

# Third Nature: Making Space and Time in the Great Limpopo Conservation Area

David McDermott Hughes  
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey

Environmental conservation makes both space and spatial scale. Eighteenth-century French scientists first gained an understanding of the climate by studying deforestation and dessication on Mauritius and similar islands (Grove 1995:168). They then conceived of the “environment” itself and located it in terms of scale. In Lefebvre’s (1991) terms, this seminal “production of space” has yielded a corresponding set of environmentalist “spatial practices.” As geographers increasingly recognize, environmentalists erect and police many of the scales of Neil Smith’s “spatialized politics”: body, home, community, urban, region, nation, and globe (Smith 1992; Swyngedouw 2004). For instance, Northern environmentalists extend their “global reach” (Shiva 1992) when they describe a problem of deforestation or pollution as planetary, rather than as regional or local (Taylor and Buttel 1992). In the 1990s, environmental organizations invented “new conservation territories” (Zimmerer 2000), ranging from “heartlands” to “eco-regions” to “transfrontier conservation areas.” These zones often bear little relation to the actual movements of people, animals, or water. To use Tsing’s word, conservationists “conjure” these spaces and spatial scales (Tsing 2000b; cf. Gupta 1992:69; Katz 1998; Redfield 2000:247–48). Anthropologists have already discussed similar spatial practices produced by earlier anthropologists and state bureaucrats. Like the much-maligned colonial ethnographer, the conservationist often “incarcerates” rural people, fixing their location on a map for all time (Appadurai 1988:37; Malkki 1992:28). In common with states, environmental bodies increasingly exercise governmentality. Practicing what Ferguson and Gupta (2002) describe as “vertical encompassment,” they locate social groups within vast ecological regions. In short, the cultural politics of conservation—like the cultural politics of so many forms of administration—makes space.

Through representations that I call “third nature,” these cultural politics also make time. *First nature* refers to a pristine, prehuman environment, now understood as purely historical or mythical. *Second nature* refers to the environment

*CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY*, Vol. 20, Issue 2, pp. 157–184, ISSN 0886-7356, electronic ISSN 1548-1360.  
© 2005 by the American Anthropological Association. All rights reserved. Please direct all requests for permission to photocopy or reproduce article content through the University of California Press’s Rights and Permissions website, [www.ucpress.edu/journals/rights.htm](http://www.ucpress.edu/journals/rights.htm).

as worked by people and shaped by extraction, agriculture, markets, and other anthropogenic factors.<sup>1</sup> *Third nature* refers not to these observable factors but to the potential of landforms in a given area to support specific types of wildlife communities. Speculation, rather than exploitation, produces third nature. A rangeland for beef cattle might provide grazing for wild ungulates. Or in a more arid zone, if people piped water in, then new plant and animal communities would flourish. In this conditional sense, then, ideas of third nature often carry assumptions or predictions regarding human action or inaction. The imagined third nature of an artificially irrigated savannah requires that people import enough moisture for water holes but not enough water to support crops. Given its virtual quality, third nature is fungible in a way that second nature is not. To change second nature, one must actually replant the garden. Third nature requires no such action. It always lives—as a latent potential that remains dormant. In other words, third nature violates the laws of linear chronology. It is not past, present, or future, but conditional; not a tense, but a mood of speech.<sup>2</sup> When they write or speak, cautious conservationists use “should,” “would,” and other markers of this mood. Just as often, however, conservationists misuse the indicative mood. They impute current existence to a desired future and conjure a material form for third nature.

Perhaps no single group of conservation planners has conjured more than those who are responsible for the Great Limpopo Transboundary Conservation Area. Heralded as the largest conservation zone in the world, the protected area spans the boundaries of South Africa, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique. In 1995, I worked for the World Bank’s Mozambican mission as an anthropological consultant on the original proposal, which had been relatively modest in its scope. By 1999, when I consulted for an NGO in Zimbabwe, the zone had expanded northward deep into that country. Meanwhile, agencies and individuals with close links to the South African tourism industry had captured the concept. What had begun as a scheme for groups of resident smallholder farmers and herders to benefit from tourism had now become a mammoth “landscape of leisure” (Wilson 1991) for the benefit of the hotel and game-viewing industry. In this new guise, smallholders would have to go. By 2003, authorities in Mozambique and Zimbabwe had made plans for the removal of populations inhabiting at least two parts of the conservation area. The more reasonable and humane conservationists began to criticize this new turn.<sup>3</sup> “[Do not] glorify this latest conservationist land grab with the term *concept*,” cautioned the conservationist Richard Bell, when I told him of my research plans (personal communication, June 17, 2001). Clearly, the group I refer to as “Southern African conservationists” or “Southern African planners” contains a range of opinions. So far, however, dissenters among these natural scientists, social scientists, administrators, and investors grumble only in private or in muted tones. No one has yet undertaken a sustained critique of third nature. In this article, I hope that skeptical conservationists will find ideas exactly for that agenda.

### Planning and Scale in Southern Africa

Southern Africa is in the midst of a geographical renaissance. Beginning in the late 1980s, a twin withering of socialism and nationalism shook spatial assumptions. Meanwhile, whites felt the long-term effects of independence: a sense of cultural displacement and spatial disorientation. The present moment, then, calls for new scales, and planners and conservationists have supplied them.

In 1990, Zimbabwe chucked its weak form of socialism and opened space for a new policy narrative about social change.<sup>4</sup> The deregulation of prices, finance, trade, and land displaced the state as the key agent for transformation. Who would lead change in the future? Regarding the management of natural resources, conservationists provided a consistent and convincing answer to this question. “The modern state apparatus . . . imposed [itself] on communal Africa,” explained Simon Metcalfe, one of the originators of the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). Thankfully, the damage could be undone because “the traditional roots of communal life are still strong, providing a web of social and material security” (Metcalfe 1994:185). So inspired, natural and social scientists in government, NGOs, and universities (including myself, at that time a graduate student affiliated with the University of Zimbabwe) pushed the state to devolve authority over natural resources to “communities.” Communities, it was hoped, would then give up low-profit, unsustainable poaching and, in its place, contract with high-profit, sustainable tourism enterprises through programs like CAMPFIRE. In the early 1990s, the CAMPFIRE program achieved this result in two geographical regions, one of them in the eventual Great Limpopo zone. On the basis of this rather limited success—and huge grants from donors—CAMPFIRE’s format rapidly became a blueprint for conservation and development programs worldwide. Throughout, many Zimbabwean conservationists gritted their teeth. Local, district-level governments, they knew, wielded most of the power and controlled a large part of the income under CAMPFIRE. Decentralization, as James Murombedzi (1992) wrote, became “recentralization.”<sup>5</sup> Yet this sentiment of the silent majority of conservationists only reinforced the logic of decentralization: “communities” should manage natural resources (Murphree 1991; Ostrom 1990). A Harare consensus emerged: small was beautiful, and it superseded the national collectivity.

In comparison with Zimbabwe, Mozambique had farther to travel to reach the same consensus and did so with even more explicit attention to scale. Starting from a much more avowedly socialist concept of citizenship, government agencies voiced an even stronger commitment to “community.” Mozambican socialists Eduardo Mondlane and Samora Machel had seen rural people as a “peasantry”—a single class and unit of analysis. Their Frelimo party by and large discounted place of birth, regional identity, and geography. With an astonishing drive to homogenize—and, in Scott’s (1998) terms, to render society “legible”—the 1983 Party Congress heralded “the correct development of the Mozambican personality.”<sup>6</sup> On the ground, however, war split the peasantry and the nation

into numerous factions, rendering it manifestly illegible. By the 1992 ceasefire, the state had abandoned socialism and single-partyism and was laying the groundwork for decentralization. Could it replace the “Mozambican personality” with a new concept that would make the ever fractious countryside truly “legible”? By 1994, various ministries had begun investigations. In an effort to chart a course of state decentralization, the Ministry of State Administration sent an anthropologist, Iraê Baptista Lundin, to previously rebel-held areas. A brief period of fieldwork led to profound conclusions. Lundin wrote: “The individual. . . [only] recognizes himself as a man and thus identifies himself, as a social being, in his territory.”<sup>7</sup> Concurrent efforts by the Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife reinforced the salience of territory. The directorate collaborated with Zimbabwean social scientists, some of them implementers of CAMPFIRE, to map chiefdoms in the east of the country. In the language of the day, they mapped “communities.” In 1997, a new Land Law recognized community rights in land, something Zimbabwe had never done. In short, projects from the field to the courts downscaled citizenship. Community replaced the category of the peasantry.<sup>8</sup>

This rethinking of geographical units and scales answered an unspoken yearning in southern African whites: it allowed them to escape the confines of the nation and jump scales upward. Particularly in Zimbabwe and South Africa, whites felt marginal to the postindependence, black-ruled nation. Some, nonetheless, asserted their citizenship. Catherine Buckle, who lost her farm in 2000 to Zimbabwean paramilitaries, still proclaimed, “I love my country and all the people in it and I want this [violence] to stop” (Buckle 2001:vi). Other whites gave up sooner. For them, the nation-state failed in its usual role as a “geobody” or an “imagined community” for identities and aspirations (Anderson 1983; Thongchai Winichakul 1994). Among these Euro-Africans, some have chosen—almost as an act of will—to identify with the continent as a whole, rather than with any one country or even with the southern subcontinent. Alexandra Fuller, who grew up partly in the Great Limpopo and partly on a farm seized by the Zimbabwe government in the early 1980s, deplained in Lusaka to meet, not Zambia, but Africa: “The incongruous, lawless, joyful, violent, upside-down illogical uncertainty of Africa comes at me like a rolling rainstorm, until I am drenched in relief” (Fuller 2001:287).<sup>9</sup> Even whites who supported nationalist movements sometimes treat the nation-state as irrelevant in other contexts. “How to write about Africa?” asks the antiapartheid writer Breyten Breytenbach. “From what angle? From what background? Can it be done?” (Breytenbach 1996:124–125). How odd that Breytenbach should worry in this way about his newly liberated homeland of South Africa. His aspirations require a bigger container, a larger scale of citizenship—although he has not yet found it.

Among whites, conservationists have developed vivid imaginings of a congenial postnationalist geography. Initially, Zimbabwe’s independence left many white civil servants aghast. They asked themselves, as one white conservationist recalled, “Why am I in Africa? I’m not speaking Shona. I almost want to

vomit when I think of marrying a black woman” (interview, Harare, April 24, 2003).<sup>10</sup> By identifying with nature and nature-based tourism, my informant continued, whites found a reason for being in Africa. They gained footing on a moral foundation stronger and more lasting than the state and the nation together. Later in the 1990s, some whites lashed back at the nation: “Political boundaries are the scars of history,” denounces Willem van Riet of the Peace Parks Foundation (Godwin 2001:11). To heal these scars, some conservation-minded whites have lately revived Cecil Rhodes’s imperialist Cape-to-Cairo corridor. Rhodes never built the north–south railway, but in the 1920s, the British travel firm Thomas Cook and Sons organized tours from Cairo to Cape Town.<sup>11</sup> Today, Noel de Villiers, a South African conservationist cum financier, pleads that “Africa should endeavor to join all of its game parks contiguously from Cape to Cairo.”<sup>12</sup> Even Peter Godwin, a deliberately middle-of-the-road journalist and author born in Zimbabwe, raves in *National Geographic* about this “ecological Cape to Cairo dream” (Godwin 2001:17). Pan-Africanism, some of whose earliest exponents were white, has come back in fashion. In essence, a handful of Euro-African nature lovers have (re)asserted a continental space commensurate with a particular white history and hope for the future.

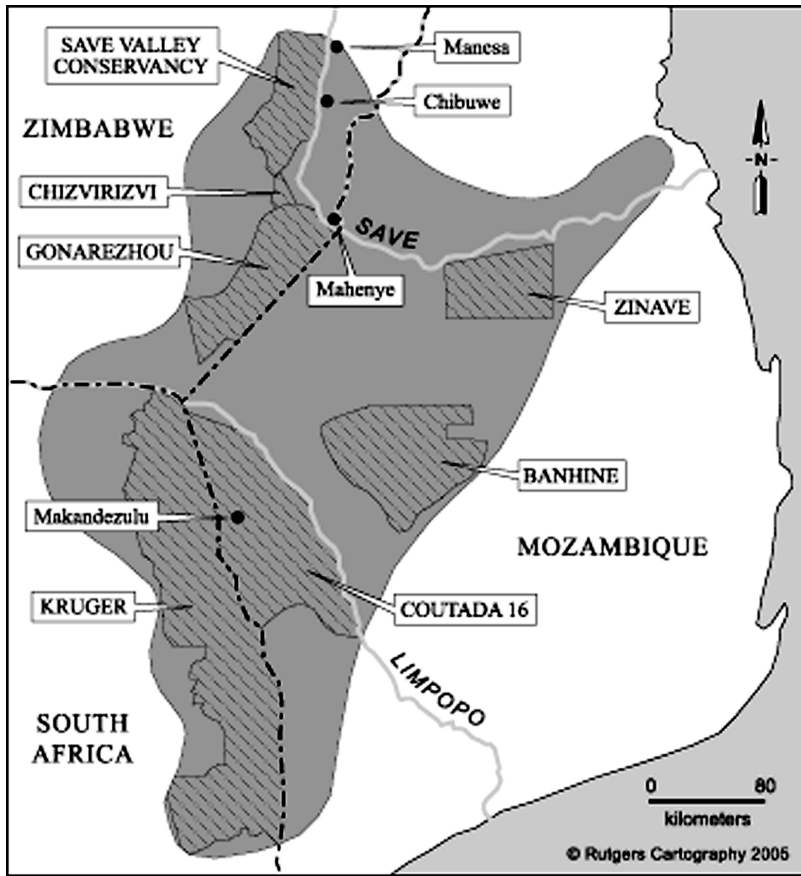
Thus, the Great Limpopo Conservation Area represents an ideological amalgam, concocted by strange bedfellows. Similar to the “globalist projects” Tsing describes, it contains “contradictory as well as charismatic logics and. . . messy as well effective encounters and translations” (Tsing 2000a:330). To the casual onlooker, the Great Limpopo Conservation Area seems more charismatic than contradictory and more effective than messy. How does this project stick together so well? As invented scales, both the bioregion, in the form of the African continent, and the community seem as true as nature. Peasants see “the landscape from the snake level,” explained one planner in a workshop near Pretoria; policy makers see “the landscape from the bird’s view.”<sup>13</sup> This language functions as an “anti-politics machine” (Ferguson 1994): it helps direct attention away from issues of inequality and power and toward narrow, technical concerns. Rather than asking whether or why peasants live locally, planners begin to zone local areas for them.<sup>14</sup> Without altogether intending to do so, even planners who are otherwise pro-peasant attempt to stop them from crossing boundaries that tourists cross. The Great Limpopo Conservation Area constrains small-scale farmers while freeing large-scale investors and tourists. Mobility is gained by one group and lost by another. All the peasants are black and almost all the tourists and managers of tourism are white (MacKenzie 1988; Wels 2000:233). Therefore, such planning exacerbates the structural racism so emblematic of southern Africa. Although neither grey-green nor greasy, the Great Limpopo perpetuates the conceptual biases of Kipling’s era.<sup>15</sup>

### Communities “in Their Areas”

One Zimbabwean NGO confronted the issue of mobility more directly and more ambivalently than perhaps any other. The Southern Alliance for Indigenous

Resources (SAFIRE) arose in the midst of the most large-scale rural-to-rural migration ever to occur in the Great Limpopo area: the outflow of one-third of Mozambique's population during the war of the 1980s and early 1990s. In 1993, Gus Le Breton, a Kenyan-born, British-educated Zimbabwean white, volunteered in Tongogara Camp, one of three refugee camps established for Mozambicans in eastern Zimbabwe. There, he observed tens of thousands of refugees exhausting natural resources and severely taxing neighboring Zimbabwean settlements. Within a year, Le Breton had founded an NGO, aptly named the Fuelwood Crisis Consortium. In 1994, Mozambique's war officially ended, and the last of the refugees returned. At least, they left the camps—but often they were not home-ward bound. Le Breton and his colleagues observed firsthand the multifarious spatial strategies of refugees cum labor migrants cum crossborder traders. Meanwhile, Le Breton renamed his organization (SAFIRE) and expanded its presence in eastern Zimbabwe. Consequently, he adapted the organization to work with populations presumed to be more sedentary than refugees. SAFIRE hired Jeanette Clarke, a self-exiled South African white, to lead its work in “participatory rural appraisal” (PRA). The agency soon made a name for itself as Zimbabwe's leading practitioner of this method for assessing rural needs. Meanwhile, the agency sponsored a number of its staff to train in the social sciences and encouraged them to engage with local and foreign social scientists (including myself). Finally, SAFIRE adapted the ideals of the popular CAMPFIRE program in community-based wildlife management to the comparatively wildlife-poor conditions of eastern Zimbabwe. Rural people could earn income from photo tourism and, SAFIRE hoped, from the sustainable harvest and sale of medicinal plants and plant-based handicrafts. Moreover, these were all activities that rural people could do in situ. SAFIRE embraced the community scale with gusto.

SAFIRE then applied the concept of community to some more unlikely locales. From 1995–97, I conducted fieldwork under SAFIRE's aegis and at Vhimba, one of its long-standing project sites located on the Zimbabwe–Mozambique border (slightly north of the Great Limpopo zone). There smallholders were cultivating alongside or within the poorly marked boundary of a botanical reserve; SAFIRE tried to persuade them to cease doing so by providing them with economic alternatives: irrigating their fields outside the reserve, running a grain mill, and hosting tourists. As I document elsewhere, these ventures all failed because of Vhimba's remoteness from markets and a lack of enthusiasm among some local residents for the ventures themselves (Hughes 2001a, 2001b). Indeed, SAFIRE's chief ally in Vhimba had foretold this outcome almost from the beginning. Having advocated irrigation, he lamented, “The people of Tiyekiye's village. . . prefer boundary issues to water.”<sup>16</sup> Both Vhimba's squatters and the Department of National Parks refused to make any territorial compromises with each other. Some years later, SAFIRE again tried to defuse a boundary conflict, this time closer to the former Tongogara refugee camp and within the evolving Great Limpopo zone. During the 1970s war of independence, the Rhodesian government



**Figure 1**  
**The Great Limpopo Transboundary Conservation Area.**

had moved employees in ranches west of the Save River into east-bank irrigation schemes, such as Manesa and Chibuwe (see Figure 1) and “protected villages.” After independence, many would have returned to the ranches where they had cultivated their own gardens, raised bees, and collected wild plants. Yet the ranchers had other ideas: they had decided to convert from cattle to game and created the Save Valley Conservancy.<sup>17</sup> They marked the river with a high electrified fence confining smallholders to the east bank of the Save. When I arrived in Manesa in 1999 as a consultant for SAFIRE, a headman’s son commented on this enclosure bitterly, “We have been shut in [tavharirwal]” (interview, Manesa, August 4, 1999).<sup>18</sup> Could SAFIRE skirt around these territorial, boundary-contesting “cadastral politics” (Hughes 2001a) and still promote natural resource-based development?

To help it tread this fine line, SAFIRE relied on “participatory rural appraisal” (PRA). Yet it could not avoid issues of territory and boundaries. The district officer





[Nyika yakatorwa negame],” recounted a woman. As if continuing her thought, a man later concluded, “Therefore, we will do as border-jumpers do [Saka toita sema border jumper].”<sup>19</sup> The comment linked the practice of crossing the Save for honey with crossing the Limpopo for employment. Manesa people were busting out of SAFIRE’s community scale.

SAFIRE attempted to force them back in. Indeed, given the objectives of the organization and its funding, the staff felt they had no choice. “The project’s overall goal,” the director had written, “is the economic development of communal and resettlement farming areas based on sustainable, productive use of natural resources” (Grundy and Le Breton 1997–98:20). SAFIRE’s mandate did not allow it to enter the privately held conservancy; so the staff identified this expansive pressure from Manesa people as a constraint not an opportunity. “The problem is they are too much looking behind that fence,” complained one fieldworker (interview, Manesa, August 4, 1999). Neither he nor his colleagues wanted to try to solve the problem. “Effectively, we are part of the system,” confessed one manager to me at a later date, “We are not change agents anymore” (interview, Harare, 23 August 1999).<sup>20</sup> Later still, the PRA officer’s final report on Manesa reflected this ambivalence and the search for a safer course of action:

The community felt that they should exhaust the issue of the [Save Valley] conservancy despite the fact that of current [currently] they were not realizing the benefits of the concept [the land grievance]. An assurance was provided by the SAFIRE staff on the commitments made [to relay the land grievance to local government], but . . . the enterprise department [of SAFIRE] would determine the direction in which SAFIRE was going to take. [Sibanda 1999:3]

Thus, a branch of SAFIRE not present at the appraisal overruled local sentiments. In-boundary containment would go forward—even in the teeth of known territorial priorities.

This private agency at least recorded peasants’ transboundary ambitions; local governments in the Great Limpopo sometimes ignored them completely. Within a few months of SAFIRE’s appraisal of Manesa, the Chipinge Rural District Council held a workshop involving a nearby locality called Chibuwe (see Figure 1). Also on the east bank of the Save, Chibuwe shared Manesa’s history of cross-river resource use, confinement, and fencing. As for Manesa, Chibuwe threatened to subvert the agenda of in-boundary development. This time during the PRA, participants included pit sand, reeds, and bee hives west of the Save River in their resource matrix. The PRA leader—known as Chipinge’s CAMPFIRE officer—later showed me the original map from Chibuwe (see Figure 2) and his adaptation of it for the final report (see Figure 3; Chipinge Rural District Council 1999:6). Astonishingly, his design deleted all the notations west of the Save and introduced a border around Chibuwe. As he put it, the officer “reproduced the information that was relevant for the workshop.” Presumably in the same spirit, the expert also introduced the notation “Save River Travelers Camp.” In fact, the camp was a completely foreign idea to Chibuwe. The council and the conservancy—now



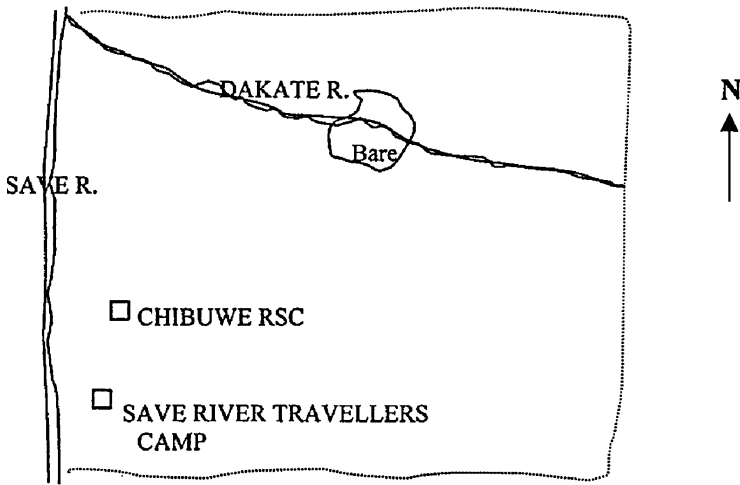


Figure 3

Reproduction of figure 2 in PRA report. Source: Chipinge Rural District Council 1999. "Report on natural resource management workshop held at Manesa Rural Training Centre on 26–30, April," (p. 6).

to dismiss peasants' will to ford the river going westbound. Figuratively, planners erected a one-way gate around the smallholder settlement.

That gate—and its notion of spatial constraint—springs from the very language embedded in "community." Zimbabwe's "Communal Area Reorganisation Plan" articulates the principle of "planning defined geographical space to be occupied by defined communities" (Agritex 1988:2). Likewise, Mozambique's National Directorate of Forestry and Wildlife seeks to "empower communities to manage natural resources within their surrounding environments" (Direcção Nacional de Florestas e Fauna Bravia 1999:21). Thus, social action follows from a pre-determined territorial unit—as the document assures: it will be accomplished through "effective and thorough public debate and community participation" (Agritex 1988:1). Such doublespeak makes a certain sense: community-based development empowers people in their areas and nowhere else. Hence, planners obsess about cartography and, in particular, about boundaries.<sup>22</sup> "What is the purpose of a map?" asked a workshop facilitator in 1999. To "show boundaries," responded the leader of Manesa's PRA with alacrity.<sup>23</sup> Another PRA leader operating in the Great Limpopo told me: "To draw a community map, [residents] . . . have to highlight the resources . . . as well as mark out a boundary, a rough boundary" (interview, Chimanimani, July 14, 2000). Beyond the boundary—in places such as the west bank of the Save—people may stake no claims. The boundary separates empowerment from disempowerment. And it certifies the community as a natural scale for development—as a container for people's ambitions. In 1999, brochures of the Poverty Alleviation Action Programme exhorted Chipinge

peasants in English to “Participate in the development of your community.” The author, of course, translated this statement, but he or she found no Shona cognate for “community.” Resorting to the standard geographical lexicon, the Shona version of the brochure (when back-translated) urges: “Become a member in planning the development of your place.”<sup>24</sup> By implication, only errant peasants, such as squatters and poachers, go transboundary. Proper communities stay where they belong.

In so negating peasants’ mobility and extensive dreams, community theory also denied them a future. Families on the eastern bank of the Save were growing and they knew it. “We have been forced to live together as in a resettlement scheme—the lines. . . . Our children have no place to live [takagariswa semaresettlement, maline. . . . Vana vedu havana pokugara]” (personal communication, Chibuwe, July 23, 1999). Here the reference to “lines” compares this policy to colonial regimes of drawing settlement grids. When I relayed their concerns, a district officer responded, “Land being scarce, we cannot set aside for futures” (interview, Chipinge, August 17, 1999). At the Manesa exercise, one of the agricultural extension agents defended his practice with regard to unborn children: “Normally we don’t plan for somebody who is not there” (interview, Manesa, August 4, 1999). Surely, such planning—based on an assumption of stasis—is no planning at all. It enters the realm of fantasy. “As time goes on,” mused a high-placed official in Chimanimani, “these villages will become urbanized. You never know” (interview, Chimanimani, July 21, 1999). With greater certainty, the head of a CAMPFIRE agency coached me on his architectural strategy for peasants: “OK, let us expand upwards, and, if we can have some five-storey buildings, rather than expanding that way [arms outstretched]” (interview, Harare, March 31, 2000). These planners and social appraisers saw tall towns where there were only dispersed huts in the process of dispersing further. Indeed, their bureaucratic vision suffered from a defect inverse to that of the rhino which cannot see people unless they move. A number of Great Limpopo planners would not recognize people unless they stood still.

### “Afrikatourism”

Toward the end of the 1990s, a subset of southern African conservationists worked to amend the “Harare Consensus”: small was beautiful as far as peasants went; however, for wild flora and fauna bigger was better. In Harare and the regional capitals, highly trained ecologists and economists advanced this claim. They wrote a good deal of both academic pieces and unpublished “gray literature.” They also attended a movable feast of workshops and conferences at which I crossed paths with many of them. Chiefly, they pushed for larger and larger units for the management of natural resources and for the planning of nature-based tourism. They proposed the creation of a Great Limpopo Conservation Area and similar projects throughout southern Africa. In so doing, they gave credence to the even more ambitious schemes of South African financiers: an Africa-wide

zone of tourism. Such expansive thinking—from the merely transboundary to the continental—often warped time. Notions of international wildlife ranges tended to make the potential future of third nature appear present. Time and space became as fluid as ecology; hand in hand with economics and entrepreneurialism, they crossed nearly all boundaries.

Regarding space, ecologists acted on a seemingly implacable hostility toward surveyed boundaries, an attitude known in the United States as bioregionalism (Aberly 1999; Berg and Dasmann 1977). In southern and eastern Africa, as in so much of the world, surveyors did not consult ecologists when marking their lines, even around protected areas. The results could be fatal. At the height of the 1970s drought, elephants hemmed into Kenya's Tsavo National Park ate the woodland and then starved in enormous numbers.<sup>25</sup> This carnage—the effect of “insularization”<sup>26</sup>—incriminated the entire system of discrete, bounded protected areas. Somehow, farmers and grazers would have to cede land to migratory mammals. In Zimbabwe, the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management crafted an incentive package to make wildlife more attractive to farmers. In 1975, white ranchers, and in 1989, the first local government units, gained the right to profit from wildlife through tourism and sustainable hunting. Down came the fences. White ranchers sold their cattle, restocked the land with wild ungulates, and amalgamated their parcels into the Save Valley Conservancy and similar new territories (see Figure 1; Wels 2000:211; Wolmer 2001:165–66). In black communal lands, the CAMPFIRE program expanded wildlife ranges in the 1990s by confining—or planning to confine—agriculture (Dzingirai 2002; Hughes 2001b; Moyo 1995:271). For bioregionalists, these reforms did not go far enough. In 2000, John Hanks, an elephant specialist directing the Peace Parks Foundation, described southern African conservation as characterized by “fragmented small habitat islands” and “isolated populations” (Hanks 2000:240). “Borders often split what should be functioning ecological units,” wrote John Griffen in an influential USAID-funded study (Griffen 1999:5). The same report mapped 17 potential transboundary conservation areas in southern Africa (1999:152). At workshops and meetings, ecologists spoke repeatedly of the need for “ecological integrity” and “connectivity” among the existing protected areas.

Such pleas concealed deep contradictions in the temporal quality of pristine “nature.”<sup>27</sup> The latter-day bioregionalists distinguish human-made boundaries from nature. The distinction holds up with respect to, say, mountains and sometimes with respect to forests.<sup>28</sup> When applied to wildlife ranges, however, the categories collapse completely. Animal ranges and migration routes shift, expand, contract, and move—often in response to human intervention. How can one determine—to any lasting degree—whether a political boundary contains or crosscuts a migration route? Given this flux, the term “habitat” logically requires a temporal frame, but southern African bioregionalists often neglected to give it one. “The [Great] rift valley,” Griffen writes in the same report, “provides a continuous landscape for the vast diversity of megafauna and flora” (Griffen 1999:11).<sup>29</sup> In a similar vein,

the late Richard Bell asserted vaguely that the Limpopo Valley contains “species that were formerly numerous in the Southern African lowlands” (Bell 2001:5). As both authors know, the ivory trade caused local elephant extinctions from the 16th century onward (Alpers 1975:70; Miller 1988:107–8).

Regarding the 20th century, conservationists acknowledged anthropogenic factors but not their full implications. “Wildlife was eliminated from large- and small-scale farming areas” writes a former director of Zimbabwe’s national parks, “as . . . intolerable competition with livestock and crops” (Child 1996:350; Mutwira 1989). Exotic crops, such as tobacco, replaced indigenous flora, and native species retreated to protected areas. These zones constituted the actual habitat in the 1990s. Why should they have been bigger? Griffen’s moralizing—that certain areas “*should* be functioning ecological units”—implied a past Africa of deep time, what more critical conservationists call “the myth of wild Africa” (Adams and McShane 1992, emphasis added).<sup>30</sup> The myth relies on a selective, composite landscape, composed of each region at the time that trade bypassed it. At any one time since 1500, ecological units have reflected market forces. Past and present animal ranges began where commodity catchments ended.

The notion of “optimum habitat” allowed conservationists to escape from this uncomfortable history. Unlike past or present ecologies, optimal habitats did not and had never existed. Yet they did not completely exist in a clear fashion either. Neither empirical nor frankly imagined, the idea of optimum habitats floated in limbo. They lacked a time frame—but not in an obvious way. For instance, Raoul du Toit, an ecologist at the World Wide Fund for Nature, declared, “The optimum black rhino habitats [in Zimbabwe] are in the semi-arid areas” (du Toit 1998:4). When he wrote those lines, the black rhinoceros was extinct everywhere in the Save Valley except in private conservancies. In truth, rhinos would thrive in the semiarid areas if managers solved two problems beforehand. First, they would have to add water. Second, they would have to remove agriculture, animal husbandry, and other activities. Du Toit’s statement pushed such hydrological and economic contingencies to the background, giving the optimal habitat greater certainty than it warranted.

Regarding the first contingency, numerous planners glossed over the question of water. They almost had to: if taken to their logical conclusions, the problems of aridity would subvert the entire basis for the conservation zone. In 1994, an economist working for the World Bank in 1994 admitted that, “Land [in Mozambique’s Coutada 16 reserve] is so dry that animals are forced to migrate some place else.” Not to be deterred, however, she assured in the same document, “the habitat is perfect for wildlife” (Agostini 1994:7–8). In truth, Coutada 16 reserve could be a wildlife range if (as the author recommended) someone drilled boreholes for water. In the same year, a report of the NGO Zimbabwe Trust treated the water issue in an equally perplexing fashion: “Before any translocation of game [to Mahenye] can take place (and this is where the ‘visible’ value lies), *water for game is essential*” (Fowlds 1994:2). Of course, one could add water, but,

if engineers were going to add a little water for wildlife, why could they not add a little more for agriculture? In 1989, a few years before the Great Limpopo idea, Du Toit himself recommended irrigation as a development strategy for the parts of the Save Valley outside the conservancies (Campbell et al. 1989:101). In fact, the Jatala canal first made irrigation possible in the 1930s and together with other water works created the vast sugar estates of the southeast lowveld (Mufema 2001:61). To the planners of that era, southeastern Zimbabwe presented optimal conditions for dry-season vegetables and sugar cane. In 2003, the government of Zimbabwe returned to this pattern of thinking. Having precipitated a food shortage by seizing white-owned commercial farms, the state proposed to irrigate the low-producing lowveld (*Financial Gazette* 2003). Environmentalists expressed shock and alarm. They did not recognize this new plan for irrigation as merely an extension of their own hydrological desires.

Climate change, as another hydrological issue, received even less attention. Virtually all Great Limpopo documents ignore the scientific consensus that industrial carbon emissions are warming the atmosphere.<sup>31</sup> Climate models for Zimbabwe predict a shortening and intensification of the rainy season, endangering animals during the longer dry season (Magadza 2000; Makarau 1999: 14–15; Salewicz 1996). Globally, plant communities might migrate toward the poles (Pitelka and the Plant Migration Workshop Group 1997). If so, the Great Limpopo's biota would head south and exit the conservation area. When I suggested this possibility, one Great Limpopo planner recoiled. "To me, it's not a variable I can deal with—like AIDS," he confessed, "One is trying to think within human management timescales" (interview, Harare, April 24, 2003). In short, the optimal habitat could be more accurately described as conditional: It depends on some future events happening with respect to water, and other events not happening.

Optimal habitats also depended on economic events and nonevents, the second set of contingencies. In this regard, Great Limpopo planners spoke and wrote with greater confidence. Indeed, in their language, the economic often seemed to substitute for the ecological. Du Toit described the Great Limpopo as optimal because wildlife held a "comparative economic advantage" over cattle (du Toit 1998; cf. Child 1996:358).<sup>32</sup> A seminal 1992 study had established this principle as orthodoxy in Zimbabwe.<sup>33</sup> Starting from a very low figure at independence in 1980, by 1994, tourism had grown by 325 percent and continued to grow throughout the 1990s.<sup>34</sup> In 1997, when du Toit analyzed the lowveld, sport hunting certainly outperformed beef production on a per-hectare basis and on the basis of returns to investment. Yet the phrase "comparative economic advantage"—like "optimum habitat"—suggested something more permanent. Ecologists and economists treated the post-1980 boom in Zimbabwe's hospitality industry as normal, and they projected a continuation of the current market into the future. On the basis of these implicit speculations, they then imagined a more profitable mix of land uses. Finally, they retrojected that mix of land uses back to the present, as a contemporary potential. The resultant notion of an "optimum habitat" and "comparative

economic advantage” reflected not current ecology but an anticipated economy—the third nature of future markets.

This futurism protected the Great Limpopo from reckoning with Zimbabwe’s evolving political economy. In 2000, when paramilitaries seized land and otherwise abrogated the rule of law, proponents of the Great Limpopo adopted the phrase “future government” (taking care, however, not to use that term in writing). Meeting me in the middle of a national strike in 2003, one conservationist referred to the previous three years as a “twilight” leading up to the “Big Bang” of the fall of the government (interview, Harare, April 24, 2003). Meanwhile, dictatorship and political violence destroyed the tourist trade (with the exception of sport hunting). In 2000, I found that a hotel on the northern rim of the Great Limpopo earned no profit from ecotourism (Hughes 2001b:588,592). When I published this datum, Great Limpopo proponents responded by dismissing the present. “Note,” admonished my sponsor, your “table reports data obtained during the current economic crisis and state of fear. Thus it does not represent normalized findings” (personal communication, February 7, 2002). In other words, the downturn I quantified was *abnormal*. At almost the same time, a leading ecologist dismissed his own findings from an area in the Great Limpopo called Chizvirizvi (see Figure 1). Rowan Martin’s digital slideshow acknowledges that “the [state-backed] invasion of the [Gonarezhou] national park seriously reduces the wildlife potential and opportunities for Chizvirizvi.” Then, a later slide asserts, “The potential earnings from wildlife are limited only by marketing skills.”<sup>35</sup> In this conservationist commentary, Zimbabwe’s ongoing politics figure as both anomalous and transient.

Investors embraced an equally flawed chronology. For them, the southern African subcontinent and its resident capitalists held potential for tourism—but only if one could surmount national borders. Those lines exerted what one expert termed a “value-sapping effect” (Bell 2001:3). Only investors could undo the damage and recuperate the loss. Such logic overlooked the ways in which the borders and black laborers had created wealth. Throughout the 20th century, borders acted as “sifters of labour,” undercutting the wages of illegal Mozambicans and augmenting the profits of South African mines and Zimbabwean plantations (Ranger 1994:287). The same Mozambican workers repatriated South African currency to their home areas. This functional dualism based on borders enriched all three countries, although in a highly skewed fashion. Then, in the mid-1990s, South Africa closed its borders to migrant labor. The call for new international “cross-investment” not only denied this entire earlier trajectory of development but signaled that ongoing covert labor migration would not be recognized or reauthorized.<sup>36</sup> Instead, consultants, officials, and journalists cited (mostly white) capitalists as the incipient economic engine for the Great Limpopo. For instance, in 1997, Maputo’s leading newspaper interviewed Hans Harri, a South African hotel magnate and president of the Phalaborwa Chamber of Commerce, on the subject of what he called a Limpopo “tourism corridor.” Warming to the topic,



Harri presented a regional manifesto for investor-led growth:

The entrepreneurial dynamic obliges the men who have big business in South Africa to look, in other parts of the globe, for other markets. This is dictated by development, and we are sure that, in addition to satisfying the ambitions of our businessmen, we will contribute so that, in record-time, a strong economy is implanted in your country [Mozambique]. [*Notícias* 1997: 9]

Although few such businessmen have actually invested in the Great Limpopo, their prophetic regional thinking has conjured a new continental scale of economic thinking.

In the field of tourism, no African group has done more to produce this vision than an organization founded in Cape Town in 1999 called Open Africa. In that year, the group's president, Noel de Villiers, called for "a revolution in tourism . . . [as] the leading catalyst of the African Renaissance." "The best way I can describe the African Dream Project," he continued, "is to ask you to imagine . . . route[s] . . . stretching in all directions across the continent" linking "macro attractors" for leisure and advertised under the brand "Afrikatourism."<sup>37</sup> As if the tourist-pilgrims would walk these paths, Open Africa's logo depicts the continent as a footprint. Through an "economy of appearances" (Tsing 2000b), Open Africa is hoping to raise capital for hotels and other amenities throughout the continent. They have not succeeded to any great degree so far. Yet Open Africa and Afrikatourism are already manufacturing potential. "Africa covers one-quarter of the Earth's land surface . . . and [enjoys] only a 2% share of the global tourism market," notes Open Africa's publicity (as if per-hectare values were comparable everywhere else in the world). Invoking the "staggering implications of this potential," Open Africa conveys a moral message: travelers, like animals, should march across Africa.<sup>38</sup> And surely they will: John Hanks predicts the "free movement of tourists across the boundaries," and a USAID official endorses a joint Zimbabwe–Mozambique–South Africa "uni-visa."<sup>39</sup> All in all, the Great Limpopo will allow tourists and those who make money from tourists to move themselves, their assets, and their dreams across national lines.

## Conclusion

Southern African conservationists imagine a continental space for tourists and investors and village spaces for peasants. At the continental scale, economically minded ecologists seek to heal the scars of partition and to let game and game viewers run free. They dream the African dream, and they dream of making money. Indeed, this form of planning treats future profits as certain—it is a conjuring act with respect to time. According to this line of thought, the cattle ranges of the Great Limpopo hold the potential for high-value tourism and sport hunting. These zones are optimum habitat, a desired third nature that is treated as real. Thus, Great Limpopo planners see the future while looking at the present. Their African scale affirms growth and denies boundaries. Meanwhile, the village scale denies

growth and affirms boundaries. The “appraisers” of peasant societies describe a small-scale, bounded present while signs of an expanded, boundary-busting future are all around them. Above the din of children, planners speak of stable rural populations contained behind electric fences. But the fence, like the children, recedes from view. The Great Limpopo construes the village scale not as a limitation but as an opportunity for smallholders. Inequality—in the greatest feat of conjuring—becomes parity. After all, each party does according to its liking within its own space. Through intensive community-based projects, peasants can cultivate their gardens within their boundaries. In doing so, they free up land for extensive bioregions and travel routes. Tourists expand as peasants are enclosed. Large, vibrant (white) bioregions nestle against small, static (black) villages.

What is new about this sorry state of affairs? In part very little: since the earliest colonial days, outward-bound settlers and capitalists have squeezed Southern African smallholders into smaller zones. Britain made for itself a global scale, an empire over which the sun never set. For the colonized peoples, British administrators and social scientists crafted a “sedentarist metaphysics” (Malkki 1992)—the premise that tribes hailed from particular locales and should stay there. The Great Limpopo perpetuates this tradition of structural and spatial racism. Yet, because the British and other European empires ended long ago, conservationists have necessarily found new terms for their discourse. In some cases, they appear to have done so almost consciously and strategically. The “Cape to Cairo” conservationist dream smacks of imperial nostalgia. In fact, it recalls the late 19th century before formal Empire, when white explorers and visionaries mapped the continent. Unthreatening in an almost prepolitical fashion, the “Cape to Cairo” scale now passes without criticism precisely because it bears so little relation to history of the past century. The community scale, on the other hand, stems obviously from the postsocialist politics of the 1980s. In this era of “market triumphalism” (Peet and Watts 1996), NGOs and donors hunt for collectivities outside the regulatory ambit of the state. Small is beautiful, and local is authentic. Now, planners have set the stage for a conjuncture unprecedented since the age of the explorers: peasants and transnational investors confronting each other—greeting, negotiating, and misunderstanding—without mediation. In short, the state of affairs is not new *per se*, but it is new in terms of the recent past.

The Great Limpopo, then, would seem to represent a bizarre sort of capitalism or globalization. The project thrusts a protocolonial discourse into the postcolonial era of global capitalism. Or, it thrusts a discourse of capitalism into a protocolonial situation along the banks of the Save and Limpopo Rivers. Perhaps such juxtapositions are not unusual after all. People who make scales undertake difficult, sometimes dangerous work. They call on all the cultural resources at hand, even on traditions and ideas of dubious repute. Nowhere is this more true than in declining postcolonies where no model of progress can claim supremacy. On such fertile soil, scale-making projects make pastiches of history, invented history, dreams, and imposed dreams. Even if it has yet to happen on the ground—as in the

Great Limpopo—invented scales and third nature may radically alter the range of the possible. In rural Southern Africa, people may now plan to travel—and plan to prevent others from traveling—in ways that are shockingly unequal. Even more shockingly, few observers are shocked. Successful scale making covers its tracks.

If given the chance, would southern African planners plan differently? In Zimbabwe, they have no choice. Poachers and squatters have overrun the Gonarezhou National Park, Zimbabwe's chief contribution to the Great Limpopo zone. In 2002, SAFIRE even tried to negotiate a lease on behalf of these smallholders (Wolmer 2003:25). A somewhat similar scenario is unfolding in the Save Valley Conservancy. In 2000, poachers began to decimate its wildlife. By 2002, in an effort to win allies among its neighbors, the conservancy was considering permitting some smallholders—not, however, those from Manesa and Chibwe—to resettle on its land and embark in joint ventures in tourism. “This is not a well-beaten road in Africa,” a white officer of the conservancy told me. “It is pretty much blazing a trail, certainly for Zimbabwe” (interview, Mapari, January 13, 2002; cf. Wolmer 2001:212–13). The trail is more unprecedented than he imagined. The present collapse of tourism presents Zimbabweans with an opportunity to rebuild tourism as a marriage of wild landscapes and agriculture. Such an approach would recognize the fact—true even before the reoccupation of these protected areas—that people have always shaped the distribution of animals, plants, and water in the countryside. A reformed hospitality industry would exhibit second nature—composed of fields, pastures, and hinterlands—rather than strive for the third nature of a potential wilderness. The struggle to realize third nature has squeezed peasants and thrown their future into doubt. Now southern African conservationists can, at last, give the region's tourism a human face.

## Notes

*Acknowledgments.* Funding for this study was provided by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID); through the BASIS program of the Land Tenure Center, University of Wisconsin). Additional funding was provided by Rutgers University and by the Social Science Research Council (through a MacArthur Foundation-funded NGO summer fellowship). The Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources and the University of Zimbabwe's Department of Economic History arranged the logistics without which no work could have been done. I am indebted to Ann Anagnost, Raoul du Toit, Vupenyu Dzingirai, Brian Jones, Melanie Hughes McDermott, Frank Popper, Richard Schroeder, Jaidev Singh, Harry Wels, Will Wolmer, and three anonymous reviewers for critical (sometimes outraged) comments. Thanks to Karl Zimmerer for inviting me to present a paper at the Environment and Development Advanced Research Circle, University of Wisconsin, Madison, on 19 April 2002, which is now this article. Thanks, as well, to Conrad Steenkamp for inviting me to present a later version to the Carnegie Mellon–Witwatersrand University Transboundary Protected Areas Research Initiative on 1 October 2003. Mike Siegel finalized the maps. As author, I bear all responsibility for the data and conclusions herein.

1. See Schmidt 1971:42–43 and Smith 1984:19 for a discussion of the Hegelian roots of this term. See Cronon 1991:266, Fairhead and Leach 1996, and Pollan 1991 for case studies of anthropogenic nature.

2. For comparison, see Bledsoe's (2002:20) notion of "contingency." I would distinguish this conditional time from Harvey's (1990:260) "time-space compression," which is more linear or, in grammatical terms, more like the indicative, wherein the acceleration of movement of goods and people shrinks distance worldwide.

3. See, for example, Jones and Chonguica 2001 and Katerere et al. 2001, both studies sponsored by the Harare office of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN).

4. Regarding "policy narratives," see Roe 1994.

5. Other critical assessments include Campbell et al. 2000, Derman and Murombedzi 1994:125–27, Duffy 2000:107–11, Gibson 1999, Hill 1996:114, and Murphree 1997:21.

6. The quoted phrase is cited from the "Report from the Commission for Economic and Social Directives," FRELIMO Fourth Party Congress, 1983 (Isaacman and Isaacman 1983:196).

7. The Portuguese original reads: "indivíduo que (só) se reconhece como homen e assim se identifica, enquanto ser social, dentro do seu território" (Lundin 1995:89).

8. See Agrawal and Gibson 1999:633–34, Fairhead and Leach 2000, Schroeder 1999, and Vandergeest 1996:298 for similar arguments.

9. In a fashion quite common among whites born in the 1960s and later, Fuller spent her childhood in multiple countries: Zimbabwe, Malawi, and Zambia.

10. Shona is the majority language of Zimbabwe.

11. McGregor 2003 discusses this route and the way in which it shaped Victoria Falls as a destination.

12. This statement is taken from a presentation by Noel de Villiers to the first Agenda 21, "Indaba on Culture Conscious Transfrontier Conservation Areas," May 18, 1999 (Wolmer 2003).

13. These remarks were made during a break-out group of the "Southern Africa Technical Workshop on Communities and Conservation," Centurion, South Africa, 26–28 February 2003.

14. Meanwhile, the lexicon helps to broaden the reach of state technocrats. Schafer and Bell (2002) and Singh (2001:111) all make this argument with respect to the Chimanimani transboundary conservation area on the Zimbabwe–Mozambique border.

15. In "The Elephant's Child" (published first in 1900), Kipling mentions the "great grey-green, greasy Limpopo River" (Kipling 1912:65).

16. This remark is recorded in the Vhimba Area Development Committee, Minutes of Community Meeting, 4 October 1995:2.

17. Wels (2000:211) and Wolmer (2001:170) detail the history of the Save Valley Conservancy and, in particular, the centrality of fences in conflicts within and involving the conservancy (Wels 2000:247).

18. Vijfhuizen (2002:178) provides further testimony on this eviction. See Moore 1998 for an account of such spatial politics in a nearby locale of Zimbabwe.

19. This exchange occurred in Manesa, 5 August 1999.

20. SAFIRE had formed a tight collaboration with the Chipinge Rural District Council, among other councils.

21. In 1998, the Save Valley Conservancy had erected a similar "traditional village" in the Gudo area, slightly to the south of Chibwe. Anticipating a land grab, Gudo residents burned down the partially constructed village (Wels 2000:294–96; Wolmer 2001:181–83).

22. This is reflected in the attention devoted to "geomatics" from the 1990s onward (Hodgson and Schroeder 2002; Hughes 2001a; Peluso 1995).

23. These comments were expressed at a workshop on GPS/community mapping, Chipinge, 18 August 1999.

24. See the “PAAP Community Action Project” brochure in English and Shona (Poverty Alleviation Action Programme 1999). The Shona phrase is “Iva nhengo yechirongwa chebudiriro yenzvimbo yako.”

25. Beard (1988:235) provides a compelling pictorial account of the deaths.

26. The term derives from the ecological theory of island biogeography, which exerted a strong influence on African conservation (MacArthur and Wilson 1967:176; Western 1994:42). Some experts, however, still subscribe to a minority view: that stochastic crashes of the elephant population are normal and would be expected even in the absence of humans (Richard Bell, personal communication, June 18, 2001).

27. Or, in Hugh Raffles’s (1999:345) more charitable formulation, their place making also made nature.

28. See, however, Fairhead and Leach 1996 for a discussion of anthropogenic forests.

29. The statement is all the more striking as it precedes a description of two millennia of anthropogenic landscape change, doubtless informed by Cumming’s (1999:13) related study.

30. Thomas McShane was a program officer at the World Wide Fund for Nature at the time he coauthored this book. See also Fairhead and Leach 1996 and Schroeder 1999:361–362.

31. Among conservationists, Cumming (1999:3) is an exception. He does mention global warming, but the report synthesizing his and others’ work excludes this issue from the relevant section (Griffen 1999:12).

32. This argument contravened the recommendation of an earlier report, coauthored by du Toit, in favor of intensive, irrigated agriculture in the Save Valley (Campbell et al. 1989:101). It also contravened an even earlier discourse that held that the lowveld was ideal cattle country (Wolmer 2001:116).

33. Jansen et al. (1992) articulates the principle with far greater caution than did its later popularizers (as Wels 2000:234 explains). Bond (2001) has since added important caveats to their conclusions.

34. Tourism percentage was measured by the gross number of foreign visitors (Bond 2001:231).

35. Rowan Martin, “Chizvirizvi Resettlement Area: Development of a Land Use Plan.” Presentation in graphic design software, 2002. At almost the same time, conservationists closer to the ground gave a bleaker assessment. Sharman (2001:1) notes that Digby Nesbitt, chairman of the Chiredzi Conservancy, predicted “Even if the poaching and invasions stopped tomorrow, it’d take another 10 years to recuperate. I don’t believe this conservancy will last another 6 months.” “Our business is dead!” pronounced Willie Pabst, a ranch owner in the Save Valley Conservancy (Sharman 2001:4).

36. The quoted phrase derives from a Maputo-based consultant (personal communication, 3 July 2001).

37. Noel de Villiers, speech to the Community Tourism Association of South Africa annual general meeting, September 10, 1999.

38. Open Africa, “Open Africa’s tourism development, job creation and conservation system: optimizing the synergies between tourism, job creation, and conservation.” Presentation in graphic design software, 2001.

39. See Hanks 2001. Wolmer (2003) quotes a USAID source for this phrase.

## References Cited

Aberly, Doug

1999 Interpreting Bioregionalism: A Story from Many Voices. *In* Bioregionalism. Michael Vincent McGinnis, ed. Pp. 13–42. London: Routledge.

- Adams, Jonathan, and Thomas McShane  
1992 *The Myth of Wild Africa: Conservation without Illusion*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Agostini, Paula  
1994 BTO: the Role of Gaza Safari in the Development of TFCA Project. Maputo: World Bank.
- Agrawal, Arun, and Clark Gibson  
1999 Enchantment and Disenchantment: The Role of Community in Natural Resource Conservation. *World Development* 27(4):629–649.
- Agritex  
1988 The Communal Area Reorganisation Programme: Agritex Approach (July). Harare: Agritex.
- Alpers, Edward  
1975 *Ivory and Slaves in East Central Africa*. London: Heinemann.
- Anderson, Benedict  
1983 *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.
- Appadurai, Arjun  
1988 Putting Hierarchy in its Place. *Cultural Anthropology* 3(1):36–49.
- Beard, Peter  
1988 *The End of the Game*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books.
- Bell, Richard  
2001 Concept Paper for the Zimbabwe Component of the Limpopo/Shashe Trans-frontier Conservation Area. Unpublished paper. Harare: Cooperazione e Sviluppo (CESVI), March 2001.
- Berg, Peter, and Raymond Dasmann  
1977 Reinhabiting California. *The Ecologist* 7(10):399–401.
- Bledsoe, Caroline  
2002 *Contingent Lives: Fertility, Time, and Aging in West Africa*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bond, Ivan  
2001 CAMPFIRE and the Incentives for Institutional Change. *In African Wildlife and Livelihoods: the Promise and Performance of Community Conservation*. David Hulme and Marshall Murphree, eds. Pp. 227–243. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Breytenbach, Breyten  
1996 *The Memory of Birds in Times of Revolution*. New York: Harcourt Brace.
- Buckle, Catherine  
2001 *African Tears: The Zimbabwe Land Invasions*. Weltevredenpark, South Africa: Covos Day.
- Campbell, B. M., R. F. du Toit, and C. A. M. Attwell  
1989 The Save Study: Relationships between the Environment and Basic Needs Satisfaction in the Save Catchment, Zimbabwe. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.
- Campbell, Bruce, Bevlyne Sithole, and Peter Frost  
2000 CAMPFIRE Experiences in Zimbabwe. *Science* 287(January 7): 42–43.
- Child, Graham  
1996 The Role of Community-Based Wild Resource Management in Zimbabwe. *Biodiversity and Conservation* 5:355–367.
- Chipinge Rural District Council  
1999 Report on Natural Resources Management Workshop Held at Manesa Rural Training Centre on 26–30, April. Manesa: Chipinge Rural District Council.

- Cronon, William  
1991 *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West*. New York: Norton.
- Cumming, D. H. M.  
1999 *Study on the Development of Transboundary Natural Resource Management Areas in Southern Africa—Environmental Context*. Washington, DC: Biodiversity Support Program, World Wildlife Fund.
- Derman, Bill, and James Murombedzi  
1994 *Democracy, Development, and Human Rights in Zimbabwe: A Contradictory Terrain*. *African Rural and Urban Studies* 1(2):119–143.
- Direcção Nacional de Florestas e Fauna Bravia  
1999 *TFCAs “Annual Progress Report” covering 1998*. Maputo: Direcção Nacional de Florestas e Fauna Bravia.
- Duffy, Rosaleen  
2000 *Killing for Conservation: Wildlife Policy in Zimbabwe*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- du Toit, Raoul  
1998 *Case Study of Policies that Support Sustainable Development in Africa: The Save Valley Conservancy, Zimbabwe*. Paper presented at the Workshop on African Perspectives of Policies which Support Sustainable Development, Scandinavian Seminar College, Harare, September 28–30.
- Dzingirai, Vupenyu  
2002 “There are Bucks and All in those Forests”: The New Scramble for the African Countryside. Paper presented to the Program in Agrarian Studies, Yale University, New Haven, CT, February 22.
- Fairhead, James, and Melissa Leach  
1996 *Misreading the African Landscape: Society and Ecology in a Forest-Savanna Mosaic*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.  
2000 *Reproducing Locality: A Critical Exploration of the Relationship between Natural Science, Social Science, and Policy in West African Ecological Problems*. In *Producing Nature and Poverty in Africa*. Vigdis Broche-Due and Richard Schroeder, eds. Pp. 173–197. Stockholm: Nordiska Afrikainstitutet.
- Ferguson, James  
1994 *The Anti-Politics Machine: “Development,” Depoliticization, and Bureaucratic Power in Lesotho*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ferguson, James, and Akhil Gupta  
2002 *Spatializing States: Toward an Ethnography of Neoliberal Governmentality*. *American Ethnologist* 29(4):981–1002.
- Financial Gazette  
2003 *Irrigation Project Threatens Wildlife Sanctuary*. March 6. (Harare)
- Fowlds, Barry  
1994 *Game Water Supply—Mahenye*. Unpublished Report, July 13. Harare: Zimbabwe Trust.
- Fuller, Alexandra  
2001 *Don't Let's Go to the Dogs Tonight: An African Childhood*. New York: Random House.
- Gibson, Clark C.  
1999 *Politicians and Poachers: The Political Economy of Wildlife Policy in Africa*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Godwin, Peter  
2001 *Wildlife without Borders: Uniting Africa's Wildlife Reserves*. *National Geographic* 200(3):2–29.

Griffen, John

1999 Study on the Development of Transboundary Natural Resource Management Areas in Southern Africa: Main Report. Washington, DC: Biodiversity Support Program, World Wildlife Fund.

Grove, Richard H.

1995 Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Grundy, Isla, and Gus Le Breton

1997–98 The SAFIRE MITI Programme—A New Approach to Natural Resource Management in Communal Areas of Zimbabwe. Rural Development Forestry Network, Network Paper 22e. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Gupta, Akhil

1992 The Song of the Nonaligned World: Transnational Identities and the Reinscription of Space in Late Capitalism. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1):63–79.

Hanks, John

2000 The Role of Transfrontier Conservation Areas in Southern Africa in the Conservation of Mammalian Biodiversity. In *Priorities for the Conservation of Mammalian Diversity: Has the Panda had its Day?* Abigail Entwistle and Nigel Dunstone, eds. Pp. 239–256. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

2001 Transfrontier Conservation Areas: Their Role in Socioeconomic Development, Conserving Biodiversity, and Promoting a Culture of Peace.” Presentation to the “Transboundary Protected Areas” conference, Yale School of Forestry, New Haven, CT, March 30–31.

Harvey, David

1990 *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.

Hill, Kevin

1996 Zimbabwe’s Wildlife Utilization Programs: Grassroots Democracy or an Extension of State Power? *African Studies Review* 39(1):103–121.

Hodgson, Dorothy, and Richard Schroeder

2002 Dilemmas of Counter-Mapping Community Resources in Tanzania. *Development and Change* 33(1):79–100.

Hughes, David McDermott

2001a Cadastral Politics: the Making of Community-Based Resource Management in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. *Development and Change* 32(4):741–768.

2001b Rezoned for Business: How Eco-Tourism Unlocked Black Farmland in Eastern Zimbabwe. *Journal of Agrarian Change* 1(4):575–599.

Isaacman, Allen, and Barbara Isaacman

1983 *Mozambique: From Colonialism to Revolution*. Boulder, CO: Westview.

Jansen, D., I. Bond, and B. Child

1992 Cattle, Wildlife, Both, or Neither: Results of a Financial and Economic Survey of Commercial Ranches in Southern Zimbabwe. Project Paper No. 27. Harare: World-Wide Fund for Nature Multispecies Animal Production Systems Project.

Jones, Brian, and Ebenizario Chonguica

2001 Review and Analysis of Specific Transboundary Natural Resource Management (TBNRM) Initiatives in the Southern African Region. Harare: IUCN—the World Conservation Union.

Katerere, Yemi, Ryan Hill, and Sam Moyo

2001 A Critique of Transboundary Natural Resource Management in Southern Africa. Harare: IUCN—the World Conservation Union.

Katz, Cindi

1998 Whose Nature, Whose Culture?: Privatization, Productions of Space and the



- “Preservation” of Nature. *In* *Remaking Reality: Nature at the Millenium*. Bruce Braun and Noel Castree, eds. Pp. 46–63. London: Routledge.
- Kipling, Rudyard  
1912 *Just So Stories*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Lefebvre, Henri  
1991 *The Production of Space*. Oxford, UK: Blackwell.
- Li, Tania Murray  
2001 *Boundary Work: Community, Market, and State Reconsidered*. *In* *Communities and the Environment: Ethnicity, Gender, and State in Community-Based Conservation*. Arun Agrawal and Clark Gibson, eds. Pp. 157–179. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Lundin, Iraê Baptista  
1995 *Relatório de Trabalho de Campo Realizado nas Províncias de Sofala e Manica no Ambito do Projecto “A Autoridade Tradicional e suas Bases de Legitimidade.” In* *Autoridade e Poder Tradicional, Vol 2*. Iraê Baptista Lundin and Francisco Jamisse Machava, eds. Pp. 37–93. Maputo, Mozambique: Ministério da Administração Estatal.
- MacArthur, Robert, and Edward Wilson  
1967 *The Theory of Island Biogeography*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- MacKenzie, John M.  
1988 *The Empire of Nature: Hunting, Conservation, and British Imperialism*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Magadza, C. H. D.  
2000 *Climate Change Impacts and Human Settlements in Africa: Prospects for Adaptation*. *Environmental Monitoring and Assessment* 6(1):193–205.
- Makarau, Amos  
1999 *Zimbabwe’s Climate: Past, Present, and Future*. *In* *Water for Agriculture in Zimbabwe*. Emmanuel Manzungu, Aidan Senzanje, and Peter van der Zaag, eds. Pp. 3–16. Harare: University of Zimbabwe Press.
- Malkki, Liisa  
1992 *National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity among Scholars and Refugees*. *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1):24–44.
- McDermott, Melanie Hughes  
2001 *Invoking Community: Indigenous People and Ancestral Domain in Palawan, the Philippines*. *In* *Communities and the Environment: Ethnicity, Gender, and the State in Community-Based Conservation*. Arun Agrawal and Clark C. Gibson, eds. Pp. 33–62. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- McGregor, JoAnn  
2003 *The Victoria Falls 1900–1940: Landscape, Tourism, and the Geographical Imagination*. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29(3):717–738.
- Metcalfe, Simon  
1994 *The Zimbabwe Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE)*. *In* *Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-Based Conservation*. David Western and Richard M. Wright, eds. Pp. 15–52. Washington, DC: Island Press.
- Miller, Joseph C.  
1988 *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730–1830*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Moore, Donald  
1998 *Subaltern Struggles and the Politics of Place: Remapping Resistance in Zimbabwe’s Eastern Highlands*. *Cultural Anthropology* 13(3):344–381.

Moyo, Sam

1995 *The Land Question in Zimbabwe*. Harare: SAPES Books.

Mufema, Edmore

2001 *Making and/or Breaking Bonds: Aspects of Contract Sugar Schemes and Land Reform in Zimbabwe*. In *New Agrarian Contracts in Zimbabwe: Innovations in Production and Leisure*. Proceedings of workshop hosted by the Department of Economic History, University of Zimbabwe, Harare, 13 September. David McDermott Hughes, ed. Pp. 59–72. Harare: Department of Economic History, University of Zimbabwe.

Murombedzi, James C.

1992 *Decentralization or Recentralization?: Implementing CAMPFIRE in the Omay Communal Lands of the Nyaminyami District*. Harare: Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe.

Murphree, Marshall W.

1991 *Communities as Institutions for Resource Management*. Harare: Centre for Applied Social Sciences, University of Zimbabwe.

1997 *Congruent Objectives, Competing Interests, and Strategic Compromise: Concept and Process in the Evolution of Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE Programme*. Paper presented at the conference on "Representing Communities," University of Georgia, June 1–3.

Mutwira, Roben

1989 *Southern Rhodesian Wildlife policy (1890–1953): A Question of Condoning Game Slaughter?* *Journal of Southern African Studies* 15(2):250–262.

Notícias

1997 *Investidores sul-africanos de malas aviadas para Gaza*. June 13: 9. (Maputo, Mozambique)

Ostrom, Elinor

1990 *Governing the Commons: the Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Peet, Richard, and Michael Watts

1996 *Liberation Ecology: Development, Sustainability and Environment in an Age of Market Triumphalism*. In *Liberation Ecologies*. Richard Peet and Michael Watts, eds. Pp. 1–45. London: Routledge.

Peluso, Nancy Lee

1995 *Whose Woods are These?: Counter-Mapping Forest Territories in Kalimantan, Indonesia*. *Antipode* 27(4):383–406.

Pitelka, Louis, and the Plant Migration Workshop Group

1997 *Plant Migration and Climate Change*. *American Scientist* 85(5):464–473.

Pollan, Michael

1991 *Second Nature: A Gardener's Education*. New York: Delta.

Poverty Alleviation Action Programme

1999 *PAAP Community Action Project*. Brochure in English and Shona. Harare: Poverty Alleviation Action Programme.

Raffles, Hugh

1999 "Local Theory": *Nature and the Making of an Amazonian Place*. *Cultural Anthropology* 14(3):323–360.

Ranger, Terence

1994 *Studying Repatriation as Part of African Social History*. In *When Refugees Go Home*. Tim Allen and Hubert Morsink, eds. Pp. 279–294. Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press.

Redfield, Peter

2000 *Space in the Tropics: From Convicts to Rockets in French Guiana*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

- Roe, Emery  
1994 *Narrative Policy Analysis: Theory and Practice*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Salewicz, Kazimierz A.  
1996 Impact of Climate Change on the Lake Kariba Hydropower Scheme. *In* *Water Resources Management in the Face of Climatic/Hydrologic Uncertainties*. Zdzislaw Kaczmarek, Kenneth M. Strzepek, Lajsza Somlyady, Valentina Priazhinskaya, eds. Pp. 300–321. Dordrecht, Germany: Kluwer Academic Publishers.
- Schafer, Jessica, and Richard Bell  
2002 The State and Community-Based Natural Resource Management: The Case of the Moribane Forest Reserve, Mozambique. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 28(2):401–420.
- Schmidt, Alfred  
1971 *The Concept of Nature in Marx*. London: NLB.
- Schroeder, Richard  
1999 Geographies of Environmental Intervention in Africa. *Progress in Human Geography* 23(3):359–378.
- Scoones, Ian  
1996 *Hazards and Opportunities: Farming Livelihoods in Dryland Africa—Lessons from Zimbabwe*. London: Zed.
- Scott, James C.  
1998 *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Sharman, Jenny  
2001 *ZANU-PF's Legacy to Zimbabwe*. Unpublished document.
- Shiva, Vandana  
1992 The Greening of Global Reach. *The Ecologist* 22(6):258–259.
- Sibanda Manasa  
1999 *PRA Baseline Report on the Manesa Ward, Manesa Village Workshop*. Harare: Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources.
- Singh, Jaidev  
2001 *State-Making and Community-Based Natural Resource Management: The Case of the Vhimba CAMPFIRE Project (Zimbabwe) and the Chimanimani Transfrontier Conservation Area (Mozambique)*. Ph.D. dissertation, College of Forest Resources, University of Washington, Seattle.
- Smith, Neil  
1984 *Uneven Development*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.  
1992 Contours of a Spatialized Politics: Homeless Vehicles and the Production of Geographical Scale. *Social Text* 33:54–81.
- Swyngedouw, Erik  
2004 Scale Geographies: Nature, Place, and the Politics of Scale. *In* *Scale and Geographic Enquiry: Nature, Society, and Method*. Eric Sheppard and Robert B. McMaster, eds. Pp. 129–153. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Taylor, Peter, and Frederick Buttel  
1992 How Do We Know We Have Global Environmental Problems? Science and the Globalization of Environmental Discourse. *Geoforum* 12(3):405–416.
- Thongchai Winichakul  
1994 *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-Body of a Nation*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press.

Tsing, Anna

2000a The Global Situation. *Cultural Anthropology* 15(3):327–360.

2000b Inside the Economy of Appearances. *Public Culture* 12(1):115–144.

Vandergest, Peter

1996 Real Villages: National Narratives of Rural Development. In *Creating the Countryside: The Politics of Rural and Environmental Discourse*. Melanie DuPuis and Peter Vandergest, eds. Pp. 279–302. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.

Vijfhuizen, Carin

2002 “The People You Live with”: Gender Identities and Social Practices, Beliefs and Power in the Livelihoods of Ndau Women and Men in a Village with an Irrigation Scheme in Zimbabwe. Harare: Weaver Press.

Wels, Harry

2000 Fighting over Fences: Organizational Co-operation and Reciprocal Exchange between the Savé Valley Conservancy and its Neighboring Communities. Ph.D. dissertation, Faculteit der Sociaal-Culturele Wetenschappen, Free University of Amsterdam.

Western, David

1994 Ecosystem Conservation and Rural Development: The Case of Amboseli. In *Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-Based Conservation*. David Western and Richard M. Wright, eds. Pp. 15–52. Washington, DC: Island Press.

Wilson, Alexander

1991 The Culture of Nature: North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez. Toronto: Between the Lines.

Wolmer, William L.

2001 Lowveld Landscapes: Conservation, Development, and the Wilderness Vision in South-Eastern Zimbabwe. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Development Studies, University of Sussex.

2003 Transboundary Conservation: The Politics of Ecological Integrity in the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. *Journal of Southern African Studies* 29(1):261–278.

Zimmerer, Karl

2000 The Reworking of Conservation Geographies: Non-Equilibrium Landscapes and Nature-Society Hybrids. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 99(2):356–369.

**ABSTRACT** *In southern Africa’s “Great Limpopo Transboundary Conservation Area,” potential nature, envisioned as ideal habitats for wildlife, may outweigh actual nature. I refer to this notion of conditional biodiversity as “third nature,” distinguishing it from the equally anthropogenic, but tangible, second nature (“nature” as including human habitation). Conservationists and investors are inventing nature on a new scale that crosses national boundaries in elaborate ventures to develop ecotourism in the Great Limpopo zone. They now imagine a continent-wide field for (white) tourists to be created by fencing out local populations of (black) peasants. Few observers appreciate the structural racism involved in the profound material consequences of these dreams of third nature. [conservation, tourism, politics of scale, Africa, structural racism]*