 2000: 613-622)

In this dissertation a number of historic events that took place since the mid-19th century are examined. This is done on the assumption that some insight can be gained from an analysis of past human behaviour especially as this behaviour has given birth to modern ideas on the conservation of nature. For MacKenzie (1997:6) "humans, it seems, not content with worrying about the future, also worry about the past." Indeed, this 'worrying about the past' is essential to this study as it seeks to explore the reasons for the drastic shifts in reputation that nature endured during the 19th and 20th centuries.

## 2.2 Rapid Depletion of Natural Resources

The year 1872 marks an important crossroad in Western society's attitude towards the conservation of nature. In the emerging republic that would become the United States of America, the notion was born that certain characteristics of nature could become the common property of all citizens of the nation and would no longer belong solely to the ruling elite. This democratic principle takes root in a country where the right of private individuals to own property is an accepted constitutional value, while on the edge of the frontier the "tragedy of the commons" results in a complete over-consumption of many natural resources. (Koppes, 1988: 230-234)

The American settler's reliance on the country's abundant wildlife and timber resources resulted in non-sustainable utilisation of these assets. Several writers commented on the American settlers' wanton destruction of forests. Writing at the end of the 18th century, Isaac Weld referred to the American settler's "unconquerable aversion to trees," and it is estimated that by 1850 over 46 million hectares of forest had been cleared in the eastern states alone (Williams, 1997: 172). The writer George Marsh warned as early as 1864 in his work, *Man and Nature*, that "with the disappearance of the forest, all is changed." (Williams, 1997:170).

While the eastern forests were falling to the axe, on the western frontier officially sanctioned hunting of bison brought about a population crash from an estimated 60 million to a relic 551 animals by 1889, a spectacular decrease of 99.9991 per cent over the short space of a few decades. MacKenzie refers to this wanton destruction as 'asset stripping' and also writes "the game was simply worked out, like a mineral seam." (1988:116)

## 2.3 Embryonic Environmental Anxieties

The rapid alteration of the American landscape did not go unnoticed and caused anxiety amongst an influential group of writers and naturalists. Prior to the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, the possibility that certain characteristics or representative samples of nature could become the common property of the people was raised by a number of American writers. The artist and writer, George Catlin, wrote down a description of the Missouri River in South Dakota in 1832:

> "what a beautiful and thrilling specimen for America to preserve and hold up to the view of her refined citizens and the world in future ages! A nation's Park, containing man and beast, in all the wild and freshness of their nature's beauty!" (Wernert, 1997:10)

In the other colonies established by English settlers, unsustainable utilisation of forest and wildlife resources was also occurring. Crosby (1988: 103-117) examines the impact that European settlement had in the new colonies, but also looks at the considerable negative impact introduced European species had on native plants and animals. The impact of the expanding settler communities in Australia is described in detail by Rolls (1997: 35-45).

The American settler, and settlers in other colonies freed of the restrictions of a long-established and inhabited economy, displayed three dominant assumptions concerning the use of natural resources (Koppes, 1988: 231-233). Firstly, natural resources existed in an unclaimed state waiting to be improved for the use of settlers; secondly, natural resources were abundant and inexhaustible; and, thirdly, natural resources should be exploited immediately and those who had toiled in converting the wilderness rewarded for their efforts.

This perception of natural resources being inexhaustible was not restricted to American settlers. Beinart and Coates (1995: 21) argue that the unsustainable exploitation of wildlife in South Africa enabled settlers to quickly acquire assets and refer to them as "expectant capitalists." Ivory dominated the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek's (ZAR) export economy for three decades before the discovery of gold, and argue that "the availability of game facilitated the Voortrekkers' move out of the

British Cape in the 1830s, relaxing their reliance on supply lines and large capital inputs." (Beinart and Coates, 1995: 25).

Wildlife constituted a vital expansionist resource in settler economies in North America and South Africa in a number of ways: it provided food for settlers, a means for paying labour and a trade item that could supplement other forms of economic activity (MacKenzie, 1988:86). The rapid and unsustainable consumption of certain natural resources underpinned the fledgling economies of settler colonies in southern and east Africa, North America, India and Australia.

### 2.4 Hunting: A Contentious Issue

MacKenzie and Pringle devote considerable amounts of space to accounts of the wanton destruction of wildlife, which took place in the British colonies. From the historical record it appears that although wildlife was regarded by settlers as a cheap, inexhaustible natural resource, it is also apparent that conflicts existed within settler societies between Victorian 'sport' hunters, who sought to restrict the right to hunt wild animals, often wasteful consumption by settlers and the cultural practices of indigenous people which included the harvesting of wild animals. In many settler societies ranging from the Cape Colony to East Africa, laws were enacted to prevent indigenous people from hunting wildlife, and hunting 'for the pot', which was important for settler survival, was frowned upon by the English upper class (Leakey, 2002: 30, MacKenzie, 1988: 26 - 51).

This conflict between subsistence hunting and hunting as a sport is a recurring theme in most colonies. Laws were often enacted to guarantee the latter a source of game, while the former's hunting methods were described as being "cruel" and "wasteful." Despite the laws, wildlife disappeared rapidly as "African hunting [by settler and sport hunters] was quite different from the stylised routines at home. There were no game laws in Africa comparable to those of Europe. Even where there were constraints, they were neither taken seriously nor enforced." (Carruthers, 2001: 49) In the absence of effective legislative control, rapid extermination of wildlife resources occurred throughout the colonies.

The psychological origins underlying the European desire to dominate nature deserve further study. Tales of hunting exploits were best-sellers in Europe in the

19th century although modern audiences would find them decidedly in poor taste. The accounts of animals suffering slow, agonising deaths are examined by MacKenzie (1988: 100-120). Perhaps the earlier hunting accounts need to be treated with scepticism. These may be the writings of those who, once freed of European mores and constraints, rapidly descended to a lawless existence, a condition eloquently described by Joseph Conrad in his novel *Heart of Darkness*.

### 2.5 Hunters become Shepherds

Towards the end of the 19th century, when wildlife herds had been depleted and settler economies no longer reliant of this as their primary economic contribution, the beginning of a change in attitude towards wild animals begins to emerge. Hunters no longer display the same self-assurance and an element of justification for their actions begins to emerge (MacKenzie, 1988: 100–116, 158). This change of attitude is described by Beinart and Coates as:

> "In the aftermath of the predatory nineteenth century, when the killing reached its zenith, a reaction of sorts began to set in as some of the human raptors changed their spots." (Beinart and Coates, 1995:17)

As MacKenzie (1997: 4) has observed, "the rulers and experts of, and writers about, empire reflected both supreme self-confidence and considerable doubt and anxiety in their approaches to their imperial estate."

Why the dominant attitude in society, or at least the hunting and naturalist lobby, underwent a change of heart is worth considering as it is a constant recurring theme in modern conservation. For Naipaul (1979: 145, 146). the settler experience was essentially about domination over nature, a theme that has a common thread in many works.

> "Primitive Africa invoked primitive dreams of overlordship. It was like going back to the beginning of the world: Africa was a clean slate on which anything could be written. Displaced and debased aristocratic longings could take root and flourish here. Everything lent itself to the fulfilment of this type of settler fantasy: the climate, the spaciousness, the beauty of the land, the people, the wild animals.

Once nature had been conquered the conqueror began to feel remorse. Many early conservationists were experienced hunters who had collected trophies of wild animals in their day. Stevenson-Hamilton, the first warden of the Kruger National Park, hunted extensively in Zambia (Carruthers, 2001: 49) and as warden saw it as his duty to protect stock of antelope and 'game' at the expense of predators.

Early conservationists therefore played out the role of the 'Good Shepherd' and it took many decades before an ecological appreciation of nature emerged. Early park wardens often saw it as their duty to protect 'game animals' and readily killed all predators in national parks including eagles, owls and snakes (Smuts, 1982: 174). In Yellowstone National Park such policies brought about the local extinction of the gray wolf, and well into the 1930s managers killed predators in some parks to protect 'good' animals. In the early days of Yosemite National Park, woodpeckers were shot if their tapping disturbed the sleep of hotel guests (Bowen, 1997).

### 2.6 The First Modern Protected Area

In the record of the declaration of the world's first national park, it is clear that the influential voices, who provided the motivation to the American Congress, were those of a vanguard movement. In 1870 a group of explorers led by Henry Washburn, surveyor-general of Montana, journeyed into the north-western corner of Wyoming and discussed exploiting its natural splendours for profit. One of the men, Cornelius Hedges, recalled that President Lincoln had ceded the Yosemite area to the people of California during the Civil War, and "said that he did not approve of any of these plan - that there ought to be no private ownership of any portion of that region." (Lee, 1972: 11) Thus, the philosophical foundation of the modern protected area, as a democratic institution belonging to the nation as a whole, was conceived.

On March 1, 1872 President Ulysses Grant signed a bill establishing the world's first 'national park.' The concept of a national park, referred to as a "pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people" by the Yellowstone Park Act, soon found widespread support amongst the American citizens. It appears that the American Congress was responding to public sentiment when it designated areas as national parks. (Wernert, 1997:12).

## 2.7 Closing of the Frontier and Sense of Irreversible Loss

In the American psyche, there are indications that the conservation of nature began to be connected with the patriotic excitement and adventure that accompanied the conquest of the West. The closing of the frontier presented a new urgency which is summarised by Wernert (1997:13):

> "By the time of Roosevelt's presidency [in 1900], the frontier was gone. No longer did bison roam the plains; never again would Indians follow their old ways. The thought bothered people. The challenge of new horizons had been a mighty force behind America's vitality; suddenly, the distant mountains and canyons that embodied that spirit took on a new meaning."

The association between national pride and the danger of irretrievable loss is important in the fledgling efforts of the early American conservation movement. Americans started to exhibit, "a mixture of concern about irreversible changes in the natural world and anxiety about the future course of American capitalism." (Koppes, 1988: 230)

One of the most influential writers at the time was Frederick Turner who formulated what became known as the 'frontier thesis.' For Turner, writing in 1893, American society had always been based on the availability of free land, and the somewhat bland statement by the Census Bureau in 1890 that the frontier was now closed would have a profound impact. In a detailed discussion of Turner's work, Arnold (1996: 107) writes, "even if the frontier did not make America in quite the sense Turner envisaged, it was clearly the stage for many of its formative episodes and expressed many of its highest ideals and wildest delusions."

One of the highest ideals was the concept of setting aside land as common property for the protection of nature, and the closing of the frontier would prove to be beneficial for the conservation movement. In the early years of the 20$^{th}$ century, vast tracts of land were designated by Theodore Roosevelt, an avid frontiersman and hunter (Miller, 2000: 612) Most of the land was designated as national forests, renewable resource utilisation areas which differed from the strict preservation within national parks, and this division is still the source of an ongoing debate in America.

National parks soon became popular attractions in America, something that Stevenson-Hamilton (1993: 116) wished could be said of the South African public. The first national parks in the United States "crystallized the romantic settler frontier experience which had brought within the fold of a self-conscious new nation some of the earth's most spectacular and monumental scenery." Carruthers (1997: 125)

## 2.8 Influence of the Sporting Lobby and Naturalists

Elsewhere, in other newly emerging nations, the idea of designating land for the conservation of nature was eagerly championed by certain influential members of settler societies. This occurred as a response to a rapidly diminishing resource base, but was also done as a precautionary measure against the wanton destruction that had accompanied the establishment of other settler colonies (MacKenzie, 1988: 207). As Williams (1997: 173) writes, "the United States was not the only place where European pioneers were hacking out a life for themselves and their families in the forest; it was also happening in the neo-Europes of Australia, Canada and New Zealand."

Even before the first protected areas were established in the 1890s, influential people in these settler societies constantly brought environmental degradation into the public spotlight. Grove (1997: 139-151) examines the important influence of Scottish environmentalism in the Cape Colony, and in an earlier work (Grove, 1987: 21-39) he examined the history of conservation in the Cape Colony and the enactment of forest protection legislation in1856. Grove argues that the rapid depletion of natural resources such as forests and wildlife led to "embryonic environmental anxieties." (Grove, 1987: 21) According to Grove "interventionist policies in the colonies had evolved well before the publication of *Man and Nature* by G.P. Marsh in 1864, the event normally connected with the beginnings of government conservation efforts in the United States." (1987: 22) Environmental concerns in the Cape Colony became evident before the same concerns were expressed in the United States of America.

Carruthers (1995: 25) examined the period preceding the establishment of the first protected area in the Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) and found that English sport hunters played a critical role in forcing the government to act. Sport hunters continued to play a crucial role in early wildlife preservation efforts in the Cape Colony and dominated the early preservation societies (Pringle, 1982: 60-76).

## 2.9 Interconnectivity of New Nations

Significantly, for more than 30 years following the establishment of Yellowstone National Park in 1872, protected areas were restricted to colonies and new nations: the United States of America, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek and Natal Colony in South Africa, and in East Africa. With the exception of the ZAR and German East Africa (Tanzania), these were all nations with close colonial ties to Britain. At the time Britain and Germany co-operated on many matters, including conservation. These colonies also all had significant and politically influential settler populations, and in the case of a number were 'new nations' seeking to discard the cloak of British influence and forge their own nationalistic identity. Right from the outset, mixed motives can be detected in the establishment of protected areas, and political influences are most often intertwined with popular enthusiasm and support for conserving nature. (Carruthers, 1985: 1-16)

The restriction of protected areas to six geographical locations from 1872 until 1906, when a protected area was established in Holland (Curry-Lindahl and Harroy, 1972) is by no means a coincidence of history. As Dunlap (1997:76) argues

> "The 'colonies of settlement' retained their cultural ties to Britain – even the United States, which broke its political ones with considerable force – and built and maintained networks among themselves. Much of the history of the colonies of settlement cannot be fully understood from the perspective of nation or empire. It must be seen in the context of this 'Anglo world'."

From the perspective of conservation and the establishment of the first protected areas, what influence did Dunlap's 'Anglo world' exert? The Anglo World dominated global politics and economics during the 18th and 19th centuries. Not only was there a flow of goods and services between the colonies but, more importantly, ideas as well. Grove (1987: 21) argues that the American contribution has been over-emphasised in literature and this has discouraged attempts to "understand the intellectual exchanges which took place between individual colonies from the 1830s."

## 2.10 Influence of British Administrators

The concept of a national park, or a protected area intended for the enjoyment of the nation, therefore spread easily amongst countries "with a common language and

core culture." (Dunlap, 1997: 84) Evidence of this can be seen in the first protected areas established in Africa. While the first African game reserve, established in South Africa in 1894, was proclaimed primarily for political reasons (Carruthers, 1985: 14) in the period immediately following the Anglo Boer War, the caretaker British government appointed officials who "had a long history of European game conservation measures associated with a strong 19th century wildlife protection ethos." (Carruthers, 1995: 29)

> "Augmenting the enthusiasm for wildlife was the fact that the sporting lobby in Britain was extremely powerful...The imperial administrators of the Transvaal were also influenced by the literary work of 'penitent butchers'...who deplored the decline of wildlife on the grounds that it was a 'precious inheritance of the Empire'." (Carruthers, 1995:29).

The caretaker government was therefore quick to reproclaim three of the ZAR's reserves which had been abandoned in the course of the Anglo-Boer War. As these reserves were not intended to be national parks, and were regarded more as 'game sanctuaries' that would one day be re-opened to sport hunters, reproclamation was a logical step for the British administrators. The point can be made that the ZAR's reserves were not initially set aside as modern conservation institutions that were to be excluded from all forms of consumptive use, as public opinion felt that some form of hunting would eventually be permitted, and the idea of a national park developed over time.

This is important for although the idea of setting aside land specifically for nature began in the United States of America, there is evidence of differing approaches in the colonies of the 'Anglo world.'

### 2.11 Cultural influences in the Anglo World

Grove (1987: 36) makes the point that early progressive attempts at conservation in the Cape Colony failed because, "the conservation policies proposed by the Colonial Botanists had begun to pose a serious threat to the uninhibited activities of European settler land-users, particularly those whose capital-intensive activities were dependent on deforestation continuing.

Apart from sharing a common language and culture, there is evidence to suggest that early conservationists readily sought ideas from their colleagues in the Anglo world. James Stevenson-Hamilton, the man largely responsible for the establishment of the Kruger Park, was greatly influenced by reports from America which eventually led to the proclamation of the Kruger National Park in 1926 (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1993: 115, 116) and received correspondence from leading American conservationists:

> "While in London I had been a good deal in touch with wildlife preservation matters which were then beginning to arouse interest in certain circles...I had incidentally heard a good deal about the American national parks and their success as a public attraction...I sent for and read all the literature available concerning the American national parks, especially the Yellowstone"

Similarly, regular exchanges of soil scientists, botanists and foresters took place between the colonies (MacKenzie, 1988: 267)

### 2.12 Protected Areas create momentum

One of the interesting points that emerges from the literature, is that despite all the predictions of a global environmental catastrophe, once established, protected areas rapidly become an accepted form of land-use that seems to be able to withstand other competing economic uses. Lee (1972:10) lists 14 national parks that were established in the United States from 1872 until 1916, the year that the National Park Service was established by Congress. Of these national parks 12 have survived to the present time, while another 43 have been proclaimed.

It should also be stressed that while proclamation of national parks was proceeding, the United States began to designate vast areas as either national forests or national monuments (protected areas which comply with IUCN categories III and IV) (Lee, 1972: 10-13). In the United States of America protected areas maintained by the federal government, and which conform to IUCN categories I to VI, now cover 13.5 per cent of the country. In South Africa the area set aside as either national parks, provincial nature reserves or forest reserves (IUCN category I to IV) has risen from 0.45 per cent of the country in 1898 to the current 5.8 per cent. Although the IUCN categories are not uniformly applied throughout the world, this definition is used here

as a means for comparing protected areas in different parts of the world which display similar characteristics and management objectives.

Miller (2000: 619) states that in the United States of America the land area under the protected area network increased significantly between 1970 and 1994 with a 2.8 fold increase in the National Park system, a 3-fold in the National Wildlife Refuge system and a 9-fold increase in national Wilderness areas.

### 2.13 Increase in number of Protected Areas

Although there have been occasions where protected areas have been deproclaimed, in the majority of instances there has been a significant increase both in the number and land area covered by protected areas. Whereas MacNeely and Miller (1984:24) listed 2611 protected areas which qualified as national parks and equivalent reserves in 1984, the current IUCN list includes some 40 000 protected area entries under the six categories, and there are another 60 000 protected areas which do not meet the definitions or in some instances are too small to be considered viable protected areas.

The increase in the number of protected areas is particularly noticeable in the countries of the 'Anglo world.' These nations, partly in reflecting their interconnectivity and success in elevating protected areas to the national and international agenda, have some of the largest networks of protected areas, both in number and in land area designated. The current IUCN list includes 892 areas in Australia, 640 in Canada, 237 in South Africa, 206 in New Zealand and 1494 in the United States, and many of these protected areas have been established since World War II. Conversely, in countries where the influence of the Anglo world remains weak, the number of protected areas is often very low: Qatar, Somalia and Lebanon each have only a single protected area.

### 2.14 Deproclamation linked to absence of Wildlife

In African countries, where a particular protected area has failed to become an established component of the regional geography and economy, this has almost always been as a result of a lack of a sufficient association with the preservation of large wild mammals (MacKenzie, 1988: 234). This is because Victorian sport

hunters exerted a strong influence on colonial governments and were instrumental in establishing the first African protected areas.

Protected areas in South Africa that were deproclaimed include the continent's first game reserve, the Pongola, which was abolished in 1921 after it was discovered that it contained very little game (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1993: 102). Other reserves that were deproclaimed in South Africa include the Rustenburg Game Reserve (1914) after an "official found the ranger had shot all the game" (Pringle,1982: 82); the Namaqua Game Reserve (1919) as "there were only 50 gemsbok left and poaching was rife" (Pringle, 1982: 70); the Gordonia Game Reserve (1928) where a traveller in 1917 recalled "we have moved over a gameless game reserve" (Pringle, 1982: 74); and the Dongola Wild Life Sanctuary (1948) "the first national park in southern Africa to have had landscape, archaeology and botany (not wildlife) as its core protectionist focus." (Carruthers, 1997: 130)

Despite the reserves that were deproclaimed in the beginning of the 20$^{th}$ century, with rising urbanisation, and an increasingly affluent middle class which emerged in a number of colonies, this tendency was reversed. In South Africa, the recent increase in the number of protected areas has even resulted in the re-establishment of some of the formerly abolished parks, in particular Pongola and Dongola.

### 2.15 Game Preservation in East Africa

In East Africa, British colonial administrators began declaring protected areas soon after colonies were established. In Kenya, the vast Southern Game Reserve, which encompassed approximately 25 000 km² of savanna, was established in 1906 and coincided largely with a tribal reservation set aside by the colonial administration for the Maasai. Crown land in Kenya was either allocated as tribal reservations, forest reserves and game reserves, and the designation of protected areas was an accepted policy of the colonial administrators. The Southern Game Reserve was eventually abolished in 1952 after "combined pressure from European hunters who wanted access to the 'game' populations and from naturalists who wanted more effective protection of wilderness areas." (Lindsay, 1987: 152-154) These attempts at establishing protected areas in Kenya at a time when wildlife was still plentiful illustrate the importance afforded game preservation by the colonial administrators. The historical legacy of establishing protected areas has persisted and despite

Kenya's rising human population, the boundaries of the country's 22 national parks, established since 1946, have remained inviolate (Leakey, 2002: 30).

### 2.16 Ascendance of Science

Writers such as Robin (1997: 63- 73) have examined the emergence of ecology in settler societies and the impact that ecological thinking had on views of nature. The success of the protected area movement in the Anglo world since 1872 is in part due to the ascendance of science and, in particular, ecology. Eder (1996:162) refers to the 'politics of nature' which has emerged in Western nations and describes how environmental issues have become normalised as part of modern culture. The modern interest in environmental issues has been given expression in the signing of many important international treaties dealing with conservation during the last two decades. Environmental issues, not the least, the ongoing debate between those who favour consumptive utilisation of protected areas and those who argue for strict preservation, continue to take centre stage in the United States of America (Miller, 2000) and in many European nations.

Some of the important dates relevant to the initial establishment of protected areas are listed in Table 1 below:

**Table 1: List of some important dates relevant to the**

**establishment of modern protected areas**

| Date | Event |
|---|---|
| 16th and 17th century | Establishment of colonies of settlement in North America, southern Africa and Australia |
| 17th century - | Rapid depletion of natural resources, especially forests and wildlife |
| 1840 - | Embryonic and mostly urban settler environmental anxieties begin to emerge in many colonies |
| 1856 | Forest legislation passed in Cape Colony |
| 1872 | Establishment of the world's first national park at Yellowstone |
| 1875 | Second national park is established in the United States of America |
| 1886 | Establishment of first national park in Australia |
| 1887 | Establishment of first national park in Canada |
| 1892 | Western Districts Game Preservation Association urges government to establish a game reserve near Cape Town |
| 1894 | Proclamation of first protected area in Africa in the south-eastern ZAR, a narrow corridor of land covering 174 km² |
| 1895 | Declaration of two reserves to protect the last white rhino and black rhino in the Natal Colony |
| 1896 | Two game reserves established in Malawi by colonial administrators |
| 1898 | Proclamation of 4600 km² Sabie Game Reserve, forerunner of the Kruger National Park |
| 1899 | Closing of the American frontier and beginnings of a realisation that resources are finite |
| 1900 | Signing of the Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds |

| | |
|---|---|
| | and Fish in Africa on 19 May |
| 1902 | Chilwa Game Reserve in Malawi deproclaimed as it held no game |
| 1906 | First modern protected area in Europe is established in Holland |
| 1906 | Southern Game Reserve, covering a vast 25 000 km² of southern Kenya, is proclaimed by colonial administrators |
| 1906 | Tenth national park is established in the United States of America in Colorado, of which 7 have survived to date |
| 1914 | Rustenburg Game Reserve in the Transvaal is deproclaimed |
| 1925 | First game reserve in the Orange Free State is established |
| 1925 | First African national park proclaimed in the Belgian Congo |
| 1926 | South African Parliament proclaims the Kruger National Park, the country's first national park, after years of negotiations |

## 2.17 Summary of Important Historical Processes

From a reading of the literature, the major historical occurrences and themes which emerged in the late 19th century and which underpin modern conservation, can be summarised as follows:

- The establishment of 'colonies of settlement' which retain strong cultural and economic links with Britain and together constitute the 'Anglo world;'
- Rapid depletion of large mammals and forest resources following the establishment of settler economies with wildlife providing a vital and easily accessible resource underpinning the expanding settler economies;
- Attempts to control or outlaw indigenous hunting and a deliberate shifting of blame by colonial authorities onto indigenous people for the rapid decline in wildlife;

- Self-doubt and embryonic environmental anxieties amongst influential people who witnessed the irretrievable loss of forests, wild animals and wilderness;
- A very real sense amongst decision makers that the frontier was closing and that natural resources were finite;
- The sport hunting lobby, or influential bodies of naturalists, begins to call for hunting restrictions and the declaration of the first protected areas;
- After the establishment of the world's first national park in 1872 in the United States of America, for more than 30 years the establishment of subsequent protected areas is restricted to 4 geographical regions with strong connections to the 'Anglo world;'
- Although the concept of a national park originated in the United States of America, the approach differed in British colonies where administrators were more concerned with protecting large mammals compared to the American emphasis on conserving landscape;
- The countries of the Anglo world have continued to set aside protected areas and possess the most comprehensive protected area networks in the world: once established by government, very few protected areas are ever deproclaimed;
- Where protected areas were deproclaimed in Africa, it has almost always been as a result of their weak association with large mammal conservation;
- This has resulted in an over-emphasis on protecting large mammals, in particular endangered species, at the expense of ecosystem conservation, and the resultant disproportionate emphasis on the conservation of certain habitats at the expense of others, which still persists in African countries;
- Managed conflicts within society between preservationists and those who argued for renewable consumption, or those who favour increased conservation against those who opposed the suggestion;
- The establishment of protected areas succeeds in capturing the imagination of an urbanised, or urbanising, middle class, either within the country or internationally;
- The ascendance of scientific management of protected areas which raises the national status of conservation;
- A history of success in elevating conservation issues to the national agenda.

## 2.18 The Conservation Record in Lesotho

### 2.18.1 Legislative Framework

Lesotho was declared a British protectorate in 1868 and became independent nearly a century later in 1966. The National Parks Act, No 11 of 1975, provides the legislative framework for establishing national parks. However, the Act only came into effect in June 1987 and the first and only national park, Sethlabathebe, was proclaimed in November 2001. The area had previously been declared a wild life sanctuary in 1970. Two reserves have been recently established as part of the compensation required in terms of the treaty governing the Lesotho Highlands Water Project and the total percentage under protected areas had doubled to 0.45 per cent of the country. Not only has Lesotho been slow in setting aside protected areas, but the country has also been slow to sign international biodiversity treaties and is still not a signatory to CITES.

In 1967 the Historical Monuments, Relics, Fauna and Flora Act was passed. The Act included provisions for the protection of baboons, monkeys, springhares, tortoises, egrets, all birds of prey, sunbirds and many tree species. While this may appear to be progressive legislation compared to the similar laws in other African countries, it should rather be viewed against the background of widespread local extinctions that have occurred in the country. The 1967 Act replaced a previous piece of legislation from 1938, which is perhaps an indication of the low priority with which the conservation of the environment was viewed both by colonial and post-independence administrations.

The communal land system, which regards all mountain grasslands as common grazing land, has made it difficult to set aside protected areas in the traditional, modern sense where it is excluded from consumptive use. The situation in Lesotho is reminiscent of the conflicts that took place in the United States in the early 1900s between the proponents of sustainable utilisation and those who favoured the national park movement. In 1993 the Lesotho Managed Resources Areas Order, No 18, set up the legislative framework for protected areas of the equivalent of IUCN categories V and VI. Within such an area all grazing, agricultural activity, fishing, hunting, burning of or removal of vegetation was banned unless a person was in possession of a permit issued by a committee. This type of managed resource

utilisation was more in keeping with the socio-economic realities which prevail in the highlands of Lesotho.

### 2.18.2 Loss of Biodiversity and Human Population Increase

Previously it has been argued that African conservation efforts were disproportionately concerned with the protection of large mammals, and to a large extent the 'Save the Elephant, Save the Rhino' lobby still dominates African conservation. This is problematic in Lesotho as many species of wildlife were hunted to local extinction as far back as the 1840s, at the same time as the uncontrolled hunting of game was taking place in the neighbouring Free State. Species such as black wildebeest, blesbok, springbok, cheetah, hyena and hippo had already disappeared by the 1850s, or several decades before the idea of setting aside land as protected areas was conceived. So in the case of Lesotho, to use MacKenzie's terminology, the game was 'worked out' long before it became fashionable to take definite action to protect the surviving remnants. Ambrose et al (2000: 35 - 68) list many mammal, bird and reptile species which are locally extinct or are endangered in the country, and Chakela (1999: 147) lists 16 species of birds that are extinct in the country.

In 1921 the human population of Lesotho was estimated at 498 000 (Hodgson and Ballinger, 1931: 6) compared to the current population of about 2.2 million. There has therefore been a 6-fold increase in human population during the past 80 years. Hodgson and Ballinger (1931: 13) were concerned that the human population had nearly doubled from 256 000 in 1898, and wrote:

> "This is a serious factor in an undifferentiated society, and it is scarcely surprising to discover that, where 30 years ago the highlands were used only as cattle posts and there were no villages beyond the fringe of the mountains, today the highest and narrowest valleys are cultivated and villages are scattered right up the mountain sides."

Eldredge (1993: 174) describes the competition for scarce natural resources that had already begun towards the end of the 19$^{th}$ century, and Kimble (1999) examines the disruptive impact that the migrant labour system in the South African gold mines had on Basotho society.

### 2.18.3 Socio-economic Realities

In 1975 the World Bank report stated, "the number of livestock exceeds the carrying capacity of the land, Lack of grazing control has led to a serious deterioration of mountain pastures. The worsening ecological situation in the mountains has led to a movement of people and animals to the lowlands and foothills, adding to the pressure on the land there." (Maane, 1975: 38) The report also mentioned that the communal system of land ownership was a problem area.

The current population density in Lesotho of 75 people per $km^2$ is twice that of South Africa while statistics from 1998 place per capita GNP at $570. Only 28 per cent of the people were urbanised, and nearly half of the population was regarded as being poor.

These pressing socio-economic problems continue to plague the country and in a comprehensive survey published in 2001 (Rule and Mapetla) environmental concerns are not mentioned. Amongst the respondents, the most pressing national issues are job creation, fighting poverty and road construction. While Bond (2002: 145) states that feasibility studies for the Lesotho Highlands Water Project failed to include an Environmental Impact Assessment and did not take the problem of soil erosion into account.

## 3. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

### 3.1 Aim

The aim of this dissertation is to examine the history of successful protected area establishment, especially in those colonies which maintained close ties with Britain, and to determine if any common factors contributed towards the proclamation of protected areas. After developing a conceptual framework, the conservation record of Lesotho will be critically examined against this framework.

### 3.2 Objectives

- To examine the global historic processes which resulted in the proclamation of the first modern protected areas;

- To construct a conceptual framework based on a historic understanding of the establishment of protected areas in the colonies of the Anglo world;
- To test the framework by critically applying it to the conservation record in Lesotho;
- To examine government policy and legislation and how it has impacted on the establishment of protected areas;
- To determine the key constraints that have operated against the establishment of protected areas in Lesotho;
- To assess possible options for setting aside additional protected areas in Lesotho.

## 4. METHODOLOGY

### 4.1 Process

A literature review was conducted of the modern conservation record and was used to develop a conceptual framework which is included in Component B. It appears that there are a number of common historical factors and these were illustrated in the framework. Initial tentative conclusions were then tested by interviewing people who are knowledgeable of the conservation record of Lesotho. The methodology process is illustrated in **Figure 1.**

### 4.2 Sampling

#### 4.2.1 Interviews

As little has been written about the conservation record of Lesotho, and especially indigenous methods of protecting and regulating natural resource consumption, interviews were conducted to obtain additional insight into these sources of indigenous knowledge. As expert knowledge was sought, both of Basotho cultural practices and especially the conservation record of Lesotho, respondents were deliberately selected and only experienced conservationists and project managers were interviewed. Although interviews were timed to be approximately 30 minutes in duration, in some cases the respondent was allowed to exceed this time allocation. Different questions were asked of each respondent according to their specific expertise and current responsibility and the aim of the interviewer was to create a

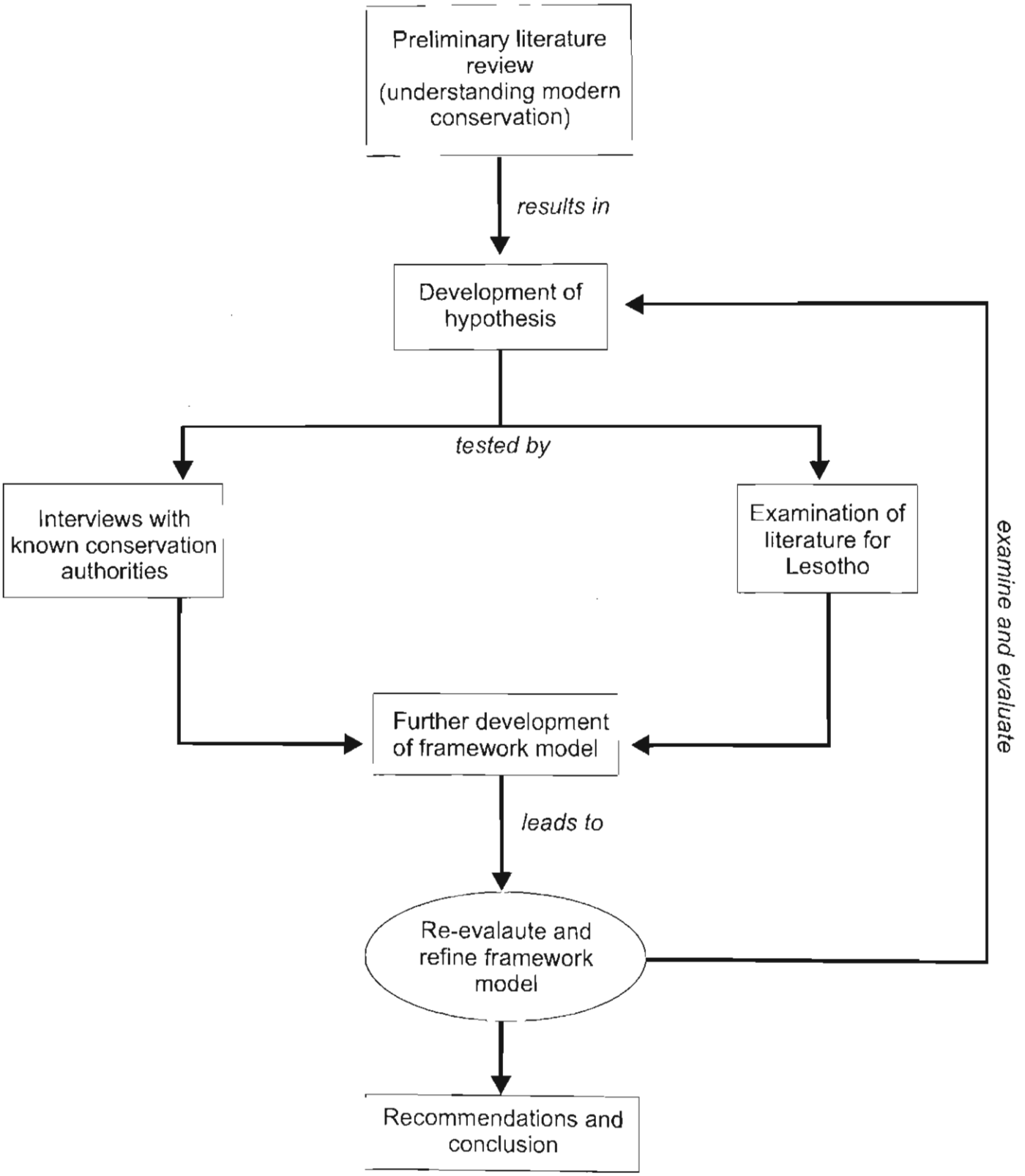


**FIGURE 1: Methodology Process**

relaxed, informal atmosphere where respondents would be free to divulge any opinion.

### 4.2.2 Interview List

| Name | Position |
|---|---|
| Tau Mahlelebe | Biologist, Lesotho Highlands Development Authority |
| Taole Tesele | Former Section Head: Natural Environment and Heritage, Lesotho Highlands Development Authority, and currently employed by Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Project |
| Bore Motsamai | Former head and founder of the National Environment Secretariat and currently employed by the African Development Bank as a Protected Area Management Specialist. |
| Chaba Mokuku | National Project Manager, Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Project |
| Teboho Maliehe | National Project Manager, Conserving Mountain Biodiversity in Southern Lesotho (CMBSL) |

## 4.3 Synthesis of Literature and Interviews

The interviews added further insight to the literature, which suggests that the conservation record of Lesotho over the past 150 years can be summarised as follows:

- Most wildlife species were hunted to extinction in Lesotho at a critical stage in history before protected areas were seriously contemplated by colonial administrators;
- Without easily recognisable objects of conservation, such as endangered mammals or disappearing forests, there was little incentive for the colonial government to set aside land as protected areas;
- Environmental problems, which include overgrazing and declining crop yields, have not been adequately addressed by government even though the first signs of deterioration were evident more than 100 years ago. As a result, poverty is a very real problem which affects the majority of people in the country;
- The communal land system, which treats mountainous areas as common grazing land, has made it difficult to set aside protected areas in IUCN categories I - IV;

- Unlike Western countries such as Australia, Canada and the United States of America, urban residents of Lesotho are generally poor. Protected areas therefore remain beyond their reach and there is no enthusiastic middle class support for increasing protected areas;
- There is a general lack of understanding of the importance of ecosystem services at all levels of government;
- Lesotho is in the process of developing an industrial economy and the majority of people still live on the land where the population density is too high for the natural resource base, given current levels of technology;
- Tardiness on the part of government in implementing environmental legislation is mirrored by failure to be a signatory to a number of important international conventions;
- Conservation is under-funded and is not given a high priority on the national agenda;
- It will be difficult to establish a network of protected areas given the communal land ownership system and current pressures on land;
- The country at present has poor links with other international conservation bodies, but this may be improved by the Peace Parks initiative.

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## APPENDIX 1: IUCN Protected Area Categories

| | |
|---|---|
| CATEGORY 1A<br><br>**Strict Nature Reserve** (protected area managed for science)<br><br>Area of land and/or sea possessing some outstanding or representative ecosystems, geological or physiological features and/or species, available primarily for scientific research and/or environmental monitoring. | CATEGORY 1B<br><br>**Wilderness Area** (protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection)<br><br>Large area of unmodified or slightly modified land and/or sea, retaining its natural character and influence, without permanent or significant habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural condition. |
| CATEGORY II<br><br>**National Park** (protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation)<br><br>Natural area of land and/or sea, designated to protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations, to exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area and to provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities. All of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible. | CATEGORY III<br><br>**Natural Monument** (protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features)<br><br>Area containing one, or more, specific natural or natural/cultural feature, which is of outstanding or unique value because of its inherent rarity, representative or aesthetic qualities or cultural significance. |
| CATEGORY IV<br><br>**Habitat/Species Management Area** (protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention)<br><br>Area of land and/or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes so as to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to meet the requirements of specific species. | CATEGORY V<br><br>**Protected Landscape/Seascape**<br>(protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation)<br><br>Area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area. |
| CATEGORY VI<br><br>**Managed Resource Protected Area** (protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems)<br><br>Area containing predominantly unmodified natural systems, managed to ensure long-term protection and maintenance of biological diversity, while providing at the same time a sustainable flow of natural products and services to meet community needs. | CATEGORY UA<br><br>**Other Uncategorised Conservation Areas**<br><br>Where a site does not meet the internationally recognised definition of a protected area, application of a management category is not appropriate. This is indicated as category unassigned (UA) in UNEP-WCMC protected area lists. |

**Source:** World Conservation Union
**www.iucn.org/ourwork/ppet/programme/wp2004/wp2004/wpc/english/outputs/categories.htm**
accessed 11 January 2005

## APPENDIX 2: Land area designated as Protected Areas in African countries

| Country | 000 km² | % protected | km² protected area | British Africa | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Morocco | 446 | 0.8 | 3523.4 | | |
| Algeria | 2381 | 5 | 119050 | | |
| Tunisia | 164 | 0.3 | 442.8 | | |
| Libya | 1759 | 0.1 | 1759 | | |
| Egypt | 1001 | 0.8 | 7907.9 | 1001 | 0.8 |
| W. Sahara | 266 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Mauritania | 1085 | 1.7 | 18336.5 | | |
| Mali | 1204 | 3.2 | 39009.6 | | |
| Niger | 1267 | 7.1 | 89830.3 | | |
| Chad | 1283 | 8.9 | 114828.5 | | |
| Sudan | 2505 | 3.7 | 93687 | 2505 | 3.7 |
| Eritrea | 121 | 4.1 | 4961 | | |
| Ethiopia | 1100 | 5 | 55000 | | |
| Djibouti | 23 | 0.4 | 98.9 | | |
| Somalia | 637 | 0.8 | 5223.4 | | |
| Senegal | 196 | 11.1 | 21736.4 | | |
| Gambia | 10 | 2.1 | 215 | 10 | 2.1 |
| Guinea Bissau | 36 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Guinea | 245 | 0.7 | 1641.5 | | |
| Sierra Leone | 72 | 1.1 | 813.6 | 72 | 1.1 |
| Liberia | 111 | 1.1 | 1287.6 | | |
| Ivory Coast | 322 | 6.2 | 19899.6 | | |
| Burkina Faso | 274 | 9.7 | 26578 | | |
| Ghana | 238 | 4.6 | 11019.4 | 238 | 4.6 |
| Togo | 56 | 11.4 | 6378.4 | | |
| Benin | 112 | 6.9 | 7728 | | |
| Nigeria | 924 | 3.2 | 29752.8 | 924 | 3.2 |
| Cameroun | 475 | 4.3 | 20472.5 | | |
| CAR | 626 | 9.7 | 61160.2 | | |
| Equitorial Guinea | 28 | 0 | 0 | | |
| Gabon | 267 | 3.9 | 10413 | | |
| Congo | 342 | 4.5 | 15390 | | |
| Zaire | 2344 | 4.2 | 99151.2 | | |
| Uganda | 235 | 8 | 18800 | 235 | 8 |
| Kenya | 582 | 7.6 | 44232 | 7.6 | 7.6 |
| Rwanda | 26 | 12.4 | 3224 | | |
| Burundi | 27 | 3.2 | 861.3 | | |
| Tanzania | 942 | 14.8 | 139227.6 | 942 | 14.8 |
| Angola | 1246 | 5 | 62300 | | |
| Zambia | 752 | 8.4 | 63619.2 | 752 | 8.4 |
| Malawi | 118 | 11.2 | 13275 | 118 | 11.2 |
| Mozambique | 787 | 5.5 | 43285 | | |

| Country | 000 km² | % protected | km² protected area | British Africa | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Namibia | 823 | 12.4 | 102052 | | |
| Botswana | 582 | 18.5 | 107670 | 582 | 18.5 |
| Zimbabwe | 390 | 7.8 | 30654 | 390 | 7.8 |
| South Africa | 1179 | 5.8 | 68382 | 1179 | 5.8 |
| Lesotho | 30 | 0.4 | 135 | 30 | 0.4 |
| Swaziland | 17 | 2.6 | 448.8 | 17 | 2.6 |
| **Total** | 29 656 | | 1 585 461.4 | 9002.6 | |
| **Percentage** | | | 5.3 | | 6.2 |

**Source:** calculated from information obtained from the World Conservation Union **www.unep-wcmc.org/protected_areas/UN_list/** accessed 11 January 2005

# COMPONENT B

# Critical Factors Influencing the Establishment of Protected Areas –

# A Case Study of Lesotho

by

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Submitted in partial fulfilment for the degree of
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Protected Area Management
in the
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## ABSTRACT

The first modern protected area was established in 1872 in the United States of America and represented an important advance from the earlier preservationist attempts aimed at reserving scarce wildlife resources for the ruling elite. The American concept was democratic in its intention that elements of nature would become the common property of the nation. In other colonies of the Anglo world, settler anxieties and heightened international interest in preservation towards the end of the 19th century, resulted in the promulgation of a plethora of game laws and the establishment of protected areas in Africa after 1894. In a number of instances, these protected areas reflected a retrospective approach and recalled the royal deer parks of Medieval England. English sport hunters, and latent upper class interest in wildlife as a resource to be hunted, played a crucial role in the establishment of the first African protected areas.

In the colonies of settlement of the Anglo world, where the first established protected areas were proclaimed, protected areas have been successfully integrated into the political economy and have been enlarged over the years. In many former colonies this trend increased with the granting of independence. Where protected areas were not established in the early years of the 20th century, it would appear that conflicting claims to land and rising human populations can frustrate later attempts to create protected areas in the IUCN categories I to III.

This research describes the historical processes which resulted in the establishment of protected areas predominantly in the colonies of the Anglo world. The former British colony of Basutoland (Lesotho) is then examined where the majority of these factors were absent, and where protected areas are not a major feature of the political economy. Although Lesotho contains the highest mountain peaks in Southern Africa - terrain that not suitable for crop production but has a high conservation and recreation value - protected areas cover only 0.45 percent of its land area, compared to an average of 10.4 percent for former British colonies in southern and eastern Africa. The over-exploitation of wildlife by both white settlers and Basotho hunters from the 1840s onwards, and the resultant extinction of most game species in the country, left colonial administrators with the assumption that there was nothing left to conserve. It is only in recent years that international funding has been directed to integrated natural resource conservation in Lesotho, in an attempt to link the establishment of protected area with tourism development and the upliftment of rural communities.

*"Humans, it seems, not content with worrying about the future, also worry about the past."*

John MacKenzie, *Empires of Nature and the Nature of Empires: Imperialism, Scotland and the Environment* (1997).

*"One could shout aloud 'Where is the game?' and give fit reply... 'Made into biltong for the most part, and the hides into riems and whips.' "*

John Adams, during a 1917 expedition to the Northern Cape (Pringle, 1982)

## 1. INTRODUCTION

The global network of approximately 100 000 protected areas can be defined as a modern and innovative category of land-use. Prior to the establishment of the world's first national park at Yellowstone in 1872, protected areas had existed in a different guise, either as deer parks, royal hunting grounds or sacred groves,[1] but these were elitist forms of land designation which did not survive through to the modern age. The elitist, preservationist imperative is later echoed in the establishment of some of the first colonial protected areas in Africa. In many pre-colonial African societies, systems of controlled utilisation of wild animals and other resources, and closed hunting seasons, were also in place, but these indigenous resource conservation systems were not incorporated by colonial administrators[2].

The current world network of protected areas is a democratic innovation that is less than 150 years old. The national park, and the majority of the IUCN's categories of protected areas (Appendix 1), was conceived as a land use designation which has to achieve several, and at times conflicting, objectives. National parks, and other protected areas, are therefore not just created for the protection of biodiversity but, in the words of the Yellowstone Act of 1 March 1872, are also intended to fulfil the role of providing a "pleasuring-ground for the benefit and enjoyment of the people."[3]

The notion that representative portions of ecosystems and habitats should be protected for non-consumptive purposes was first conceived towards the end of the 19th century. In 1870 a group of explorers led by Henry Washburn, surveyor-general

[1] John MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism* (Manchesters: 1988), p. 55-84.
[2] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, p. 139- 141, 201-210.
[3] Ronald Lee, *Family Tree of the National Park System*. (Philadelphia: 1972), p. 9. MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 264.

of Montana, ventured into the north-western corner of Wyoming and discussed exploiting its natural splendours for profit. One of the men, Cornelius Hedges, recalled that President Lincoln had ceded the Yosemite area to the people of California during the Civil War and "said that he did not approve of any of these plans- that there ought to be no private ownership of any portion of that region."[4]

Although the proponents of the first national park believed that no consumptive use of nature should be permitted within its boundaries, national parks soon became an integral part of the political economy of the United States, or became popular tourist attractions in African countries.[5] Ecological systems thinking only developed slowly over time[6] as did the concept of a national park which has grown in reputation to become "not merely a physical entity, a geographical area, or a suite of ecosystems and species, but a mirror of society and a vigorous symbol."[7]

## 2. AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

### 2.1 Aim

The aim of this research is to examine the history of successful protected area establishment, especially in those colonies which maintained close ties with Britain, and then to develop a conceptual framework and to use it as a tool to assess the conservation record of Lesotho, a country currently out of step with regional and international conservation trends.

### 2.2 Research Objectives

- To examine the global historic processes which resulted in the proclamation of the first modern protected areas;
- To construct a framework based on a historic understanding of the establishment of protected areas;
- To refine the framework by applying it to the conservation record in Lesotho;
- To examine whether any indigenous conservation measures existed in Lesotho prior to colonial government;

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[4] Lee, *Family Tree of the National Park System*, p. 11.
[5] The United States' National Parks Service attracts 290 million visitors per year of which about one-third are to national parks and equivalent reserves.
[6] Libby Robin, "Ecology: a science of empire?" In: Tom Griffiths and Libby Robin (ed) *Ecology and Empire: Environmental Histories of Settler Societies* (Pietermaritzburg: 1997), p.63-75.
[7] Jane Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History* (Pietermaritzburg: 1995), p. 1.

- To examine government policy and legislation and how it has impacted on the establishment of protected areas;
- To determine the key constraints that have operated against the establishment of protected areas in Lesotho;
- To examine possible options for setting aside additional protected areas in Lesotho.

## 3. METHODOLOGY

A literature review was conducted to examine the historic processes which led to the creation of the first modern protected areas in the world. Little has been written about conservation in Lesotho, a number of interviews were conducted to supplement the literature. The people interviewed are all currently working on projects aimed at improving both biodiversity conservation and community management of natural resources within Lesotho. The number of people interviewed was therefore small and consisted of the following:

- Protected area managers in Lesotho.
- Key government officials in Lesotho currently working in conservation.
- Professionals with knowledge and experience of conservation in Lesotho.

On the basis of the literature review and the interviews, a conceptual framework was developed which sets out the historic events which took place primary in countries with close links to Britain, events which still exert a strong influence over modern conservation practices. The framework was re-evaluated during the course of the research and is discussed in this paper.

## 4. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### 4.1 Rapid Depletion of Natural Resources

Beginning in the 17th century, in the colonies of what Dunlap refers to as the Anglo world[8] - or those colonies which maintained close political, cultural and economic ties with Britain - a pattern of rapid over-exploitation of natural resources began to emerge. The cultural attachment to the imperial power and the sharing of ideas

[8] Thomas Dunlap, "Ecology and environmentalism in the Anglo settler colonies" In: Griffiths and Robin (ed) *Ecology and Empire: Environmental Histories of Settler Societies* (Pietermaritzburg: 1997), p. 76.

between these colonies was such that "much of the history of the colonies of settlement cannot be fully understood from the perspective of nation or empire. It must be seen in the context of this 'Anglo world'." [9] Typically, the first British settler communities were port settlements and colonies expanded as settlers extended the frontier in their quest for additional land and other natural resources. As the frontier was beyond the administrative control of urban settler communities, it was difficult to enforce any legislation. With few effective controls on the periphery of the colonies, the "game was simply worked out, like a mineral seam."[10]

However, the rapid depletion of natural resources did not go unnoticed and caused concern amongst a number of writers and naturalists. In the United States of America influential people started to exhibit, "a mixture of concern about irreversible changes in the natural world and anxiety about the future course of American capitalism."[11] This view was not restricted to American settlers as the United States of America was "not the only place where European pioneers were hacking out a life for themselves and their families in the forest; it was also happening in the neo-Europes of Australia, Canada and New Zealand"[12]and in South Africa.

In South Africa wild animals were particularly abundant and the settlers, who have been termed "expectant capitalists",[13] were able to easily acquire assets by exploiting the abundant resources. Whereas the entire North American continent supported only 11 species of wild ungulates, of which five species were restricted in their range, the South African veld contained 30 antelope species, three zebra species, two species of rhinoceros as well as giraffe, elephant, hippo, buffalo, wild pigs and monkeys.[14] Ivory dominated the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek's (ZAR) exports for three decades in the late 19th century before the discovery of gold, and the abundance of wildlife "facilitated the Voortrekkers' move out of the British Cape in the 1830s [to the ZAR], relaxing their reliance on supply lines and large capital inputs."[15] The abundant wildlife constituted a vital expansionist resource in a number of ways: it

[9] Dunlap, "Ecology and Environmentalism in the Anglo settler colonies," p. 76.
[10] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, p. 116.
[11] Koppes, "Efficiency, Equity, Esthetics: Shifting Themes in American Conservation", p. 230.
[12] Williams, "Ecology, imperialism and deforestation", p. 173; Eric Rolls, "The nature of Australia" (Pietermaritzburg: 1997), p. 35-45.
[13] William Beinart and Peter Coates, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa* (London: 1995), p. 21.
[14] Chris and Tilda Stuart, *Field Guide to the Mammals of Southern Africa* (Cape Town: 1997)
[15] Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa*, p. 21.

provided food for settlers, a means for paying labour and a trade item that could supplement other forms of economic activity.[16]

Elsewhere in the Anglo world, this uncontrolled "asset stripping" of natural resources underpinned the emerging economies of settler colonies in East Africa, Canada, India and Australia. These settler colonies saw "nothing amiss with their conquest of nature...Yet so profound was their cumulative impact, that unwanted alterations were soon too glaring to escape notice." [17] Not only did the colonies of settlement over-exploit wildlife and forest resources, but settlers also introduced many mammal and plant species with often devastating impacts on indigenous species.[18]

The wanton destruction of wildlife in the colonies of the Anglo world has been well documented and in some instances resulted in the extinction of a number of species such as the bluebuck (South Africa) and passenger pigeon (United States), while many species were reduced to relic populations.[19] In the Cape Colony, as in the United States of America, the rapid depletion of natural resources such as forests and wildlife led to "embryonic environmental anxieties" which "first surfaced in the 1840s, but gathered momentum in the period of social reassessment and philosophical turmoil in the natural sciences during the years leading up to and in the decade after the publication in 1859 of Darwin's *The Origin of Species*."[20]

As the supply of wild animals began to decline rapidly, conflicts emerged within settler societies between Victorian sport hunters and the historic rights of indigenous people to harvest wild animals.[21] In many settler societies indigenous people were conveniently blamed for the disappearance of wildlife and laws were enacted to prevent them from hunting.[22] With a long history of hunting being the exclusive right and pursuit of nobles and royalty, British administrators had little regard for subsistence hunting. This conflict between subsistence hunting and sport hunters is a recurring theme in many colonies and laws were often enacted to guarantee the

[16] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, p. 86.
[17] David Lowenthal, "Empires and ecologies: reflections on environmental history" (Pietermaritzburg: 1997), p. 233.
[18] Alfred Crosby, "Ecological Imperialism: the Overseas Migration of Western Europeans as a Biological Phenomenon," (Cambridge: 1988), p. 103-117.
[19] Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa*, p. 22.
[20] Richard Grove, "Early themes in African conservation: the Cape in the nineteenth century," (Cambridge: 1987), p. 22.
[21] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, p. 221, 222.
[22] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History*, p. 31.

latter a source of game, while the former was regarded as being "cruel" and "wasteful."[23] Despite the laws, wildlife continued to decline as hunting in Africa was "quite different from the stylised routines at home. There were no game laws in Africa comparable to those of Europe. Even where there were constraints, they were neither taken seriously nor enforced."[24]

The historic root of these hunting exploits, or "campaigns against nature,"[25] can be traced to the Medieval deer park, the precursor of the modern protected area. Under the Norman kings large areas of England were declared royal hunting preserves. These areas were not easy to manage as the grazing of livestock under commoner's rights eventually led to alteration of the forest and encouraged the development of open glades, which were not well suited for hunting. Towards the end of the 12th century, efforts were therefore made to surround deer parks with earth walls, moats and wooden fences, and these barriers often included ramps which encouraged deer to enter the preserve while at the same time preventing any deer from escaping. The king owned all deer and granted licenses to nobles to establish these preserves, and owning a deer park was therefore a sign of wealth and status. At the beginning of the 14th century there were an estimated 3200 deer parks in England comprising 2 per cent of the country,[26] an intriguing predecessor of the modern fascination with establishing protected areas. The deer park was not a national park or equivalent reserve in the modern definition but was more in keeping with the concept of a game farm, an area of land where nature is carefully managed and harvested primarily for economic reasons.

The cultural importance of the imperial hunt has been described as the driving force behind British protectionism[27] which began to emerge towards the end of the 19th century.[28] In the colonies of settlement, once the wars against nature had been won, and "when the killing reached its zenith, a reaction of sorts began to set in as some of the human raptors changed their spots."[29] The wanton killing of wild animals

[23] Jane Carruthers, "Nationhood and national parks: comparative examples from the post-imperial experience" (Pietermaritzburg: 1997), p. 127, 129.
[24] Jane Carruthers, *Wildlife and Warfare: The Life of James Stevenson-Hamilton.* (Pietermaritzburg: 2001), p, 49.
[25] John MacKenzie, *Empires of Nature and the Nature of Empires: Imperialism, Scotland and the Environment* (East Linton: 1997), p. 4.
[26] *The Archaeology of Hunting*, www.hobbyhorsefestival.co.uk/Hunting/History.html
[27] John MacKenzie, "Chivalry, social Darwinism and ritualised killing: The Hunting Ethos in Central Africa" (Cambridge: 1987), p. 39, 40.
[28] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, p. 22, 23.
[29] Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa*, p. 17.

was no longer considered as sport, and hunters began to attempt to justify their actions.[30] Once nature had been conquered the conqueror starts to feel remorse as "the rulers and experts of, and writers about, empire reflected both supreme self-confidence and considerable doubt and anxiety in their approaches to their imperial estate."[31]

## 4.2 Conservation and the Importance of the Anglo World

For 34 years following the establishment of Yellowstone National Park, until the establishment of the Het Naardermeer Reserve by the Vereniging Natuurmonumenten of Holland in 1906,[32] protected areas were restricted to newly emerging nations such as the United States of America, Canada and the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (ZAR) in southern Africa, and British colonies in Australia, New Zealand, southern Africa and East Africa (see Table 1). The administrators of the German-controlled African colony of Tanganyika also gazetted a game reserve in 1896,[33] and at the time Britain and Germany cooperated closely on matters of common colonial interest. With the exception of ZAR and Tanganyika, the geographical regions where the idea of establishing protected areas found fertile ground were all territories with close colonial ties to Britain. However, in the ZAR English sport hunters and politicians were influential members of the legislature and put pressure on government to establish some of the first protected areas.[34] The wording of the first Wildlife Ordinance in Tanganyika, issued by Governor Hermann von Wissmann, offers insight into the close connection between hunting and wildlife preservation:

> "We are obliged to think also of future generations and we should secure them the chance to find leisure and recreation in African hunting in future times. I am also planning to create Hunting Reserves in game rich areas in order that wildlife can find there refuge and recovery. In such areas hunting of game will be permitted only with the explicit prior permission of the Imperial Government."[35]

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[30] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, p. 100 –116, 158.
[31] MacKenzie, *Empires of Nature and the Nature of Empires: Imperialism, Scotland and the Environment*, p. 4.
[32] Kai Curry-Lindahl and Jean-Paul Harroy, *National Parks of the World* (New York: 1972),Vol. 1, p. 62.
[33] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 205.
[34] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History, p. 23-28.*
[35] Rolf Baldus, "Wildlife Conservation in Tanganyika under German Colonial Rule" *Internationales Afrikaforum* (2001) 1, 73-78, available at www.wildlife-programme.gtz.de/ wildlife

With the exception of Tanganyika, these colonies and newly emerging nations all had settler populations who not only retained close ties with Britain but also established mutually beneficial relationships amongst themselves. This was true even of the United States of America, although this nation had broken its political ties to Britain, American scientists continued to make important contributions in the colonies in the fields of forestry, agriculture, soil erosion control, conservation and ecology.[36]

From the perspective of conservation and the establishment of the first protected areas, what influence did the Anglo world exert? Not only was there a regular flow of goods and services between the individual colonies but explorers, settlers and administrators moved freely across the colonies of the Anglo world. The notion of setting aside land for the preservation of nature therefore spread easily through colonies "with a common language and core culture."[37]

## 4.3 The First African Colonial Conservation Policies

In the African colonies of the Anglo world the first attempts at preservation were concerned with the protection of dwindling forests in the Cape.[38] Scottish environmentalism was an important influence in the Cape Colony, and forest protection legislation was passed in 1856. Grove argues that "interventionist conservation policies were, in a very real sense, much easier to experiment with in the colonies," and "had evolved well before the publication of *Man and Nature* by G.P. Marsh in 1864, the event normally connected with the beginnings of government conservation efforts in the United States." [39]

Attempts in the Cape Colony to protect the remaining forests culminated in the passage of the Forest and Herbage Preservation Act no. 18 of 1859, and efforts to protect elephants and buffaloes in the Knysna forests, and represented a "latent (and mainly urban) interest in the protection of the remaining isolated population of large mammals in the South Cape forests." [40]

Conservation policies in the Cape Colony were therefore very similar to those of the

[36] Beinart and Coates, *Environment and History: The taming of nature in the USA and South Africa,* p. 62; Thomas Dunlap, "Ecology and Environmentalism in the Anglo settler colonies," (Pietermaritzburg: 1997), p. 76-86.
[37] Dunlap "Ecology and Environmentalism in the Anglo settler colonies," p. 84.
[38] Richard Grove, "Early themes in African conservation: the Cape in the nineteenth century." (Cambridge: 1987), p. 21-39.
[39] Grove, "Early themes in African conservation: the Cape in the nineteenth century," p. 22.
[40] Grove, "Early themes in African conservation: the Cape in the nineteenth century," p. 27.

American advocates. Following the proclamation of Yellowstone, in September and October 1890 Sequoia, Yosemite and General Grant in California were gazetted as "reserved forest lands," to protect threatened groves of the gigantic sequoia tree, but were named national parks by the Secretary of the Interior. By the Forest Reserve Act of 1891, Congress "separated the idea of forest conservation from the National Park idea."[41]

Although the Cape Colony had attempted to protect elephants and buffaloes through legislation, towards the end of the 19th century the first modern game reserve in Africa was gazetted in the extreme south-eastern corner of the ZAR.[42] This is an important distinction: land was alienated specifically to preserve a suite of indigenous large mammals, in contrast to the American and Cape initiatives which sought to preserve spectacular landscapes, a particular species or limited natural resources, especially scarce forest tree species.

There were mixed motives evident in the establishment of the Pongola Game Reserve and it has been argued that its proclamation was part of a futile attempt to halt British imperialism.[43] The reserve consisted of a narrow, 174-km² corridor of land which, in an era predating game fencing and modern wildlife management techniques, was certainly nonviable as a sanctuary for protecting wildlife. In the late 19th century the ZAR still contained many uninhabited mountain ranges and expanses of inhospitable savanna, so the designation of 0.06 percent of its territory as a game reserve should not be misinterpreted as a major conservation initiative.[44] However, the event did establish a precedent and made it politically acceptable for an African legislature to designate land for nature conservation. Urban environmental anxieties have played an important role in conservation initiatives. In Australia the country's first protected area had been proclaimed on the outskirts of Sydney, and in 1895 the ZAR gazetted two reserves on the boundary of its capital, Pretoria.[45] This action was preceded in 1892 by a request from the Western Districts Game Protection Association to establish a game reserve "in some suitable locality

[41] Lee, *Family Tree of the National Park System, p. 10.*
[42] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History, p. 21,22.*
[43] Jane Carruthers, "The Pongola Game Reserve: an eco-political study," *Koedoe*: 28: 1-16.
[44] In 1904 the population of the Transvaal was estimated at 1,260,000, a density which including the urban areas of Johannesburg and Pretoria of less than 5 people per km², which would have left ample land for protected areas.

[45] John Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers* (Cape Town: 1987), p. 54.

Table 1: Establishment of the first modern Protected Areas

| Name*<br>*: protected areas in former British colonies are indicated in italics<br>Protected areas later deproclaimed are indicated in bold | Country | Year |
|---|---|---|
| *Yellowstone* | USA | 1872 |
| ***Mackinac Island*** | USA | 1875 |
| *Royal* | Australia | 1886 |
| *Tongariro* | New Zealand | 1887 |
| *Banff* | Canada | 1887 |
| *Yosemite* | USA | 1890 |
| *Sequoia* | USA | 1890 |
| *Pongola* | South Africa | 1894 |
| *Ku Ring Gai Chase* | Australia | 1894 |
| *Waterson Lakes* | Canada | 1895 |
| *Hluhluwe/Umfolozi* | South Africa | 1895 |
| *St Lucia* | South Africa | 1895 |
| ***Elephant Marsh*** | Malawi | 1896 |
| ***Chilwa*** | Malawi | 1896 |
| Rufiji | Tanzania | 1896 |
| ***Athi*** | Kenya | 1897 |
| *Kruger* | South Africa | 1898 |
| *Mount Rainier* | USA | 1899 |
| *Egmont* | New Zealand | 1900 |
| *Mweru Marsh* | Zambia | 1900 |
| *Crater Lake* | USA | 1902 |
| *Wind Cave* | USA | 1903 |
| *Giants Castle* | South Africa | 1903 |
| ***Namaqua*** | South Africa | 1903 |
| ***Sullys Hill*** | USA | 1904 |
| *Fiordland* | New Zealand | 1904 |
| *Luangwa* | Zambia | 1904 |
| *Wilson's Promontory* | Australia | 1905 |
| ***Hlatikulu*** | Swaziland | 1905 |
| Het Naardermeer | Holland | 1906 |
| ***Platt*** | USA | 1906 |
| *Mesa Verde* | USA | 1906 |
| ***Southern*** | Kenya | 1906 |
| *Jasper* | Canada | 1907 |
| Nahuel Huapi | Argentina | 1907 |
| Etosha | Namibia | 1907 |
| Namib | Namibia | 1907 |
| *Victoria Falls* | Zambia | 1907 |
| *Kaziranga* | India | 1908 |
| *Grand Canyon* | USA | 1908 |
| *Kafue* | Zambia | 1908 |
| Abisko | Sweden | 1909 |
| Iguazu | Argentina | 1909 |
| *Glacier* | USA | 1910 |
| *Mkuzi* | South Africa | 1912 |
| Lagodekhi | Russia | 1912 |

Source: Information gathered from Curry-Lindahl and Harroy (1972) and MacKenzie (1988)

as near Cape Town as possible."[46]

Elsewhere in Anglo Africa, British colonial administrators set aside reserves in the fledgling colonies of Kenya, Malawi and Zambia from as early as 1896.[47] These proclamations occurred only two years after the first African reserve was gazetted, and a decade after the protected area idea had spread to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. As it had taken the ZAR 5 years to proclaim its first game reserve from the time the idea was approved by the legislature,[48] the enthusiasm of the British administrators supports the view that "almost everywhere throughout the Western world, protectionist issues became prominent in matters of government, although the nature of the debates varied. An important distinction must be made and approaches to conservation differed considerably between the European imperial powers and the United States." [49]

Although the Pongola Game Reserve was not large enough to contain viable populations of large mammals, the setting aside of land specifically to preserve large mammals is an important historic event as it became the dominant theme in African conservation for nearly a century, and contrasts with the American idea of a national park preserving dramatic landscapes. American national parks were not initially intended to be game reserves for the protection of endangered wild animals and were rather convenient patriotic symbols for an emerging nation, which is evidenced by the officially sanctioned slaughter of bison continuing after the proclamation of Yellowstone.[50]

Many early park wardens were experienced hunters, or "penitent butchers", who had collected trophies of most game species in their day[51]and now eagerly accepted the task of protecting the remaining herds. These park wardens regarded the protection of "game animals" as their primary duty and readily killed all predators in national parks including eagles, owls and snakes.[52] Although the notion of setting aside land for the protection of spectacular landscapes or the conservation of a suite of wildlife species was a new one, early park wardens often re-enacted the role of the Medieval

[46] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 64.
[47] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 205.
[48] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History, p. 23.*
[49] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History, p. 29.*
[50] Bryan Hodgson "Buffalo: Back Home on the Range" *National Geographic*, November 1994, p. 64-89.
[51] Carruthers, *Wildlife and Warfare: The Life of James Stevenson-Hamilton*, p, 49.
[52] Butch Smuts, *Lion* (Johannesburg: 1982), p. 174.

deer keeper. Early park wardens in the United States of America and South Africa took on the role of the "Good Shepherd"[53] and several decades would pass before an ecological appreciation of nature emerged.

Reflecting a cultural association with the hunting and the preservation of "game animals," in Africa from 1894 onwards preservation efforts therefore became overwhelmingly focused on the protection of wild animals, and often on the preservation of a single endangered species. The year after the proclamation of Pongola, three game reserves were established in the Natal Colony to protect white rhinos, black rhinos and hippos,[54] all species that had been reduced to relic populations by settler hunters. In 1898 the ZAR established a reserve between the Sabie and Crocodile rivers, and this reserve became the forerunner of the Kruger National Park.[55]

The Foreign Office in London received a number of reports from the British Natural History Museum on the destruction and extinction of mammal species in the colonies. These submissions were treated with alarm and many reports were submitted to the British Parliament. The intense interest shown in game preservation at the time was "presumably grounded in the fascination of the elite with hunting." [56] At the suggestion of the German administrator of Tanganyika, Hermann von Wissmann, who was a keen hunter, an international conference was held in London in May 1900 to discuss game preservation in Africa.[57] The conference was attended by representatives from all of the European countries with interests in Africa, and concluded with the signing of the Convention for the Preservation of Wild Animals, Birds and Fish in Africa on 19 May, 1900.[58] This document emphasised the importance of legislation and the creation of game reserves. Despite the conference's focus on wildlife protection, the "complexity of circumstances in Africa, the economic interests of settler communities, and rivalry between the colonial powers"[59] made it almost impossible to implement any meaningful protection or control over the trade in wildlife products. At a time when the exploitation of wildlife

[53] The metaphor of the shepherd occurs throughout the Bible. In the book of John 10:11, Jesus says, "I am the Good Shepherd, the good shepherd gives his life for the sheep."
[54] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers,* p. 114.
[55] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History,* p. 25, 26.
[56] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 207.
[57] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 250.
[58] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 216, 217.
[59] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History,* p. 30.

was still an important economic sector in settler economies, the conference therefore failed, as had the earlier attempts to protect the forests of the Cape, for the same reasons. Hunting of wildlife still constituted a convenient source of income for settlers in a number of colonies, and it was easy to advocate that wildlife preservation was a waste of government finances.[60]

Although the conference did not succeed in its objectives, game reserves continued to be proclaimed in British colonies and in Tanganyika, a colony renowned for its abundance of wild animals. The sport hunting lobby, including societies such as the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire, was extremely powerful and was able to influence decision-makers on a wide range of issues relating to conservation.[61] The society formed a close association with the British Natural History Museum and published a journal that "was filled with articles by hunters and conservationists on the decline of game, diseases, the tsetse fly controversy, the foundation of reserves, natural history observation, the characteristics of individual species and also, significantly, accounts of hunting trips." [62] Similarly, sport hunters were very prominent in the influential Western Districts Game Protection Association of the Cape Colony.[63] The heightened interest in wildlife preservation in Britain at the time is evidenced by the publishing of wildlife protection regulations applicable to the Transvaal (formerly ZAR) during the middle of the Anglo Boer War, which would suggest "the high importance which wildlife conservation was to enjoy in the new colony." [64]

The caretaker British government in the Transvaal soon reproclaimed three of the ZAR's reserves which had been abandoned during the war.[65] These reserves were not gazetted as national parks, and were regarded more as "game sanctuaries".[66] For the officer-class administrator, with a strong cultural association with Britain's long history of establishing deer parks and royal hunting grounds, this mode of protectionism was a logical development, and sustainable utilisation of wildlife would be permitted in future once game herds had increased to sufficient numbers. Where

[60] James Stevenson-Hamilton, *South African Eden - The Kruger National Park 1902-1946.* (Cape Town:1993), p. 115.

[61] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 209-213.
[62] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 211.
[63] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers,* p. 63.
[64] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History,* p. 30.
[65] Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History,* p. 32.
[66] Jane Carruthers, "Nationhood and national parks: comparative examples from the post-imperial experience" (Pietermaritzburg: 1997), p. 131, 132.

the concept of a national park had been an innovative, democratic American institution, these protected areas conformed more to a nostalgic, retrospective gaze, and the fledgling African game reserves were more akin to national wildlife refuges (IUCN category IV), to use the American terminology. The different in emphasis between American landscape conservation and the British emphasis on the preservation of wild animals is well illustrated in Canada where protected areas include the category "Crown Game Preserve" in Ontario,[67] a protected area where hunting and trapping are forbidden, but other activities such as fishing and logging are permitted (IUCN category VI, see Appendix 1). In the African colonies, although nature conservation was inseparably intertwined with imperial interest in the protection of wildlife, and officials regarded themselves as "trustees for posterity of the natural contents of that Empire,"[68] there is evidence to suggest that early preservationists readily sought ideas from elsewhere and were often influenced by the American concept of a national park.[69]

The importance of conservation in the African colonies of the Anglo world becomes more striking if the present African protected area network is examined in detail. Protected areas cover 5.3 per cent of the entire continent, but if North African countries are excluded then the percentage conserved in Sub-Saharan Africa increases to 7.1 per cent.[70] However, if West African and other former French, Belgian and Portuguese colonies are excluded, then protected areas cover 10.4 per cent of the land in the Anglo colonies of southern and eastern Africa. A number of individual countries, with long histories of colonial and post-independence policies of conservation, display particularly high percentages: Botswana 18.5%, Tanzania 14.8% and Malawi 11.2%. (Figure 1). Tanzania is included here in the colonies of the Anglo world as the period of British colonialism was much longer than that of the German administrators, and "a general bias in favour of game preservation permeated large parts of the British colonial administration." [71]

From the above figure it is apparent that the current amount of land set aside as protected areas in South Africa (5.8%) is considerably below the average for the

[67] http://crownlanduseatlas.mnr.gov.on.ca/
[68] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, p. 213.
[69] Stevenson-Hamilton, *South African Eden - The Kruger National Park 1902-1946*, p. 115, 116.
[70] Calculated from world list of protected areas at: www.unep-wcmc.org/protected_areas/.

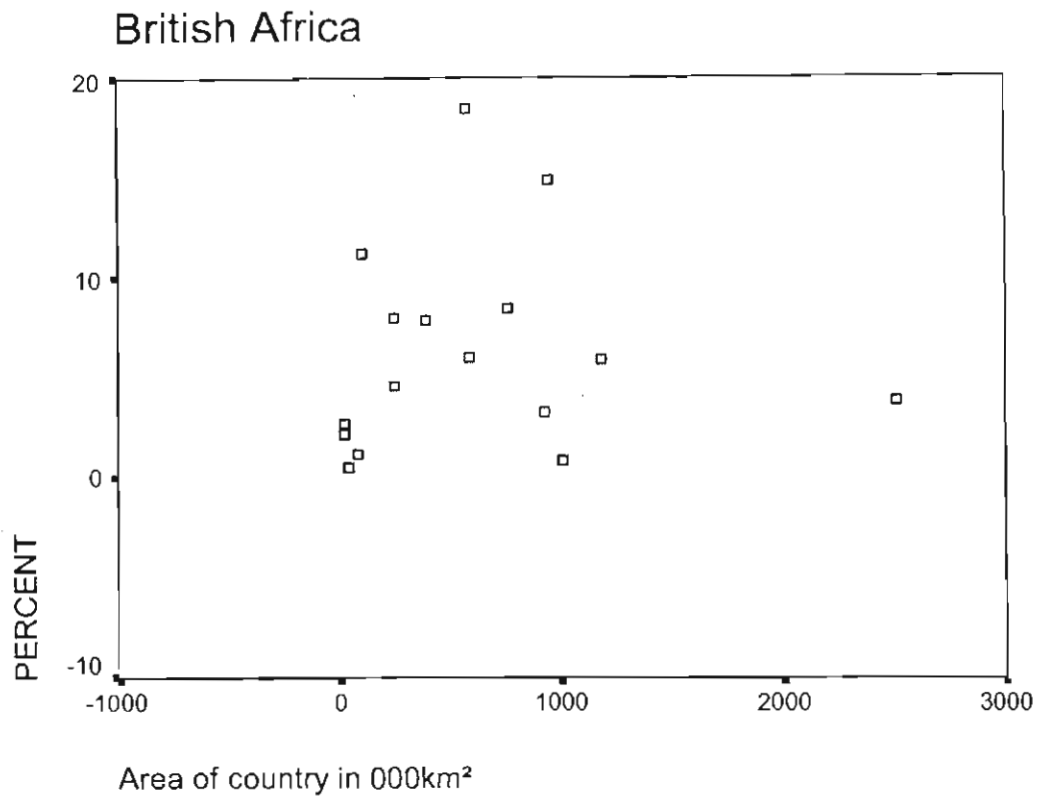


**Figure 1: Current percentage of land in each country designated as protected areas in former British colonies in Africa**

region. In the Cape Colony and in the Orange Free State, wildlife was exterminated before protectionism became official British policy.[72] In the early decades of the 19th century the Orange Free State's grasslands were populated by an abundance of wild animals, but towards the end of the 19th century many wildlife species were on the brink of extinction. Over a large portion of South Africa, in particular the Cape Colony and Orange Free State, the game had therefore been "worked out" too soon and prior to conservation becoming an important government issue.

In the African colonies, as conservation was synonymous with the protection of wildlife, where protected areas were deproclaimed, and failed to become an established component of the political economy, this was almost always as a result of the absence of a sufficient connection to the preservation of large wild mammals.[73] Protected areas that were deproclaimed in South Africa include the continent's first game reserve, which was abolished in 1921 after it was discovered that it contained

[71] Helge Kjekshus, *Ecology Control and Economic Development in East African History* (London: 1996), p. 176; Thomas Pakenham, *The Scramble for Africa* (Johannesburg: 1992), p. 200-217, 283-285, 671-673.
[72] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 32-44.
[73] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 234.

very little game.[74] Other game reserves that were also deproclaimed [year of deproclamation in parentheses] include the Rustenburg Game Reserve (1914) afteran "official found the ranger had shot all the game";[75] the Namaqua Game Reserve (1919) as "there were only 50 gemsbok left and poaching was rife";[76] the Gordonia Game Reserve (1928) where a traveller in 1917 recalled "we have moved over a gameless game reserve";[77] and the Dongola Wild Life Sanctuary (1948) "the first national park in southern Africa to have had landscape, archaeology and botany (not wildlife) as its core protectionist focus."[78]

These initial setbacks are not so much evidence of the failure of colonial conservation but are rather evidence of "the compromised, even contradictory, impulses of the early conservation movement... reflected in a mottled record of gains and losses in the face of a still-dominant developmental ethic."[79]

## 4.4 Conservation History of Lesotho

Lesotho is a mountainous country, which encompasses the highest mountain peaks in southern Africa. An erosion-resistant outpouring of basalt has given rise to the Drakensberg and Maloti mountain ranges, and more than 80 percent of the country lies above 1800 metres above sea level.[80] In the mid-19th century the Basotho people under the leadership of King Moshoeshoe, sought protection from Britain against advancing parties of Voortekkers in the Orange Free State. Moshoeshoe's policy of offering sanctuary to refugees from Zulu and Voortrekker imperialism, helped increase the Basotho nation to around 40 000 persons in 1842, and to 150 000 at the time of his death in 1870.[81] For 13 years the territory of Basutoland was administered by the Cape Colony, but from 1884 onwards it was administered directly by the British government, even though politicians in South Africa hoped to incorporate it into the Union of South Africa.[82]

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[74] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 58; Stevenson-Hamilton, *South African Eden - The Kruger National Park 1902-1946*, p. 102..
[75] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 82; Carruthers, *The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History*, p. 48, 49.
[76] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 70.
[77] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 74.
[78] Carruthers, "Nationhood and national parks: comparative examples from the post-imperial experience," p. 130.
[79] Koppes, "Efficiency, Equity, Esthetics: Shifting Themes in American Conservation," p. 231.
[80] www.geographyiq.com/countries/lt/Lesotho_economy.htm
[81] www.worldinformation.com/World/africa/Lesotho
[82] Hodgson and Ballinger, *Indirect Rule In Southern Africa*: Basutoland, p. 3.

One of the first Europeans to settle in Moshoeshoe's kingdom was the French missionary, Eugene Casalis. In an account of his 1833 journey, Casalis wrote:

> "I found the borders of the Caledon infested with lions, and one of my best draught oxen was carried off by them. As we slowly proceeded, I was never weary of admiring the gambols and evolutions of the antelopes, with which the country abounded."[83]

Casalis was a keen observer of both anthropology and natural history and his record offers valuable insights into Basotho culture of the mid-19th century. From his account, it is clear that wildlife was both abundant and varied and that, as in Medieval England, the hunt held a special significance for Basotho royalty, and at times held a symbolism beyond the actual killing of wild animals.[84] But unlike Medieval England, amongst the Basotho ownership of wild animals was not reserved for the king:

> "The Basutos convey to the tribes of Natal otter-skins, panther-skins (leopard), ostrich-feathers, and wings of cranes- objects destined to serve as ornaments to the Zulu warriors. They receive in exchange cattle, hoes, blades of assagais, necklaces and copper rings. The Bechuanas of the north apply themselves particularly to the preparation of furs....The tribes living nearest the tropics seek to enrich themselves by the sale of ivory and ostrich-feathers; but they find serious obstacles in the monopoly practised by the chiefs, and the prodigious activity of hunters from the colony. It is with white men that the natives transact the most profitable business. In this respect the Basutos are particularly favoured by the fertility of their country. Their corn finds a ready sale at all the markets; and if the means of transporting it can be facilitated, it will become an important branch of commerce.
>
> At the present day the chiefs of South Africa still find, in their frequent excursions against the deer, an element of power which they are careful not to neglect. The days on which they set out are welcomed with enthusiasm by the less affluent part of the population... In times of great drought, the Bechuanas ask with anxiety when their sovereign is going to hunt, not having

[83] Eugene Casalis, *The Basutos* (Morija: 1861), p. 31.
[84] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism*, p. 55-84.

the slightest doubt that Nature, attentive to the signal, will resume her ordinary course.

These expeditions are generally preceded by ceremonies intended to ensure their success. The diviners must declare if the moment is propitious, and in what direction the game will be found in the greatest abundance."[85]

Casalis describes Basotho hunting methods as consisting of lines of beaters who would encircle a great number of game animals such as black wildebeest, quagga (a subspecies of plains zebra) and springbok. As the circle tightens, the men herd the game in the direction where the chief is located and the slaughter commences. The common practice amongst the Basotho was "for each one to appropriate to himself the game he has killed, but they do homage to the chief with the first victim; a quarter of each also belongs to him." [86]

From Casalis' account it is clear that the introduction of horses was already allowing Basotho hunters to harvest game in much greater numbers:

"These great occasions are not frequent enough to satisfy all the lovers of game. Private parties are arranged almost every day, which require more patience and skill. Those of the natives who have been able to procure horses and carts have conveniences for hunting, which were unknown to their fathers. They station themselves in those quarters where the game is most abundant; during the day they pursue the elks (eland) and gnus (black wildebeest); and at night, they watch near the pools where the antelope come to quench their thirst." [87]

By 1843 much of the wildlife of the Highveld plains had been eliminated and the hunter, Gordon Cumming, wrote "I was astonished at the number of skeletons and well-bleached skulls with which the plains were covered. Hundreds of skulls of springbok and wildebeest were strewed around."[88]

[85] Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 31.
[86] Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 172.
[87] Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 172.
[88] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 38.

What was referred to as the "greatest hunt in history" was arranged on the plains of the neighbouring Orange Free State in 1860 on the occasion of a visit by Prince Alfred, son of Queen Victoria. During the hunt many thousands of wild animals were slaughtered and the prince personally shot 24 head of game. An observer recalled, "most of the sportsmen looked more like butchers than sportsmen from being so covered in blood." [89] As many of the game species of the Highveld plains were migratory and would have responded to fresh pastures and recent rainfall, they would have occurred in the high mountains of present-day Lesotho mostly during summer months when the veld grasses were palatable. Such instances of over-consumption of wildlife by sport hunters and settlers on the open plains of the Orange Free State would therefore have brought about a rapid regional decline in wildlife within a short space of time.[90]

In the Orange Free State and in Lesotho, the combined onslaughts of white hunters and Basotho hunters therefore led to the extermination of most large mammal species before preservation was considered a legitimate government policy in southern Africa. Species such as the black wildebeest, blesbok, springbok, cheetah, hyena and hippo had already disappeared by the 1840s,[91] and wildlife was "worked out" before serious thought was given to its protection. Political boundaries were still fluid and for hunters the absence of game in Lesotho would have been compensated for by an abundance of game in the far reaches of present-day Botswana and Zimbabwe.[92] In the minds of the settlers, the frontier had not yet closed and hunters even ventured as far north as East Africa.[93]

Resulting from hunting pressure in the 19th century, a total of 19 mammal species are now extinct in Lesotho, of which "14 species of large mammals had become extinct by 1900, and in the present century at least 5 further species have been lost, and 9 others, if surviving, have but a precarious existence."[94] Of the species listed in the South African Red Data Book, "more than a third of the mammals on the list are

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[89] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 39.
[90] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 90, 9; Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 38.
[91] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers*, p. 38.
[92] David Ambrose, Sumitra Talukdar and Emmanuel Pomela (ed), *Biological Diversity in Lesotho* (Maseru:2000), p. 40, 41.
[93] MacKenzie, *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation and British Imperialism.*, p. 107-110, 213.
[94] David Ambrose, Sumitra Talukdar and Emmanuel Pomela (ed), National Strategy on Lesotho's *Biological Diversity: Conservation and Sustainable Use* (Maseru:2000), p. 6.

already extinct in Lesotho."[95] The present scarcity of wildlife in Lesotho is supported by two recent publications. A comprehensive bibliography of research undertaken in the country, which was published in 1996, lists only 7 papers referring to the mammals, birds, reptiles and fishes of Lesotho.[96] And a mammal survey of the mountainous catchment of Mohale Dam in 2003 recorded grey rhebuck and mountain reedbuck on only five occasions, but no other large mammals were observed.[97]

Previously, by means of Proclamation 23 of 1907, the British administrators had declared a closed hunting season from September to February and required non-citizens to obtain a hunting license. The proclamation listed a number of game species, which have since become extinct in the country, or are now only occasional migrants, and these include klipspringer, reedbuck, eland and red hartebeest. Eland and hartebeest became extinct in Lesotho in 1910. As in many African colonies, legislation without a extensive system of protected areas was unable to halt the decline of wildlife and resulted in "more laws, less game."[98] Under Proclamation 33 of 1951 several species of birds were included under the category "Royal Game," while guinea fowl, francolin, ducks, geese and hares are listed under the category "Game," which is indicative of the rapid disappearance of large mammals from the country.[99]

At independence in 1966 Lesotho had no protected areas. Proclamation 33 of 1951 had made it possible to establish wildlife sanctuaries, and was the statute used to establish the country's first protected area in 1970. Encompassing 6475 hectares in south-eastern Lesotho, Sehlabathebe is situated in an inaccessible corner of the country and the "park receives very few visitors because of its remoteness, poor accessibility, and limited numbers and variety of larger game animals." [100] The declaration of the wildlife sanctuary in 1970 was "not done in full consultation with the relevant stakeholders," and "local communities do not directly benefit from the revenues generated from this area."[101] Although Sehlabathebe was stocked with a number of wild animals received from South African National Parks, it cannot

[95] Ambrose *et. al,. Biological Diversity in Lesotho,* p. 40.
[96] Deborah Johnston, *Lesotho* (Oxford:1996), p. 11, 12.
[97] *Terrestrial Fauna (Mammals, Reptiles and Amphibians.) Progress Report 2.* (Roma: 2003), p. 10, 11.
[98] Pringle, *The Conservationists and the Killers,* p. 43.
[99] Ambrose *et. al,. Biological Diversity in Lesotho,* p. 105.
[100] Ambrose *et. al,. Biological Diversity in Lesotho,* p. 79.

compete against the larger national parks of the continent. A comprehensive guide to African national parks states "game is not numerous. The Park contains a few black wildebeest, some mountain reedbuck, occasional eland and oribi which leave when the winter snow arrives." [102]

Although the National Parks Act, No 11 of 1975, provided the legislative framework for establishing national parks in Lesotho, it only came into effect in June 1987, and Sehlabathebe was only declared a national park in November 2001.[103] While Lesotho has not been able to establish a comprehensive network of protected areas, other government attempts at conserving natural resources have followed a different route, which is reminiscent of the divide that occurred in the United States of America between the national park advocates and those who supported renewable utilisation of forest resources. In terms of the Range Management and Grazing Control Regulations gazetted in 1980, under the Land Husbandry Act 22 of 1969, a number of attempts were made to better manage natural pastures.[104] These regulations were later amended to include the charging of grazing fees in regulated range management areas, which were intended to discourage large herds of livestock and to generate income at the local level. However, government later abolished these grazing fees. In total, 7 Range Management Areas were established in a number of districts in an attempt to better manage the rangelands and encompass 198 627 hectares, or 6.5% of the country.[105]

In 1993 the Managed Resources Areas Order, No 18, set up the legislative framework for protected areas of the equivalent of IUCN categories V and VI (Appendix 1). Within such an area all grazing, agricultural activity, fishing, hunting, burning of or removal of vegetation was banned unless a person was in possession of a permit issued by a committee. However, this declaration does not "say which Minister is empowered to do this, and the Order is apparently not yet operational."[106]

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[111] Chakela, *State of the Environment in Lesotho 1997*, p. 157.
[102] Nicholas Luard, *The Wildlife Parks of Africa* (London: 1985), p. 218.
[103] Supplement No. 1, Gazette 90 of 2 November, 2001.
[104] Ambrose *et. al,. Biological Diversity in Lesotho*, p. 82, 83; Chakela, *State of the Environment in Lesotho 1997*, p. 158.
[105] Ambrose *et. al,., National Strategy on Lesotho's Biological Diversity: Conservation and Sustainable Use*, p. 15.
[106] Ambrose *et. al,, Biological Diversity in Lesotho*, p. 110.

Two recent World Bank-funded initiatives are seeking to integrate local communities with initiatives to conserve biodiversity, through harnessing latent cultural practices of resource conservation and by developing opportunities for tourism. The current initiative of the Peace Parks Foundation to set aside an 14 750-km² "conservation and development area" in the Maloti and Drakensberg mountains shared by South Africa and Lesotho, is an ambitious project which aims to establish a network of protected areas along the country's eastern border interspersed by development nodes.[107] Nearly 20 years of planning culminated in the signing of the Memorandum of Understanding between the Governments of the Kingdom of Lesotho and South Africa on 11 June 2001.[108] Another project, which aims to conserve the mountain biodiversity of southern Lesotho, is endeavouring to work closely with community structures to achieve its objectives. However, the financial and institutional requirements of these projects suggest that they may not be self-sustainable, and may required long-term subsidy if they are to achieve their objectives.

With the completion of the Lesotho Highlands Water Project in the late 1990s, two *de facto* protected areas were established in the Maloti mountains as partial compensation for land inundated by two large reservoirs, although they have no legal status at present (Figure 2). Bokong Nature Reserve consists of 1970 hectares at an altitude exceeding 3000 metres, while Ts'ehlanyane National Park encompasses 5333 hectares of the watershed of the Hlotse River.[109] Previously, the extensive *Leucosidea* woodlands of Ts'ehlanyane had been specially protected by the local chief, and harvesting of timber was carefully controlled.[110] In Bokong, the local community agreed to alienate land for the nature reserve after lengthy discussions with consultants.[111]

With the establishment of these reserves, the total area under conservation in Lesotho has doubled to 0.45 percent of the country, but is still substantially below the regional average of 10.4 percent. Although proposals for establishing additional protected areas have been made, the communal land ownership system has

[107] Sue Derwent, Roger Porter and Trevor Sandwith, *Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation and Development Programme* (Pietermaritzburg: 2001).
[108] www.peaceparks.org
[109] Ambrose *et. al,. Biological Diversity in Lesotho,* p. 81.
[110] William Bainbridge. (ed) *Conservation Development and Management Plan for Ts'ehlanyane National Park.* (Randburg: 1998).
[111] Bainbridge. (ed) *Conservation Development and Management Plan for Bokong Nature Reserve.* (Randburg: 1998).

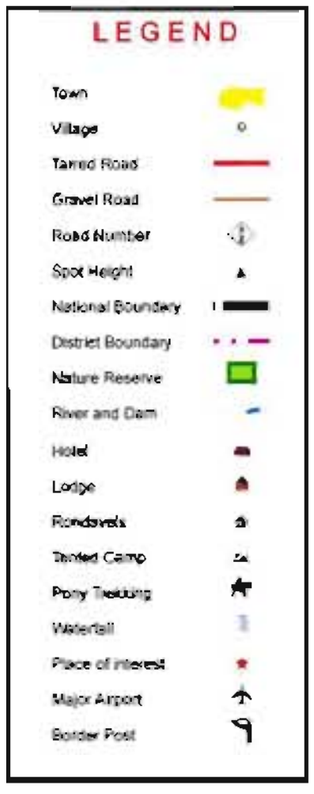
frustrated attempts to set aside land for conservation particularly where no tangible financial benefits are immediately evident. Local communities adjoining both Bokong and Ts'ehlanyane receive a percentage of the tourist revenue generated, but management costs in 2004 amounted to R163 per hectare per annum, while tourist revenue generated R36.15 per hectare, of which adjacent communities receive 10 percent.[112]

Historically, within Basotho society a well developed tradition of totem animals existed which ensured that "no one dares eat the flesh or clothe himself in the skin of the animal, the name of which he bears."[113] Access to natural resources such as grazing land and wood was also controlled by the chief and, in the vicinity of villages, areas of reserved grazing were demarcated which were "mainly for the production and protection of important plants," and where "livestock is allowed to graze in these sites at varying growth stages of the grasses."[114] Given the colonial record elsewhere in Africa it would have been somewhat unusual for the British administrators to incorporate indigenous natural resource preservation customs into colonial legislation and these proclamations failed in their intention.

Although cultural practices were intended to conserve valuable natural resources, increasing human populations and a changing political order have placed stresses on the system. In 1921 the human population of Lesotho was estimated at 498 000[115] compared to the current population of about 2.2 million. There has therefore been a 6-fold increase in human population during the past 80 years. As early as 1931 concerns were expressed that the population had nearly doubled from 256 000 in 1898:

> "This is a serious factor in an undifferentiated society, and it is scarcely surprising to discover that, where 30 years ago the highlands were used only as cattle posts and there were no villages beyond the fringe of the mountains, today the highest and narrowest valleys are cultivated and villages are scattered right up the mountain sides."[116]

[112] Calculated from LHDA Nature Reserves 2004 budget
[113] Casalis, *The Basutos*, p. 211.
[114] Q.K. Chakela, *State of the Environment in Lesotho 1997* (Maseru: 1997), p. 63.
[115] Margaret Hodgson and W.G. Ballinger, *Indirect Rule In Southern Africa: Basutoland* (Lovedale: 1931), p. 6.
[116] Hodgson and Ballinger, *Indirect Rule In Southern Africa*: Basutoland, p. 13.



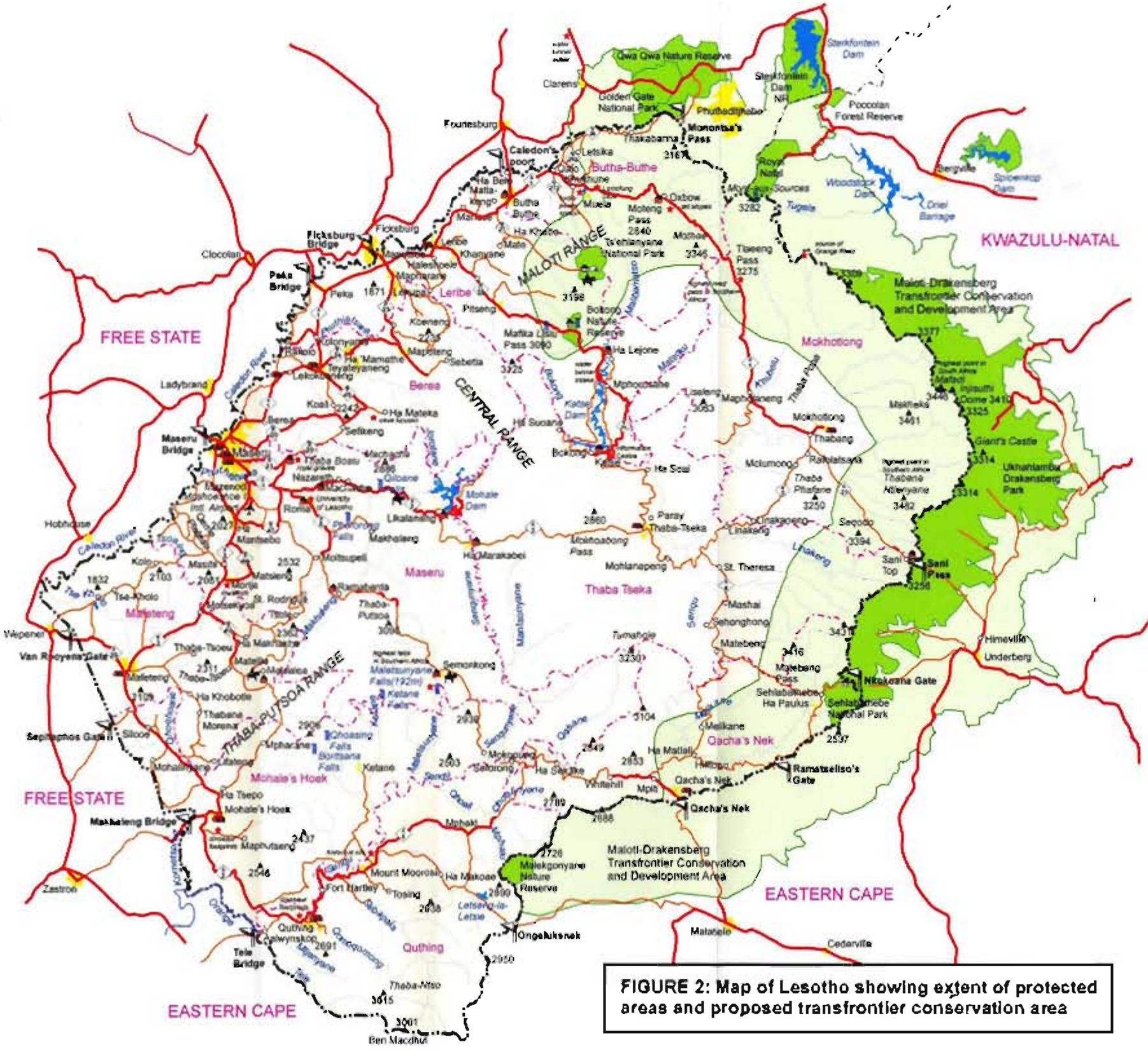




**FIGURE 2: Map of Lesotho showing extent of protected areas and proposed transfrontier conservation area**

A 1975 World Bank report stated, "the number of livestock exceeds the carrying capacity of the land, lack of grazing control has led to a serious deterioration if mountain pastures...The worsening ecological situation in the mountains has led to a movement of people and animals to the lowlands and foothills, adding to the pressure on the land there."[117] The report also cited the communal system of land ownership as a problem area. The current population density in Lesotho of 75 people per km² is twice as high as that of South Africa, while statistics from 2000 place per capita GNP at $570.[118] Of the resident population, 86 percent are engaged in subsistence agriculture and unemployment was estimated at 45 percent in 2000.[119] Rates of urbanisation are still low at 28 percent and nearly half of the population is regarded as being poor.[120] These pressing socio-economic problems continue to plague the country but in a comprehensive public opinion survey published in 2001 environmental concerns are never once mentioned: amongst the respondents, the most pressing national issues are job creation, fighting poverty and road construction.[121]

# 5. RESULTS

## 5.1 Conceptual Framework

The historic events which occurred primarily in the colonies of the Anglo world from the mid-19th century are illustrated in the conceptual framework (Figure 3). The creation of settler colonies throughout the world brought about approaches to land ownership and natural resource utilisation which differed substantially from indigenous value systems. The natural abundance of timber and wildlife initially underpinned settler economies, which were able to use these cheap and seemingly inexhaustible resources to rapidly develop and expand the colonies, but by so doing soon reduced the natural supply and brought about the first, mainly urban, environmental anxieties. The response from colonial administrators was generally biased in favour of sport hunters, and legislative steps were taken to outlaw indigenous and subsistence hunting, which was often wrongly blamed for the rapid

[117] Willem Maane, *Lesotho: A Development Challenge.* (Washington: 1975), p. 38.
[118] *Lesotho Country Strategy Paper: 2002-2004*, African Development Bank (Abidjan:2002)
[119] www.geographyiq.com/countries/lt/Lesotho_economy.htm
[120] *Lesotho Country Strategy Paper: 2002-2004*, African Development Bank (Abidjan:2002)
[121] Stephen Rule and Ntsoaki Mapetla (ed) *Lesotho 2000: Public perceptions and perspectives* (Pretoria: 2001)

disappearance of wildlife. However, these laws for the most part were ignored and wildlife continued to decline. As the colonies were still expanding and the utilisation of natural resources, especially wildlife, was a vital expansionist resource, colonial societies were ambivalent towards the protection of wildlife, and often disagreed with the preservationist efforts of the administrators.

Despite this opposition, protected areas were proclaimed throughout the Anglo world from the 1880s onwards, even in regions such as East Africa where wildlife was still abundant. In a number of colonies of settlement, the later emergence in the 20$^{th}$ century of an affluent, urban class with weak links to nature and the countryside, but with nostalgic and patriotic memories of the role that nature had played in the forging of the nation, made it increasingly popular amongst urban residents to set aside additional protected areas. With the majority of the population residing in cities, the partisan interests of rural inhabitants become less important politically than they had been during the formative years of the colonies. Under such socio-economic conditions, protected areas, in particular national parks, soon represent more than the sum of the ecosystems and species they conserve, and become patriotic and vigorous symbols. The later ascendance of science, and especially ecology, further elevates the importance of conservation, which culminates in the signing of a number of international conventions reflecting ongoing, and mostly urban, environmental anxieties amongst influential sectors.

The conceptual framework describes the historic events which occurred in the colonies of the Anglo world, and especially in the United States of America, Canada, New Zealand, Australia and South Africa. The framework suggests that where certain factors are absent, such as an affluent and urbanised class, then the historic processes may be interrupted. There are a number of countries that were former colonies of Britain, where protected areas are not a major feature of the present political economy.

## 5.2 Interview Results

From the available literature and transcripts of interviews with conservationists (Appendix 2), the conservation history of Lesotho can be summarised as follows:

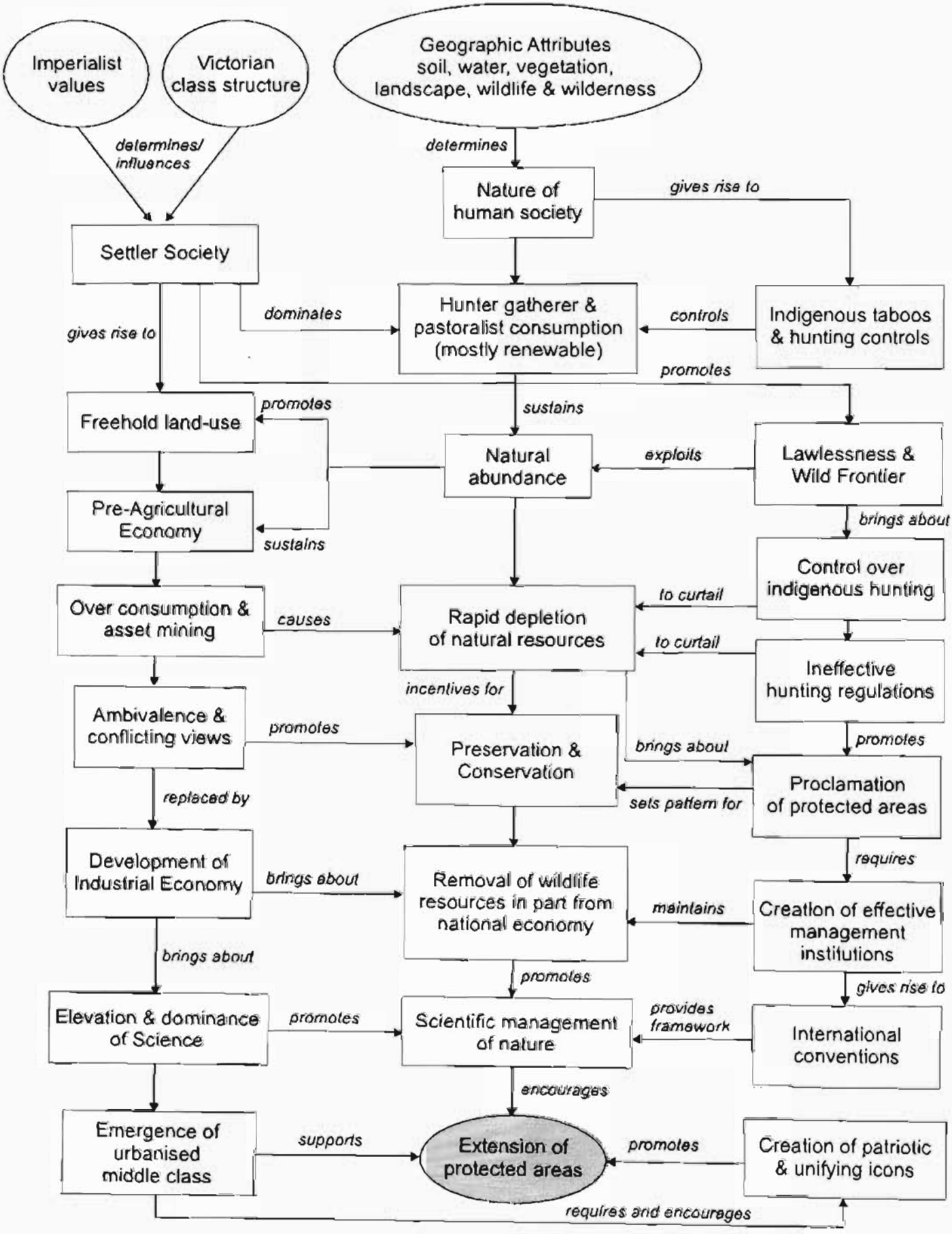



**FIGURE 3: Conceptual Framework**

- There is a long history of indigenous natural resource conservation in Lesotho which incorporates, amongst others, elaborate seasonal grazing and crop production regulations. However, population pressures and the breakdown of traditional political systems have led to the breakdown of these systems.

- British colonial administrators expressed little interest in conservation in Lesotho as many species of wildlife had been exterminated prior to independence. After independence the first attempts were made to establish the country's first protected areas, and to establish environmental capacity in government.

- The communal land system and a dependence on subsistence agriculture have made it difficult to set aside additional protected areas. Involving local communities in conservation is complex, and government attempts at managing natural resources have only been partially successful.

- Government faces many pressing socio-economic problems and environment issues have not been considered a priority. Lesotho has been slow to ratify a number of important international environmental conventions, and it is only during the past decade that efforts have been made to place the environment on the national agenda. The United Nations, the World Bank and international donors assisted these efforts.

- Current World Bank-funded conservation projects are endeavouring to work closely with affected communities in an attempt to co-manage natural resources.

## 6. DISCUSSION

Unlike the colonies of settlement, Lesotho has no urbanised, influential and affluent middle class, with a long cultural association which defines hunting as a noble sport, to support the establishment of protected areas in the country. Basutoland differed from the other colonies of the Anglo world in that its settler population was very small, and the intention of the British administrators was for Basutoland to "remain a Native reserve and that its mode of life was to suffer as little change as was consistent with

the establishment of peace and the maintenance of order."[122] Where British administrators had been influenced by settler pressure groups elsewhere, particularly sport hunting and naturalist societies, Lesotho has an urbanising working class which has no recent cultural recollection of hunting or wildlife preservation. The historical record of the past 150 years suggests that a number of critical factors influenced the proclamation of the first modern protected areas in the Anglo world. British cultural recollections placed an emphasis on the preservation of large "game" mammals, as opposed to an ecosystem approach which was beginning to take root in America.

The majority of wild animals had been exterminated in Lesotho even before the advent of British colonial rule, so for the British administrators there would have been no pressing reasons for establishing protected areas. In the same way as the Pongola Game Reserve was nonviable in an era pre-dating modern wildlife management techniques, so too it would have been somewhat unusual for British administrators to establish protected areas in Lesotho in a century pre-dating the development of game capture techniques.

The historic events already described which gave rise to settler anxieties following the rapid over-utilisation of wildlife and forest resources, have not been evidenced in Lesotho as the country's socio-economic conditions differ markedly from other colonies of the Anglo world.

Although there is international pressure on the country to adhere to a number of environmental treaties, it is difficult to conceive practical alternatives which will result in an extension of the country's protected areas. In a country where land is seen as a communal asset, any attempt to alienate land for conservation becomes a highly contentious issue. It might be possible to establish IUCN Category V, Protected Landscape, in mountainous regions, but establishing these protected areas will require the effective management of livestock and, in many instances, a reduction in stocking rates. Previous attempts to establish Range Management Areas enjoyed mixed results and experienced many unforeseen problems. It is also difficult to conceptualise alternative income streams as many outdoor activities, such as hiking and pony trekking, are aimed primary at the budget tourist and do not generate substantial amounts of money which can be used to compensate communities.

[122] Hodgson and Ballinger, *Indirect Rule In Southern Africa*: Basutoland, p. 7,8.

## 7. CONCLUSION

In the colonies of settlement in North America, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and East Africa, pressure from sport hunting and naturalist societies, and the ruling elite's fascination with hunting, resulted in the proclamation of some of the world's first protected areas. British preservationist policies emphasised the protection of "big game" in contrast to the American interest in the conservation of landscapes and ecosystems. However, British preservationist policies did result in the designation of large tracts of land as protected areas which were eventually consolidated into national parks in many nation states, thus serving the dual purpose of conserving representative samples of ecosystems, and at the same time becoming vigorous and patriotic symbols.

By contrast, during Lesotho's colonial period, with no easily recognisable objects of conservation such as endangered mammals or disappearing forests, there was little incentive for British administrators to set aside any land for protected areas. The absence of colonial land designations, such as "crown land," freehold settler farms and reservations for indigenous people, as was the colonial administration's practice in Kenya, the Rhodesias (Zambia and Zimbabwe), South Africa and Swaziland, would also have complicated efforts to establish protected areas. In other British colonies, large tracts of "crown land" were often set aside as game reserves or national parks, even though they were contested territory

Wildlife had been exterminated in Lesotho and the neighbouring Free State before preservation became official British colonial policy in the late 19$^{th}$ century, and legislation intended to preserve remnant game populations was completely ineffective. With many pressing socio-economic problems and a rapidly increasing human population, post-independence governments did not assign environmental issues a high priority for several decades. The historic factors described in this paper which occurred in other colonies of settlement have therefore not been mirrored in Lesotho because a different set of socio-economic conditions interrupted the process. The country lacks an urbanised, affluent middle-class with a long cultural attachment to hunting and preservation, which acts as a powerful conservation lobby in many nations.

The setting aside of land exclusively for conservation is a contentious issue in any nation, and current projects in southern Africa emphasise the job creation and rural development advantages that can result from an alteration in land-use from livestock farming to conservation. However, given the current socio-economic realities of Lesotho, which include high rates of unemployment, poverty and a shortage of land, it is unlikely that additional protected areas of IUCN categories I to III can be established in the immediate future. As the majority of large mammal species were exterminated in Lesotho during the mid-19$^{th}$ century, and with the limited land area of both existing and potential protected areas, the financial viability of any new protected area is in question, as is its ability to compete against the larger national parks of southern Africa.

In contrast to the developed nations of the Anglo world, where nature-based tourism has become an accepted sector of the economy, the majority of Lesotho's population has few feasible economic alternatives to livestock farming and subsistence agriculture. Under these circumstances, conservation needs to result in tangible economic benefits in the short-term if it is to succeed, an objective which is often very difficult to achieve in practice. A programme of managed natural resource utilisation, which would result in the reduction of livestock herds on communal land and the addition of revenue earned from tourism, is therefore more likely to gain the required community support than any attempts to further alienate land for protected areas.

The traditional Western concept of a national park or equivalent reserve, as represented by IUCN category II, could therefore be considered to be inappropriate for Lesotho. At present protected areas are contributing little to neighbouring communities, and do not provide adequate compensation for the loss of land and access to natural resources. Lesotho's current socio-economic realities therefore demand that conservationists and international donor agencies devise new strategies which will result in an expanded protected area network of appropriate categories, while at the same time delivering tangible economic benefits to communities. If this can be achieved, and this is by no means guaranteed given current socio-economic pressures, then these strategies could constitute a valuable blueprint for other developing nations with a similar set of socio-economic conditions.

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**PERSONAL COMMUNICATION**

Tau Mahlelebe – Biologist, Lesotho Highlands Development Authority.

Teboho Maliehe – Project Manager, Conserving Mountain Biodiversity in Southern Lesotho Project.

Chaba Mokuku – Project Manager, Maloti-Drakesberg Transfrontier Project.

Bore Motsamai – Protected Area Management Specialist, Highlands Natural Resources and Rural Income Enhancement Project.

Taole Tesele – Conservation Planner, Maloti-Drakesberg Transfrontier Project.

## APPENDIX 1: IUCN Protected Area Categories

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| **CATEGORY 1A**<br><br>**Strict Nature Reserve** (protected area managed for science)<br><br>Area of land and/or sea possessing some outstanding or representative ecosystems, geological or physiological features and/or species, available primarily for scientific research and/or environmental monitoring. | **CATEGORY 1B**<br><br>**Wilderness Area** (protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection)<br><br>Large area of unmodified or slightly modified land and/or sea, retaining its natural character and influence, without permanent or significant habitation, which is protected and managed so as to preserve its natural condition. |
| **CATEGORY II**<br><br>**National Park** (protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation)<br><br>Natural area of land and/or sea, designated to protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations, to exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area and to provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities. All of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible. | **CATEGORY III**<br><br>**Natural Monument** (protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features)<br><br>Area containing one, or more, specific natural or natural/cultural feature, which is of outstanding or unique value because of its inherent rarity, representative or aesthetic qualities or cultural significance. |
| **CATEGORY IV**<br><br>**Habitat/Species Management Area** (protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention)<br><br>Area of land and/or sea subject to active intervention for management purposes so as to ensure the maintenance of habitats and/or to meet the requirements of specific species. | **CATEGORY V**<br><br>**Protected Landscape/Seascape** (protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation)<br><br>Area of land, with coast and sea as appropriate, where the interaction of people and nature over time has produced an area of distinct character with significant aesthetic, ecological and/or cultural value, and often with high biological diversity. Safeguarding the integrity of this traditional interaction is vital to the protection, maintenance and evolution of such an area. |
| **CATEGORY VI**<br><br>**Managed Resource Protected Area** (protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems)<br><br>Area containing predominantly unmodified natural systems, managed to ensure long-term protection and maintenance of biological diversity, while providing at the same time a sustainable flow of natural products and services to meet community needs. | **CATEGORY UA**<br><br>**Other Uncategorised Conservation Areas**<br><br>Where a site does not meet the internationally recognised definition of a protected area, application of a management category is not appropriate. This is indicated as category unassigned (UA) in UNEP-WCMC protected area lists. |

**Source:** World Conservation Union
www.iucn.org/ourwork/ppet/programme/wp2004/wp2004/wpc/english/outputs/categories.htm
Accessed 11 January 2005

## APPENDIX 2: Interview Transcripts

| **INTERVIEW WITH TAU MAHLELEBE**<br>Biologist, Lesotho Highlands Development Authority | |
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| Michael Brett (MB) | Can I chat to you just before we talk about the gardens just about the country in general? What I've done is that I've looked at the history of conservation in Africa and Southern Africa, and if you look at Africa it is quite interesting. There is generally throughout Africa... the average percentage set aside for conservation is 5.3. Now if you take out the Sahara and West Africa, which is very, very populated, then Central Africa, Southern Africa and East Africa comes out as 10.4%, which is a very high percentage of land conserved. Now if you look at Lesotho, before the LHDA nature reserves were established the figure was only 0.2%, so Lesotho was about 1/50$^{th}$ you could say, of the Southern African and East African norm. So what I wanted to chat to people about is to ask them questions like: was there a historical and cultural conservation ethic in Basotho culture, and did that disappear with British administrations? With a mountainous country like Lesotho why is there such a low percentage of area conserved? And basically just to try and get an understanding of the history of conservation in Lesotho, and also to talk the potential in the future, what can be done to improve the situation. That kind of thing. |
| Tau Mahlelebe (TM) | You know the way it was in their culture they always had areas set aside in a certain season |
| MB | What sort of areas? |
| TM | In every area or village they would set aside an area which at that time won't be touched by animals and so forth. So it was mainly for grazing so it was reserved for certain times of the year for grazing. |
| MB | It was like a rotational system? |
| TM | A rotational kind of system and also during that time you wouldn't find animals in that area because they knew that in dry periods or during, what you call them, when there is not enough water or grass somewhere they have the reserve somewhere. It was serving as a reserved area. Where they could use the area at a given period. So that's they how managed to work, but as for animals I don't think it was always in their minds to have areas set aside for animals for wild animals. To be there. Their concern has been domestic animals. |
| MB | It is a livestock rotational area. In places like West Africa you had sacred groves where no-one was allowed to chop trees and you also have like these totem animals like you get in Basotho culture like Kwena now historically were people not allowed to hunt these animals? I mean if you were from say the Kwena clan were you not permitted to hunt crocodiles historically? |
| TM | That I'm not quite sure about. I know things that were set aside that you shouldn't be using, mainly wood, you see the *Leucosidea* at Ts'ehlanyane. They had to set that area as a reserved area and something like *Protea* it has always been said to be a plant that should not be harvested by anybody. |
| MB | So in the culture there were plants that were protected, by almost a common belief amongst people? Let's talk about Ts'ehlanyane for a bit. So those *Leucosidea* thickets that are there, were they purposely protected by people in the past? |

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| TM | They were purposely protected by the chief |
| MB | Do you know the name of the chief? |
| TM | Hmmn, you know it falls under the principal chief of Leribe so that was the area in his area that was reserved to preserve the *Leucosidea*. |
| MB | And then was the intention to have a sort of sustained harvest of the *Leucosidea*? |
| TM | Hmmn, I'm not quite sure why they had it preserved like that. In order to sustain the forest or just to have it as a forest, like that. |
| MB | So that *Leucosidea* that you see at Ts'ehlanyane, is it possible that other parts of the country also used to look like that? |
| TM | We still have some other areas which are still like that. |
| MB | Others are cut down because they weren't protected |
| TM | Others were cut down, others were not cut down even though they were not protected like those ones. Because if you go to Quthing there are some areas which have trees of *Leucosidea* which are still standing. |
| MB | So setting aside Ts'ehlanyane as a national park, did that incentive come from LHDA or was the Chief behind it? |
| TM | I think LHDA was building on what was already there, and that area was not open for fuel collection. |
| MB | OK, so it was a situation where there was indigenous conservation for LHDA, so the people in that area don't oppose the park being there? |
| TM | Hmm, even before they had access to the area at one point in time they would during the day go in and collect the dry one, but they would never cut them. The harvest came prominent after the opening of LHWP because they thought that now their wood is going to go so now they have to harvest. |
| MB | So you almost have unsustained usage after the water project carried out? People thought you must quickly take it, grab and run, because it is going to be taken away from us? |
| TM | Yes, grab and run. |
| MB | This is very interesting from a conservation perspective because it is saying that the community saw value in conservation as long as there was some sort of sustained utilisation from it. It almost suggests that in Africa if you have a conservation system where there is no utilisation, then communities will see no benefit in it. At Ts'ehlanyane they were allowed to go in and collect dead wood. Can they still collect dead wood within the Park? |
| TM | I am not quite sure where to find out whether they can still go and in collect some dead wood. |
| MB | They can't graze any more in the park? |
| TM | They can't graze any more in the park, in the past you would see around the park you would see remnants of cattle posts, which meant that there was some sort of multiple use in that particular area even though it was protected. |

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| MB | Let's talk about that the garden and the contribution of the garden say to the conservation of endangered plants, and the contribution to creating environmental awareness in people. |
| TM | Hmmn, the garden as it is, in other words there are some two studies which recommended that there should be a garden, although the implementation of the recommendations was a little bit delayed but then at around 95/96 there was some plant rescue programme which has undertaken, just to save some few plants which were to be inundated and after that that's when LHDA thought they should start a garden. Because during the collection, they collected all the plants and they were put there, and the seeds were sent to the plant genetic centre, and they have various specimen that were taken to NUL for safe keeping, and the live plants had no home so they were kept at the garden in a small nursery type thing. And later on the land was acquired and the concept of establishing a garden started. So the plants were lying there and there wasn't anything to be done about them, that's when the work started on saying now maybe we establish a garden so we can safely keep the plants which were collected in the inundation area. And to add on those then there were people who started collecting the plants which grew all over all over the country, so that we could have all endangered plants which were identified to be endangered and have a collection of all plants which are found in Lesotho. |
| MB | So the rescuing of plots from the Katse reservoir took place without any concept in the beginning that there was going to be a botanical garden? |
| TM | No |
| MB | The concept.... |
| TM | The concept started after that. There were recommendations before even the rescue was done that the garden either be established or maybe bring all the plants to National University where there was a small teaching garden. |
| MB | So initially you might have been moving them all to Roma. |
| TM | University was another option to start a garden. |
| MB | So the garden wasn't ever a fundamental part of the Environmental Action Plan? |
| TM | It was because, I am saying it was, like I'm saying that all the studies which were recommending a garden, and the Environmental Action Plan came as a process after the studies were done, so which means that component was built in. But to have a concept to say that this is a garden. It just came. |
| MB | The plants that were rescued were they only special endangered plants or did they try to rescue a range of things? |
| TM | No, they tried to rescue a range of things, and some were even grasses. |
| MB | So basically you were setting up a representative sample of vegetation of the Highlands within the garden? |
| TM | That's what the garden is doing. It is trying to get a representative sample of all the ecological zones which are in Lesotho and to have them represented there. |
| MB | So the garden is going to be zoned almost, the eventual plan will zone the garden? |

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| TM | It will be to demonstrate what each zone is containing |
| MB | Obviously it will mainly be Highland zones because you won't be able really to have Lowland vegetation |
| TM | We have tried the lowland vegetation, I think it is doing well, except the vegetation which is coming from the drier lowlands in the Senqu. That is the one that is having a hard time. Too much rain and too much cold. That one will have to be done in a protected environment. |
| MB | What's the contribution of the garden to conservation, if you look at something like the spiral aloe which is on CITES Appendix I. I mean<br>you are propagating spiral aloes very easy it seems. What is the contribution of the garden say to conservation, and specifically to endangered species conservation? |
| TM | I think right now what the garden is focusing on, is we have looked at the plants which are listed under the Red Data, and our focus each year is that we should identify one plant that we can contribute to its conservation in the world. |
| MB | And then what process are you going to follow? |
| TM | The process that we are going to follow is maybe collect some plants and some seeds from those particular. We have to go out to look for the plant which is threatened and then try to get seed for plants and then propagate it in the garden, once we say we have enough seedlings and maybe we have to start a programme to introduce that plant to the wild, because that's how the conservation of threatened plants is undertaken. |
| MB | Are you going to introduce these plants to protected environments or just anywhere in the wild? |
| TM | What I think is going to happen I think we have to talk to the communities around those areas, and try to tell them that the plant is threatened and in order for safe keeping that we are going to work with them to reintroduce that plant and see whether it could not be protected in that area. |
| MB | Will the intention be that communities will derive an income from the particular plant, or will just see it as a valuable thing to protect? |
| TM | I think what we will have to do is combine conservation and sustainable use for the particular plant, because usually you always see plants as things that are God-given, but lately I think that's where we derive our food and clothing, so we have derived a lot of things from the plant. So what has to be done is to empower those communities so that they know exactly what the plant is all about, and they can relate to the plant and they can generate some income. In order for that plant to be sustained in that particular area the best means is that people should see the value coming out of the plant. |
| MB | Is there any evidence that the muti trade has wiped out many plants? |
| TM | Mmmn, not quite but for those that most people know I think they are getting wiped out because they harvested in bulk. |
| MB | So you are looking at? |
| TM | What the garden is looking at is to empower those people to try to look for those |

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| | plants that people are after, those which are sought after, that we propagate them in the communities where these plants are and maybe can benefit from selling them |
| MB | Now a good example would be that a village would sell spiral aloes and then they would keep the proceeds. So one can almost have a successful programme where people see very tangible benefits from conserving natural resources? |
| TM | I think that's the only way because if you say a plant is threatened and you say don't touch it, they will not see the use of protecting the plant, but if you say this plant is threatened but the only way to save its extinction is by propagating it and try to sell some of the plants and protect some in the wild, you can protect the wild specimens and populations and then try to propagate them, the seedlings from seed so that you can reap some profits from the plant. |
| MB | Let's just talk a bit about conservation in general now. Lesotho is a very mountainous country with some rugged lightly populated areas. But until these LHDA reserves were established in the mid-90s you only had Sehlabathebe National Park, which I think was established in 1970. Do you have any explanation for why Lesotho would have so few protected areas? If you think of Botswana for example where 18% of the country is protected areas, Lesotho almost comes out as a bit of an exception, especially in the Southern African context. Are there any reasons why this is the case? |
| TM | Initially when you talked about parks you talked about with animals, so since there were no large animals in Lesotho, that's why people didn't see the need for them. Even in Sehlabathebe there are a few animals which are coming from the other side, and that movement between that area and the adjacent.... |
| MB | Also they released some animals into Sehlabathebe like blesbok and black wildebeest. |
| TM | Black wildebeest, they were taken there but I don't think that they did survive. |
| MB | I think the blesbok did. |
| TM | The blesbok did but the black wildebeest didn't. |
| MB | So there has always been this association that says conservation means large mammals and at the time when conservation became popular, Lesotho had already lost most of its wild animals because the hunters of the 1840s, following the establishment of the Free State Republic, shot out most of the large mammals of this area. |
| TM | Because even now you can always see that baboons are always hunted out, and then even the birds of prey, they are always hunted out |
| MB | Is it by the local people? |
| TM | Yes, by the locals. |
| MB | So there is no sense of conserving? |
| TM | No sense of conserving those animals. |
| MB | This is interesting because it seems like the people had quite a definite conservation ethics in the past when it came to rotational grazing but it doesn't seem like there was a conservation ethic towards wild animals. |

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| | People don't eat things like baboons do they? |
| TM | They don't, they have some other things that they relate to, it may be the meat or some parts of the baboon. |
| MB | Was it used as a medicine or? |
| TM | Yes, as a medicine and what else? |
| MB | And things like birds of prey, is there any use for them? |
| TM | Even the birds of prey, some are used for medicines. |
| MB | So is it senseless killing, or is it killing animals that have certain culture values, but the problem now is that there are just too many people? |
| TM | There are too many people right now because they were killed for cultural values mainly. |
| MB | What's your impression of general environment awareness in Lesotho? General environment awareness of the average man in the street? |
| TM | The average man in the street still has to be reached out, I still think it is still inadequate and it has not reached almost everybody. Once it has reached everybody, people will be now relating to the environment around them. Since that is not happening I think that the awareness is inadequate. |
| MB | There was a study done by Sechaba Consultants, a lot of questionnaires they applied to people and environment did not feature at all in people's concerns. They looked at people's concerns and environment wasn't anywhere on the list, it was things like unemployment, poverty, education, that type of thing, but there didn't seem to be any sense of the environment being an issue. In terms of the government, do you think the government has seen environment as important? |
| TM | I think they see it as important, but I think the structures that are put in place are inadequate. |
| MB | Meaning the government departments. You've got this strange thing where conservation seems to be divided between 3 departments. |
| TM | It is divided into almost every, because if you look into each and every department you will find there is some environmental component in it. It is split all over, that's why I am saying the structures that are put in place are not adequate enough to address those issues |
| MB | It is fragmented? |
| TM | Yes, fragmented. |
| MB | Now tell me about the National Environmental Secretariat, that falls under MTEC. Now have they had much success in the past. |
| TM | Mmmmnnnn, I can't say. No, I don't think so. |
| MB | It seems to be mostly the unit that is conscientising people, is that right, it seems to be, they've got that very good library. |
| TM | They have a very good library, I think they should have all those in rural areas |

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| | they could reach out and get the information for themselves, but the library is in Maseru and how many people come to Maseru? Very few. |
| MB | Isn't that perhaps one of the problems with conservation in Lesotho is that there is this sort of concentration of everything in Maseru, whereas the areas where there should be concerns are generally a lot more remote, bad roads, stuck away in the mountains. |
| TM | I think if we look into the obligations since Lesotho has ratified CBD, then each and every department has to come up with the plan and strategies to address the issues in the CBD. So I don't think there are many such departments which are able to develop some strategies to address those issues. |
| MB | Is Lesotho a member of CITES? |
| TM | Lesotho is not a member of CITES. It has signed but not ratified.<br>It has ratified the CBD. |
| MB | So at government level is there a kind of slowness in responding to environmental things? Why do you think it is? |
| TM | I think it is because the environment unit, I think it started very late, to set up the unit and say this one is going to deal with the environment, like the NES. |
| MB | This is interesting because there seems to be quite a lot of historic evidence to suggest that the countries who got into conservation first are the ones who today have the better records. And it seems like if one got into conservation several decades later it is very hard to catch up.<br>There seem to be some historic evidences that's suggests that, so in the case of Lesotho there is still a big backlog? |
| TM | There is still a big backlog. |
| MB | So what are other major conservation conventions in the world. I mean there's, what's the one that came out of Rome, what's was that thing called again? Not Rome, I'm thinking of Rio.<br><br>Now with CITES, is Lesotho going to be ratifying CITES? |
| TM | I'm not sure at what stage they are now, so that's why I can't say. I do not know whether they are going to ratify it, but they have to come up, they have to do it, they have to conserve whatever they can. |
| MB | What's happened here? |
| TM | We are looking at the international conventions and what I picked up here were those which are related to the botanical garden. The first one I think is the CBD, the second one is the one on the Convention in International Trade in Endangered Species on wild fauna and flora (CITES) and we have a convention to combat desertification, and we have the convention concerning the protecting of the world cultural and natural heritage, and then you have the convention on wetlands (RAMSAR) and we have agenda 21. And then you have the Global Plan of Action for Conservation and Sustainable Utilisation of Plant Resources. |
| MB | Did they come out of the summit in Johannesburg last year? |
| TM | This one? |

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| MB | Yes |
| TM | No, it has been there. I do not know what came out of the summit last year. |
| MB | Now how many of those has Lesotho ratified? |
| TM | Ah, right now I think it is working on the RAMSAR one, the ones I know it has ratified are to combat desertification and the CBD. |
| MB | So RAMSAR and CITES still have to be ratified? |
| TM | RAMSAR and CITES still have to be ratified. |
| MB | Well thank you, I think that's great. Let's stop there. |

**INTERVIEW WITH CHABA MOKUKU**
Project Manager, Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Project

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| MB | If you look at the historic record, one of the fascinating things that emerges is that conservation began primarily in British colonies around about the 1880s, and those colonies all have very close links, so what historical records suggests is that having links between countries actually promotes conservation, and that the transfrontier as the modern equivalent is almost revisiting those early links of 100 years ago. So that's why I wanted to chat to you to get to the transfrontier prospective because it seems from the literature that there is a very strong possibility of furthering conservation particularly by having links with countries. So I wanted to chat to you about the transfrontier park and conservation in Lesotho in general. |
| TM | Well without going much into history, because my history is not very good, but I can say common sense actually tells us that political boundaries that we have are called artificial boundaries in terms of ecosystem boundaries and etc. So perhaps one can safely say, yes, the emphasis by the colonial administration, that there has to be links between countries, they were aware that political boundaries are actually defeating the purpose of actually conserving nature, and that it doesn't only affect nature conservation, but it also can affect peace between countries, adversely, and as boundaries in addition can actually separate tribal groups, for instance, people who are related are separated. And that's the case in many countries you will find that in Lesotho there are Basotho and in the Orange Free State there are families which are related, and by actually removing those artificial boundaries you are promoting peace. I think that is why we call them peace parks, all those parks are now peace parks, you are promoting economical co-operation, you are promoting nature conservation because you have compatible management plans for several ecosystems such in the case of the Maloti-Drakensberg project where we are actually saying "look lets join hands with South Africans to ensure that we jointly manage the mountain ecosystem that we have." We are recognising the importance of the mountain ecosystem, the World Bank funded this project because the mountains are centres of those attributes, they are sources of fresh water etc. But now for us to be able to manage the system together it means that we have to join hands and in so doing promote economic development, promote...I think basically this is the rationale behind cooperation between countries, particularly within SADCA, where you see countries signing agreements and Memorandum of Understanding, and ultimately treaties to say "look, lets manage this together, lets forget about artificial political boundaries and |

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| | promote economic development."<br><br>The example that I always give is that of fire between Lesotho and South Africa, fire is a big threat to biodiversity. Fires don't stop when they get to the boundary, they cross into another country, and that is one issue we have to deal with, ensuring that fires are well managed. And again one can talk of poaching. Wild animals do not recognise political boundaries, if animals cross from South Africa into Lesotho and they are killed in Lesotho, it means obviously South Africa is affected. So really we need to cooperate, that is my understanding. |
| MB | Now the Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier, it is called transfrontier conservation and development area, the other ones are just called TFCS. Why is it is it because this area is settled with people and has development added on the tail. What's the reasoning behind that? |
| CM | I think we can still call it Maloti-Drakensberg, we can call it a TFCA, because TFCA its much more general it simply says it is a Transfrontier Conservation Area. It can either be a park like Great Limpopo, which is a protected area, but in the case of but in the case of Maloti it is a park which is not necessarily a protected area because we are going to have to zone that area and we are going to identify appropriate land uses. So within that area we are going to have protected areas such as national parks, different IUCN categories, we are going to have areas also where different communities are going to graze their livestock, grazing associations are going to be established where we will have Range Management Areas, there will be tourism areas where there are tourism attractions. So our area is slightly different because here we are saying if you compare to Great Limpopo, Great Limpopo is a national park, it's a park, but this one is an area with different developments that promote conservation and community development. So in a nutshell what we are going to try and do here is to say "right, let's have a land-use plan, which promotes conservation, but at the same time promotes community development." Without damaging the environment but ensuring that there is community upliftment. |
| MB | So how many new protected areas will you be establishing, is it going to be a number of protected areas? |
| CM | Hopefully, we intend also to undertake biodiversity assessments, there is component, Component two of the project will focus on conservation planning, and this will involve undertaking biodiversity assessments with the aim of identifying biodiversity rich areas, or areas with features that actually can be protected. So actually that's the first stage to say what do we have, because that information is important to guide you to be able to identify new areas to be protected. So that is a critical step that we need to take. |
| MB | That's going to involve some curtailment of the activities of the local people. How are you going to sell that to them? |
| CM | The assessments that we are going to undertake are going to be participatory assessments, participatory in the sense that we are going to involve communities from the start. We are not simply just going to move in and start saying "let's assess," we are going to raise awareness and say guys "this is the worth of your area," etc. and involve them in the actual assessment. Let me give you an example of what we did last week, in fact the beginning of this week. Our ecologist undertook a reconnaissance survey with local communities to look at the areas in Mokhotlong and Mokhotlong district, they spent about three days up in the mountains, sleeping in caves. They actually undertook a reconnaissance survey where they were actually identifying areas that are degraded and may have to be protected and allowed to recover. So we are gradually moving into |

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| | communities making them aware and appreciative so that when we start our work we are at the same level of understanding, you know, also we are going to incorporate their traditional knowledge, or local knowledge, in terms of what exists, what attractions exist, what are the unique areas, so that they become part of the process. We are really not just going to move in and start saying this can be used for this particular development, we have to agree with the communities and in the process we will be making them aware of the value of tourism, and how tourism or ecotourism, may actually contribute towards poverty alleviation. And of course the idea is to try and diversify the means of survival, mainly they are depending on agriculture, obviously agriculture is failing, we have problems, drought this year, the rains came late. So the message we are trying to send to them is look you have to have diverse means of survival otherwise if you depend on one source, which is agriculture, then you may face problems. Ecotourism is known to create employment and I think it is one of the top, it is one sector which can create employment more than any other. Correct me, because you know more about tourism |
| MB | Will you use remote sensing images from satellite images together with the community knowledge to select biodiversity hot spots? |
| CM | Definitely |
| MB | This is like, this is a crucial valley or whatever? |
| CM | Mike you are correct, remote sensing is one technique, you know this flying all this technology that you can use and show them, they can see these areas from different angles, and you are right cause we are going to try and ensure that we incorporate local knowledge into the scientific knowledge. Because there is useful local knowledge and if we incorporate this in the decision making then that will make people understand, and of course we do appreciate that people know that area better than we do. If we are to take an inventory without consulting local communities, say rock art sites, already people know where rock art sites are, and simply by talking to them they will show you where it goes. So that's why we need to interact with them and gather as much information as possible, and also the knowledge of biodiversity rich areas. I am sure they do have that knowledge. At Khubelu they were telling us that they have hot springs etc. and there are many, many areas with lots of interesting things.<br><br>Community participation is very important, even though I think this is a new area. We are trying to incorporate traditional knowledge into scientific knowledge, is not going to be easy, but I am sure we can try something to ensure that we promote useful traditional knowledge to ensure that conservation is promoted. Even in terms of conservation strategy, there are approaches that were used by the local communities to conserve biodiversity and these have begun to disappear for many reasons. Because of political changes, structures etc, so we will try and promote those practices that used to promote and encourage conservation. |
| MB | What kinds of places were those? |
| CM | For instance you have village grazing schemes, rotational kind of grazing, where people did not even have to fence those areas. Simply they will just put a heap of stones and everybody knew because there was community cohesion, and everything was done with community approval. They will just put a heap of stones indicating that the area should be protected, should be rested, and people won't graze there until the following season or two seasons. Now, those are the sort of practices we need. It is very important that when it comes to creating new structures, might create conflicts, it is very easy to set up your own structure, which may damage community fabric that may exist within the communities. |

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| MB | Now if you look at the communities who had these rotational ways of conserving pastures, was there any conservation ethic, say in the past, in terms of the conservation of wild animals, that sort of thing? You know like the totem animals like Kwena and all that, was there any sort of...<br>In parts of Africa you had some kind of hunting seasons that were enforced by the king. Was there anything like that in Lesotho? |
| CM | In Lesotho, yes. There used to be those controls, and throughout Africa there were those controls. Totems are here, for instance I belong to the Rabbit clan (Bafokeng), those totems. And also there is a report which you will get, I'll give you a copy, it's a report for LHDA which had a very strong component of social monitoring, we are actually looking at those practices that people had. If one meets a hamerkop you are going to be strike by lightning, when you look at those you could see that there was a very strong conservation ethic, a very strong conservation ethic. |
| MB | There was conservation of certain species, wasn't it? It wasn't conservation of the whole nature, it was kind of highlighted or select conservation? |
| CM | Not necessary, because if you look at the number of species that had all those myths, there are many, meaning that the impression that one gets is that really that kind of promoted conservation. Trees I remember, if you burn a particular species of trees, I remember there is this, is it called Tri something, it is called in Sesotho... |
| MB | Trimeria? |
| CM | No. I forget my Botany, it is disappearing. Let me just check, there is a Botany book that will help me. |
| MB | Do you have the Sesotho name? |
| CM | Sesotho name for the tree is called "Mongkhoane." It is one species which is not supposed to be used as firewood, because if you burn it you are going to be struck by lightning or it actually attracts lightning. And also there is another one which if you burn it, you are actually attracting drought, there will be crop failure, so don't burn them. If you look at this species they are very interesting species because once you destroy them they don't recover easily. |
| MB | Do they grow in mountains? |
| CM | Yes, they grow in mountains, some you find in gorges. So I think all these myths, the only rationale behind these was conservation, to say "look, don't exploit it. Or don't use it, conserve it." |
| MB | Following on from that point, one of the things that perplexes me about Lesotho, if you look at the terrain it is very rugged or mountainous. The first protected area in the Drakensberg was set aside in 1903, but if you look at Sehlabathebe it was only set aside in 1970 and only became a national park in 2001. If you look at the percentage of Lesotho that's protected, then it is only 0.45%. Now what perplexes me is why, Lesotho looks to me like a country that is quite suitable for conservation, these high, rugged, beautiful, majestic mountains. What explanation would you give for this low percentage of conservation? |
| CM | This is interesting. It is only now, this is my opinion, it is only now that we are focusing on development in this country. When I say it is only now, we only got our freedom recently. We had a dictatorship government for over twenty years in |

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| | this country followed by a military government, and we didn't have time to think of, and that is in my opinion what made us not to focus on constructive things like conservation. Also one would say it's never too late, this is an appropriate time for us to work towards ensuring that we use whatever is remaining in a sustainable manner. And also to try and ensure that areas are conserved because this is the time when there is a shift as regards to those to twenty years ago. Now we are going into conservation at a time when the approach is slightly different, because we are saying "look, let's not only talk about conservation, link it with poverty alleviation." So, really I can say Lesotho is fortunate in a way because our approach to conservation might be slightly different from conservation in areas where, you know like Kenya, and other parts of Africa where conservation started as something that excludes people, and having to try and reverse that might not be very easy you see? |
| MB | So you saying the type of regime in the past was one that did not focus on a multi-disciplinary approach? |
| CM | Absolutely. |
| MB | It was military or it was a dictatorship? Is it Leabua Jonathan that you are talking about before the military? |
| CM | Yes, actually it was Leabua Jonathan, followed by the military, which was a one-party state and then followed by the military, which was ruling with orders etc. So it was only after that, after the military, with democratisation of the whole country that we started focusing on development issues, key issues, and also internationally linking up with other countries. |
| MB | I will give you my quick thoughts on why conservation didn't take place here. Historically conservation in Africa was able mammals. The first protected area in the Drakensberg in 1903 was to protect eland. And the problem in Lesotho was that most of the game had been shot out by the 1840s by white settlers in the Free State. So from the point of view of the administrators there was nothing to conserve as there was no game, and only in early recent years have we started to see ecosystems as worth conserving. |
| CM | Now, my question would be, were people not aware that the resources, we are talking about the 1800s, oh I see, it focuses on the big game. |
| MB | You see when conservation started in 1880s it was exclusively the protection of game, and in places of the Free State where there was no game, there was no conservation. In the case of the Free State, when compared to Lesotho, you see the first major nature reserve established in 1960 which is similar to Sehlabathebe. |
| CM | I get your point. |
| MB | To come back to the transfrontier area, how are you going to get people to reduce livestock, or don't you need to? |
| CM | That is one point, the carrying capacity of the range land in the highlands have not yet been accurately determined and the figures are conflicting, some people think "yes, there is overstocking," and my feeling is<br>that, yes, the rangelands are not overstocked, the main problem that we are facing is poor range management. I don't think there are so many animals, the problem is movement of livestock concentrating in one area causing a lot of damage, grazing in wetlands, etc. In areas where you have proper management you don't really have to destock, it is just how you divide your pastures etc. So |

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| | that is one intervention we are going to make, in fact Lesotho has quite a lot of experience in establishing Range Management Areas, and South Africa has a lot to learn from our experience in terms of involving communities and ensuring that our conservation .. |
| MB | So those Range Management Areas will be done totally with the local communities? |
| CM | Definitely. And it is part of zoning of course where we will be looking at the areas and say which area could be useful for grazing livestock. We established that as you know, there are areas which I can show you. |
| MB | There are some Range Management Areas already within the area. |
| CM | There is Mokhotlong and Sehlabathebe. I think there are 3 RMAs in within the project area. We do have one here, around Bokong, in Phase 1A, you know that there is 1B? Around Ha Lejone. And the way I see it, livestock, you cannot separate livestock from Basotho. What I think we will end up with is mainly is Range Management Areas. For instance, Phofung, the headwaters, there is one possible protected area. mainly because of the uniqueness of the wetlands there, that area is the source of Khubelu River and Senqu, and near Mont aux Sources. |
| MB | Do you think Lesotho will benefit economically from this project as much as South Africa will? Or will it benefit more? |
| CM | That's a tricky one, what I know is that Lesotho is bound to benefit more and that there is definitely potential |
| MB | If you look at the current protected areas on the Kwazulu-Natal side, the problem is that there's this arc and there is no way of getting back from point A to point B, you have these cul de sacs leading in, you have hiking trails leading along the side, but there is no return route. |
| CM | You mean in Lesotho? |
| MB | In you had on the Lesotho side, a kind of mirror of this green arc here, it will make it possible to visit the entire area, in a kind of circular tourist. At the moment you've got these cul de sacs leading into the mountains, there is no connection between anything and you get down to the bottom here, and there is no logical route to anywhere else.. |
| CM | That's where I think an ecotourism specialist like yourself Mike can advise them. That exactly where we think, but the idea is to improve access, within this area. Preliminary discussions with Ministers specifically is that, yes, there they are interested in constructing roads and upgrading roads, and these project can actually take place parallel to the transfrontier. The World Bank is giving Lesotho money for roads, so what we have to do is liase with Works and identify areas where roads can actually be build. So it means we have an advantage here to try and ensure that we avoid competition with South Africa. We can offer something compatible with what South Africa can offer here, that is why we need guidance in terms of what, which way to take. But my suggestion, I was with some ladies here, the ladies who left here and we had a discussion about tourism. And the suggestion was, are we going to wait for zoning before we can start developments? And we agreed that, no, we should ask developers to put forward a proposal of what they want to do. We can look at these proposals and see whether the proposal is compatible to whatever area, and if we have suggestion we can say why don't we modify this to suit this particular need, and we can put some conditions for some of this developments. Another primary objective of this |

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| | project is community development and poverty alleviation, that whatever the developer is proposing should also contribute to poverty alleviation, so we could have a number of proposals which we could try and see where we locate in that area. How about that? |
| MB | You are not looking at sort of low-income high-density tourism? |
| CM | Not only that, we are looking at diverse segments, we could say here let's have a commercial Sun hotel, and then in other areas we can say perhaps community-based kind of tourism, which is traditional Basotho kind of life, so you can have a diversity of products. |
| MB | You might have a couple of high-density nodes that are linked by this main road, and then lower density higher into the more sensitive areas, the mountain crest as it were. That type of thing, and will this area be jointly marketed? |
| CM | This area will be jointly marketed, as you can see they are already marketing this area. |
| MB | Yes, they are already showing it as existing. I think half the problem in promoting visits to Lesotho at the moment is a lack of information. People actually don't know what is up here. |
| CM | How about a tourism map? That's a very good map because people who are unable to read maps properly will need that big map to see that this is Lesotho. |
| MB | I see from that zoning map that you've going to have a ribbon of protected areas from Golden Gate, they kind of link along the mountains, and they going to all be IUCN category 2, 3 and the rest will be 4, 5 and 6 in different zones |
| CM | In South Africa it is clear, things are clearer, but because of land reform it maybe difficult, but in our case we are going to have by far more categories, clearly they want to link this area, but here we are going to have isolated protected areas, like Mont aux Sources, Sehlabathebe Bokong but there's going to be. |
| MB | Is Mont aux Sources going to go ahead quite soon, and there's the Senqu catchment? |
| CM | I think that's the one that has been identified and already as I said we already communicating with Mokhotlong communities, and we seem to be agreeing in many things, and we are getting support from the government as well. So that particular area I think is one of the areas which is going to be protected soon. |
| MB | I looked at the example of the Northern Cape of the Richtersveld National Park. What happened there is you had a piece of desert, a pretty harsh place, and SANParks came along and made a national park and they pay the community an annual rental. But what happened there is you've taken a piece of communal land and you added an economic value to it, so now you've started competition on the land and there is now more livestock in the park than when it was proclaimed. Now do you think these kinds of problems could occur in the area? |
| CM | What happened, so you are saying that the National Parks was buying land... |
| MB | No, they did not buy it they declared this big park that still belongs to the people but they pay them a rental. So what they did is they injected cash into communal economy and by doing it doing that they've created pressure on the resources because now everybody wants to jump into the act. So there is more livestock |

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| | now in the park than before the park was established because people are now competing for power because you've brought money into a very poor area. Now those kinds of problems, do you think that, what sort of strategy would you have to overcome this if it happened? |
| CM | I get your point. What we are thinking is because we are saying we might cause problems as a result of introducing a monetary economy. |
| MB | Or even the fact that you're introducing aspirations, or expectations, people start expecting all sorts of things which often take a long time to deliver. That in itself can be a difficult process to manage |
| CM | That is why we need not rush into making decisions in terms of what interventions to make, that is why even though we have a project document is just simply guiding document, appraisal document, it doesn't exactly spell out how we are going to. We are looking at the outcomes that is biodiversity must be conserved, people must be employed. So the how part of it is crucial, how be go about it, because if we do without ensuring that people understand and become part of it. Because as we said, National Parks came with a solution without looking at the holistic implication of whatever intervention they are making. I think we should take our time, I'd rather waste a little time ensuring that communities are on board, and that whatever intervention that we make are going to be beneficial to the communities and achieve the projects objectives, than rush to show that something is happening. I think that is dangerous, you would rather be criticized for moving too slowly, if you have a reason for moving slowly, if people are not yet on board. These guys who came from Mokhotlong told me that "hey, people are already beginning to sell their livestock because they were told that the entire area was going to be fenced, and that the area was going to be taken away from them." These misconceptions. So you see we still have a lot of work to do up there even though we have convinced people in Mokhotlong area and Qacha's Nek, but around those areas there's still have to be a lot of work. |
| MB | How much time have you got? |
| CM | We have about four years to go |
| MB | You have US$7 million? |
| CM | You are right $7.9 million, $7.9 million for Lesotho, and then for South Africa its about $7.9, about M55 million. |
| MB | So you've got budget and time on your side? |
| CM | Yeah we got budget and time on our side, but the way I see our role here Mike is we are not implementers we are facilitators. As I mentioned in the case of eco-tourism we are going to try and forge partnerships between private sector and local communities etc, and to try and raise awareness so that people can come and invest in this areas. And as far as conservation is concerned we are going to work two government ministries ensure that there is capacity building within government ministries so that they can actually undertake. I mean we have range management unit, and they are already engaged with RMAs but they need capacity building with skills etc. So we will be working through existing government departments, and we are already doing that, we are already consulting them to ensure that wherever there are gaps we fill the gaps, so that when the project ends things will continue through existing structures. With conservation we are going to identify or establish a draught law, which is a conservation law, which we will facilitate the establishment on the conservation urgency. We are going to build capacity within the various departments that deal |

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| | with conservation to ensure that things are maintained in these departments even after the project. So I think we shouldn't see ourselves as implementers but should see ourselves as facilitators cause we already have clear roles there, and our responsibility is to build capacity and ensure that these guys do their job properly. I think that's it. |
| MB | Would the transfrontier team in particular, would it not be the basis for an institution to take over the role of conservation measure to Lesotho, because there isn't capacity in the department at the moment. Apart from the 40 employees at LHDA nature reserves there isn't much of a staff component. |
| CM | So your proposal is best. This is interesting because this is another scenario. The expectation is that before the end of the project we should have an exit strategy: how are things going to continue happening even when we are out? One exit strategy would be for us to stay here, forever, or longer, for this office to remain here. We have a conservation unit a transfrontier unit which can continue conservation unit, and also an ecotourism unit which should be linking up with tourism cooperation and the Department of Tourism. |
| MB | Most conservation units have a strong ecotourism component. |
| CM | That is true. |
| MB | If you look at KZN Wildlife or SANParks, so it is not an unusual arrangement, because you need the experience in countries like Kenya so you need to be pretty autonomous, you need to be linked to government but you need to be a very autonomous unit that can manage protected areas, because government structures are not often ideal for managing protected areas.. |
| CM | That is one possibility and I think the funding clearly, if we do well in these four years surely GEF won't hesitate and other donor agencies. So that is why I am very, very cautious when it comes to advertising, I don't want somebody who's going to be learning. That is why I think one of the key things I notified is the ecotourism specialist advert must at least have experience of implementing or contributing to at least three projects. |
| MB | That's been very good I think, thanks for your time. |
| | **INTERVIEW WITH BORE MOTSAMAI**<br>Protected Area Management Specialist, Highlands Natural Resources and Rural Income Enhancement Project |
| MB | What I want to talk about is conservation in Lesotho and particularly to get the history of NES from you, and also to talk a little about protected areas, and to find some of the reasons why the percentage is low and what can be possibly some reasons for that? Also to look at potentials in the future for extending conservation, the potential of the transfrontier project for greatly extending the amount of land that is conserved in Lesotho. The first thing really would be to look at like how NES got going, what was the rationale behind it, what was the history. |
| BM | The history goes back many years ago to 1988 when the government of Lesotho, assisted by World Bank, held a development and environment conference. It was one of that there was what we call national environmental action plan that was produced in 1989, following that conference. Within that then there was a |

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| | proposal to establish an office in the highest level in the government for coordinating environmental issues. I mean environmental issue had been dealt with in this but in a scattered manner without. |
| MB | Were they scattered amongst several government departments? |
| BM | Yeah, very many without any single body coordinating |
| MB | There was like a Ministry of Sports, Gender and Environment. |
| BM | No, those are of late. In fact that is why we have Ministry of Agriculture dealing mainly with Natural Resources Management, that's why we have National Parks, even the Act of 1975, National Parks was passed on through by the Ministry of Agriculture. So it's in the wrong place to start with because there was no relevant ministry at the time. Up to now it is still there, well there is new Ministry of Forestry and Land Reclamation, which naturally absorbed the National Parks and therefore the legislation pertaining to that as well. |
| MB | So that Ministry of Forestry and Land Reclamation is going to is it terms of legislation going to be responsible for national parks? |
| BM | For the parks, national parks. |
| MB | Okay. |
| BM | According to the Act. |
| MB | The Act was amended? |
| BM | No, no, no. Whoever is responsible for administering the Act, I don't know how they do that, I don't know how they handle it legally. But I checked on it because the mandate of the new Ministry still deals with national parks, that's why they are still responsible for it, new as they are |
| MB | Then you have the Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Culture, what environment are they looking at? |
| BM | No, no, let me go back, I said NES was established at the highest level of government under the Prime Minister's office following that 1989 recommendations out of that NEAP as it was then called. |
| MB | What is NEAP? |
| BM | National Environmental Action Plan. The World Bank likes to call it NEAP because every country was preparing NEAP at the time. Lesotho was the first country in the developing world to prepare a NEAP, maybe in the African region, the World Bank said it was the first in the whole world. Then things dragged on, you see that was in 89, then there was Rio in '92, things dragged on until one person was able to push it when he got here because he was interested in environment. That was John Kabinde who was in charge of UNDP at about 93/94, in 1994 the new office was established under the office of the Prime Minister. The office was still running provisionally under the Ministry of Planning, one or two people desk officers handling environment in the Ministry of Planning until then a project was developed and funding from UNDP. The project was called National Environment Secretariat, known as NES. That's what helped kickstart it, it was established under the Prime Minister's office because they wanted to give it a cloud because it was going to be coordinating all these other sectors. |

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| MB | The motivation for that, did it come from inside Lesotho or was it imposed by the UN? |
| BM | Motivation for what? |
| MB | For establishing NES under PM's office, was it something that came from the Cabinet itself? |
| BM | That came out of the recommendations out of the conference that was held in 1988 and the recommendations were developed into the NEAP in 1989. |
| MB | And the conference was held in Lesotho? |
| BM | Yes, in Lesotho that was the Lesotho conference. |
| MB | And it was organised by government? |
| BM | By government assisted by World Bank. |
| MB | So World Bank didn't put pressure on the conference, was it something like local desire to stage the thing? |
| BM | Hmmm. That's a difficult one to answer because at the time I wasn't aware of how it developed. It was maybe because of the global drive, because also of Lesotho's position in terms of land degradation. I think there was a feeling that they needed to assist in Lesotho in getting out problems they had in terms of environmental degradation, particularly land. Because I suppose Lesotho could have asked for assistance in all this things, and I remember that it was also during military government, there wasn't democracy at the time.<br><br>Then I became the first head of NES, the three of us who started it off in 1994 assisted by UNDP we had a CTA who came in one year later after we have started. The rest of the budget came from UNDP to get us off the ground once we get things run, we started recruiting UN volunteers then did some work and expanded from there in establishing the institution itself, and started by being in touch with the line ministries and establishing environmental units within line ministries, but then they were not dedicated they had other roles to play, even today they are not fully dedicated members of the environmental unit because they are still doing other jobs. |
| MB | So when you started in 1994 was it a civilian or was it still military? |
| BM | 1994 it was civilian, it was a democratic government because we had the elections in 1993. The new government came into being in April 1993. |
| MB | And NES was still under placed at a high level under the Prime Minister's office even with the change of regime? |
| BM | No, no, no, NES was only established in 1994 after the democratic government came into being. |
| MB | The conference was held earlier during the Military? |
| BM | Early June. The new ministry was established 1998/99, it was then called the Ministry of Environment, Gender and Youth Affairs. I must also say that my title then as the head of NES was Secretary General, who was at the same level as the Principal Secretary, and also attend meetings of PSs. What the Prime |

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| | Minister did was to arrange a lateral movement of that position to be new PS for that ministry, so that's how I moved in to the new ministry, Environmental, Gender and Youth Affairs, that was in 1998/99. It's only recently that the title changed again, twice I think, last year when they split up, and then Environment Culture and Tourism, they first called it Tourism, Culture and Environment and then realised culture should come last so they changed it to Tourism Environment and Culture. |
| MB | When the new government came in in 1993, and the very next year you have NES established. Now that would seem very quick for a new government coming in brings about the environmental secretariat so soon. Was that part of the election campaign of the party that won the election or was it the personal interest of somebody in government? |
| BM | Yes, it's both because government was already aware of that problem when they came into being, even in their own manifesto they had that. Environmentally issues were at the top by the new government, they knew that at the time, coupled with that was the new resident representative of the UNDP. |
| MB | Is that the one you have particular interest? |
| BM | Yes, he's got a PhD in Environment. He is very keen in anything of the environment. He just pushed it. He just bulldozed his way through. |
| MB | He was stationed here in Maseru? |
| BM | Oh yes, for four or more years. |
| MB | What is the name of the party which won the 93 elections? |
| BM | BCP, Basotholand Congress Party. |
| MB | That's the current ruling party? |
| BM | But since then they split, it is now LCD.<br>They split, but still exist by that name, now the ruling party is Lesotho Congress for Democracy. |
| MB | If you look back at the track record of NES what do you say NES's main successes have been? |
| BM | One of the things that I did, when we were working on the Maloti Drakensberg we were a joint team between Lesotho and South Africa. One of the things which can be documented in the agreement between the two countries is that wherever this new body was going to be, you know we started operating in 1982 as a joint team that took about 20 years ago. We had it documented that whenever that body would be established, all the issues pertaining to Maloti Drakensberg should be transferred to that body. Since I was leading the process that side when I moved over, I remembered very well so I moved along and brought it here to NES. Then we continued with that until we developed or carried forward funding from EU to undertake some study on how to go forward with the Maloti Drakensberg. EU did the work in the meantime World Bank got interested as well. Apparently what happened was in 1996 we had a donor's conference. We prepared all the documentation coordinating the relevant ministries for presentation of environmental issues for funding. Maloti Drakensberg was there, but since EU was already earmarked to fund it, the World Bank didn't seem to have interest at the time. They only came afterwards and then came in full force and then overcame the EU's little funding that they have at the time. That's how |

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| | Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation Development Project, as it was called, they saw the name was too long they made it shorter.<br>That's one thing.<br><br>In parallel we got a new project in the pipeline working closely with UNDP conserving mountain biodiversity in southern Lesotho, and that was also with GEF funding under UNDP. Maloti Drakensberg is also GEF, part GF part IDF or something. That was very slow to start I think. It started about the time I left, I understand the progress is not so good, I don't know. That is one project but I think there are a lot of things that have been done on the ground. I said we had 1996 donor's conference where we presented our proposals. One donor that came forth was DANCED. In fact the preparatory meetings that we have prior to the conference held here in Maseru, was a meeting in Pretoria with all the resident donors there. That was when DANCED showed up. They picked up number of projects that started to develop after the donor's conference. The first one that they said they have no problem with, it was a small grant, was the state of the environmental report and straight away he said carry on. That's when we started it the very first one. That's what we started with.<br><br>Then in the meantime we were developing other proposals. We had capacity building environmental management, that project I think it took us two years or so its now come and gone. We had an energy project, I am not sure whether they are still here or not, but that time it was housed at Ministry of Natural Resources: Department of Energy. That project came and I don't know whether it's gone or not but I would assume it may be by now. We had environmental education in schools' curriculum. That is still on. We also had another project by DANCED on waste management. That proved to be too expensive so it fizzled out eventually because Lesotho had to provide a lot of money. The major input being the Maseru dumping area had to be relocated.<br><br>Other projects never got any funding. Those are the major ones that got funding from the conference, and those are the activities that up to now are still going on. In other fronts we had the legal framework to work on, that took a long time. What we did was to seek assistance from UNEP, they assigned somebody to work with us and we established a team of four people, one professor from NUL, third person expert from UNEP, both lawyers, somebody from the Law Office as you call it here, he was doing the drafting, and then myself. We set up as a team to help the process, but we were lucky because we had somebody from the Law Office who was very keen to do it and she really pushed out the drafting. Each time I travelled abroad I brought all kinds of information, and UNEP also brought a lot of information from other countries so she was able to move on. |
| MB | So did that translate into an Act eventually? |
| BM | Eventually, yes it did. The Environmental Act 2001.<br>Range Management, that is not NES that is something else. That I did for twenty years or so, that was my work also, I was involved in that all the way since we started we called them Range Management Areas<br>under agriculture. That's Agriculture now the new Ministry of Forestry and Land Reclamation. That programme started in 1981. About that time the range division was a very small unit. We were a small team of people. At head quarters and in the districts. Government of Lesotho got funding from USAID for range management and land conservation project, that was followed by a series of other projects. The first project was called Land Conservation and Range Development, that's the exact title of that project. That was followed by LAPS, I have yet to remember what that stands for, Lesotho Agricultural Policies and Support Project. So range management areas was still part of that. The last one was CBNRM: Community- based Natural Resources Management Project. That |

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| | was short-lived because it did not go through the full length of the period. The other factors that got into the picture was what they called grazing fees. Through LAPS which was dealing with policy we got engaged Lesotho government wanted to introduce grazing fees. This whole thing of grazing fees which became so controversial eventually, unnecessarily so, and emanated from a farmer's conference in 1979. In the proceedings of that conference, it was in black and white, they recommended that grazing fees be introduced. So that was further developed under the policy programme, funded by AID and many others including the abattoir. The abattoir was part of the project because the abattoir was set up to reduce the number of livestock on the range and alleviate grazing pressure. Unfortunately that abattoir's design was flawed, we don't understand why, that abattoir was funded by the Danish. |
| MB | Where was it located? |
| BM | It is still there, just outside Maseru on the north. |
| MB | Why do they locate the abattoir in Maseru while the problem was in the mountains. Would it not better to place it either in Butha Buthe or somewhere else? |
| BM | Problems that were always mentioned were infrastructure, we have white elephant down here, there were questions of if its going to be cleaning the wool why can't they have it in Thaba-Tseka? Thaba-Tseka is so far from everything, the railway line is here, transportation, it's gravel road and all the way gravel, telephones, electricity. |
| MB | These Range Management Areas, do you think they succeeded in those areas in getting people in the mountains to see any value in biodiversity conservation, or was this purely an economically motivated project? |
| BM | In the sense yes, because it was because it was raising livestock, you know that farmers raise livestock and they needed to take better care of the grazing areas. The successes are checkered, there were too many problems. The first range management area was established in Sehlabathebe. It was like a laboratory, we were learning the new approach to the problem. So what we did was farmers were encouraged to form grazing associations, who then would be allocated that land by the Principal Chief, and if he would proclaim that in public in a "Pitso." What would then follow would be legal aspects through range management grazing control regulations establish that as an area declare for the people leaving in that area. That meant exclusion of other historical users of the area, and that became a serious problem.<br><br>Because at Sehlabathebe we have neighbouring communities, we call them Matebeng, up to now as we talk they are still fighting for the land for grazing animals, which they do by force. We said we learned a lot from that and subsequently to that in other areas there was no exclusion. The exclusion became quite an incentive for people in area who would like to protect it and nobody will come to it. In fact it also helped in terms of stock theft, which is quite a menace, because if it's only people from the area you can control stock theft. Unfortunately the fate of first MRA on the border line, there were two of them there, next to South Africa. There were border disputes, fighting between Lesotho and South Africans, stealing cattle and so on. That disturbed. Other areas had different problems. Mokhotlong it was a lot of internal politics, and interference by politicians as well. Other areas I think maybe the farmers themselves did not quite get active as they should have. I say so because I am told the only one still very active is at Malibamatso, LHDA catchment area, that was formed after about 4, 5, 6. We gave them numbers, I think it's number 6. |

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| | What we did was number one, two were in Qacha's Nek, three were purposely, because we used to have criteria for establishing this MRAs. So, the one at Bokong came number two in our evaluations for a third MRA. We then decided one there because the project was going to come, because the LHDA which was going to come soon after we started. It was then that Dr. Taylor, who was working with LHDA at the time, and Dr. Maema, Dr. Maema is late now, kept on approaching us because of this Bokong Nature Reserve and they needed to get in touch with the farmers there to establish the nature reserve. I remember they wanted to take a bigger chunk of land to what they eventually got, because we said if you take too much of grazing. So we eventually agreed to take a smaller chunk of land which is about 2000 hectares. Because I was now out of the picture when they started continuing with negotiations with the grazing associates now at Bokong Pelaneng MRA, they are still the major stakeholders now they have agreed to exclude the area as a nature reserve and will just graze outside. Apparently they also excluded people from the lowland. |
| MB | In the case of Bokong Nature Reserve where you have the community giving up the land, were they doing it with the understanding that there will be some money, or how did that kind of arrangement come about? |
| BM | It was after I left, because there was now fully engaged in environmental issues. But the understanding I get now, first it is the conservation of biodiversity, which is very necessary, and I was so surprised there are some wildlife around there. Now there are some signs of a good population of wildlife around there. We were so excited last week when we went up to Bokong, we saw a red rock rabbit jumping over the rocks, it now enjoying territory without much disturbance from cattle herders who normally would have disturbed this habitat. I am told there are monkeys there. The reports of what is around there what is found there, the birds and monkeys and rhebok etc. So I think maybe they saw it in those terms and of course what we have said is they get a share 10% of turnover. |
| MB | It is basically a rental on their land because they have given up the land. Let's us talk briefly about conservation in Lesotho itself, in the sense of protected area. Lesotho is a very rugged country with lots of areas that aren't suitable for habitation, lots of steep areas. The first protected area was set aside in 1970 if I am correct, followed more recently by the LHDA reserves. |
| BM | Well there was a small one was set aside by missionaries near Quthing. |
| MB | Now if you look at the Drakensberg side of the mountain you get the first protected areas in 1903, so quite a few decades passed before there's conservation on this side of the mountain. Have you got any explanation for this, or any reason as to why 60-odd years passed before the first protected areas were established on the Lesotho side? |
| BM | It didn't seem that the British rulers at the time had much interest in Lesotho, it would have been fitting for them to do something in those days but it was only until we got independence, only two years after independence that we established something. |
| MB | There were no historic reserves set aside by the British? |
| BM | No, never. There were never. |
| MB | Do you think there is any connection with large mammals? |
| BM | The absence of them? |

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| MB | Yes, because the problem with many parts of South Africa it that most of the large mammals were hunted out in the 1850s? |
| BM | That's possible because there wasn't that much interest because there was no wildlife. |
| MB | The British were also in Botswana at that time? And they were setting large areas in Botswana from the 1930s. |
| BM | I think in Lesotho there has been too much disturbance into the hinterland and therefore the animals disappeared, so there was nothing left to conserve. But one would have thought that when the British government after that.. |
| MB | It was the 1850s in South Africa. |
| BM | Later than that because Moshoeshoe died in 1870. It was after that that we got protection that he had sought for, he was still in charge until he died, we were still a protectorate, but they could have done that then at the time. |
| MB | The human population was much lower at the time? |
| BM | Yes, it was much lower at the time |
| MB | But it's doubtful if any large animals were left because they had been hunted down. |
| BM | The other thing is we don't know how many San people there were around here because they were the hunters at the time. That's why you see the caves with the paintings. |
| MB | If the migration had migrated historically say to the lowlands in summer, you have all the Afrikaners pouring into to the Free State and you would very quickly eliminate the game that was migrating. Very soon you would have the situation in the mountains where migratory herds would just disappear. |
| BM | I am trying to think, I haven't really read, but if you go to Morija you might find information from the archives. I don't know if somebody has done work in Lesotho on conservation. I have a copy in Butha-Buthe, it's a spiral thing. |
| MB | So the establishment of Sehlabathebe in 1968, what was the motivation for that? |
| BM | I think it was the acceptance and realisation that there wasn't anything in Lesotho, but it wasn't done properly it was imposed and fenced and they had to protect that fence. |
| MB | So the new government saw the need to have some kind of conservation, that theme has been echoed in many other countries. Even now in South Africa you've got the new government trying to establish protected areas all over the place, much more than occurred in the previous government. It's a need for that. Coming back to the range management thing, you said that nobody has been excluded from those areas, you changed the policy so that people, you changed the policy so you couldn't be excluded? |
| BM | No, there is another programme that we call Range Adjudication. For the first time what we did was, you know what a cattle post is? We did cattle post surveys. We had a project to survey the whole of the country first to find out where the cattle posts were located in terms of area, and size of grazing area there would |

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| | be the cattle posts sites, and there would be little huts and kraals around within each area. Then for the first time we found that they had boundaries, that these people knew, we did not know until the survey, what we did with a team of people going around the mountains we were able to demarcate these boundaries on the maps and put them on the GIS. |
| MB | So the local people had definite boundaries of the grazing areas, how did they defend those boundaries? |
| BM | What happens is that historically the PC allocated permits for these sites so they knew within what area there were talking about. Every year there would be a renewed permit to move out, because seasonal movement to the cattle post they are there in summer and in winter there are back to the village. Then you will find there are clusters of villages, we find people coming from all directions to the same place. And we said, no, this is confusion. So we talked to the farmers, what we did first was to collect the data put it into GIS, and then we said it would be much better if these people came there and these came there, maybe because once they do that, they are also assessing the range carrying capacity. You are looking at the numbers of villages there, and carrying capacity of these area, if this is too much they can move on to the next. So that was what we called range adjudication project. We did that we started that in Mokhotlong and talked to the Chiefs and farmers and they liked it, except it was so slow to go back and implement it. Now am told they have gone back to liking it because of stock theft. It is the people who come from one place, anybody from anywhere, they say no, they don't like it that way. Unfortunately for the rest of our country I am told that data was taken during the riots in 1998. |
| MB | So that process wasn't difficult to enforce? |
| BM | This process ideally was set for any RMA to be declared it was an important thing to have this process before RMA. So that we don't say to people go back to your country or areas, because if this has been done already the preparation for RMA, it would be easier. |
| MB | Did the RMA succeed in reducing stocks from some areas? |
| BM | I cannot say so except through exclusion. |
| MB | So there wasn't a specific practice of stock reduction as one of the objectives? |
| BM | It was there, through improvement in the breed, marketing, was another factor brought in, so we said improve your breed so that there can be a decrease in numbers, that is they were using the grazing control. The study was undertaken, a legal study, on the question of land allocation for this people on these areas. That information was so good, I could have used that to make some changes or adjustments. There were a number of court cases people challenging the allocation of land to individuals that is also being members of the association, but although there has never been any serious case that was won by anybody people shied away after this. I think I can give you a report, the terminal report by the project, where they brought a lot of issues that came up |
| MB | There wasn't a membership fee to belong to a RMA? |
| BM | It was they themselves who imposed this membership fee.<br>We always have people pushing in different directions. Now the criteria is any new RMAs, the people must ask for, whereas in the past we used to go out to the people and explain the principles of range management, and all those kinds of things, and then the possibility. So giving them a menu so that they choose. So |

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| | we say "you come to us and let's discuss." |
| MB | Has there been general interest throughout in extending Range Management Areas? |
| BM | I think so, yes |
| MB | How many are there in the country? |
| BM | It's not more than 10. |
| | **INTERVIEW WITH TEBOHO MALIEHE**<br>Project Manager, Conserving Mountain Biodiversity in southern Lesotho Project |
| MB | I am writing a paper, so I would like to interview all the key players in conservation. So can you tell me something about this conserving mountain biodiversity in southern Lesotho project? How did it start? Who is the funder? You know that type of thing. |
| TM | Exactly how it started I am not sure, but It was an initiative of the National Environment Secretariat they had something on biodiversity going, still they had a national biodiversity strategy to work on. So they hired a couple of consultants, who produced the national biodiversity strategy. From there I think it was fair that they needed to have a project dealing specifically with biodiversity issues. Already there had been the Lesotho Highlands Water Project 1 biodiversity issue in the LHWP area. So I think it was felt that we should focus in the different area, that is the Southern part of the country which is Mohale's Hoek, Quthing and Qacha's Nek. So this is how the project was conceived, and funding was sought and GEF agreed to fund the project, I can't remember how much it was when it started. Anyway a few millions. From one document to me it appeared like 17 millions dollars. So the project document was drafted and finished in 1998/99, the document was signed in April 1999, but then there was a delay in the implementation, as I read on, I never really had any formal handing over since I arrived here in June. From the documents I read there were problems after the signing of the documents, recruitment of key project personnel these were employed a couple years later, 2001.<br><br>So there was almost a two-year hiatus between the signing of the project document and the implementation, when these two guys came on board, the Project Manager and the Chief Technical Advisor for the project, who has since left earlier this year. Let me just go on to what the project is tries to focus on, the objectives of the project. Basically to establish a network of protected areas in the southern part of Lesotho, the three districts, to conserve biodiversity in those protected areas, as well as outside those protected areas, and also to promote bioregional cooperation in terms of biodiversity conservation. When I say bioregional this includes cross-border interventions like Maloti Drakensberg, in our case it would be the area where we are in Quthing. You remember that guy who came here? He is interested in us getting together with them on the South African side, like establishing hiking that start either from Lesotho or from South Africa and go either way, and establish lodges on both sides, But with the key goal of conserving biodiversity. So these are the objectives briefly.<br><br>Now, mmmm, I don't know what happened between 1991 and 1996, nobody can tell me exactly what happened. During that period there was nothing going on as far as I could see, oh yes there was a lot of awareness work with communities, meeting, pitsos, look and learn trips to Zimbabwe mostly with the communities for |

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| | them to see what is going on in terms of people being able to manage their natural resources themselves, of course with assistance of NGOs and government. But that was just about all that I could find about what happened in that period.<br><br>The project document was signed in 1999, and actual implementation started in 2001 with the recruitment of the Project Manager and the Technical Advisor. Between 2001 and June this year there was nothing, absolutely nothing. The contracts that should have been signed three years ago, like vegetation survey that was done for us in July, we had three guys from the OFS University, they are also working on a subcontract on birds and reptiles. They found some interesting things in Qacha's Nek, they left earlier this week after spending three weeks. There are those things that have happened three years ago, and they have not finished like the survey of vegetation which was done in July. Of course July is a very cold month and vegetation is either dormant or just waiting for summer to come, so they will go back again in April. |
| MB | So you had a two-year period of almost no activity. Was that because there weren't enough people? |
| TM | No, there were enough people subsequently after the recruitment of the manager and the CTA, they recruited a district project officer for each district. We have a DPO for Mohale's Hoek and Quthing and Qacha's Nek. But I think basically it was a problem of management. I tried to find the reasons why things went out, things that were not really related to biodiversity and conservation. When I got on board we got all these things signed that's why we are running concurrently right now about ten or eleven contracts hopefully some of them you will be completed soon, those started in July, There are more to come in early next year. |
| MB | When you collect that information, say a survey reveals a particular valley is very high in biodiversity, hat you going to do with that information when you get it? |
| TM | For example, the survey has already revealed that there are areas with high population for certain species that are never been recorded in Lesotho, but that's classified information. The intention is for us to be able to protect this, but through communities, and for the communities to protect this special plant, and probably birds and insects and the like. Some of the consultancy we are doing, one is called incentive mechanisms, development of incentive mechanisms, is done by the consultant from Johannesburg. Is to give communities incentive to, if you say that area is a high priority area in terms of biodiversity conservation, do not graze there or do not do harvest on that area for a certain period, we have to give them alternatives. So this is what we have been doing, trying to find alternative means of livelihood for the local people, and if you ask why we should conserve such, some of these plants are very important medicinal plants which are endangered and almost extinct in some cases. Some of them are valuable in terms of international recognition plants species, and this is bringing certain reputation to the country in terms of what sort of biodiversity we have like the spiral aloe indigenous to Lesotho, you cannot find it anywhere. So there are areas full of this stuff which need to be protected, this is unique to the country and also for future generations to know what sort of plants exist or existed. They shouldn't only know about this from herbaria species or samples, they should see them in the wild still. Also for tourism you get people who are very interested in plants, and you don't want to walk in areas that do not have vegetation or unique vegetation. Whilst I was in Qacha's Nek we visited one proposed community nature reserve, beautiful area and the people there have started trying to conserve it somehow we found three species of *Hypoxis*, African potato, the amount of vegetation we found there it was incredible. It was dry but funny that afternoon we had a lot of rain. Within two weeks of rain you would see a completely different area. So that's why I think |

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| | we should keep attention to the conservation of biodiversity, I'm not just talking about plants because I'm a forester but also the animals that are part of the ecosystem, also insects |
| MB | What is the community's expectation, are they expecting financial awards in exchange for conservation, or are they being informed that this might take a number of years before you can create enough jobs or draw tourists? I think often the problem with community-based conservation is that one can create unrealistic expectations. |
| TM | Absolutely yeah, yeah, we are not promising any financial rewards as the project per se, what we are doing is we are trying to show them the benefits of conserving some of this biodiversity, and what we doing like I said we talk about incentive for them to be able to conserve certain areas. You know leave them, some of the areas are badly deteriorated, I saw three wetlands which are in the process of degradation along with the fauna and flora that goes with that area. What we try to do is to show them that through this conservation of this biodiversity is other benefits could accrue to the community, such as tourism, as I have mentioned. And this consultant who is paid for the work, but we had to get consultant from outside. We showed them various options how they could make a living. There is another consultant who is working on the development of trust fund mechanisms, how to create a trust fund for the communities. He came up with three different ideas, but we stuck with the two he came up with at the workshop. Should we have a national one? Should it be the regional one, such as that deals specifically with Southern Lesotho, or whether it should be village-based, community based? A. particular community should have their own trust.<br><br>So we took the regional one the village one because we know that you guys are working for the national one. So with those trust funds we have held a workshop with them and we are still going to deliver final reports. Show them how to use those funds and how they could benefit the community in terms of any other development they would like to undertake in their communities, and how they could raise funds.<br><br>Let's take the community for example, it is a fired-up community, they have great vegetation there, great biodiversity. In one area they have a population of about 500 of these spiral aloes, they don't allow anyone to touch them. One guy wanted to buy one they said no ways. What they are doing is collecting seed from the indigenous shrubs, plants etc, and are starting a nursery on our own. I have written a letter to the Forestry Division and have been down to the nursery to look at type of trees indigenous species that they have. I found a lot of "cheche" (*Leucosidea*) and others that we are going to ask Forestry to donate to us to start our nursery. We are going to offer them technical advise and technical know-how to establish the nursery and how to look after the trees. Eventually some of these trees will be reintroduced to their original habitats, the same is going to happen in Qacha's Nek because they have already have dug holes some of these communities are pretty fired up.<br><br>So they do realise that there are benefits to be derived from not necessarily financial benefits, even if there are financial benefits they will not be for everybody, but if we have a Trust Fund for the community it will not matter where you are running a nursery or you are doing other things. You will still be as part of the community be able to benefit for example if you want water, everyone benefits, if they want a small training or school and everybody benefits. This is how we view it, we are not saying we are going to have money out of it we do not even know whether the suggestions that hiking trail systems going through some of these beautiful areas will work, but its something that we think might work. For example "Letseng la Letsie" right up to some of these areas in Qacha's Nek with |

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| | stop-overs along the way, pony trekking for the people the locals, hiring out their horses, offering cheap accommodation. This community which I said is fired-up, they have built two rondavels themselves using their own natural resources. They realised that they are using these indigenous trees to build these rondavels, they are using indigenous grasses to thatch these houses, they are already hiring them out to the people who are out there for the weekend from Thursday to Saturday to look at the, they are staying there, they took their food along, cooking utensils they are staying there. They are not the only ones, there has been few tourists going to the area. All these kinds of things, people realise that we can use our biodiversity sustainably that's why they don't want people to touch that spiral aloe, and the Minister is really fired-up by what is going on there that she wants us to get as much help as possible. That's why we wrote to Forestry to say look there are these people here who are doing these so why can't we do these for them? Just push them along.<br><br>So we are not really promising anything specific to the people but we are saying these are the possibilities, and they may have to choose which ones they think could work best for them. Each community has its own particular interest, there are some which are involved in grazing, so they discussed the question of RMAs. So that how to best manage their RMAs, there is already range management division that is looking after that we are working closely with them mainly from the point of view of the conservation some of the unique biodiversity that is found in those range management areas, because usually the approach is, this is just for grazing, people don't care that there could be some important plants species in those areas. So mainly that is where our involvement is, this is where we are also going to be working closely with Chaba, we have a meeting with him at five this evening to discuss our overlap in Qacha's Nek, especially Sehlabathebe, Ramats'eliso RMAs just to fine-tune them to see how best to go about it. Otherwise there's going to be a lot of confusion because we have already been there, and when people see another group coming in with the same ideas, we are all in trouble. |
| MB | This is very interesting, it sounds to me like the people themselves have an almost natural desire to carry out conservation and yet as you look at Lesotho as a country, it is a country that has very, very rugged mountains, yet it has a very low percentage conserved at 0.45%. What reasons do you think historically can explain the fact that there is this cultural desire for conservation, if you think of Botswana where they have a very similar culture and with the highest percentage of land in the world conserved, why do you think in Lesotho for so long had been so few protected areas? |
| TM | I think there are number of reasons like one there has always been a nation of herders, we like to keep livestock, all types of livestock: cattle, sheep, goats, donkeys etc. Over the years numbers of livestock has increased and with a Mosotho man as the number of livestock increases, that increases your social status. If you have more animals than everybody else therefore you are top guy in the community without consideration on the effect of the limited amount of grazing land that is available. I see that being the main problem. Keeping large numbers of livestock resulting in overgrazing, resulting in general degradation and soil erosions etc.<br><br>The second reason is our perception as Basotho, I saw a lot of that in the districts, that's veld burning, burning of grasslands. Like I said there is a perception that if you burn the grass it will come up much stronger, but along burning of the grass they burn a lot of beautiful things, you burn flowers, that affects the whole environment and that a lot of other undesirable species start encroaching. I could say these are two of the main reasons. |

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| | The third, which also contributes to quite a degree, is again that this is a very cold country, because even now there was a little bit of snow in Qacha's Nek. So we use biomass for fuel. Even now you can see ladies walking long distances to collect fuel. In this area that I say we were at the community nature reserve there is a little plant which I can't remember the name of that species of plant. There is lot of it that is growing in the valleys and we asked the chief there what is this being used for. It has been used for fuel because you could see no trees anywhere near as all the trees are gone. They are also wanting to embark on a tree planting campaign using indigenous species, that been our main problem. This will result in the introduction of exotic species. In one of these areas in Qacha's Nek there is a woodlot and the contrasts are amazing underneath those trees. There is nothing you can see the soil there. Just outside that there is good grass cover, so again the introduction of exotics which have encroached, taken out where we used to have our indigenous species. That's also not helping the situation, and of course you will find that some of this exotics can only grow up to a certain height in terms of altitude and coldness. So therefore in the lowlands we get lot more where you seen a lot of eucalyptus. And what are our suggestion for that area in Qacha's Nek, since we are going to be giving them indigenous species is for them to slowly remove the woodlot and use it for fuel. We have also tried to introduce indigenous species for the establishment of the woodlots and planting around the villages, so people would not have to walk long distances to fetch wood etc.<br><br>I think those are the four main reasons why Lesotho has so few conserved areas. |
| MB | Does the communal land system make it difficult to set aside protected areas? |
| TM | It does. Because the land is communal and everybody has to have a word on how the land is used, and usually you don't always get consensus. You get differences in terms of opinions, for example this community nature reserve, every else agrees but the chairman of the community council refuses to give the papers that would formally declare the place as a community nature reserve. But yesterday we asked the DS in Qacha's Nek to write to him a letter, and we also talked to the Principal Chief, so hopefully by now they got that form because I did not think It was a big problem. So it is difficult if the land is communal, if it was left for individuals I think it would easy for some individuals are really fired-up in terms of conserving their biodiversity. Another example is an area in Mohale's Hoek called 'Masita." I went there a couple of weeks ago and then again, amazing, the people are doing this themselves. They even said this is not done by the Chief this is done by us. There is an area they graze and they leave all this other areas untouched for a year or so, and the effect it amazing for all sorts of grasses and things growing there. |
| MB | So they are practising effective management of the natural resources? |
| TM | Absolutely, the first thing is what they wanted from us like we were asking if they wanted financial rewards, whatever. What they wanted from us has nothing to do with direct finance because we were interested in agriculture outside these rangelands, outside where we have all these nice plants. If you could just get for us R4000 to R10 000 worth of various seeds, various vegetables and field crops would be happy, and will continue looking after this place as it is. And to me that was a very good initiative, so we will be busy looking for 10 000 Maloti? I'm just about to find that from somewhere, to get them the seeds to get them planting. |
| MB | So the kind of conservation that you deal with CMBSL is really going to be very much integrated with the community, the community owning the land and managing it, so it is going to be quite different from the historic problem in Africa where people were displaced in the name of conservation? |

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| TM | Yeah, no, this one is not going to displace anybody people will stay where they are they will manage the resources. One wants the idea for the project and for people to be able to manage this things themselves, was the idea we used to sink into the rest of the community. And one of the things we are going to do is to take the communities from, we do have difficult communities, and from those difficult communities to take a few individuals, take them to communities where this ideas seem to be working and let the see and chat with each other, and let them share ideas and see whether they can transpose the idea to their area. |
| MB | Do you have any project for attempting to reduce stocking rates in some areas, this is a sticky point, because in some areas stocking rates maybe too high, and if you are wanting to carry out biodiversity conservation, how are you going to reduce stocking rates without upsetting people? |
| TM | Well that has been a very touchy point. For example at Letseng la Letsie the area, but because the grazing in the area, although it is protected people still graze there but not as much as they used to. Now they are saying the area that they had been given to go and graze their animals has not got as much grazing area as Letseng la Letsie. So what the range people with who they are working, they are doing an inventory of these grazelands to find out what their current capacities are. And then they will talk to individuals. We know some areas are grossly overstocked, so you will go and talk to them and find ways in which the numbers of their animals can be reduced. For example to start supplying butcheries in their own areas Quthing Qacha's Nek. It's difficult for a Mosotho to reduce his numbers because once he sees all those numbers of livestock, that's the greatest feeling in the world. So it's going to be a slow process, but it will have to be done. |
| MB | Would you have some sort of subsidy to help people to reduce stocks in some areas? |
| TM | We haven't talked about that I think those are some of the details will have to go into once the consultants have finished their work, once we are setting and discussing concrete ideas about how people feel, how they feel they could benefit from protecting the biodiversity, what would they like to happen, will they want to be assisted with the growing of the fodder crop, for example. That is one of the ideas that will have been bandied around the growing of the fodder crop, stall feeding, and if you stall feed and allow some of the animals to go and graze you reduce the amount of the damage that can be done to particular area. So those sorts of ideas that we are playing around with. |
| MB | You could irrigate fields next to streams for fodder cropping. |
| TM | Absolutely, for example in Quthing there are lots of streams along the river and people are growing things like cabbages. You could select other areas and say look here is a small irrigation scheme for growing fodder crops, winter fodder crops, and summer fodder crops. We work together with assistance of Ministries of Forestry, Agriculture and Local government so will be working with all these people to make sure that we arrive at sound solutions. |
| MB | How many protected areas are you trying to establish in the project area? |
| TM | Qacha's Nek we are talking about two, Quthing we are talking about two and Mohale's Hoek about two, and along with the protected areas we have these community nature reserves. Now I was asked a question once in a meeting, what the difference was between a protected area and a community nature reserve, and what was the criteria, is it size, amount of biodiversity within the area, or |

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| | what? There was not a very clear answer to that, we have got our own conception of what it is. |
| MB | So the protected areas you are trying to establish, will those be managed by Ministry of Forestry and Land Reclamation? |
| TM | The way we see the whole thing eventually is for the people to manage these things themselves. When we say community nature reserve it will be the community managing it. Any tourism that goes along with that it will be the community managing that of course with assistance from different ministries, if it is a village grazing area, for example, because we are looking at those as well as opposed to range management areas. Village grazing areas are smaller, they should be ways of managing those as well. So we would like the people to be able to manage these. That is why we are continually training as well as we go along. Training our district implementation teams, they in turn train the communities in how to do some of these. |
| MB | So you don't envisage some kind of parastatals like national parks or somebody running the protected areas, do you see it as being entirely community managed? |
| TM | The protected area would be somewhat different in terms of size and in terms of declaration. Because if it is declared by government as a protected area, then it would be of national interest, government would have interest there it would be up to the government to decide who runs it. But my own feeling is that the people should be part of the management of such a protected area, the people from the area of course will benefit from whatever jobs may arise out of such a venture they should also be allowed to reap benefits somehow from the biodiversity over ea. Like, for example, thatching grass, so after a couple of years people would be allowed to fetch thatching grass. |
| MB | So are talking about a mechanism that would allow people to be actively involved in the management, having a certain amount of seats on the management committee, also be given a percentage of all income paid into a trust and also about seasonal gathering of raw materials. So hat's the kind of model you use? So it might be run by some future conservation body? Maybe loosely attached to the ministry, but there will be this mechanism that will ensure that people are benefiting. |
| TM | In Lesotho system we had this woodlot system. Although the woodlots were set by the government, and were gazetted by the government. The sales of wood from those woodlots, from those sales, the revenue accrued from those sales, 20% used to go to communities, that particular community, to use for whatever development venture they want to undertake. So we envisage the same kind of thing, even if it would be the national tourism corporation. The people should be actively involved as they were with the project, and they should also benefit from that whatever revenues accrue from that, part of it should go to the community. I am not saying it will be like that but from experience I know, if people do not benefit from such ventures chances are they will not work. If we could ensure that people benefit, and they are part of it, then there is a very good chance of success. |
| MB | They have to have a stake in the project and it can't be controlled from Maseru. They have to be actively involved in the management. |
| TM | That is why we are trying to get as involved as possible in whatever activities that we do also in the decision making processes we don't come and say we want to do this and this is what is going to happen. |

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| MB | And the lifespan of the project, how long is it? |
| TM | Originally the project was to run until March this year for five years, it was extended for another two years so it's up to 2005 |
| MB | Thereafter do you have to apply for additional funding? |
| TM | Hmmn, We are already thinking about that, and that will depend on the amount of success that we have on the ground I am quite positive about the way things are going right now. I was talking with GEF the other day and they indicated that its not normal for them to extent the project, in fact it was not normal for them to extend this one because of the problems I talked about at inception, two years that were lost because there were no personnel on the ground. So that was essentially nobody's fault, so that's whey they decided to add another two years. But after this two years ideally they will close down the project, but they said that if they receive some real tangibles they may reconsider. That's why we are all working hard to make sure that there are some things to be seen come the middle of next year. |

**INTERVIEW WITH TAOLE TESELE**
Conservation Planner, Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Project

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| MB | What I want to get from you is background information as to how the nature reserves were established, there three LHDA nature reserves, and then to get some of your thoughts on conservation in Lesotho, and to discuss some of the historical reasons for conservation, or the lack of conservation in some areas. Let's start with the natures themselves and how they got established, what was the reason for establishing the nature reserves. |
| TT | The reason was essentially to compensate the biodiversity and habitat that was going to be inundated by Katse Dam. Really the assignment was to look around and see places where habitat and biodiversity enhancement. The primary area was then Ts'ehlanyane, which I think is the best reserved *Leucosidea* forest around. Then we were going to look at preserving about 100 hectares of that. We just then realised that the Chief in that area was the key conservationist in the area, and had preserved almost the entire valley, and it was him alone who had access to this place, and this then increased our interest in the area. And eventually from discussing with the communities there, we agreed that we get a whole, up to now about 6000 hectares, that is in the case of Ts'ehlanyane.<br><br>Then there was a need to look at, you see Ts'ehlanyane constitutes a region spanning from the lowlands right up to the mountain grasses and the highest peaks. You have the whole spectrum of habitat now, we also needed the sub-Alpine area as a representative of what we have within the LHWP, so we went for Bokong. And one of the attractions for Bokong was that there was even a wetland, which contributes to the second largest river that is part of Katse Dam, the Bokong river. From there the conservation was enlarged to cover the whole of the top of the Lepaqoa Falls. The third place was actually 'Muela, and there the original intention was to try and fence 'Muela Dam, and within the fenced area and the draw down area we anticipated that because its in the sedimentary area you get quite a lot of soil as water recedes and it would allow short term plant materials to invade area, and so birds and other animals that will be leaving on that kind of biota. And then later on that idea was abandoned because it was felt that Muela is going to be dangerous to try and deal with because it's active. It's got small storage and almost all the water that comes in has to move out to the delivery tunnel. And instead we got a smaller area on the side of the dam as |

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| | residual land from the construction to be occupied as the contractor's establishment area. Then there was the fourth area, Liphofung, which is about cultural conservation. And what we have there is really very historical culture conservation.<br><br>When you look at this Bokong and Ts'ehlanyane were largely about natural conservation and trees. Muela was going to be conservation of birds and animals species that would be within wet regions, such as the draw down area that we were thinking of, and Liphofung was about the cultural conservation. So that they complemented each other for the kind of concept of conservation from various perspectives. |
| MB | Where did this all take place? Who did the initial investigations and initial proposals as to what could be conserved and was feasible? |
| TT | I think it almost started like, I came into LHDA in April 1988 and my own background is archeological, so mine essentially was to look at archeological conservation, and essentially Liphofung came about as a result of my finding the site and then documenting it, and eventually it got captured into the large mechanism of development, much later I think in 199/95. |
| MB | Was that the date when the Earthplan contract started? |
| TT | The Earthplan contract started in 1996. So the concept had developed first, the mode of operation that was planned by LHDA at the time was that the nature reserves would be something done outside of LHDA because of the core business being building large dams. And so on that the conservation part, especially the nature reserves, was going to be under the Ministry of Agriculture then, who were the custodians of a similarly arrangement at Sehlabathebe national park. And so it was just because of planning that the Ministry was not well prepared at the time that we thought now we could start. LHDA started the nature reserves with the intention that the liaison would exist to a point where the exit strategy would be available to get it back in the hands of the Ministry. So the actual development was then conceived internally. We were various role players. As I said I was the archaeologist who looked at Liphofung, there was our key environment officer who was looking at Bokong and Ts'ehlanyane as well as 'Muela. Except that at the time of development by the consultant, by Earthplan, the funding wasn't sufficient to stretch into all four areas, so we preferred because we were working on areas that have been vacated by contractors. Then we started with Bokong and Ts'ehlanyane that were vacated earlier as well as Liphofung. 'Muela was occupied by contractor for much longer because of the hydropower works and so on, so by the time that it was available it was almost a foregone conclusion that there wasn't enough money that was going to cover it. So this is why when you get to 'Muela the development there is less than anywhere else, because we actually took over the rondavels from the contractor, modified them a bit just to have the communities to have production of and sale of curious as well as other small developments outside there such as braai stands. |
| MB | If you look at the nature reserves themselves, you've got Bokong and Ts'ehlanyane about 20 kilometers north in a straight line, and if you look at photographs and maps it looks like the reserve could have been a lot bigger. If you look at the Mafika Lisiu Pass, it could have been included in the reserve because it is uninhabited. How did the boundaries of the reserve get determined and what sort of community negotiation took place over the whole process? |
| TT | The negotiations were done through different size of the communities. When you get to Ts'ehlanyane there are at a tip of a Range Management Area and they are at the tip end of chiefs as a community belonging to different types of chiefs, and |

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| | as you get to Bokong it is also at the tip of this RMA, range management area again, and it also belongs to a different set of chief. But the way it occurred the community had a lot of buy-in, it had to happen, you first of all get the community to forego the use of that land in terms of their normal sort of agricultural activities. And they just used to send their livestock |
| MB | Who did those negotiations with the communities? |
| TT | The consultant did the negotiations. |
| MB | There weren't LHDA people involved in that? |
| TT | LHDA people were not deeply involved, they were facilitating and monitoring that the consultant is actually doing this or is facilitated by going to the communities and talk to them. But, essentially what the Consultant did was to format the communities into what today we call the Community Conservation Forum, for each of those areas. Then he encourages people to form these so that he could talk to them as representatives of various constituencies within the community, and that then facilitated those people to go back to their constituencies and discuss the ideas and come back with responses. So that on a regular basis there was now information flowing from the consultant into communities, and then there would be some feedback where communities would understand. It was through this kind of exercise that actually the first 100 hectares of Ts'ehlanyane of *Leucosidea* forest was allowed to spread to cover the whole of the Ts'ehlanyane valley which is now about 6.6 thousand hectares.<br><br>So it meant to try and tie the two nature reserves together, it meant that we had to find another maybe two or three sets of communities through some chiefs at the local chiefs levels, who now access that 20km, about 17km, rangeland connecting the two. Talk them into the same sort of language and orientation so that eventually the whole place can be make into one with the network of hiking trials and other facilities. The idea actually came up, and we even went up to the level of budgeting for the development of what we would do as a biosphere reserve to connect the two nature reserves. So that a set of rondavels, or tents, or whatever, could be erected as a halfway house from Ts'ehlanyane to Bokong. It was just that the concept wasn't, the idea of nature reserve is not essentially core business at LHDA, and there wasn't much support to actually carry to idea through. Now it's going to be seen as more of a waste of funds that could be utilised elsewhere. We would have to justify, perhaps with successful implementation of the nature reserves, as they were that then, maybe the expansion would be the biosphere reserve as the next step. |
| MB | The process of getting the community to agree, how long did it take? Was it a very difficult process? Did the consultant create expectations in people they may not be able to meet? Because those kinds of things you can imagine being drawn out over quite a few years. |
| TT | In fact, that was the crux of the whole thing. The fact that we got the community support was the constant going in and coming back, and so on to the consultants. It took the consultants 18 months to actually get the buy-in of the communities and to say, yes, now we are ready you can go ahead with the consult. Fortunately we had a consultant who completely de-emphasized any high expectations, who actually told us that the community should be told spot on that the success of that was entirely on their hands, and that the consultant was not coming to create any magic except to try and facilitate them to be able to do something. So that it was on the basis of the kind of support we provide, that this thing would be successful. So the communities were from the onset were clear that if there were to be any curios to be sold, they would have been developed by |

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| | them. They did not understand what curios were at the time, they did not understand what tourism was at the time but the consultant indicated that if things went well the core developments could set as the first attraction for tourists, and once the tourists is there it is then through facilitation that the community would be in a position to draw some money from the tourist. Selling curios was just one, looking after the tourist was another, feeding the tourist was another, and taking them through, guiding them through, and then they must take in some of those cultural activities.<br><br>Now a number of things that would unfold, so that it meant the community would not really on their own be able to take care or capture very much from the tourist other than the first is that they had to have a well conserved environment, which somebody would be in a position to leave all the way from Germany, or wherever, to come and see it. That if you sell that, the tourist would like to see it, and would like to see other things as well. Then there will be stages where the consultant will build these facilities, the core facilities, and they would still be left at the stage where other money-making ventures could be harnessed or attached on like the lodge, like the chalets that could be there, and many other ideas that could be there.<br><br>I would not say it was easy, because it meant that the communities had to forego their rangeland without really receiving compensation in return, even though it was during times when most of the community affected by LHWP were receiving compensation. These communities were not receiving compensation in any other form other than now the expected input that they would have, in order to enhance the nature reserve further, and their own income after that. There would have been, naturally when you deal with people, and you are a foreigner, and you talk of some ideas that are either foreign or alien to them, they tend to have expectation of a better livelihood even though they don't have the idea. So they were taken to places in S.A., where it already is happening, where other people are creating curios for sale. They saw that nobody was doing anything for anybody, that people were building these things themselves, patiently setting there producing 100s and 1000s of articles, that it took their whole energy to develop and produce, that the consultant's role was to facilitate that.<br><br>Part of what was achieved to a certain extent. The other expectations were they were going to be developments by consultant himself, such as the construction of the rondavels, and the renovation of buildings here and there, and other small time constructions for which now there was going to be labour. So that became the element of contest for the communities who now, instead of being or seeing this as an opportunity for skills for their lot, a lot of committee members, remember I talked about CCF conservation forums, the members began to see opportunities for themselves even. For instance, you would find the situation where somebody is a member of CCF, and has to take the message back to their constituency that we need a number of role-players, for instance. The consultant receives a letter nominating four bricklayers including the person himself who attends CCF. So it became an issue like that, which is understandable, because people were looking for jobs and they felt that being a member necessarily put them at an advantage for a job. Those were the kind of expectations they had. They were also hoping when you talk to some of them that sometime LHDA would have a change of heart to actually pay them compensation for their forfeiture of forage, so systematically the answer was always there: compensation for you is actually your own you have to develop yourselves, you have to now go in and participate in the development the larger development. |
| MB | I'm a bit perplexed by this. You have the situation where people have given up 7000 hectares of land. There is an agreement with the nature reserves that 10% goes to the communities, and the nature reserves at the moment generate only |

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| | R300 000 a year of which 75% is coming from Ts'ehlanyane. So the money generated is not even equivalent to a very low rental on that 7000 hectares, and you are dealing with people who are primarily livestock herders. So what I'm perplexed about is why did people agree to alienate the land for conservation when it doesn't seem that many benefits are coming to them. The reserves are still run by LHDA, and they are getting 10% income, but that 10% income is small change compared to any other source, so I don't fully understand why people actually bought into this concept? |
| TT | What I can say to you is just that towards the end, when I say towards the end is towards the end of the consultant's development and his termination. |
| MB | What year was that? |
| TT | The contract ended in 2001July, and then it was extended by another year to August.2002. Some of the promises that the consultant had, a lot of them are still outstanding when you look for instance at Ts'ehlanyane, what would have happened. And at Liphofung I would say there the consultant almost met his brief as he has promised the communities, because the quantities and the quality of curios at Liphofung is something which they can prepare and sell 90% of their produce without a problem. They also have started their small time demonstrations to visitors, they will come and do dances and so on. I am not so sure how well remunerated that activity is.<br><br>So there it is where the issue of compensation was much higher than even at Ts'ehlanyane because the communities had seen compensation of structures. They used the idea of the caves to demand compensation for some structures to be erected on the site, or somewhere away from site, that they can continue with their transhumance activities while they felt that LHDA could have then occupied their place. But they changed their minds when they realised that their place was actually going to be theirs, not necessarily that of LHDA, and they would still own the place and own the developments. The 10% issue although it came to 10% but the understanding was that there would be a shareholding which results in sharing the benefits, or the profits to a certain extend. This 10% was just an arbitrary figure that the consultant then thought that since there will be meagre takings maybe a lot of it would go into administration of the place, and that initially 10% would be a figure to kind of demonstrate to the public that you can have something out of this. So that the figure was supposed to be reviewed each time and either increased or changed.<br><br>At Liphofung, in my own interpretation is over developed for what it is after, I'm not so sure proportionately whether it gets the same magnitude of visitors as Ts'ehlanyane, but Ts'ehlanyane, because of functions that can be held there, has a capacity to hold much more proportions of visitors. But now trying to answer you there in terms of the apparent ease with which the communities agreed to alienate so much land. Initially the land itself was already not freely available to them, even though it was theirs. The Chief because of the *Leucosidea* forest, the Chief of Leribe had actually declared and it looked like it had been hereditary issue. Before him the older Chief had already declared that valley as a reserve because of the kind of plants that were in there. So I am not just sure whether he did not go as far as a gazette to protect that area altogether from the community use, so that they would only select few individuals who were actually allowed to bring their animals in there. Because at the time of LHDA going in there were not, it was not used like a daily rangeland for everybody. The only compensation that was done in there was relocation of the Chief of Leribe's son's cattle post. That was the only operating cattle post, others had long been taken out of there by the Chief himself. Maybe it was a kind of a fortuitous occasion where the community was already not so hotly or strongly attached to the place. |

I would say this because the place was largely inaccessibly, as you can see, the only access is the one that has been constructed by LHDA. When that access was pioneered for tunnel operations, immediately the community took advantage of that started hacking down the bush, the *Leucosidea* bush. People drove as far as TY to go get some wood there, so we even had to go in even over radio and so on to try and stop the people. So that vandalisation of the forest was occurring so fast, which indicated that access in there always been a problem for the communities in the neighbourhood as well as anybody else, and the first opportunity of LHDA coming in because it came under cover of a legal permit, then everybody went through that loop hole and then tried to salvage as much wood as they could. So that awareness that "look you have a this treasure that you can have better use of it than when you chop it down, you can have a better use of it by having other people come to view it," then it kind of changed their attitude.

So I want to believe that for those people it was not a difficult thing to depart with a large track of land because they didn't really didn't actively use it, although they owned it. There was still, and I am sure even today there are still contestants, you have a few, who still contest that they want to bring their animals in there, and occasionally they do get them into the area because they do not immediately see the kinds of benefits that have been proposed and expected. And this is what I think and is problematic but is the problem brought in by the nature or the style by which LHDA in managing the place because you have what is there which was intended to be just a base, and that further activities would be injected in to facilitate the communities to be at the level at which they can take opportunities of each, and there are a number of opportunities that one is looking at. Last time you were there and LHDA managers and ESSG managers and some section heads had a three or four-day workshop, the catering was done by somebody who was coming from outside the area. The original intention was that such services would be provided locally, but the communities have not yet been mobilised and trained accordingly. if you have walked into the shops there, the curios there were hardly any curios there and those that were there went of a high quality.

Another thing is a shortcoming on our takeover from the consultant, but now it was our opportunity to take this further. You would have seen that they had a few horses up there. Initially the consultant had brought a few horses in there say "look," its difficult and for a dual purpose to demonstrate for tourism that you have horses ready that can be used by persons who come here and they also used to extinguish fires that could have been started elsewhere and burnt into the park. So they used the horses to get to the very high places. But now LHDA needed to have organised the community into a pony trekking association, and there are a few guides needed to have been further developed so that you have a much large number of guides and other activities such as, today LHDA have convinced or managed to swing around some interest to develop a lodge in there. Now you bring a lodge you bring other services associated with the lodge. And the idea was that such a valley like Ts'ehlanyane when you look at the valley floor of the Hlotse river it has a very high potential of irrigation, and lot of green vegetables that will go onto the lodge tables will probably come from there. There is no reason why they should not come from there, which means that now LHDA has to introduce the idea of irrigation, horticulture activities to the place so that now when you bring in functions of this nature, there are support facilities, that people can actually come and hold conferences in there, and be supplied by food.

So I think LHDA needs to before exit to develop some kind of training plan which would take one or two community members there and have them trained in various aspects of entrepreneur skills, and mobilize them in such a manner that

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| | they would be catering for conferences and not people from outside coming in. |
| MB | So let's take it from that story of the Chief protecting the *Leucosidea*, it sounds to me like if there has not been protection the *Leucosidea* would have been cut out a long time ago. Are there other places in Lesotho where chiefs have carried out this kind of natural resources protection, a deliberate protection of certain plant species? |
| TT | The way that conservation works in Lesotho is assisted by government in a way that is being as far back as colonial times, and whether the colonials found the people in a position to actually do conservation or they introduced it themselves that I am not sure of. What happened, I will give you an example, I still live in a village, if I need some firewood in winter, I won't just take an axe and walk into the nearest bush and cut a few trees that I see. Usually you will find a Chief has got a committee that controls all types of resources that are available, so that in terms of firewood then it is a controlled resource. You walk into the bush with some representative from the committee, who chooses for you which trees you will cut which ones you will preserve.<br><br>The similar exercise is also done for livestock everybody does not drive their livestock where they like, there will be a system of opening an area for grazing for a period and all other areas will be held protected for a while. Somebody will investigate walk around and make a determination that the area is now ready for grazing. So the chief will make an announcement that area A is now preserved, now we move to area B. So that transition is implemented in varying degrees from chieftainship to chieftainship. There would be some chief who have gone completely lax about it, because a fellow who has a job himself who has to go to Maseru or some place to work, so that his livelihood is not much supported by the kind of agrarian lifestyle but is supported elsewhere. Once his livelihood is derived somewhere else then his interest diminishes in terms of the actual protection of conservation of the area.<br><br>So then of course there is politics to bring in. A chief maybe belonging to a certain team of politics, to political affiliation, and the committee might be consisting of a different political affiliation, and then the clashes political in experience turn to manifest how they will manage the resources. Again I think the worst of it is religious affiliation. You find a lot of bad management has resulted because of religious affiliation. Before the colonials came in, they were more or less talking in one language, and the priest and religions came in different languages, and that's when people started belonging differently even when they were belonging to one clan. Then politics came to sub-divide them even further, so that even in one family the father belongs to one denomination, and is having different politics from the son, from the wife, from other siblings so that you can easily divide the whole family. From those two parameters, and as such other pillars of life, have been affected and in my experience being more from religion than being from politics. |