

Poaching Rhino Horn in South Africa and Mozambique: Community and Expert Views From the Trenches



By Kenly Greer Fenio, Ph.D.
U.S. Department of State
November 2014

This report interprets focus group and in-depth interview data and does not necessarily reflect the views of the U.S. Government or any collaborating partners.

Abstract

This report illustrates attitudes garnered from nine focus groups in several poaching communities in and around South African and Mozambican game parks, and approximately 15 in-depth interviews with experts working in the parks. Although the communities exhibited differences, there also exist a common set of conditions in them: economically marginalized populations, anger toward the status quo, huge financial incentives from poaching, widespread corruption, and porous borders, all of which highlight the complex interaction of economic and political factors in perpetuating illicit wildlife trafficking. Until conservation and anti-poaching and trafficking efforts are ramped up, demand is reduced in Asian countries such as Viet Nam, and communities nearest the parks see it in their interest to protect endangered animals such as the rhino, gaining greater traction through efforts to bring an end to poaching will be difficult.

Executive Summary

This report examines the key drivers of rhino poaching—which illustrate the complex interaction of economic and political factors—as highlighted in focus group discussions in poaching communities and interviews with park rangers and other experts around parks in South Africa and Mozambique. Several drivers for poaching came out of this research, each of which is discussed in the report and summarized briefly here.

The Limpopo National Park and Kruger National Park belong to the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park that straddles South Africa, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe. Transfrontier parks were created to allow ecosystems to flow undisturbed across international borders, but with this also comes the uncontrolled movement of humans through **Porous Borders**. While Kruger has funding to monitor those entering for tourism at official access points, rangers in Limpopo claim they can't distinguish between Mozambicans who live in Limpopo park and others who are simply passing through. This makes it easy for poachers to cross national borders undetected. This section also delves into the nuances of **How Poaching Occurs**.

Anger and Marginalization within the communities toward the parks is a salient issue. Community members identify very little in the way of employment, profit or opportunity trickling down to them from official park services. A lack of perceived opportunities has translated into anger toward park officials and, for some, a desire to protect illegal hunters: *“we know the poachers, but because the park doesn't want to help us, we don't want to help [the park].”* Many participants claim park animals kill their cattle, and the parks offer little to no compensation. They also have little faith in negotiations with conservation authorities because of weak follow-through on park promises to scale up community development. Yet some still see killing the animals as morally wrong. Park managers claim that locals are less likely to enforce the law if given employment because they are more easily corruptible and more vulnerable to pressure from poachers. While community development and education occurs in the way of boreholes, wildlife education in schools, and job creation for neighboring communities, programs seem to fluctuate greatly from community to community, making it difficult to instill the belief that the parks are beneficial for all.

Economic Incentives lure many youth into poaching. Locally available jobs like farming, animal husbandry, selling charcoal, or irregular work in neighboring cities simply cannot compare with *“the gold in the horn.”* Some participants see the poachers *“as role models,”* and argue they *“do good things for the community”* and facilitate job creation when they spend their wealth locally. The income can be used for *“sending children to school, nice houses, and expensive cars and clothes.”* Survival in

economically depressed communities thus takes precedence over wildlife conservation, and the debate ensues between poaching for daily subsistence versus for greed. For young people particularly, there is substantial peer pressure to compete with friends for the status that comes from having a disposable income to buy new things. Embarking on an adventure to kill a rhino becomes more attractive than remaining idle in a community with few economic alternatives.

Efforts to introduce counter-incentives have found limited success. While tipoff hotlines exist, some say they are unlikely to take advantage of these programs. To some extent, this is because there is limited awareness of them, but more compellingly, community members **Fear** retribution, as well as exhibit other types of fear. In some communities, poaching remains secretive even among acquaintances: a hunter with a horn is in danger of being robbed and killed before he can get his prize to the traffickers.

Finally, **Political Will and Corruption** play their part. While both countries now have official policies in place against poaching and trafficking, experts say implementation is fraught with complications because of corruption on multiple levels. Both rangers and community members claim crooked police officials peddle (and recycle) arms. Community members also acknowledge dishonest rangers disclose rhino locations to poachers, and some say the problem will only end when *“corrupt officials at the top”* are brought to justice. Few prosecutions have occurred in comparison to the ideal and those who are convicted often pay minimal fines and do little, if any, jail time. Several participants note that after only a few months *“you see that person back on the street.”* This section examines attitudes, and also provides a current overview of recent agreements, partnerships, and evolution in laws in the two countries.

The report then examines **Solutions** from community and expert perspectives. In discussing steps to improve the situation, community members and park rangers tend to focus on three ideas. (1) The need for more local community programming to draw community buy-in to the mission of the parks and goals of conservation. One step in the right direction seems to be the appointment of Rhino Ambassadors, or community members who serve as liaisons between the parks and communities. But in an environment of tight budgets, governments have tended to prioritize security measures over community development and education programs. (2) Enforcing laws already on the books to deter the police and high-level politicians that rangers and community members repeatedly stated they believe are involved in trafficking. (3) There needs to be increased technical capacity for enforcement that includes basic logistics—vehicles for Limpopo’s rangers who are often on foot, and more advanced surveillance equipment to keep up with increasingly sophisticated poaching techniques. Rangers and some community members note that certain areas are well known for detecting and catching poachers, which deters criminals from entering these locales. Conservation experts agree it is possible to decrease poaching, but it requires resources *“now, not tomorrow.”* In the words of one ranger who has worked in conservation for over 25 years: *“once the human eye detects a change in nature, it’s too late.”*

The **Conclusion** offers a brief discussion of short-term versus long-term vision in regards to risky behavior and offers follow-ups for future research in communities. **Appendix A** offers a more in-depth overview of the pros and cons of each of the communities, as highlighted by those involved in this research.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	2
Executive Summary.....	2
Introduction and Background of the Research Project.....	5
Research Sites.....	8
Methodology.....	9
The Drivers of Poaching.....	10
Porous Borders	10
How Poaching Occurs	11
Anger and Marginalization: Feeling Disconnected From the Parks	14
The Community Story	14
The Park Story	18
The Moral Issue	20
Economic Incentives	21
Fear	25
Political Will and Corruption	27
Mozambique	28
South Africa	30
Solutions.....	32
Conclusion.....	34
Appendix A: Overview of and Key Issues in Each Community.....	36
South Africa	36
Nyongane	36
Justicia	36
Mozambique	37
Kabok Communities	37
Limpopo Park Communities	39
Mavodze	39
Chibotane	39
Appendix B: Focus Group Questions.....	41
Figures, Map, Text Boxes	
Figure 1: Recorded Number of Rhino Poached in South Africa	5
Figure 2: Arrests in South Africa for Rhino Poaching	6
Table 1: Mozambicans in Kruger	6
Map of Research Locations	7
Text Box: The Rhetoric of Poaching	10
The Levels of Poaching	12
Text Box: The Ambiguous 20% in Southern Mozambique	19
Text Box: A Tale of Two Mozambican Communities	22
Text Box: Waiting for Bushmeat	24
Table 2: The Ranger Lifestyle	34

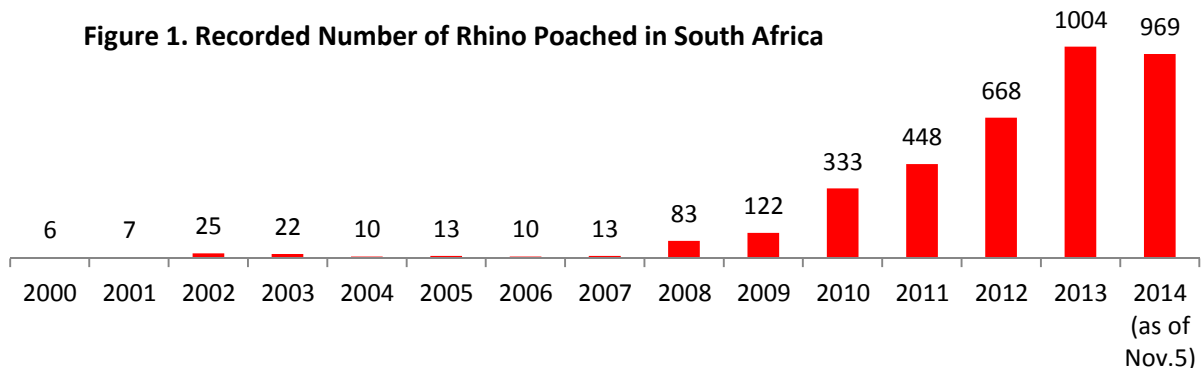
Introduction and Background of the Research Project¹



South Africa is home to over three-quarters of the world's rhinos, including 90% of Africa's 20,000 white rhinos and 40% of the rare black rhino. Last year in South Africa, poachers killed more than 1,000 rhinos for their horns, a 50% increase from the previous year (see Figure 1). As of early November 2014, 969 rhinos had been killed in South Africa (with 637 in Kruger National Park alone). Yet the number of those arrested remains low (Figure 2, Table 1, next page).² Experts estimate that Mozambicans poach 8-in-10 of the rhinos killed in Kruger, where most of the killings occur (Kruger shares a border with Mozambique that is over 350 kilometers long).³ Estimates indicate that

there are up to 15 poaching gangs in Kruger on any given day, with approximately 3-4 people per group.⁴ While wildlife poaching is an issue across many countries in sub-Saharan Africa, South Africa and Mozambique were chosen for this research based on the high level of rhino poaching, the porous border in the Transfrontier Conservation Area, the tensions between the two countries over this issue, and the ability to utilize key gatekeepers to enter communities well-known for poaching and hold discussions on what is generally considered to constitute a 'hidden topic' for those involved.

The U.S. Department of State collaborated with the South African National Parks (SANParks), the Joaquim Chissano Foundation, Pathfinder, Rhula, U.S. Embassies Maputo and Pretoria, Sabi Sand,



¹ Photos in this report are courtesy of K.G. Fenio, except for the two on the front page that come from <http://www.pinterest.com/52margie/animals-rhinos/> and <http://ultimatehuntershandbook.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/hunting-at-sunset.jpg> and the one of the family on this page from <http://savingwild.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/07/rhino-.jpg>

² November statistic from Dept. of Environmental Affairs, South Africa. Also see WESSA, *Current Rhino Poaching Stats*, 2014, <http://wessa.org.za/get-involved/rhino-initiative/current-rhino-poaching-stats.htm> and Republic of South Africa, October 2014, *Department of Environmental Affairs notes indictment of South Africans in the USA for rhino poaching-related offences*, https://www.environment.gov.za/mediarelease/indictmentofsafricans_usarhinopoachingrelatedoffence

³ The southern part of Kruger is home to about a quarter of the world's rhino, and 60% of the park's rhino, making it an extremely attractive area to access in pursuit of the horn.

⁴ Bradley Anderson and Johan Jooste (Africa Center), May 2014, *Wildlife Poaching: Africa's Surging Trafficking Threat*, http://africacenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/AfricaBriefFinal_28.pdf and SANParks Times, June 2014, *A Closer Look at Rhino Poachers*.

Limpopo National Park, Kruger National Park, Sabie Game Park, and several NGOs, and hired local interviewers in both countries to implement this research project. All in all, over 35 people were involved in bringing this project to fruition on the Africa ‘supply’ side for Phase 1 of the research. Phase 2 began mid-September in Viet Nam regarding the ‘demand’ side.

Our goal on the Africa side was to understand not only why poaching is occurring, for the reasons—such as unemployment, poverty, easy access to large sums of money, and greed--have been documented in other research.⁵ We also wanted to uncover the nuances *behind* such reasoning to delve deeper than ‘unemployment’ or ‘greed’ as facilitating factors. Additionally, we aimed to understand how the poaching process unfolds, community buy-in (do communities support the poachers or are they fearful of them?), the methods poachers employ, and how it all plays out in regards to individual versus community gains pertaining to the question of whether or not wealth trickles down to many, or only the few who do the actual poaching. But it was unclear if this project would work (meaning: would people talk about this issue?). The findings were in some cases intuitive, but in other cases, surprising, as is discussed below.

Figure 2. Arrests in South Africa for Rhino Poaching (#)

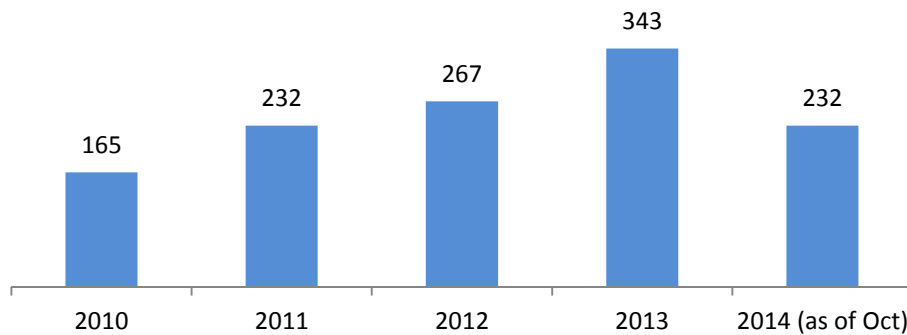


Table 1. Mozambicans in Kruger⁶

Year	# killed Mozambicans	# arrested Mozambicans
2008 to the beginning of 2013	About 300	Over 300
2010	n/a	35
2011	n/a	232
2012	n/a	246

⁵ See, among others: Africa Geographic’s, *Interview with Kruger’s Anti-Poaching Chief*; R. Duffy, and J. Humphreys (DFID), 2014, *Mapping Donors: Key Areas for Tackling Illegal Wildlife Trade (Asia and Africa)*, <http://r4d.dfid.gov.uk/Output/197369/> and Tom Milliken and Jo Shaw (Traffic), *The South Africa-Viet Nam Rhino Horn Trade Nexus*. For a comprehensive book that delves deeply into the rhino horn trade, see Julian Rademeyer, 2012, *Killing for Profit*.

⁶ The Daily Maverick, *South Africa – Professional Trophy Hunters Involved in Kruger Rhino Poaching*, <http://africajournalismtheworld.com/tag/sa-rhino-poaching/>

Map of Research Locations



Research Sites

Four communities were selected based on consultations with the collaborating partners. These four are known as ‘poaching’ communities, with either poachers residing in these communities, or passing through them to access Kruger National Park (see Map, p. 7). In South Africa, *Nyongane* is located just outside Kruger while *Justicia* is located just outside Sabi Sand (a private game reserve). Both have community leaders who were instrumental in helping us access their communities and locations to hold the focus groups. Both communities have paved roads, block housing (rather than only huts), and some access to the nearby city of Hazyview, which sports restaurants, a shopping mall, chain grocery store, and pubs. Nyongane was the most open community of all of the sites to outsiders coming in and asking questions (see *Methodology* section).

In Mozambique, *Kabok* is the main town near Sabie Game Park (a private reserve, not to be confused with Sabi Sand), with no major shopping mall, but which has local restaurants and shops. We talked with communities located about 40 minutes outside of here: *Mukukaza* and *Baptine*. (These smaller communities are not on the map because they have not been geographically documented and require coordinates to map out, currently in progress.) These local communities do not have paved roads. Further north in Mozambique, *Massingir*, located just outside Limpopo National Park, is considered a central hotspot for poaching in southern Mozambique. This town has paved roads and local shops, and the evidence of wealth from poaching is visibly noticeable. We talked with communities that are located both in and outside of the park: *Mavodze*, where at least one of the central poaching/trafficking kingpins comes from (located inside the park), and *Chibotane* (located outside of the park, just on the edge). These communities do not have paved roads, but have a mix of huts and block houses. On the Mozambique side of the research, 4x4s were essential to travel around.

Overall, there were similarities in prevalent themes between the communities, but also real differences. For example, Mavodze has an obvious influx of wealth in that new houses are being built, and there is a prevalence of 4X4s with South African plates and heavily tinted windows, and bars sporting widescreen TVs and expensive alcohol. Contrast this with the communities around Kabok, and it’s easy to understand where money is staying in the community, and where it’s being filtered out, as these small communities have little access to any types of services (while Kabok town has better access). In Justicia, one local gatekeeper seemed to have enough financial capital to purchase a bus currently sitting unused, and there is a local pub touted as a poacher hangout. In Nyongane, which is more spread out than the rest of the communities, a couple of focus group participants used vernacular that lent itself to talking about how they would poach (rather than how others would poach). Within the groups, some participants expressed fear of poachers, while others said they are admired. In all of the communities, we noticed young men standing around drinking beer during the weekday (often in the mornings). We also noticed that there were some who sported new sports jerseys, often in flashy colors like red, which triggered the question of how they were able to afford such gear (most of the focus group participants said they do not have employment).

For demographics and specific perceptions and issues regarding development in these research communities, please see Appendix A.

Methodology

This report is based on nine focus groups in communities in and around Kruger National Park and Sabi Sand (South Africa) and Sabie Game Lodge and Limpopo National Park (Mozambique) in June 2014. It is also based on approximately 15 in-depth interviews with park managers, rangers, community leaders/liaisons and experts in the four locations (who are not named here for safety). The groups were moderated by South Africans in South Africa and Mozambicans in Mozambique, and composed as follows:

- Nyongane residents (near Kruger), age 18-35, Male (June 9, 2014)
- Nyongane residents (near Kruger), age 18-35, Female (June 9, 2014)
- Nyongane residents (near Kruger), age 36+, Male (June 10, 2014)
- Justicia residents (near Sabi Sand), age 18-35, Male (June 12, 2014)
- Justicia residents (near Sabie Sand), age 18-35, Female (June 12, 2014)
- Mukukaza residents (near Kabok and Sabie Game Park), age 18-35, Male (June 17, 2014)
- Baptine residents (near Kabok and Sabie Game Park), age 18-35, Male (June 18, 2014)
- Chibotane residents (near Massingir and Limpopo Park), age 35+, Male (June 21, 2014)
- Mavodze residents (near Massingir and Limpopo Park), age 35+, Male (June 21, 2014)

Participants were selected at random for the majority of the groups. When this was not possible due to the sensitive nature of the topic, a snowball sample was used to recruit. The group discussions were held in the communities and most discussions lasted approximately two hours, although a couple were shorter. They were conducted by an experienced local moderator working from a discussion guide prepared by the State Department (see *Appendix B*).

Focus groups permit a free-flowing discussion only guided by a moderator outline that ensures that important topics are covered. Focus group data is not nationally representative, yet the discussions can help give valuable insights into important issues.

Because we were discussing a sensitive topic, certain issues did arise. We had to conduct several ‘fake’ focus groups in order to appease the community leaders in two communities who organized participants for us (which were not counted among the nine successful groups). For the most part, there was very little tension toward the discussion topics, and many brought up the topic of rhino poaching themselves.

Focus group location in Justicia



Some groups were more willing to discuss poaching, such as in Nyongane and around Kabok, while in other areas, community leaders or liaisons were instrumental in uncovering the process (e.g. Justicia and around Massingir). Such tension did not make the research team or the participants uncomfortable in any way, but it did lead to speculation that were we in each community for longer than a few days, heightened tension could have occurred. Thus, we termed these types of focus groups ‘hit-and-runs:’ to get in and out of the communities as efficiently as possible without putting the teams in any danger, and do everything possible not to affect relationships between the parks and communities. (In discussions with the park managers post-focus groups, nothing had occurred while in the field to warrant any concern.) We discovered that what worked in one community was virtually guaranteed not to work in the next: for example, in Nyongane, we were able to choose community members

at random by driving around the town and have them show up at the local school for the discussions, whereas near Kabok, we had too many members for focus groups with the pre-set demographics (and thus had to split some off).

Collaboration with the affiliated entities was essential to accomplish this research in order to gain access to the communities. Only in Massingir did we not have a specific community gatekeeper per se (physically with us, or who had already told the community leader that we would be coming in), and this made the research there more difficult, but we were able to include the community leader in the discussion about development in Chibotane.

The demeanor of some respondents was interesting to note during the discussions. In this type of research project, it is virtually impossible not to quietly try to determine who in the group, or community in general, is a poacher and who is not. Some became suspects due to their cocky demeanor. For example, in Nyongane, two male youths discussed the situation more openly than others, often using phrases such as “*If I were to do it, I would do X, Y, Z...*” rather than using the third person. (These two were also wearing more expensive clothing.) In another group, the community gatekeeper advised us before the discussion began that he suspected one of the group members to be involved in poaching. When the discussion became centered on the activity, this member became very quiet and tried to look disinterested, whereas he had offered opinions prior to this. In yet another group that we eventually didn’t use as one of the ‘successful’ focus groups, two members walked off, and one hid behind a tree, smoking a cigarette and watching us. These types of circumstances, along with the knowledge that some respondents gave us, led us to believe that there were people participating in the groups that were somehow involved in poaching, either directly in the hunting, or indirectly in knowing what was going on in their communities.

The Drivers of Poaching

In the nine successful focus groups, several themes were prevalent, but which varied to a certain extent between the communities, regarding key drivers of poaching. Each is discussed in turn here, with notable quotes from participants as well as the experts (via in-depth interviews) to accentuate the discussion and highlight attitudes.

<i>The Rhetoric of Poaching</i>		
South Africa	<i>Skhothane/ izikhothane</i>	People who push ‘swag’
	<i>Emasimini/ siya e masimini</i>	We’re going to the fields
	<i>Ephondweni</i>	Going to the horn
	<i>Sisluiti/ oguluva/ tsotsi</i>	Poacher
Mozambique	<i>Xibanjane*</i>	The horn; going for the horn
	<i>Vamos a machamba/ nas menas</i>	Going to the farm/the mines
	<i>Lugar onde tudo acontesse</i>	The place where all is possible
	<i>*this is the most widely used around Sabie and Limpopo</i>	

Porous Borders

This is a key starting point for the discussion, because it illustrates the ease for Mozambicans to cross over to Kruger. In Limpopo, it is extremely easy for anyone to enter the park. Rangers say “*we have no idea who lives here*” and this makes their job nearly impossible. Couple this with the poachers’ use of high-tech 4x4s, while the rangers are often on foot, and it is not difficult to understand how and why many in this area are making their living via poaching in Kruger. Kruger, on the other hand, inspects cars entering and exiting the park (although it wouldn’t be difficult to hide guns or a horn), and requires details on park entrants. Sabi Sand is perhaps the most high-tech in its entrance security and entrants’

names must be on an official list to gain access. Sabi has also started giving their rangers lie detector tests—if they fail twice, they are fired. Since about December 2013, they have fired five rangers, and as of July 2014, had not lost a rhino in four months. The manager began receiving regular phone calls from other managers, asking what he was doing to counter poaching, as their poaching numbers were increasing (e.g. because of his tactics, the poachers are going elsewhere). As of September, 2014, Sabi had lost one rhino since the beginning of the year. The manager and his wife were attacked at home, and he was stabbed repeatedly (there are indications that she was also stabbed). Both are currently recovering from the attack.

One of the better fences (electrified, Sabi Sand)



The communities in Limpopo are only about 25-50 kilometers from the theoretical boundary with Kruger, hence, the ease of crossing over. Without better security, including entry and exit points, the ability to prevent Mozambicans from going to Kruger will be virtually impossible.

Rangers in Sabi Sand note that most of the poachers are Mozambican. This is not to say that it is only the Mozambicans doing the poaching, however. In Nyongane, a key community educator indicated that it is the South Africans from the community going in to Kruger to poach. A well-known conservationist working with Kruger says that in Nyongane and Tshalalala (a neighboring area), there are about 30-40 people involved in various levels of poaching.

How poaching occurs

Some communities were more forthcoming in discussing the processes behind poaching. In South Africa, some said poachers do not inform their friends when they are doing *emasimini* (going to the fields), because they don't want to be targeted when they return, for fear of entering into conflict with another person trying to steal the horn from them. But given that poaching gangs consist of several people (generally young men) this requires a close knit group of friends to call upon. It's been documented elsewhere that poaching increases with the full moon each month, but this doesn't stop groups from going in at other times, as many can track even without the moon.⁷ It has also been documented elsewhere that the groups consist of at least a tracker, shooter, and cutter (with potentially another person carrying the gear). The length depends: "Some spend three to four days, and others spend less, depending on where the rhinos would be at that time. Others spend more than that because they won't leave without the horn and some don't find them at all." (Unemployed male, 32 years old, Justicia) A key community educator in Nyongane indicated that gangs will share rifles. For example, 7-10 people will all use (rent) one rifle--which he said likely comes from the police--at different times, and if arrested, they will be released after a week. The use of cattle herders to gain access is one of the assists that these communities, particularly in Mozambique, can offer because of their historical

⁷ Conservative estimates put about 40 poachers in Kruger at any given time (with about three groups entering or exiting every day, and they stay in for 2-5 days). See Scott Ramsay (Africa Geographic), *Interview with Kruger's Anti-Poaching Chief*, <http://africageographic.com/blog/interview-with-krugers-anti-poaching-chief/> Also see Pearlle Joubert (The Sunday Times), April 20, 2014, *Battlefields of Greed*.

experience with both the terrain and the animals. While current literature has accepted a five-tier level of poaching and trafficking roles, this research indicates that it may be appropriate to also include a “sub-level” 1.⁸



A sub-level 1 would include those community members who are not directly involved in poaching itself, but who provide other assistance of some sort. For example, in Justicia, community members said that other members can make US\$1,000 per night to give shelter to a poacher when he comes in from elsewhere to go on a hunt. Multiply that by the three to five nights that each poacher goes into the park, and the money is difficult to turn down.

One young male community leader in Justicia explained much of the process and mentality, which is worth quoting at length:

“Because of the poverty we are in, we see that there is gold in the horn. They once told me to guard that ‘gold’ and I was given something for that. Then we make deals with the rangers who work inside the park and the managers as well. We have a deal with them, they also get something from this: they talk to us and they tell us where the rhinos are. They have the deals with the buyers, they know where to sell these horns. They will tell you how to get in, where to find the rhino and how to get out, because this is an inside job...We receive these people with peace, those thieves, whether they are from Natal or Mozambique we accommodate them

⁸ For more on this, see Tom Milliken (Traffic), *Illegal Trade in Ivory and Rhino Horn*, <http://www.traffic.org/storage/W-TRAPS-Elephant-Rhino-report.pdf>

within the community to camp for a day or two. Why? It's because they pay ten thousand [rand, about US\$1,000] just to spend the night.

Where will you get that kind of money? You find that even a year passes without you even having that kind of money and at that moment we accommodate so they can go and do their jobs and we get paid. For us it is the same as getting paid for nothing. That particular person will probably make millions from that horn we do not even care, that's his story.

...We do not see the importance of the enclosed wildlife, other than seeing money, more especially the rhino horn and the elephant tusks, on some other animals we just see meat, that's why if you can check when we have killed the rhino we do not eat the meat. We just want the horn because that will give me money. So, we outline those things because these parks must come within the community to show us the importance of these game reserves. They need to come and show the importance, but they fail to do that. We also say let there be a campaign, just a specific campaign that deals with rhino poaching, strictly in Justicia because we are close to Sabi Sand...Then the girl who accommodates these poachers and gets 20,000 rand, will not accommodate them if they knew the importance of that rhino and knowing that she will get 50,000 rand for informing the police about those poachers. They won't compromise knowing that they will get more than what the poachers are paying. But these girls accommodate those people because they see that 20,000 cash. We share these things with the people from Sabi Sand but they undermine it. I don't know how they take it. We even told the Kruger National Park that they can keep shooting the people, but the people will not stop poaching. That's why now they are trying, but they are almost [too] late."

This essentially signifies that there is also an indirect involvement in poaching: community members help facilitate hunts, and make a substantial profit, without necessarily feeling as though they're doing anything 'wrong,' making it *"the same as getting paid for doing nothing."* This is further compounded by the reality that if one family says no, the poachers will simply go to the next, so community members feel as though they might as well be the ones to capitalize on the offer.

Also difficult to ignore is the ease in the recruiting process. Nyongane youths put great weight on the recruiting process by friends and peers, indicating how simple it is to follow the lead of those who are moving upward:

"Seeing others succeed while you are busy sitting here hungry and unemployed, maybe a friend will tell you, then you end up doing it because you are unemployed." (Unemployed young female, Nyongane)

[If] we don't have any education we always sit together during the day and do nothing, but now I see her living a good life, I ask her [how] then she tells me, then I also take the decision to go. Plus seeing that the situation at home is bad I don't even think of the risks. I go, come back, feed my family build a house and keep some at the bank. That is how this thing spreads." (Unemployed female, 25, Nyongane)

Where the poachers come from was discussed in several of the groups. In Justicia, respondents talked about South Africans from outside their community coming in while in Nyongane, some residents were ambiguous about where they come from. In communities around Kabok and Massingir, participants

said they often “wake up in the morning and see car tracks” but “we don’t know who,” thus making them wary of strangers (there are few cars in the local communities near Kabok).

“... Several times, [well-dressed] people come here from Maputo and say I’m from the health Department... and then suddenly they’re gone, and then I called my friend to see if the health department in Maputo sent someone, and he says no, so we think they may be a part of it.”
(Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

The local community liaison for Limpopo indicated there are two ways to organize a poaching group:

1. Several people come together and decide to cross over to Kruger. They rent guns from Massingir then go in.⁹ If any of them are killed or captured, there is no insurance policy for their lives or for bail.
2. One of the local kingpins organizes a group, gives them the guns, and offers insurance: if anyone is captured or killed, he will ensure their release or offer retribution to the family in the event of his death.

Regarding access to the guns, some participants highlighted involvement of officials in the process (discussed further in the section on *Political Will and Corruption*):

“This thing involves a lot of people, it involves people at the top, people at the bottom... For example the guns they are using aren’t those guns that the policemen carry, people who have access to those guns are those people who work for the government, it’s not just a gun that you buy at a gun shop. If I want a rifle there must be a reason why I want that gun. These top dogs supply people with those guns.” (Part-time employed male, 36, Nyongane)

Anger and Marginalization: Feeling Disconnected From the Parks

The Community Story

A large number of focus group participants expressed anger toward the parks. While this is not surprising in and of itself, the intensity level was higher than expected. Many feel the parks simply are not doing enough to compensate when wildlife kill community cattle, that the parks don’t employ enough people from the immediate communities, and that resettlement is an issue. Near Kabok, Sabie Game Park has an electrified fence, while others in the area—notably Tongaat Hulett, the sugar company—do not. Wildlife animals can escape through a long gap in the fence (approximately three kilometers) or dig to go under it. Once a lion digs under, it must be shot, as it will continue trying to escape. Although a good number of respondents see poaching as morally wrong, they feel the potentially lucrative benefits outweigh the ethical issue. Both the perceptions of the communities and those of the park staff are discussed in turn in this section.

To begin with, anger over wildlife-community conflict is certainly an attitude to be expected in areas that have little else in the way of resources other than agriculture and animal husbandry (or ‘wealth in cattle’). One older male in Baptine noted that lions make us “lose our cows” while “buffaloes come out from the park, and the diseases they carry infect our livestock.” Some also expressed anger about not being able to go in and kill animals for bushmeat or other things:

⁹ Poachers generally use a .375, .458, and at times AK-47s.

“We hate the park, the park always says we are killing animals, but says who? How can we get guns, people like us?” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

“[Community members] kill animals from the game reserve, then when they are caught they are beaten up. Sometimes their means of transport is confiscated, like bicycles. Even the dogs they would have used to hunt for these animals are put down by shooting. But when an elephant devastates crop fields absolutely nothing is done.” (Male, born 1951, Chibotane [Massingir])

“We do not have a good relationship because animals devastate the community and the game reserve management never takes any responsibility for it. But when a person kills an animal from the game reserve he gets punished.” (Male, born 1951, Chibotane [Massingir])

Several debated the compensation issue, claiming that Skukuza/Kruger doesn't compensate if a wildlife animal kills cattle, that if and when they come to investigate *“they come after a long time,”* that *“my animals were eaten by lions but the park did nothing at all,”* that *“elephants destroy harvested grain,”* and that they deserve compensation due to historical land ties: *“our great grandparents' graves are there but they don't give us anything”* to make up for the loss.

Such conflict, along with a perceived lack of access to resources and employment, is severely affecting the relationship between the communities and the parks, most notably around Kruger, Sabi Sand, and Sabie. Communities feel entirely disconnected from conservation and park management.

“We try to talk to them and the government, but the deep of my heart, I hate this park, if we could close it now, we would close it. What are they doing here?” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

“In other words, this park, it's considered a problem, they can't even sort out our problems. ...The animals from the park, they come to our farm, they destroy everything... our maize, supposed to be for our daily consumption, but these animals from the park come and eat everything, but the park doesn't help. So what kind of park is this that they don't help us?” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

“We don't value the importance of Sabi and Kruger National park. We say this because we know where we have been even those meetings we had with these parks, they didn't do us any good. We don't see the value of these parks.” (Young male community leader, Justicia)

“We don't care about xibanjane, whether it continues or not, unless if the park changes its attitude because what kind of neighbors are they that we can't even get water to drink from the park. Xibanjane can continue, we don't care, it doesn't change our lives.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

Some recognized that the country's economy is bolstered by tourists coming to see animals, but they also expressed anger because they perceive very little revenue trickling down to their communities from the wealth the parks receive and *“we gain nothing from the economy.”*

“Sabi must come and approach the community in good faith and even now they still think they can fool and cheat the community and play with the members of the community.” (Young male community leader, Justicia)

"We have children around here, our kids don't know the rhino. We need to pay for them to see a rhino in our own land, they [those in or going to the reserves] drive past our land and we don't charge them anything. Those game reserves are only benefiting themselves, and they want to benefit from our land as they don't want us to benefit anything from them... If you want to go there you must fight- that's what we don't like. We need to have some sort of communication with these people. If their children want to see a cow they just drive past our community and they tell them that this is a cow not a buffalo but how can ours differentiate between the two if they have never seen a buffalo?" (Older male community leader, Justicia)

One young male near Kabok compared the current situation to conflict between Frelimo and Renamo, stating that Dhlakama felt he had to start up conflict again because there had been no common understanding between political parties. The participant saw a parallel there between the community and the park with the lack of understanding about each other, stating that any hope goes unfulfilled and thus he felt wartime was better because *"at least during the war, we knew we wouldn't benefit from anything at all."* In short, he sees no development as things currently stand, has lost a lot of cattle, and has no employment.

On top of anger toward the parks, Mozambicans in particular also discussed the grief they feel when their citizens are killed for hunting in South Africa, citing unfair punishments of inflicting pain or death.

"If they were only caught it should be reasonable, but they are then killed. When they try to escape, they are chased down and when they can't be caught they are then shot and thus killed. [Or] there are some people that we know whose legs have been broken as a result." (Male, born 1951, Chibotane [Massingir])

"We want to know exactly why these people have to die. Is it ok that they are being killed? But we also want to know why really does this happen? When a person dies this way their remains never come back..." (Male, born 1943, Chibotane [Massingir])

Resettlement has also been a painful issue for some Mozambicans, thus further contributing to anger and emigration for work in South Africa:

"The reason why people were resettled is because we still have vast land here and so that the borders between the community and the game reserve become clear. The people had to be resettled in order to separate the animals' area from the peoples' habitants. When people who were living inside the game reserve were resettled they were provided with housing and other amenities, although that was not enough for all." (Male, born 1943, Chibotane [Massingir])

"The issue of resettlement is a difficult one because, for example, in our case we were born and raised here and the others who are living on the other side were moved and resettled there out of their choice but they are now suffering because of that. In some other cases, you will find that one would have his own house made of thatch or reed and when you are moved from that place the government never in turn builds a shelter for you like that or better. ...They will only build you a small house and leave the family helpless. Yet another thing is that people would be so used to a certain way of living which is difficult to change and now have to adopt another one, because, for sure, when people are replaced they are forced to take up another lifestyle. That is why people do not accept to be resettled from their original habitants. There would be no provisions

for land for farming. They will only give you a house. This is what is making people leave for South Africa.”¹⁰ (Male, born 1970, Chibotane [Massingir])

“These people were moved from another area to this side, and promised to give us services, water, hospital, etc, but they took our space, they stole our property, and we didn’t get anything for it. They know we didn’t go to school, so they make promises they don’t have to keep. So why should we support them. If the government was on our side, they would help us. But because the government is also stealing, they are on the side of the park.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

In Mozambique, parks are theoretically supposed to give 20% to the communities for development, but from discussions in the focus groups, few are actually receiving this (see text box, p19).¹¹ In Limpopo Park, two communities receive grants for development programs, after applying for them, but some debated how many are actually receiving this benefit, and how much it helps them.

“We are beneficiaries [of the 20%], of course, because each year since 2006 we are given this amount. Talking about this community specifically, this money helped us with the repair or overhaul of a well that we have here, which enables us to drink clean water. In [one] community there is a community center. So, this money really works for us and helps.” (Male, born 1943, Chibotane [Massingir])

“Yes, this money really help us. Although this money is available for us, it is not enough to develop the country. Drinking water is something to be expected but the most important thing is for people to have their own houses...it is not always easy. So, we can’t be too grateful because it doesn’t help much.” (Male, born 1942, Chibotane [Massingir])

“We were told by the park that if they ever sell a killed animal, they would take that money and open a bank account so the money would benefit us as a community, but we’ve never seen this money. So we don’t know what they do with this money.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

In all communities, they said they only knew a handful or less of people working for the parks. Their anger is palpable enough that even those who see problems with poaching may side with the poachers rather than the parks: *“we know these poachers, but...because Skukuza doesn’t help us, we won’t help them.”* In one focus group discussion in Mozambique, participants said they see the parks as *“for white people”* with jobs going to *“Boers and Zimbabweans.”* Given the severe issues with unemployment and poverty in these four communities, understanding their irritation at feeling they have been relegated to the sidelines while others prosper from the parks is not entirely difficult. A key community educator in Nyongane indicated very few people are employed by Kruger, and there are no park education programs as in the past (e.g. giving pensioners a free ride, or giving the community members a free week to bring their families to the park).

¹⁰ This last sentence is not necessarily about poaching, but indicates the broader idea of looking for work in South Africa. Discussions indicated that some youth go to work on South African farms.

¹¹ This seems to vary greatly by region and park in Mozambique. Around Niassa, communities are receiving the benefits, while around Limpopo, some communities receive it, albeit in a manner that is not well documented/managed due to confusion.

“When we were growing up we used to value these animals, thinking that when we finish studying we would work at Kruger. We used to see it as an opportunity for us to find work, since we stay near Kruger. We thought that we would study tourism, become rangers and tour guides so we could benefit from the park. There is nothing that the park helps us with, it benefits people from afar. That’s leads us to killing these animals, because we gain nothing from them. This is a problem because when you go inside you get a bullet, and when the animal comes to our villages it destroys.” (Unemployed male, 20, Nyongane)

“I blame Skukuza...why don’t they come and ask the youth what is it they need, there are hotels in there, restaurants, people cleaning houses, and people cleaning toilets, why doesn’t Skukuza at least allocate jobs for us based on level of education, they won’t employ all of us but they must at least employ some people from this community.” (Unemployed female, 23, Nyongane)

“The security guards they have at Sabi are not from around here, they won’t be able to identify these people [poachers]. If Sabi could employ people from Justicia, they would be able to identify poachers and won’t take risks because the security would know exactly who those poachers are.” (Unemployed male, 32, Justicia)

“We used to tell the park when people are doing illegal things, but now we don’t tell them, because they don’t help us.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

The Park Story

On the flip side, park employees tell a different story. They say they do try to employ some from the local communities, but it is difficult for several reasons. First, if they employ community members from areas that are well-known for poaching, then the community members may be easily corrupted, either by the lure of making more money in exchange for information, or actually assisting in the hunt for horn. This means that any training given may be pointless, as the worker may quit after the first week, once he learns how the park system works and about the geographical regions the rangers usually focus on. Second, employing community members may actually put their lives in danger because if the poachers find out where they work, they may be coerced with threats into helping the illicit activity, even if it goes against their personal attitudes.

Managers and rangers offered several examples of community programs that are currently occurring in the neighboring communities. Rangers in Sabi Sand indicate that education programs are found mainly in the schools. Sabi also has 11 trained Rhino Ambassadors (with one for Justicia), from villages bordering reserves in Bushbuckridge.¹² Chosen by the village, these are considered ‘champions’ who engage communities, have good communication skills, and serve as the conduit for information between the community and the park. Interestingly, there don’t seem to be direct threats against the ambassadors, because they aren’t seen as informants. Sabi Sand also has the Pfunanani Trust, which includes nine non-governmental organizations and 30 lodges that are actively supporting community

¹² During training the Ambassadors have engaged in conservation issues and acquired skills to facilitate informed discussions with their communities. They have been trained with funding earmarked for the Sabi Sand Trust, and receive salaries via a SANParks-implemented National Department of Environmental Affairs program. This is one of several partnership driven projects in this program that has resulted in 250 new jobs being created. For more on these types of background specifics, see *Rhino Ambassadors Take the Lowveld By Storm*, <http://kruger2canyon.linmedia.co.za/articles/news/22105/2013-11-15/rhino-ambassadors-takes-the-lowveld-by-storm>

development around the reserve. Some of the programs include a leadership academy (in seven high schools), governance training and learning exchanges, and training programs on land use.¹³

The manager of Sabie Game Park near Kabok indicated that he is well aware of the great tension between the park and the surrounding areas, and is trying to launch small projects within the communities. With their own resources, they are also trying to build 15 houses in Mukukaza, revamp the schools, and fix the boreholes, but currently the financial resources are “held up.”

A well-known conservationist with Kruger indicated that they do have community programs, and schoolgroups can enter the park cheaply. Advertisements for jobs are generally in the newspapers and attract thousands of applications. Skukuza has a Department of People and Conservation that focuses on the communities.

The Ambiguous 20% in Southern Mozambique

In Limpopo Park, the community liaison manager notes that two communities are receiving the 20% allocated by the parks (generally in the first quarter of the year). This began around 2007 and has since paid out approximately seven million meticaís (about US\$230,000). But he also indicated that it is often difficult to determine where the money really goes. The park has three districts and over 40 communities, so in order to manage it all, Limpopo has organized committees to distribute the funds. The first, the Village Committee elects the second, the District Committee, while the third is the Park Committee (which has four people from each District Committee, for a total of 12 people). The Park Committee receives the 20%, and 5% of that goes to management (e.g. for travel and meetings). The remaining funds go to communities that are required to submit project proposals, with the committee deciding which to fund. Yet the majority of communities don’t submit any proposals. One community that has received grants, however, is Chiqualaquala to purchase a machine for maize. In Massingir, the management committee decided that because the community wasn’t writing proposals, they would do their own projects without consulting the communities. Thus, at this point, Massingir community members believe they don’t benefit from the 20%. This has led to a situation whereby management can’t explain what is occurring, the process is unclear, projects aren’t going well, and a great deal of confusion exists. Mabalane, the third district involved in the grant process right now, is similar to Massingir. Other than the 20% payout, the community liaison officer says there are 18 water systems for irrigation, one agricultural extension unit in each district, and water pumps (with a repair technician) in the communities. Rangers in Limpopo say they also do intervention and mitigation regarding human-wildlife conflict.

The manager of Sabie Game Park claims that the government was waiting until just before the October elections to distribute the 20%. But at the same time, the park has been paying the 20% for four years, and the communities are not receiving it, thus they blame the park rather than government.

Not all focus group participants were adamant in their anger toward the parks: a few in Mozambique, though only a few, recognized the community projects and education campaigns as worth a nod.

“To simplify I can say that direct or indirectly, animals are important. In the schools that are in the park; when there is something to be done the community goes and asks for help and the park helps financially. When there is a party the community goes there and asks for help and they are

¹³ See Sabi Sand Pfunanani Trust *Annual Report 2013* for more about these three specific programs.

given. Even if that school was destroyed times gone by the park will re-build it. So I can say that the animals helped because they might have sold an animal to raise the funds. Sometimes we forget that they help us because they do bad things to us. A child may be well behaved but by the day he does bad things, and people tend to forget everything.” (Male teacher, 34, Baptine [Kabok])

“Yes, there are teachings about the game reserve because it can help develop a country, we are taught that animals mustn’t be hunted or killed because they can be our development. Picture this: if we may have 150 foreigners who come just to see these animals, can you imagine the amount of money that these may bring in the country that day? At the end of each year we receive 20% of the money that is levied to tourists. That’s why we are taught many things about these animals. So, we are taught that animals are our heritage and that they will still be for the coming generations.” (Male, born in 1943, Chibotane [Massingir])

Others see the advantages of having the animals close by: *“there is an advantage for tourists to see them, not for the animals to come this side and eat our livestock”* but *“if the animal escapes we will kill it and eat the meat.”* Older men in Nyongane are more hopeful about amenities they may acquire from being close to the park, such as possible jobs (given their knowledge from having lived here most of their lives) and that *“we can take our kids to the park.”* Yet while they understand that wildlife helps develop the country, through foreigners who *“come from abroad just to see them,”* they still indicate it signifies *“there are some dangerous animals which constitute a deadly threat to humans.”*

The Moral Issue

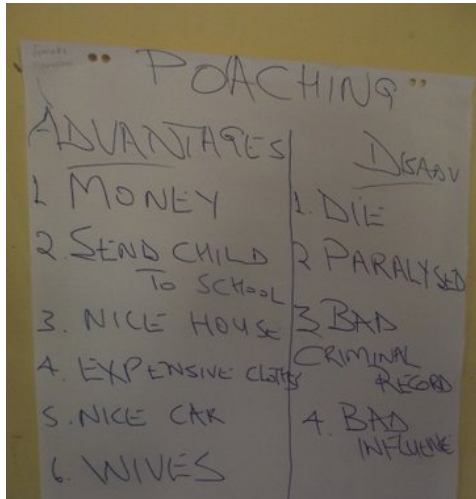
Several indicated that they know that poaching is wrong, and in fact illegal, but that they felt there exist few alternatives for survival (discussed further in the section on *Economic Incentives*). This is contributing to a sense of ‘us versus them,’ further pitting community members against the parks. While some said they know it is wrong to kill rhinos, as *“the next generation won’t know these animals,”* others justified the behavior: *“it is not right, but we are forced by circumstances,” “it is not right, but it ends up right...because they don’t employ us, so we are happy when we see people living their lives and having money.”*

“For example, someone goes and steals a car, it is very bad but it is good for him because he can make a chapa [cheap transportation] and it can benefit him, so if you go to hunt this rhino, it is not good but it has benefits.” (Unemployed young male, Baptine [Kabok])

“It is wrong, but because we don’t have a choice, we do this thing knowing very well that it is wrong.” (Unemployed male, 25, Nyongane)

They see a parallel between killing wildlife and a neighbor killing another’s cattle: both destroy the economy and livelihoods and are therefore not positive activities in and of themselves.

“I would like to say that, there is no difference, if I breed cows and someone comes to kill or steal it, it hurts me. In my point of view, it puts my economy down because I would have sold the cow legally, have that money and solve familiar issues. So does this [business] of hunting illegally. To hunt rhinos is very bad because the consequences are not good. We see in the television, animals that bring a lot of money. If I kill and sell it, it can help many families. But someone goes to hunt and it has fewer benefits, so it is very bad because it is our economy that goes down. (Male teacher, 34, Baptine [Kabok])



A focus group with young females in Nyongane, who indicated that these disadvantages refer to “our brothers” (rather than disadvantages for the animals)

Disadvantages from poaching attempts are such that “you will end up in jail;” or that some people die (“they [the rangers] just shoot you and leave you there”), acquire a criminal record, or are a bad influence on the youth. Advantages to poaching include the ability to send their children to school, and have expensive clothing, big houses and nice cars (see photo). Such economic advantages are discussed in the next section.

Economic Incentives

The financial incentives for poaching have been well-documented elsewhere, and rhino horn garners anywhere from USD\$65,000-100,000 per kilogram on the Asian end.¹⁴ A key community educator in Nyongane indicated that poachers in the community make 200,000-800,000 rand (around US\$20,000-80,000) for a horn, while in Limpopo, the community liaison indicated that gangs typically make around 350,000 meticaais (almost US\$12,000). Yet, evidence of this wealth is not always

obvious (see text box, next page) and this research left the teams feeling that there are many levels of financial incentives, depending on the job at hand and the geographical location involved (e.g. that some trackers who are only starting out are likely making far less).

Some community members, particularly young males under 30, see few viable economic alternatives in their communities to poaching. Much of this research was conducted on weekdays, and as the teams travelled in the communities, it was visibly obvious that there were many unemployed young men. Many stood outside bars drinking beer in the mornings. With few other opportunities to either work or engage in alternative activities, it is not difficult to understand why going on an adventure, killing a rhino to make money, is potentially more attractive than killing time in an impoverished region. In the South African communities, Hazyview is the closest city for employment, but the demand side for work outweighs the opportunities. In Mozambique, the communities near Sabie/Kabok are far from a major city, and there is little industry for employment. While Massingir is bigger, many have found a quicker way to make money. Alternatives to formal employment in the Mozambican communities are largely agriculture and cattle based, or within the charcoal industry.

One question that has arisen in broader wildlife poaching discussions is whether individuals poach because of poverty or greed, and this research indicates that the answer is both, and seems to depend on the individual engaging in it (with many likely starting off for subsistence, or claiming it to be for subsistence, and then moving into greed). Simple economic deprivation is not a catalyst for poaching. If it were, even more individuals would engage in it. Greed also comes into play, and this was evident in the differences in wealth accumulation between certain communities. For example, in the communities near Kabok, the argument that community members need to engage in illegal activity to make daily ends meet might hold more weight than, for example, in Mavodze, where some seem to have surpassed a short-term daily subsistence mentality to engage in more long-term thinking regarding wealth accumulation. (This is discussed further in the *Conclusion*.)

¹⁴ See SANParks Times, June 2014, *A Closer Look at Rhino Poachers*.

A Tale of Two Mozambican Communities

Kabok Communities Still Struggling?

In the communities near Kabok (close to Sabie Game Park), one participant indicated that people from Maputo or Magude come to Kabok with money, show the youth the lifestyle, take them to a *baracca* (local bar) and try to influence them to join in. There is little visible wealth (other than clothing) accumulating in the local communities. If and how these communities are involved in the poaching process, the money seems to either be filtered out of the community so as not to be noticeable, or it is low-level enough that those involved receive less than in the other communities involved in this research. However, other research notes that the money is going into Kabok town itself, in the form of new, brick houses on “Millionaire’s Row.”¹⁵ Some community members seemed genuinely puzzled as to why the youth would engage in poaching, while others had knowledge, leading the team to believe that those who are poaching in this community are often keeping it to themselves.

In discussions with the research team, we also estimated that the trackers were potentially making much less than the others, and likely don’t know the real value of the horn. This is a point of contestation, clearly, given other research on the process. But it has policy ramifications for programming to deter community members from engaging in the poaching process (discussed in the sections on *Anger and Marginalization, Economic Incentives, and Solutions*).

While Mavodze is the Hotspot for Kingpins

Not far from the South African border, there is an obvious difference in wealth between Mavodze (near Massingir, inside Limpopo Park) and the other communities involved in this research project. At least one trafficking kingpin comes from Mavodze, and the area in general around Massingir has more money, flashier clothing and new takkies, expensive motorbikes and 4x4s with heavily tinted windows, houses currently under construction, and bars in Massingir city catering to expensive tastes. In short, parts of this area look more like South Africa than rural Mozambique.

In the Limpopo communities, the research team encountered two men with bandaged hands (often a sign of having been out poaching). When asked “*what happened?*” one man simply said “*big problem*” and offered nothing further.

In a discussion with some men in Mavodze, they justified that their community does better than others because they were able to “*hold on to cattle even when we had to flee during the war,*” that “*money is not an issue here,*” and that “*the Bible says ‘there will come a time when humans will risk their lives for money,’ and that time is now.*” They felt that it is government’s job, not that of anyone involved in illicit activities, to provide community services. When asked what it will take to stop poaching, one respondent said the guns come from (then-president) Guebuza, and thus the solution “*must come from the top, because the highest levels are involved, this is where the guns come from. This is a problem in all of Africa, not just Mozambique.*”

In the focus groups, unemployment and poverty were touted by many participants as key drivers for poaching, with participants stating they are unaware when jobs open up, that “*favoritism and nepotism is ruling*” in acquiring jobs, and that employment goes to others “*because they say they have experience, [but] how will we gain experience if they don’t employ us?*” They further say they are “*pushed to do these things because we are unemployed;*” drinking increases because of the abundance of time spent

¹⁵ Shaun Smillie, April 23, 2013, “*The Town That Thrives On Rhino Horn,*” <http://www.iol.co.za/scitech/science/environment/the-town-that-thrives-on-rhino-horn-1.1505125#.VEkdUPIXARU>

doing little else; and were they to tell people, even family members, not to poach, poverty would overrule their warnings.

“We don’t have work, when we wake up, we just sit, we don’t have anywhere to go to.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

“The government has to provide jobs, we won’t choose which but with jobs available people won’t go to hunt down rhinos. The government is guilty because people go there to steal because they don’t have jobs. There is a fund in the administration to borrow, but if I go there they won’t give me but only those who are rich are given that money. I am poor, but they ask for collateral (like how many cattle I have). I don’t have any cattle, I am poor. I want to have that money so that it helps me with my business but they don’t make it possible, they give to those who already have money. How do you expect the country to develop?” (Unemployed male, 36, Baptine [Kabok])

Several indicated that poaching would decrease with more jobs, largely due to having an alternative for spending time and the risk of death involved in illegal hunting (such fear is further discussed in the next section).

“If we had jobs we wouldn’t even be thinking of [poaching], because when you are working, you get home tired, take a bath, eat and go to sleep. Come payday you are able to put food on the table.” (Unemployed male, 46, Nyongane)

“Most people leave Mozambique in order to find jobs in South Africa. Whenever people are jobless they are more likely to think about bad things like robbing, but when one has a job they rarely think about doing these bad things.” (Male, born 1970, Chibotane [Massingir])

“That thing [poaching] requires proper planning. If they were employed they wouldn’t even think of going there.” (Unemployed male, 20, Nyongane)

“Government must give us jobs, when I had a charcoal business, I was busy, I was doing things, I was completely tired by the time I got home, I had no time to do anything else.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

But others argued against this and said that once a poacher gets a taste of the financial payout, it’s too difficult to stop:

“It’s because there is a lot of money there, I won’t stop while there is still money.” (Unemployed female, 25, Nyongane)

“They pay these people less than they should be paying them, people can never be satisfied when it comes to money. These people give out the whereabouts of the rhinos to the poachers.” (Unemployed male, 32, Justicia)

“Some end up dead because of the greed; they never get enough of it.” (Unemployed female, 23, Nyongane)

To tie into the subsistence argument, hunger came up repeatedly under this umbrella of poverty as a key motivator (see text box). Participants claimed *“when you are not hungry enough, you won’t have the guts to face a bullet...risk your life,”* or that to go a night without eating means one *“is going to get into someone’s house and steal.”*¹⁶ One participant said that no matter how easy it is to otherwise keep a child *“in line,”* the situation changes if *“there is no food and thus hunger strikes the house. No matter how hard the father tries, the hunger will always push the kids to break the rules.”*

Waiting for Bushmeat

Discussions about hunger also extended beyond illegal poaching. In talking about bush meat, young women in Nyongane said if they find an animal in their area (outside of the park) it’s easiest to kill it, because it takes the police too long to come, and they can acquire meat: *“you must know that when you are unemployed, how are you going to put food on the table? ...What are we going to eat?”* (23 yr old female, unemployed, Nyongane) And then an elephant comes along and *“we take our buckets and go for the meat.”* But they also acknowledge that they don’t go into the park to kill elephants for the meat, it is only if one has escaped, because the *“animals must be protected”* so that their children can see them.

“You have to put food on the table if you have sons, and if you go out without giving them food they get hungry. Imagine you coming back at 6 pm only to find that the children have stolen the food. Who is guilty?” (Unemployed male, 36, Baptine [Kabok])

“Your family is depending on you to put food on the table, so you have to go in there. Sometimes you just tell yourself that you will only go once but because of the situation, you end up going back there. You have people who are depending on you so you don’t have a choice but to do it.” (Unemployed male, 20, Nyongane)

“This thing starts here, like myself I am an orphan, I don’t have money, I drop out from school, my siblings have to eat, they won’t eat me, so I have to find means to put food on the table, they can’t go to bed on an empty stomach. From there I have to do a serious crime just to feed them. You find that you rob two people and you get sixty bucks, you won’t survive on that, which means you have to do a serious crime so that they don’t go to bed hungry.” (Unemployed male, 25, Nyongane)

“Of course [hunting] is not good, although there is an area that was demarcated for people to hunt but still when they find people there hunting they punish them. So, in my opinion they should stop punishing people because we need to eat.” (Male, born 1943, Chibotane [Massingir])

However, to exacerbate the economic influence and entice others into a ‘greedier mentality,’ poachers are often seen positively because of their materialistic possessions. They start off buying new, expensive clothing such as flashy trainers and sports jerseys (often in the color red, it seemed), and move on to cars and building houses.

“We see them as role models, we wish to be like them. Because we are unemployed.” (Unemployed male, 21, Justicia)

¹⁶ Note, however, that this was less salient an issue in Justicia, and in fact, one participant claimed the lack of hunger was one of the things that is most positive about their community (see *Appendix A: Overview of and Key Issues in Each Community-Justicia*).

“They perceive you as a good person because you would have done a good thing, even the children here can see that you would have done an important thing.” (Male, born 1943, Chibotane [Massingir])

“We are aware that the person is running risks [going in to poach] but when he does good things, we can appreciate that. He will be creating jobs, helping many people to fight against poverty.” (Male, born 1943, Chibotane [Massingir])

Fear

Some participants talked about different types of fear that they have. While this is not necessarily a driver per se of poaching, it does play a large role in the processes, and it prevents some from poaching while preventing others from informing authorities about poachers. Types of fear generally fall into four categories, some of which are affected by whether the poachers are actually living in the communities, or entering from elsewhere:

- fear of competition between poaching gangs in a community
- fear of being killed by rangers
- fear from poachers using traditional healers
- fear of retribution from informing on the poachers

First, fear plays a role in competition over rhino horn amongst community gangs of poachers, with one participant stating *“when you go in there, you mustn’t tell me,”* while another clarified it with *“the person who kills rhinos for a horn, I will kill that person and take the horn.”* (Young men in Nyongane)

“When you see that person you must kill them because they will tell their gang that you saw, and they will come after you.” (Unemployed male, 31, Nyongane)

“Those people kill, they will kill you if you steal from them.” (Unemployed male, 25, Nyongane)

“How will he chat with us while it is illegal? If a thief plans to steal, he never pre-empts his plans.” (Unemployed male, 18, Baptine [Kabok])

Second, others, particularly in Mozambique, acknowledged that the risk of being killed by rangers was great:

“The rangers kill our brothers; it is risky to go in there.” (Unemployed female, 28, Nyongane)

“Of course we don’t favor the poacher money, because our lives are more important than the money from poaching. The risk of [dying] doing poaching is bigger.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

“We only know that it’s bad to [poach] because the people die.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

“Well when someone is killed there, it needs you as the parent to personally go there and bring the remains back because no one else will do that. You will find him beside the rhino so that you know that he died there for that reason.” (Unemployed male, 36, Baptine [Kabok])

Third, young women in Nyongane also stated that poachers use *sangomas* (traditional healers) as preventative protection before going on a hunt. The use of *curandeiros* or *feitiço* (sorcery) didn't come up in discussions in Mozambique, and is grounds for future research.

"I won't even try my luck [reporting poaching] because my life is at risk, these people are very dangerous, they use traditional healers to protect them, they will make you mad [crazy]."
(Unemployed female, 23, Nyongane)

"Before you go in there you must go to a sangoma to give you a strong concoction to prevent them from being eaten by lions." (Unemployed male, 24, Justicia)

The poacher pub: poachers come into Justicia for a hunt and buy out all the beer at this pub while they are in town

Finally, when asked if they would inform the police if they knew someone with a horn, several young males in South Africa said no, because *"how can I snatch someone's food from them?"*, or *"that person will then buy me drinks during the weekend"* or *"give me a piece job and money,"* and *"if you tell Skukuza that you saw someone in possession of a horn, they won't give you anything."* One further noted that the horn indirectly creates jobs: *"they bring their car to the carwash, they tell you to keep the change."*



South Africa offers US\$15,000 for tip-offs that lead to a poacher's arrest, and more for toppling a syndicate. But some said hotlines don't work, because *"the police want proof,"* or that *"the police are problematic, there is no such thing as anonymous, and they are the ones who would even tell the poachers about you,"* and *"if these poachers find out you reported them, they will kill you."*

"If you have a death wish you can do that, but as for me I won't do that, I still value my life."
(Unemployed male, 21, Justicia)

"We would never call the park [about poaching], they are bad people." (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

In Baptine, near Kabok, participants also indicated that they are afraid of unknown cars because they suspect that foreigners to their community are entering to poach.

"Of course we are afraid of them...When they go to hunt they take a knife, cutlass, guns and if they see that you saw them, sometimes they can kill you. We do not know. What we know is that when you see someone with a gun you get scared, you leave everything you are doing. If you don't believe me take your car and drive around, you will see kids run away. Did you realize what happened when you drove in?" (Male teacher, 34, Baptine [Kabok])

This group went on to state that when the research team entered, community members were immediately called to determine what was happening because of a lack of trust over who was entering, and the possibility that the research team consisted of poachers.

“You can drive and if you come across say a woman travelling on foot and you offer her a lift. She would refuse because there are people with cars who offer people lifts and then later kill them by cutting their heads, organs, etc.” (Male teacher, 34, Baptine [Kabok])

“You can see these cars and think something totally wrong; of course I’ll be curious to know whose car this is? We are not afraid of cars we are only concerned on who it might belong to. Do you see these cars here, even if there were students no one could come close, everybody would run away.” (Unemployed male, 30, Baptine [Kabok])

They were asked if they (when they are on their own, rather than in a group) ever ask the strangers what they are doing in the community and responses indicated that it is easier to mind one’s own business.

“Do you see how far my houses are, my sister? Ok, do you think I can leave my homestead and walk all that distance just to come to ask a stranger in the car?” (Unemployed male, 24, Baptine [Kabok])

“Have you ever seen an armed robber? You can underestimate at your own peril because he is armed and to think that you can trust him is actually crazy. As a robber he doesn’t want to be seen, you never know what he thinks. He may think that as you saw him, you will call the police and so he may silence you.” (Unemployed male, 36, Baptine [Kabok])

Rangers in Limpopo Park say that most community members seem to know someone who is poaching (especially given that much of it is in the open in and around Massingir), and community members are not afraid of them as they live amongst them: *“they are our brothers, neighbors, friends, cousins.”* Because of this, working as a ranger leads to tension, especially if they wind up in the same bar or shop at the time a poacher is there. Rangers in Sabi Sand indicate that they don’t know the poachers, and any in the local communities don’t threaten them. The rangers in both areas indicated they are not afraid of poachers when in the communities, although they do exercise caution and generally only tell family and close friends that the park employs them.

Political Will and Corruption

The final key driver of poaching that came up in discussions across all four regions, is that many community members indicated that there are multiple levels involved, including the rangers and the police. While both South Africa and Mozambique have official policies against poaching and trafficking, participants said implementation is riddled with complications because of corruption on the multiple levels.

“Look at the park, people are doing all kinds of hard work in the park, the police are doing it [too], but because they don’t get well paid, they are stealing.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

Both rangers and community members claim crooked police officials peddle (and recycle) arms and are instrumental in the process of allowing poachers to go free (since they are generally the first ones called when a poacher is caught). Community members also acknowledge that dishonest rangers disclose rhino locations to poachers. Few prosecutions have been occurring in either country and those who are convicted often pay minimal fines and do little, if any, jail time. Several participants note that after only a few months *“you see that person back on the street.”*

In Justicia, community members claim there have been few arrests in recent years, and in one scenario, the handful who were arrested were in jail for six months, then returned to the communities and began spending their money. Near Kabok, the park manager indicated that one local chief and his two brothers are heavily involved in poaching. One community liaison near Kabok said that when someone gets the horn, the police generally know about it quickly and often wait for the poachers so they can get their share (and the poachers avoid going to jail). This generally occurs within a couple of days after the animal is killed. The police also lend the guns to such groups. One community member gave an example of a man who called the police to tell them there was a strange car in their community, but rather than investigating the car, they arrested the informant. Others corroborate the fear of being arrested themselves:

“The law is not working. The govt is supposed to follow up on what was actually reported. We have to see all the bad things that happen, but we don’t say anything because then we will go to jail for reporting. So even if I see something with xibanjane, I wouldn’t say anything because I would be the one who is arrested.” (Young male, Mukukaza [Kabok])

Rangers in Limpopo claim that if a poacher is caught, he must pay a fine: the penalties differ depending on the type of animal, and the accused has 15 days to pay (or risk going to court), even with rhino horn. But unless the poacher has a gun on him, he won’t go to jail. The closest court is in Chokwe (about 100 kilometers away), however, and they aren’t aware what happens to the cases once they go there, nor are they aware of any successful cases against poachers. In Mavodze, one participant claimed the problem will end only when *“corrupt officials at the top”* are brought to justice.

*

In April 2014, South Africa and Mozambique signed an agreement to work together to eradicate rhino poaching. This will theoretically entail sharing intelligence, jointly developing anti-poaching technology, and implementing education programs. Recent partnerships, news stories, and arrests/convictions for poaching/trafficking give some indication of political will and its evolution in both countries and merit a brief discussion.

Mozambique

Poachers killed Mozambique’s last rhinos in 2013 and the country has been singled out by the Convention of International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) for its lack of action against poaching. It is thus under increasing pressure from international conservation groups to do more to curb the killing. Although this report has focused on rhino poaching in South Africa, elephant poaching in Mozambique is also prevalent, and the heightened devastation to this animal community illustrates the urgency for Mozambique to strengthen its efforts. Poaching is quite prevalent in Niassa National Reserve, where approximately 12,000 elephants live. Officials estimate between two and five elephants are being killed each day, while the Wildlife Conservation Society (WCS) said that the rate is between 1,500 and 1,800 annually (for all of Mozambique).¹⁷

¹⁷ The WCS estimates that two-thirds of the poaching in Niassa is conducted by Tanzanians. Between 2009 and 2013 Niassa’s elephant population was reduced from 20,374 to less than 13,000. There were approximately 50,000 elephants in Mozambique in the 1970s, 22,144 in 2008, and the number alive today is estimated at only 19,600. See Anita Powell (Voice of America), October 2014, *Conservationists Sound Alarm on Mozambique Elephant Poaching*, <http://www.voanews.com/content/conservationists-wcs-mozambique-elephant-poaching/2478448.html> and Estacios Valoi, October 3, 2014, *Mozambique Elephant Obliterated*,

One WCS expert has said that “Mozambique is now seen internationally as one of the countries which is not taking action against elephant poaching.”¹⁸ Both Carlos Pereira of WCS and Antonio Abacar, the administrator of the Limpopo National Park, have publicly criticized the slow and inadequate response of the police and courts, the latter of whom pointed out that even when poachers are caught and fined, the fines are often not paid.¹⁹

The Mozambique government recently put together a task force involving several ministers to address poaching. Until recently, poaching was not considered a crime and those arrested often got off with a fine for illegal weapons possession. But a new law passed in April toughens penalties for poachers, including hefty fines and jail terms of up to 12 years for killing protected species.²⁰

“The law proposes prison sentences of between 8 and 12 years for people who kill, without a license, any protected species, or who use banned fishing gear, such as explosives or toxic substances. The same penalty will apply to people who set forests or woodlands on fire (poachers often use fire to drive animals into the open). Anybody using illegal firearms or snares, even if they do not catch protected species, can be sentenced to two years imprisonment. In addition, those found guilty of the illegal exploitation, storage, transport or sale of protected species will be fined between 50 and 1,000 times the minimum monthly national wage in force in the public administration (at current exchange rates, that would be a fine of between \$4,425 and \$88,500).”²¹

A legal team in Gorongosa has begun prosecuting the first poaching case under the new conservation law. Some arrests have also recently occurred, but it remains to be seen what the outcomes will be (this list is not exhaustive):

- Mozambique police recently arrested six suspected poachers, after a year of investigative work by the Mecula District police, Luwire scouts, and Niassa National Reserve WCS scouts. 12 elephant tusks worth well over \$150,000 and two rifles were confiscated. The suspects have been charged with such crimes as cooperating with poachers, illegal possession of firearms, participating in poaching, and organized crime. Officials estimate that this group of poachers has killed 39 elephants this year alone based on interviews with the suspects.²²
- Two elephant poachers were arrested on Sept. 22 near Niassa National Reserve by the same unit.

http://mg.co.za/article/2014-10-02-mozambique-elephants-obliterated?utm_source=October+3+2014+EN&utm_campaign=10%2F3%2F2014&utm_medium=email
and Mozambique News Agency, September 22, 2014, *Mozambique: Elephant Poaching "a National Disaster,"*
<http://allafrica.com/stories/201409222278.html>

¹⁸ Mozambique News Agency, September 22, 2014, *Mozambique: Elephant Poaching "a National Disaster,"*
<http://allafrica.com/stories/201409222278.html>

¹⁹ Mozambique News Agency, September 22, 2014, *Mozambique: Elephant Poaching "a National Disaster,"*
<http://allafrica.com/stories/201409222278.html>

²⁰ Agence France Presse, September 22, 2014, *22 Elephants Poached in Mozambique in Two Weeks*
<http://news.yahoo.com/22-elephants-poached-mozambique-two-weeks-175136463.html>

²¹ Mozambique News Agency, October 29, 2014, *Mozambique: New Agreement On Fight Against Wildlife Crime*
<http://allafrica.com/stories/201410300205.html>

²² Sept. 8, 2014, *Major Ivory Poaching Arrest in Mozambique,* <http://www.newswise.com/articles/major-ivory-poaching-arrest-in-mozambique>

- On September 25, a unit set up by Sabie Game Park, the Peace Parks Foundation, and several private reserves to counter poaching caught three suspected rhino poachers.

In a key follow up to the South African/Mozambican Memorandum of Understanding to combat poaching, a partnership between the Mozambican government, the Peace Parks Foundation, and the Joaquim Chissano Foundation will support the development of dedicated anti-poaching operations in and around Limpopo National Park. The Peace Parks Foundation will spend 30 million rand (about US\$2.8 million) that comes from a donation by the Dutch and Swedish lotteries. The project is to include updating of the communications technology used by rangers as well as shared communication across the border with South Africa; training, new equipment and improved working conditions for rangers; and support to the judicial system in Mozambique so that it can implement the stiff penalties provided for in its new law (the Conservation Areas Act).

Finally, in the past 12 months, the Mozambican government has commenced with several other new responses which will be closely watched by experts to see how well they are implemented. These include: a multi-stakeholder seminar to educate the criminal justice sector on how to prosecute poachers under the new law; a commitment to joining the Wildlife Enforcement Network for Southern Africa; training a new Environmental Police force that has been deployed with success in Niassa; ramping up representation at trainings; the creation of a new office to work specifically on wildlife trafficking issues in customs; replacing the head of the National Conservation Agency with a more experienced conservationist; and conceptualizing draft legislation to make Mozambique CITES compliant by establishing an institution to enforce CITES rules.

South Africa

SANParks has drastically ramped up its efforts against poaching in Kruger in recent years under the direction of General Johan Jooste. Because of the vast number of rhino being killed, SANParks now plans to move up to 500 rhinos from Kruger, which could cost around \$1,500 or more per animal.²³ Additionally, SANParks' new CEO as of October 2014 comes from the Department of Environmental Affairs, played a key role in the development and implementation of anti-poaching legislation, and has a strong background in environmental management, biodiversity, and conservation.²⁴

Despite this type of extreme measure, other measures seem to counteract efforts to combat the situation. The South African government's decision in June (effective July) to cancel a contract with Pathfinder—which provided security and intelligence services for SANParks and private reserves—was accompanied with no explanation. This has led experts to wonder if the company came too close to uncovering government officials with connections to illicit crime.

Other reports indicate that loopholes, widespread corruption and the lack of legal enforcement have stymied efforts. One article reports that “rangers say that for prosecutors to even have a case, a witness must find a poacher with a gun -- and the bullets must be traced back to a downed rhino” and few have been sentenced to prison.²⁵ It continues by saying, “between 2010 and mid-2012, for example, some

²³ Cara Meyers, September 5, 2014, *South Africa Makes Big Move to End Poaching*, <http://www.globalanimal.org/2014/09/05/south-africa-makes-big-moves-to-end-poaching/>

²⁴ October 24, 2013, *New CEO for SANParks*, <http://africageographic.com/blog/new-ceo-for-sanparks/> (excerpt from the Department of Environmental Affairs, Republic of South Africa).

²⁵ Scott C. Johnson (Foreign Policy) July 22, 2014, *Where the Wild Things Die*, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/07/22/where_the_wild_things_are_rhinos_poaching_africa

573 people were arrested; the country's success rate is about one arrest for every two rhinos killed. Yet between 2011 and 2012 only 28 poachers were convicted. And though some high-profile cases do emerge -- a Thai national was recently given a 40-year sentence for poaching in South Africa -- most people get off with little more than a fine for trespassing or illegal possession of a firearm, which only involves a few weeks of jail time.”²⁶ In 2013-2014, the National Prosecuting Authority prosecuted 46 (Level 1) poachers versus seven (Level 4) dealers.²⁷ While South Africa made rhino poaching a ‘priority’ crime in 2009, the HAWKS (the Directorate for Priority Crime Investigation, who investigate) seem understaffed and underfunded.²⁸ Furthermore, focusing mainly on low level poachers should theoretically be expanded with stronger efforts to track and dismantle the actual networks, which requires significant intelligence, analysis, and international cooperation.

Several cases have made the news recently, and the time actually served on these sentences will help indicate current commitments to enforcement (this list is not exhaustive):

- The highest penalty ever imposed in South Africa for the illegal possession of ivory occurred in September when a Chinese man was sentenced to 10 years jail and a R5 million (about US\$500,000) fine for possessing one ton of poached elephant tusks (about 34 elephants).²⁹ He was told three years of his sentence could be suspended provided he pay the fine within a year.
- In July in South Africa, two Mozambican rhino poachers received 16 years. Another poacher was sentenced to 77 years after being convicted of murder (one of his accomplices died), illegal hunting of rhinos, rhino horn theft, illegal possession of firearms and ammunition, and trespassing in a national park.³⁰
- In September, the South African Hawks arrested the leader and nine members of one of South Africa’s biggest rhino poaching syndicates (accused of obtaining 84 rhino horns).
- However, the trial of Dawie Groenewald, the alleged rhino horn syndicate kingpin, was supposed to begin in July, but the case has been postponed for another year. Four years ago the police arrested several suspects linked to the “Groenewald Gang.” The accused “are expected to stand trial in South Africa in August 2015 on 1,872 charges including racketeering, illegal trade in rhino horns, fraud, corruption, assault and illegal possession of firearms and ammunition”³¹

This last case has dragged on for years now, with trials postponed several times. The gang is suspected of making approximately \$6.8 million from rhino horn.³² In October, the United States announced the

²⁶ Scott C. Johnson (Foreign Policy) July 22, 2014, *Where the Wild Things Die*, http://www.foreignpolicy.com/articles/2014/07/22/where_the_wild_things_are_rhinos_poaching_africa

²⁷ SANParks Times, June 2014, *A Closer Look at Rhino Poachers*.

²⁸ U.S. Department of State, 2013, South Africa Human Rights Report, <http://www.state.gov/documents/organization/220371.pdf>

²⁹ Melanie Gosling (IOL News), September 8 2014, *Hefty Jail Term for Ivory Smuggler (South Africa)* http://www.iol.co.za/news/crime-courts/hefty-jail-term-for-ivory-smuggler-1.1747391#.VA2YcRY_2vI

³⁰ Christopher Torchia, July 23, 2014, *South Africa: Rhino Poacher Gets 77 Years in Jail*, <http://news.yahoo.com/south-africa-rhino-poacher-gets-77-years-jail-091652392.html>

³¹ See Julian Rademeyer, July 21, 2014, ‘Groenewald Gang’ Trial Postponed, <http://killingforprofit.com/2014/07/21/the-groenewald-gang-on-trial-2/> and 26 Oct. 2014, *South Africa: SA Monitoring Major Rhino Poaching Case*, <http://allafrica.com/stories/201410270991.html>

³² National Geographic, October 23, 2014, *U.S. Indictment Accuses South African Brothers of Trafficking Rhino Horns*, <http://news.nationalgeographic.com/news/2014/10/141023-rhino-wildlife-trafficking-south-africa-safari-club-nra-lacey-act-hawks-operation-crash-groenewalds/>

indictment of Groenewald and his brother and their company (Out of Africa Adventurous Safaris) on multiple charges (including wildlife crime, money laundering, and conspiracy) under the Lacey Act and is seeking extradition.³³

Solutions

In the words of one well-known ranger who has worked in conservation for over 25 years: *“once the human eye detects a change in nature, it’s too late.”* In discussing steps to improve the current situation, community members and park staff tended to focus on three ideas: community programs, law enforcement, and increased technical capacity.

1. More local education and development programs in the communities

Both park staff and community members agree that there is a massive need for enhanced programs that *“must happen now”* to draw community buy-in to the mission of the parks and goals of conservation. Mozambique’s dire poverty situation in rural communities with little access to other resources has led rangers and managers in the south to place community programs as the number one priority in order for communities to understand the role the parks play in economic development. With this, communities need to both see and be involved in development occurring in their geographic locations so as to mitigate the anger that currently exists. With such programs, some say fewer people would *“choose to go in [to poach] because it’s not easy work.”* One step in the right direction seems to be the appointment of the Rhino Ambassadors, but several noted that some prioritize security and surveillance within the parks over community programming.

Community members and park staff discussed specific solutions:

- Limpopo rangers claim that the focus should be on the communities and the youths doing the poaching, in part by utilizing them to guide (non-poaching) visitors to the park.
- Near Kabok, offering assistance to communities via agricultural machinery would be beneficial in restoring community-park relations, according to the Sabie Game Park manager. Some solutions are simple: an electronic *xima* (maize) maker to go into a cooperative center, common pool *machambas* (farms) that build on the small farms that already exist and are close to one another, something to take care of the insects that are currently eating through the corn huts (silos, or *celeros*). One focus group participant stated they could also start youth associations to educate others, while another said if roads were better, *“we would say the park helped us. I think people would see the park as useful to them.”*
- One community leader in Justicia compared the current situation to receiving an expensive pair of shoes but not knowing their worth, and therefore playing football in them only to discover his mistake later on. The parallel for him is that communities need to understand the value of the rhino as a long-term resource. Another community leader indicated that the park could help with agricultural projects and buy local products, thus propping up the community, but that right now, *“that type of project is given to someone from afar.”*

³³ The U.S. says the brothers solicited American hunters at U.S. conventions and tricked them into illegally shooting rhinos, the horns of which were then sold in Asia. The Lacey Act “makes it a crime to knowingly sell in interstate and foreign commerce wildlife that was taken, possessed, transported, or sold in violation of foreign law.” See <http://www.fws.gov/le/pdf/Lacey.pdf>

- In Nyongane, participants said they need a community hall, educational scholarships, private investment to create employment, or arts and crafts stalls to formalize curio entrepreneurship in order to “stay busy.” One unemployed young male said, “I see it as a way of fighting crime and a solution to our problems. If we go there and do our reed dances maybe we will find sponsors, we won’t have time to do crime.” He also indicated that sports facilities would help:

“We have a lot of soccer fields here, but some of us don’t like or even play soccer; some like volleyball some like cricket. I submit a proposal and they tell me that I must buy a kit first, what do I buy it with? I don’t have any money, and that kit cost around 800 rand [USD\$80]. I used to teach kids how to play, but it didn’t benefit me it only benefited the school and the kids. I share my talent with them but I still go hungry, so what is the point?”

“If they do things that way we will learn how to be responsible, we would take care of our parks knowing very well that it takes care of us; we will know that when they hurt Kruger they hurt us as well. That is also a way of keeping ourselves busy.” (Unemployed male, 25)

- In three of the four communities, members stated that they could work in low-level jobs assisting with tourism infrastructure (e.g. hospitality, gardening, servicing vehicles and fences, artistic vendors). But they felt that they are currently unable to gain viable job experience, even at low levels, within the parks because they employ outsiders. Near Kabok, however, some members were hard-pressed to come up with the jobs they could do. All indicated that a key priority needs to be better communication (e.g. through forums) between the parks and communities.

2. Enforcement of laws already on the books

Rangers and community members repeatedly stated they believe police and high-level politicians are involved in trafficking. In South Africa, high-profile trials of poaching kingpins have been repeatedly delayed. The legal systems in both countries need to treat poaching and trafficking as serious crimes that require more stringent enforcement. One ranger indicated that one way to step up on-the-ground enforcement is to increase the number of rangers and dedicate ‘rapid response’ police units in the parks that can work more quickly than the regular police units.

Some suggested that intelligence sharing across borders is necessary, yet this will help little without dedicated government enforcement of laws in a combined regional strategy. To this, many claimed there needs to be more personal engagement of high level officials who recognize that this is a national security issue, and are willing to not only sentence those involved, but ensure that the prosecutions are fully enacted. Even with this, however, some still questioned whether it would serve as an effective deterrent, particularly without community programs, as “risk of jail” is well-known, but “because of hunger,” some will still take that chance.

3. Increased technical capacity for enforcement

This includes basic logistics: vehicles for Limpopo’s rangers who are often on foot, and more advanced surveillance equipment to keep up with increasingly sophisticated poaching techniques. Transportation and both basic and advanced surveillance equipment are also issues for Sabi Sand rangers, who must look on foot for poachers. Rangers and some community members note that certain areas are well

known for detecting and catching poachers, which deters criminals from entering these locales. In Sabi Sand the manager claims polygraphs work well. Yet this solution would not work as well in Kruger, where one conservationist indicated it's difficult to fire someone for failing a polygraph because of the labor laws. As one extreme capacity measure, Kruger is currently building an Intensive Protection Zone—funded in part by the Howard Buffet Foundation—in the southern part of the park. This fortified sanctuary will function under heavy surveillance (detectors, alarms, sensors, monitors, and a helicopter) to protect and recolonize the rhino population once it becomes extinct elsewhere. Most indicated the need for more rangers (see text box) who are “*breaking their backs*” in this fight: one conservationist in Kruger stated that ranger morale is very high under General Jooste’s stewardship of SANParks, and that “*if everybody met the effort met by the rangers,*” they wouldn’t have a problem.

Kruger	Sabi Sand	Sabie Game Park	Limpopo
· Has 4 regional rangers, 22 section rangers, 400 field rangers (1 field ranger per 3,000 hectares). Their salary is about 5,000 rand /month (US\$500)	· Rangers work 21 days, 12 hours a day, then have 9-10 days off	· Has only 10 rangers for 30,000 hectares; they are brought in from elsewhere	· Rangers work 23-24 days straight (staying in the park camp) then have 7 days off

Conclusion

In conclusion, this research has strived to illustrate perceptions and opinions in four well-known poaching areas in South Africa and Mozambique, in order to fill in gaps in current research. The solutions by the communities have already been noted, so it is not the goal of this section to expand on those. But as a follow up on the discussion in this report regarding the need for community programs, two issues become apparent. First, one avenue for future research is to link up with *sangomas*, as they are involved in the hunting preparation, and may realistically have the keenest insight into who in the communities is doing what and when, and why they are doing it. How much they would be willing to discuss, however, may constitute a challenge, as they are also beneficiaries within the sub-level 1 community of poachers/traffickers since they receive payment to keep poachers ‘safe’ while on the hunt.

A second issue that stems from the current atmosphere pertains to short-term versus long-term mentalities, or the discussion over poaching for daily subsistence versus exhibiting greed. This is a valid discussion, but perhaps needs to be further nuanced, with more research into the evolution for some from one to the other. A key issue for development practitioners and community programs in general is this short-term versus long-term mentality, and how to persuade community members to develop best practices of sustainable development, even if the payoffs are not immediate. This is a difficult question in general, as well as for this particular topic. One could theoretically make the argument that poachers don’t only look at the short-term, but also try to set themselves up for the long-term (e.g. building a house) via quick financial fixes. The counterargument to this, however, is that many of the Level 1 poachers spend their money quickly on alcohol, cars and clothing.

One parallel to be made here is the similarity between poaching to sex work in the time of HIV/AIDS. Many female sex workers, whether they are participating once every week or two to supplement their income, or are doing so every day, have a similar short-term mentality regarding the potential risk (sickness or death) versus the immediate payoff, and gamble accordingly. The thinking is as such: “in engaging in unprotected sex, I may contract HIV, but at least I can put food on the table for my family right now.” So she may die in the long-term because of her actions, but she is able to sustain herself in the short-term from them. Health programs had to evolve because of not only this but a variety of other reasons, to include other nuances and conceptualize appropriate programming. Some poaching mentalities seem similar, particularly given that both countries here have very high unemployment and education rates, especially amongst the young male populations who see little hope for the future. Idleness does little to help with the psychology of personal fulfillment. As aforementioned, going on an adventure to try to acquire a treasure worth more than what many can make in gainful employment becomes not only a way to get by or get ahead in life, but also translates into a challenge or adventure that is better than sitting around with no money and nothing to do. The risk of death is high, but the potential for immediate gain overrides this.

Until perceptions of risk outweigh the potential benefits, programming will be only so efficient with some groups. Therefore, understanding the nuances of both the communities themselves and those living in them—the drivers behind poaching mentalities—is imperative in order to create sustainable community programs on multiple levels that make a substantial impact in people’s lives and draw out more long-term thinking. This research has highlighted that different poaching mentalities appear to exist, not all of which are fully illustrated here, but are certainly grounds for further research into the communities. One person may poach out of ignorance about conservation, or because he feels he has no other choice (even if he deems it morally wrong), because he is in a dire situation and must accommodate his family. Another may do so because of peer pressure, or because he has been threatened to join because of his tracking skills, or perhaps he did it once and then became sucked in. Others may poach because they experience a sense of fulfillment, a life purpose, from being able to provide in an otherwise impoverished region, while still others may enjoy the thrill (and money) that comes from risky behavior. And finally, there are those who have gotten a taste of the financial payoffs and simply don’t want to stop. And these mentalities can certainly overlap, depending on the person.

The point here is that those poachers who work out of greed will theoretically respond differently to education programs than those who feel the pull of the moral dilemma or have the desire to spend their time doing something else, even if the pay is less. Education programs focusing more on conservation and animal rights will likely work in some poaching areas, for some people, but they are also likely to be an awkward—if not impractical—fit in others. This is perhaps best illustrated by the example of Mavodze, which seems so far gone on the extreme of normalized poaching that many living there, including the kingpins, tout their wealth and lifestyle. Contrast an appropriate community program there with those in some of the other communities, which may seem less ‘developed’ on the poaching spectrum, and it is not hard to envision that they will require different programs. Perhaps the most ideal situation would therefore be one in which each community has an array of education and development programs tailored to these different mentalities in order to reach the greatest number of at-risk youth, and assist community members nearest the parks in seeing it in their overall best interest to protect endangered animals such as the rhino.

APPENDIX A

Overview of and Key Issues in Each Community

South Africa Nyongane³⁴

- Population: about 5,500, mainly SiSwati speakers
- Nyongane was established in 1968 when people relocated out of the park (and currently community members are still trying to receive compensation).
- The majority of jobs are at the supermarkets at Hazyview, White River, Mbombela, or Nelspruit, but pay is limited. Others work on banana farms (Mbhabha farm) or avocado farms (e.g. Kieposol), are self-employed and drive taxis, or work as security guards, domestic workers, police officers or teachers. Some also cut trees to sell firewood.
- In an interview with a key educator in Nyongane, he indicated that the town is one of the poorest in the region with about 80% unemployment. Higher education is lacking because the closest technical school is in Nelspruit (about 90 kms away).
- Some of the young women expressed happiness at living near Kruger because they can access water (although young men said they don't have access to water), they can see animals (even if it occurs when they go to their own fields), they have good schools, roads, and electricity, can catch taxis to go to town (e.g. Hazyview), there are nurses at the clinic, and the community is not xenophobic. But one also said *"there is no space for sports and recreation here, and that leads the youth to end up doing substance abuse...marijuana."*
- Young males also expressed the desire for sports facilities to keep them occupied. They say *"there is nothing we like about this place"* because *"we don't have any job opportunities here and there is a lot of crime."* Crime consists of theft of *"electric cable, our laundry"* and break-ins into houses. They indicated they don't receive advertisements for current job openings.
- Young men also claimed the lack of employment to be a central reason poaching is occurring. Other problems are that the clinic is too far away and is shared by three communities, so it is both time consuming and usually full. They blame the councilor who they voted in, but who has not done enough for them: *"our votes bring us poverty."*
- All the groups said they know of less than a handful of people from their community who are employed at Kruger.
- Water is also an issue: *"Skukuza is our grandmothers' land but we don't get anything from them. We can't say we are happy while we remain poor. We only get water twice a week we try to plant vegetables with no success because we don't have water, for our crops."* (Unemployed male, 25)

Justicia³⁵

- Population: about 7,000
- Participants said some community members are employed at Sabi as waiters, housekeepers, tour guides and chefs. Others work in Hazyview, or at Kruger, or as agricultural workers/home based caregivers at Ilima. But there are many youths who finished matric and are still

³⁴ For more demographic information on Nyongane, see Adrian Firth, unknown date, <http://census2011.adrianfrith.com/place/874012>

³⁵ For more demographic information on Justicia, see MRC/Wits Rural Public Health and Health Transitions Research Unit (Agincourt), June 2013, *Justicia Village Fact Sheet*, <http://www.agincourt.co.za/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/Justicia-CFB-fact-sheet-2013.pdf>

unemployed (they say in fact, the majority of youths are unemployed). Those who do have work don't earn high wages.

- Participants said they have a school, clinic, water, and very little crime. There's farming, *"and we don't lack something to eat."* Some said they admired their community for its natural habitat, with trees and animals.
- Problems include the lack of jobs, paved roads, and electricity. Some indicated they would like to see a community hall and library, better roads, and widened access to advertisements for employment opportunities (because information resides at the municipal offices at Mbombela and is thus not easily accessible).
- One key issue noted, however, is that participants claimed Justicia to be very dirty (e.g. litter), and that Sabi Sand disposes of its waste in the community (this was shown to the research team at one point) and now the community also disposes of its trash there in the area. They felt their community is in need of a waste clean-up campaign, to include recycling.
- Participants said some community members work as teachers or in the mine, or a few work for government or at Kruger
- There is also a land compensation issue for those who used to live on the Sabi land and were *"chased out"* and have not been compensated for it.
- Participants said they would like a health program that focuses on the youth, and a better clinic that is open seven days a week (it is currently closed for the weekends because the Department of Health can't find a midwife). One community leader stated: *"You find that when you go to the clinic they will tell you that they do not have the medication for your ailment, like now we have flu and coughs you find that when you go to the clinic they will only give you Panado [pain reliever], and tell you to go home, they do not have enough medicine. We need to look deeper into it. When we talk about service I say that we must have enough doctors, and nurses to attend to the patients. You find that a person will sit on the bench until they die while waiting for the doctor."*
- Justicia has received some support from NGOs and donors, as well as tourists entering via community visits.

*Mozambique (also see the text box, p 22)
Kabok Communities (in Mangalane)³⁶*

- There are a number of small communities around Kabok, including Mukukaza, Baptine, and Ndindiza. This section is a compilation of these communities, as the issues were similar across them (official focus groups were in Mukukaza and Baptine, but informal discussions in Ndindiza offered some additional insights about development and the relationship with the park).
- Relocation has been an issue within these communities, and there is a strong sense of dependence on others to assist them, as is found in many parts of Mozambique. But this tips into the potential inability to 'make one's own way,' rather than wait on handouts: *"they are good at teaching people bad things, like 'try and see your own way to survive.'"*
- Several participants stated they are very angry at Sabie Game Park, because of perceptions of broken promises, human-wildlife conflict, and the like. However, in discussions with Sabie's manager, it seems that all issues the community has are lumped together with the anger directed predominantly at Sabie, when in fact, it should be mixed between Sabie, the

³⁶ For more on community development in this region, see Brian Child, *Community Development with Sabie Game Park in 2013*.

government, and other entities, such as the neighboring sugar company (discussed on p 14, which also has a reserve whose animals escape through a large gap in the fencing).

- Young males in the community claimed they have a school, but very little development, and that many people come and promise things like houses and electricity, but still they don't even have a functioning clinic.
- Survival mainly stems from animal husbandry of goats, cattle and chickens, but they would prefer alternatives:

“Well, we cannot choose jobs but any job, we go for any. The one we don't want is of breeding animals like cattle, because it takes a lot of space and time as well. We have seen quite a number of people with many cattle but they gain/profit nothing. What we need are some projects and jobs.” (Unemployed male, 36, Baptine [Kabok])

- Participants also try to sell charcoal, but they claimed they can no longer do so because they have been barred from entering the relevant areas (e.g. they are not allowed to cut down trees in the park to dry them out to make the product). As elsewhere in the area, many in Baptine try to make a living selling it, but there are issues with the equipment to do so.

“We don't have chain saws to cut trees. Those who have chain saws hire them to us at 2000 meticaïs. Our life is not easy because we struggle in order to live.” (Unemployed male, 32, Baptine [Kabok])

- These communities say they have not received the 20% supposed to trickle down to them from the park (see pgs. 17 and 19 for more about this). They feel they initially had access to employment when the park fences were being constructed, but nothing since then, as employment opportunities were passed to outsiders after that.
- Many also they don't have access to water or electricity, and that the education system passes students although they are *“unable to write their own names.”*
- Due to the severe poverty in these communities, members are concerned about unemployed, poorly educated youth. Any economic benefits from poaching that are occurring are not readily visible in these small, local communities and thus it seems that either the financial incentives are lower here than elsewhere, or the money is leaving the communities and going elsewhere, e.g. to Kabok town (see the text box on p. 22 for more about this).³⁷ Many leave for South Africa because they see little alternative in these communities:

“There are no jobs for people to work, you see now; there are many youths that leave for South Africa. They go to South Africa because there are no jobs here, you see, we just wake up and do nothing. There are many guys during the times of rhino poaching that went there to poach the rhino and were killed there. Had we jobs in this area we could not have lost all those guys.” (Unemployed male, 36, Baptine [Kabok])

³⁷ In a general discussion that was not random (and thus did not constitute one of the focus groups) with some women living near Kabok, they indicated: *xibanjane* had no effect on their lives, any type of killing of another's animals constitutes stealing, they don't know if men in their community are poaching (because many men have more than one wife and are thus not with the same wife all the time), they are very angry toward the manager of Sabie because of human-wildlife conflict and inadequate compensation for it, and that they *“hate those animals.”*

- In Baptine in particular, participants claimed they see “*nothing good going on in our community,*” and that “*when we harvest grain we have nowhere to go and sell our produce,*” that there are “*difficulties growing crops due to water problems,*” and that the school is “*very small and has few classrooms that cannot accommodate many pupils, only two classes can be accommodated at a time.*” They would like access to clean water and a grain miller.

Limpopo Park Communities

The Limpopo Park’s community liaison officer indicated the biggest issues with the communities are that it is difficult to access them logistically which makes communicating with them very difficult, and they have few opportunities to engage in alternatives to farming and animal husbandry. Regarding poaching, several communities in and around the area are known as hotspots: *Makandazulo B, Chimangele, Machamba, Muchacha, Chiconodzo, Chibotane, Mavodze, and Madingana.* He indicated that Navara, a well-known trafficker from Mavodze, has the guns.

Mavodze (also see the text box, p. 22)

- This local community is inside the park, and is named after a dominant leader who started it in 1972 when they were resettled to this area. While they claimed not to have as much as other communities (since the park was established), there is obvious wealth in Mavodze, with expensive vehicles parked around the community and new houses being built. Some of the male community members claimed to like living in this area and that they are comfortable here.
- They have a school and health post, and a few homes have electricity through solar panels and a government borehole (whereby they pay a committee to use the water). The school only goes up to grade seven, and they indicated that the children cannot read and write well. They said, however, that they have money to send their children to other schools, and that they are “*not crying for money here.*”
- When asked whose responsibility it is to provide services, they said NGOs provide schools and health, but that it is the government’s responsibility to provide water.
- The predominant industry is farming and raising cattle, but as aforementioned, they claimed many youth are going to work on farms in South Africa.
- In the discussion with men, they indicated they don’t want to resettle (one stated he built his house in 1972 and doesn’t want to move to a house that isn’t as good).

*Chibotane*³⁸

- Chibotane is just on the outskirts of the park.³⁹
- A large number of households own cattle and farm as their main source of income. When their cattle are eaten by wildlife, or when elephants destroy maize, they see no compensation.
- Older males indicated that the government is not doing enough to develop the communities. Apart from working in agriculture, some are able to raise bank loans. This community has not

³⁸ For more on a recent program launched in Chibotane, see Limpopo National Park, unknown date, *Chibotane Community Nursery Launched*, <http://www.limpopopn.gov.mz/chibotane-community-nursery-launched/>

³⁹ For more on this area, see T. Loboda, J. Silva, A. Moulden, M. Strong, and Z. Dodson (University of Maryland), *Linking Perceptions of Well-Being to Land Cover Change: Lessons From the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, Mozambique*, http://lcluc.umd.edu/Documents/ScienceTeamMtg/2014APR/Poster/Tatiana_Loboda_Poster.pdf

been resettled. It has a clinic with one nurse and medical supplies, and some do door-to-door health education campaigns on sanitary practices. Community members say that many of their youths go to South Africa to look for regular work, as the opportunities here are limited.

- Participants indicated that there are many ways their lives could be improved, including via employment. Other issues involve health, with the clinic only providing limited services with the one nurse. *“We need an ambulance which will help us in cases of emergency, like when someone is bitten by a snake or breaks his leg. We have no means of transport that can take one needing emergency treatment to Maputo, or Xai-Xai...we only depend on hitchhiking or have to hire a vehicle. Even so, when you hitchhike to the hospital, the same vehicle cannot take you back home because it is just a means to get there only.”* (Male, born 1970)
- Education is also a crucial issue: the government school only educates up to grade seven, with many children unable to write, so a child must relocate elsewhere if (s)he wants further schooling. Community members also noted that the children struggle with Portuguese in school because the families are speaking Shangaan at home.
- In a discussion with the community leader, he indicated that poaching is an *inyimpi* (war) and that community leaders hold meetings to advise the youth not to do it, but that it is difficult to persuade them to listen. The money is being invested into the community’s economy in small ways (e.g. someone starts buying tea). He also indicated that South Africa calls Mozambique to tell them to have the family come collect a poacher who has been killed, and if no one travels there, the body is burned. He claimed that most of the youth were currently in South Africa working in the mines and orange farms, but the research team spotted many young men in Massingir during the several days in the areas.
- Other research conducted in Chibotane indicates that community members experience high levels of human-wildlife conflict and are more willing than a comparable community to speculate on tangible ways to improve their livelihoods.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See T. Loboda, J. Silva, A. Moulden, M. Strong, and Z. Dodson (University of Maryland), *Linking Perceptions of Well-Being to Land Cover Change: Lessons From the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park, Mozambique*, http://lcluc.umd.edu/Documents/ScienceTeamMtg/2014APR/Poster/Tatiana_Loboda_Poster.pdf

Appendix B: Focus Group Questions⁴¹

A. Introduction

B. To begin with, I would like to talk about the current situation in your community here.

<p>What do you like about this area, and what could be better?</p> <p>What do you have in the way of services/infrastructure here?</p> <p>[Possible probe: Whose responsibility do you think it is to provide services here?]</p>
<p>[If they bring up resettlement, ask them to talk about it more in-depth (but do not bring it up yourself). What do you think of the resettlement program?]</p>
<p>What do people do here to make a living? Where do they usually work? How are some ways they make money (whether good or bad)?</p>
<p>We have heard that there are some specific problems for the youth here in this community. Can you tell us about some of the issues? [If someone brings up poaching during the first part of the discussion, tell them we will return to that topic.]</p>

C. Now let's talk about wildlife animals and the park for this community.

<p>Do you see benefits from having the park here? How many people in the community here have jobs in the park?</p>
<p>Do you see a conflict between humans and wildlife animals in this area? If so, how so? What usually happens?</p>
<p>In the last year, have you experienced any crop damage or loss of livestock caused by wildlife? Did you receive compensation?</p>
<p>Overall, do you think wildlife animals here are important to communities here? How so?</p>

D. Now let's talk a little bit about the legal and illegal hunting of wildlife/now let's return to the topic of poaching.

<p>What are some of the local words you use for hunting and poaching?</p>
<p>Is there a difference if someone kills someone else's cattle versus someone killing an animal in the park?</p>
<p>What types of animals are illegally hunted?</p> <p>What are some of the advantages to illegal hunting/poaching (use local words)? What are some of the disadvantages?</p> <p>Why do you think people near the park are involved in this kind of activity or help people who are involved in it</p>
<p>What image do illegal hunters have here in your community? For example, are they seen positively or negatively?</p> <p>[Probes to discuss during training: how does the process work? How much money is involved?]</p>
<p>What is your impression of illegal hunting/poaching like rhino horn– does it help or harm your community? Or do you see no impact?</p> <p>Follow up if they say it benefits: Does any of that money make its way to supporting your community? How so?</p>

⁴¹ This is an example of the types of questions asked during the focus group discussions. Some groups focused equally on a variety of topics while others focused more on development and community issues or more on poaching and the drivers of poaching.

E. Now let's talk about some of the laws on hunting.

Do you know of any laws currently in place that say residents can or cannot go into the park and kill animals?
Does the government adequately attempt to enforce its own laws?
How effective or ineffective do you think the laws are and why?
In thinking again about illegal hunting, are you aware of incentive programs to turn in poachers?
Do you hear of anyone who has been arrested? Prosecuted?
Do the benefits from selling the horn/tusks outweigh the risks of doing this?
If these types of hunting that we're talking about are illegal, why do you think some people do it?

F. Now I have just one topic left. We'd like to talk about solutions to the issues we have discussed, and how to combat illegal hunting, especially of rhinos. Specifically, let's talk about the possibility of different types of programs.

In your opinion, what are some good alternatives to managing illegal hunting, especially having to kill animals to sell their tusks and horns?
Are there any education (conservation) programs that you've heard about or participated in, either here or in another community?
What types of programs have you seen or heard about do you think work well?
Are there any programs that you think would work well here?
What do you think it would take to have communities want to be involved in the park and proud of it as a national heritage?
Are there any people in this community that you feel the rest of the community listens to on a regular basis?