

**AN EXAMINATION OF VALUES UNDERLYING LOCAL PEOPLE'S
PERSPECTIVES TOWARDS CONSERVATION OF MULANJE MOUNTAIN
FOREST RESERVE**

MASTER OF ARTS (APPLIED ETHICS) THESIS

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**UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI
CHANCELLOR COLLEGE**

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MASTER OF ARTS (APPLIED ETHICS) THESIS

By

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fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts
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DECLARATION

This thesis is my own original work and it has not been submitted to any other institution for similar purposes. Acknowledgements have been duly made where other people's work have been used. I bear the responsibility for the contents of this paper.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this piece of work to my wife Chisomo and my lovely children Precious and Yvonne, for their sacrifice during my study.

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ABSTRACT

This study examines values underlying local people's perspectives towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR). The Forest Reserve is located in Mulanje District in the Southern region of Malawi, and is endowed with very rich biodiversity which is being degraded by the people. Weak anthropocentrism is the theoretical framework that has been used in the study. The theory acknowledges that felt preferences are sometimes irrational hence need to subject them to reason before acting on them. The theory also disapproves value systems which are purely exploitative towards nature. The study employed both focus group discussions and key informant interviews, and the data was analysed through thematic data analysis method which generated different themes for discussion. The findings reveal that people have positive perceptions towards conservation of MMFR because of instrumental values. They explained that they support conservation of the Forest Reserve because it brings them good rains, it controls flooding and for the sake of future generation. Even though people generally have positive perception towards conservation, in terms of values, the study has shown that the local people are informed by both weak and strong anthropocentric values towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. Those who hold weak anthropocentric values are taking part in conservation unlike those whose values are informed by strong anthropocentric values. Furthermore, the study also reveal that most of the environmental conflicts at the reserve originate from areas whose people generally hold strong anthropocentric values and these are the areas where the forest has been seriously damaged. Due to value differences, MMCT and Forestry Department are making headway only in areas where people hold weak anthropocentric values. This implies that value differences that exist have influenced local people's perception towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. This is manifested in the way different communities have responded to the conservation initiatives that are being undertaken by the conservationists at the reserve.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BNR:	Bulong Nature Reserve
CFR:	Chobe Forest Reserve
EDTMs:	Ethnographic Decision Tree Models
FGD:	Focus Group Discussion
FR:	Forest Resources
KI:	Key Informant
KNP/FR:	Kilimanjaro National Park and Forest Reserve
MANA:	Malawi News Agency
MMCT:	Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust
MMFR:	Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve
NDBR:	Nanda Devi Biosphere Reserve
NFR:	Natural Forest Reserves
NTFPs:	Non-Timber Forest Products
PFR:	Plantation Forest Reserves

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Values play a pivotal role in decision making as they influence how people respond to different issues. This includes even how people perceive issues of environmental conservation. Oyserman (2015, p. 36) define values as “internalized cognitive structures that guide choices by evoking a sense of basic principles of right and wrong, a sense of priorities and create a willingness to make meaning and see patterns”. While according to Dietz, Fitzgerald, and Shwom (2005, p. 341) in environmental ethics what is central is the issue of whether the environment and other species have intrinsic value or are of value only because they are means to human ends, referred to as instrumental value. Realising the important role that values play in influencing behaviour, most conservationists are calling for changes in values in order to address issues of environmental degradation. “The assumptions behind these comments are that values influence our individual and collective decisions and that if our values changed we would make decisions that are more protective of the biophysical environment” (Dietz, Fitzgerald & Shwom, 2005, p. 336).

Globally, different countries including Malawi are grappling with problems of environmental degradation. According to Malawi Government National Forest Policy (2016, p.12), “forests have experienced high deforestation rate estimated at 2.8% representing an annual average loss of 250,000 ha of forest cover”. Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR) is one area where the impact of deforestation and encroachment are greatly being felt. MMFR is located in Mulanje District in the Southern region of Malawi. It has very rich biodiversity among protected areas in the country. According to Wisborg & Jumbe (2010) the Forest Reserve was gazetted in 1927 in order to safeguard the water catchment of several rivers whose sources are in the mountain and to protect biodiversity especially Mulanje Cedar. Mulanje Cedar (*Widdringtonia*) which is also a National tree is a highly valued resource from MMFR because of its strong sweetly scented timber that is resistant to attack by termites.

Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust (MMCT) is the major stakeholder as far as conservation of biodiversity on Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve is concerned. MMCT was established in 1994 by people who were concerned with degradation of natural resources and loss of biodiversity around Mulanje Mountain.

Different interventions are being undertaken by both the government and stakeholders to reverse the situation at the Reserve. Some of the interventions include but are not limited to replanting of indigenous trees such as Mulanje Cedar on the mountain, engaging communities to clear fire breaks and support livelihood programs that are aimed at dissuading the people from illegal harvesting of forest products. The Forestry Department has gone to the extent of deploying soldiers from the Malawi Defence Force to be patrolling Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. Since being gazetted in 1927, Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve has been officially reduced in size at least five times, in response to increasing population pressures. Over 825,000 people live in the two districts of Mulanje and Phalombe, in 85 villages that collectively completely surround the mountain (population density of 185 persons /km²) (World Bank, 2001). Forests on the steep slopes, especially Mulanje Cedar continue to be threatened by illegal loggers who highly prize its timbers. Clearing of the lower slopes for expanding farmlands is also putting pressure on this unique ecosystem (Thomas & Kamoto, 2010, p. 6). This antagonistic relationship between the conservationists and the local people could be due to differences in the way they value the reserve.

Lawrence (2004, p.5) points out that, in order to understand society's wide range of perspectives in relation to forests, we need to understand the process through which values are formed. "Values are strongly linked to culture or the set of practices and beliefs which hold a community together; but they are also affected by individual circumstances, education and experience". Cultural differences have a bearing on the nature of values one holds. As such, the challenges that the conservationists are experiencing in their conservation endeavour at MMFR could be attributed to value differences with the locals.

1.2 Problem Statement

Despite the conservational interventions being undertaken by the Forestry Department and other stakeholders such as the MMCT at MMFR, local people continue to pose a danger to the survival of the reserve. Issues of illegal logging of the endangered Mulanje Cedar and unlicensed charcoal burning are still not uncommon. Wisborg and Jumba (2010, p. 64) underscore that, “the conflict level over resource extraction on Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve appears to be fairly high, and has involved violent incidents in recent years”.

This is confirmation that there is a serious conflict between the local people and the conservationists at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. This conflict could be attributed to incompatible environmental value systems that exist there. It is against this background that this study sought to examine the nature of values that underlie local people’s perspectives towards conservation of the MMFR. Examining local people’s values could help to explain why the conservationists are not making headway in their endeavor. This in turn could assist them to appropriately adjust their interventions, mostly where local support is sought.

1.3 Key Research Question

What are the implications of local people’s values on conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve?

1.3.1 Sub-Research Questions

1. What values inform Mulanje Forestry Department and MMCT’s interest in conservation of MMFR?
2. What values inform local people’s perception towards conservation of MMFR?
3. How are people’s values compatible with those of MMCT and the Forestry Department?
4. How are local people’s values affecting conservation of the MMFR?

1.4 Rationale

This study is significant because based on the current literature no study has been done to examine values underlying local people's perspectives towards conservation of MMFR. Values play a crucial role in moral decision making as they determine the choices people make in any given situation. An understanding of local people's values will contribute towards the discovery of ethical solutions to problems of conservation that are threatening existence of the Forest Reserve. Therefore, despite the fact that there are other studies that have tackled issues of conservation of MMFR, this study still provides a unique perspective. Finally, the study may be used as a basis for future studies by other scholars who may wish to replicate or carry out comparative studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Chapter Overview

The chapter will review and discuss literature from various studies relating to values and perceptions of people towards conservation. This will help to put this study in perspective within the body of knowledge, at the same time help to expose the gap that the study intends to fill.

2.2 Global Studies on Values and People's Perceptions on Conservation

Environmental conservation is either influenced by intrinsic or instrumental values. Intrinsic values refer to the inherent worthiness of the environment regardless of its usefulness to humans. While instrumental values refer to the worthiness of the environment in terms of how useful it is to humans. Therefore, humans are split between those who support conservation based on intrinsic values and those who support conservation simply because of its instrumental values. Those whose support is based on instrumental values believe that creation placed humans at a privileged position and that it is only humans that have intrinsic or inherent value. As such they believe that the nonhuman world only exists to serve humans, hence having instrumental value only. Such views are considered anthropocentric.

According to Rae (2014, p.3):

Anthropocentrism entails the belief that the human being occupies the central point of reference in existence. This can be refined somewhat to define the human being as existing in a privileged place in relation to other entities, occupying a unique place in existence, and/or being the source of all meaning. This feeds into the ethical understanding which claims that the human's privileged status over the nonhuman (animals, plants, minerals, and so on) means that the human is free to use these nonhumans to achieve its ends.

While those who attribute intrinsic value even to the nonhumans and dispute that humans are at the centre of creation are considered as having non-anthropocentric values. The review will demonstrate whether people from different societies support

conservation of their forests or nature in general due to intrinsic or instrumental values.

Silori (2006, p. 215) reports that in a study on perception of local people towards conservation of forest resources in Nanda Devi Biosphere, Reserve (NDBR) in north-western Himalaya in India, found that all the respondents of the study villages regarded the surrounding forests as the source of their livelihood needs such as fuelwood, fodder, Non-Timber Forest Products (NTFPs), timber and aesthetic values. Significantly also, a large proportion of the respondents stressed the importance of nature and its elements in their religious customs. As a result a substantial proportion of the respondents (100% in Reni, 87% in Lata and 85% in Malari) supported the concept of conservation of plants and animals. They opined that the conservation of natural resources is directly linked to the livelihood of present as well as future generations. Silori (2006) adds that a few respondents were reluctant about the concept of conservation because of the imposed restriction on the use of natural resources by the forest department as one of the major reasons for not supporting such a concept. The study shows that people support conservation mainly because of anthropocentric reasons. The findings of the study have also shown that people, who have positive perceptions, support conservation of the Forest Reserve because of instrumental values such as livelihood support and religious values.

A related study was done in India to assess local community attitudes toward state controlled forest reserves. Macura, Zorondo-Rodríguez, Grau-Satorras, Damps, Laval, Garcia, and Reyes (2011) analysed the relationship between attitudes toward state controlled Reserved Forests and knowledge about the Forest Right Act and attitudes of people towards the State Forest Department as well tribal forest dwellers' participation in forest management mostly in the district of Kodagu (Karnataka). Macura, et al (2011) believes that the success of long-term sustainable management of natural resources depends on local people's support. The results of the analysis showed that people are more likely to appreciate Reserved Forests if they have more knowledge about the Forest Rights Act and positive attitudes toward the State Forest Department. This makes a lot of sense because people will not support an initiative whose aim is not clear. People are ready to provide their support if the nature of support required and the benefits of providing such the support are clearly spelt out. If

people have negative attitudes towards those whom they are supposed to support, in this case the Forestry Department, they will be reluctant to provide the support. However, these results can be unreliable because the closed questions used on questionnaires limit participants in terms of how much information they can give to support their responses.

Further, Htun, Mizoue and Yoshida (2012, p. 743) also emphasise that “the attitudes and perceptions of local people are important for long-term survival of protected areas. They explain that people’s perceptions and attitudes are shaped by knowledge about protected area goals and characteristics and related to socioeconomic factors”. Htun, Mizoue and Yoshida (2012) case study of Popa Mountain Park, Central Myanmar local people’s perceptions and attitudes toward a protected area and its management reveal that approximately 50% of respondents had basic knowledge about the park; 38% perceived benefits and 45% perceived losses due to the park. The study also show that approximately half of the respondents held positive attitudes toward buffer zone establishment and replacement of banana plantations. Analyses show that there is a relationship between perceptions of benefits and positive attitudes toward management while perceptions of losses result in negative attitudes toward management and are influenced by economic concerns.

Mir, Noor, Habib and Veeraswami (2015, p. 398) point out that in their study done in Kashmir valley in India aimed at assessing attitudes of local people towards conservation of wild life, reveal that “the majority of respondents expressed a positive attitude toward wildlife conservation but said that conservationists and the government seemed to care more about wildlife than about human well-being”. The results also show that women had negative attitude towards wildlife conservation and formal education had no bearing on prediction of attitudes of people towards conservation of wild life. The results further demonstrate that people can sometimes misinterpret steps taken by authorities to conserve nature as meaning less regard for the humans and can result in conflicts between the people and nature.

Another case study done in Southwest China, Yang, Harrison, Yi, Goodale, Zhao and Xu (2015, p. 3154) examine changing perceptions of forest values and attitudes toward management of a recently established Bulong Nature Reserve (BNR). They

discovered that “indigenous residents are mostly concerned about the economic values that directly relate to their livelihoods (firewood, timber for construction, and the cultivation plantations) and ecological values linked to their survival and health such as water sources, clean air, and climate regulation”. The study also reveals that local people pay attention to the social values associated with traditional culture and religious beliefs, such as the availability of bush meat and coffin timber. In terms of data collection technique, participants were asked to rank different forest values that were explained to them. Yang, et al (2015, p. 3159) admit that “the major limitations of their study was on accuracy of differences in forest values before and after the creation of the BNR using a retrospective approach and a lack of analysis of the effects of economic factors (e.g., forest-dependence) on the inhabitants’ perceptions and attitudes”.

Likewise, Torres, Morsello, Parry and Pardini (2016, p. 9) study about perceptions of Forests in a Post-Frontier Region in Amazonia, found that people value forests for the benefits and services they receive not only in terms of consumable resources, but also in terms of non-material benefits, such as recreation, aesthetic, spiritual or cultural well-being, and satisfaction in knowing forests exist now or for future generations. The study also shows that hunting and bushmeat consumption by rural Amazonians is linked to how they instrumentally value the forests. The importance of bushmeat in shaping the way people value forests suggests that encouraging the sustainable use of this product will encourage forest conservation (Torres, et al, 2016). This study suggests that people are more willing to participate and support conservation if they perceive instrumental values of their action.

2.3 Regional Studies on Values and Perceptions of People on Conservation.

A number of scholars have written on African environmental ethics. They have tried to demonstrate how the African version of environmental ethics differs from the western counterparts. Ogungbemi (1997) claims that within traditional communities there is a moral code of not taking more than you need from nature. He calls this an ethic of care. He believes that the ethics of care is essential to traditional understanding of environmental protection and conservation. The problem as Ogungbemi (1997) notes is that it is difficult to tell whether one is taking more than

they need and also there is no one to judge that. However, looking at the rate at which Africa's environment is being destroyed, one wonders if this ethic really exists.

Some scholars have even shifted the blame to the colonialists for the environmental problems that Africa is currently facing. For instance Ikuenobe (2014, p. 2):

Africans had conservationist values, practices, and ways of life. Their thoughts on ontology, cosmology, medicine and healing, and religious practices supported their conservational values toward preservation of nature. Traditional African thought sees nature as holistic and interconnected as such humans and all natural objects exist in harmony. People's actions and ways of life reflected the efforts to exist in harmony with nature. These efforts led to the preservation of nature. Many of these traditional African values, ways of life, and the moral attitudes of conservation were destroyed by the exploitative ethos of European colonialism and modernity.

In as much as this could be true, there are also other factors that Africa is currently experiencing and cannot in any way be attributed to westernization. There is the issue of population boom that is piling up pressure on forests and other natural resources which was not the case in the past.

However, Callicott (1994) as cited in Ikunoebe (2014, p. 9) argues that:

African thought orbits, seemingly, around human interests. Hence, one might expect to distil from it no more than a weak and indirect environmental ethic, similar to the type of ecologically enlightened utilitarianism, focused on long-range human welfare. The moral views and attitudes of traditional Africans are a hybrid of moral teleology (the anthropocentric moral view that an action is good if it maximizes human interests) and moral deontology (the non-anthropocentric moral view that an action is good if it has or affirms some intrinsic moral worth).

It seems scholars have failed to agree on the real nature of African environmental ethic. Ifeakor and Otteh (2017, p. 71) point out that "it has been held by scholars like J. Baird Callicott, J.S. Mbiti, Benezeth Bujo et cetera that African ontology is anthropocentric, however, African scholars such as Ogungbemi, Behrens, Chemhuru, Ekwealor have argued and strongly too that African ontology and environmental understanding is non-anthropocentric". It is only empirical results that can help to resolve this debate.

A study done in Tanzania on conservation of Mount Kilimanjaro aimed at examining the conservation attitudes of local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park and Forest Reserve (KNP/FR), Newmark and Leonard (ed) (1991, pp. 90-91) found that 84% of the local people living adjacent to Kilimanjaro National Park and Forest Reserve strongly oppose the abolishment of KNP/FR. This strong opposition to the abolishment of KNP/FR was contrary to what most people thought that local people in Tanzania oppose the establishment of protected areas. The people were opposing the abolishment of KNP/FR because it is important to them since the reserve protects the watershed on Mount Kilimanjaro; it also earns valuable foreign exchange for the nation and the reserve protects wildlife. Therefore, it is clear that their support for KNP/FR is based on instrumental values.

In a related study, Guthiga (2008) investigates the perceptions of communities towards three existing forest management approaches in the Kakamega forest in Kenya. According to Guthiga (2008, p. 145) the three management approaches are: “a state-led incentive-based approach, a state-led protectionist approach, and a quasi-private, incentive-based-approach and the results showed that local communities’ perceptions were expressed through three common underlying components across the three management approaches. In order of relative importance, these components are: a) involvement in decision-making processes, b) forest extraction and other mitigation measures c) conservation incentives offered”. Guthiga (2008) further indicates that these perceptions were influenced by different factors across the three management approaches that include: membership in social groups, distance from the forest, farm size, and distance from market centre, livestock ownership and dependency on forest for extraction. The main weakness of the study is that it only explains the factors that influence perception, but it does not go a step further to explain the perceptions and show how the factors specifically influence the perceptions.

Likewise, a related study was also done in Benin around the Pendjari National Park, to determine factors which inform local communities' positive perceptions towards biodiversity conservation in the park. According to Vodouhe, Coulibaly, Adegbedi and Sinsin (2010, p. 506) the results indicate that the “positive behaviour of local communities towards conservation highly correlate with the current management strategy that involved local communities more effectively, the educational level of

participants and their geographical origins”. Participants' perceptions of biodiversity conservation were strongly related to locally perceived benefits. Vodouhe, et al (2010) add that although 89% of participants were favourable to the concept of biodiversity conservation within the park, the decision to ban encroachments due to agricultural activities increased negative opinion on this park management option. The results demonstrate that if people feel that their livelihood is threatened by protected areas they develop negative perceptions towards conservation. Again if they perceive some benefits most of which are instrumental they tend to have positive perceptions towards conservation.

Further, Grace (2015) examines local people's perception of forest resources (FR) conservation around two plantation forest reserves (PFR) and two natural forest reserves (NFR) in Ekiti State, in Nigeria in order to determine the factors that can contribute to sustainable FR conservation. Results revealed that 75.0% and 86.1% of respondents around PFR recognized the importance of conserving the FR for economic benefits and biodiversity respectively, while 66.7% would not want the FR conserved for cultural values, 82.9% of respondents around NFR would want the FR conserved for economic benefits, while 74.3% and 66.7% would not want the forest conserved for cultural values and biodiversity respectively (Grace, 2015, p. 132). The assessment of the socio-economic factors influencing forest resources conservation showed that age, education and income had a strong influence on how respondents could appreciate forest resources conservation. Therefore, recommends that local people should embrace formal education and also give them access to generate income. This is similar to results of a study done in Turkey by Inanç (2017) which also found out that education results in positive perception towards conservation.

Similarly, Garekae, Thakadu and Lepetu (2016, p.189) in their examination of attitudes of local communities towards management of Chobe Forest Reserve (CFR) in Botswana found out that the majority of households held positive attitudes towards CFR and its conservation. The key informant interviews revealed that positive attitudes were promoted by benefits communities derive from the forest reserve. Further the findings show that gender had no influence on conservation attitudes, both males and females held similar attitudes towards conservation. Conservation attitudes were also observed to be negatively associated with age with young people holding

favourable attitudes on forests as compared to the elderly possibly because the literacy level for majority of the youth is higher. Garekae, Thakadu and Lepetu (2016) conclude that households who are highly dependent on the reserve were more likely to hold positive attitudes compared to those who were less dependent.

Another study on threats, opportunities and community perception of biological resource conservation in Bale Mountain National Park, Ethiopia, Abie (2016, p. 10) reports that the study revealed that communities showed positive attitude towards conservation at the Park, however, people displayed negative attitudes towards the existence of community based conservation approach because the communities do not receive financial benefits as incentives. This shows that though the incentives play a big role in conservation, there is a danger that they cannot help to change people's attitudes or values permanently. Therefore, the approach is just a short term one.

Ntuli, Jagersy, Muchapondwaz, Linellx, and Sjöstedt, (2018, pp. 1-3) also investigate the determinants of local communities' perceptions towards wildlife conservation in the Great Limpopo Trans-frontier Conservation Area in Zimbabwe and South Africa. Their study reveals that good perception towards Park Management results into positive perception towards benefits from the park, rules governing the park, and how people perceive wildlife in general and vice versa. The results also show that if people perceive the rules of the park in a negative way, then they are less likely to conserve wildlife, and at the same time this increases the likelihood of environmental crime. The study further reveals that wildlife benefits influence rule compliance and improve the way communities view wildlife, but might not stop people from illegal harvesting of less valuable resources like firewood which from a moral point of view people do not feel ashamed when they harvest. This shows that authorities play a very crucial role in shaping peoples' values on conservation. Their conduct can either attract or push away people from supporting the conservation effort.

While, Snyman (2014, p.1) study on the main factors impacting community members' attitudes towards tourism and protected areas in six Southern African countries namely Botswana, Malawi, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe, observes that, in general, community members living in or adjacent to conservation

areas in southern Africa have an understanding and appreciation of the importance of conservation. According to Snyman (2014) the reasons they gave as to why conservation is important included tourist attraction, sake of future generations, source of food, source of firewood and some said it brings rain and prevent wind. She adds that some of the respondents knew it was important to conserve often because they had been told at school, but did not know why and some said it was important because the government said so. This could be very true; people can say they know importance of conservation simply because they have heard it somewhere. But knowledge on its own is not important if it cannot be translated into action. Similarly, Fort (2011) observed that people are still into charcoal burning despite knowing the effects on the future of the forest. Although economic reasons were cited, it could be also that people have not gone beyond knowledge; they are yet to develop real appreciation for conservation.

2.4 Local (Malawi) Studies on Values and Perceptions of People on Conservation

In this case ‘local’ means studies done in Malawi. To demonstrate that not much has been done to understand local people’s values, Wisborg and Jumbe (2010) observed that MMCT and partners have not done enough to learn from communities, to embrace or negotiate with their values and knowledge of the mountain to contribute to behavioral change and conflict resolution among different stakeholders. They observed this in their review report on the role of local perceptions and priorities in establishing sustainable livelihood opportunities around MMFR.

In another study, Fort (2011) examines the role of factors involving the environment in a forest livelihood decision of Malawian villagers. Among the findings Fort discovered that many of the respondents who reported having been sensitized about the importance of the forest also reported making charcoal. This suggests that people might be making charcoal in spite of knowing the dangers to the future of their forest because of economic need. In this case more education about the importance of forests or sources of degradation would not affect the situation (Fort, 2011, p. 67). The methodology the researcher used was Ethnographic Decision Tree Models

(EDTMs). According to Fort (2011, 68) among the weaknesses of the methodology is that the interviews used to create these models are problematic in that they rely on informant's self-reporting about their activities. This generates the possibility that informants can give inaccurate information.

Meijer, Sileshi, Catacutan & Nieuwenhuis (2015) also use the theory of planned behaviour to examine farmers' attitudes and behaviours in relation to cutting down forest trees in two rural districts in Malawi. The survey was administered to 200 household heads in Mzimba and Chiradzulu districts. The results revealed that farmers generally have strong negative attitude towards cutting down of forest trees. According to Meijer, Sileshi, Catacutan & Nieuwenhuis (2015) between the two districts farmers of Chiradzulu have stronger negative attitude towards cutting down of forest trees than those of Mzimba. The results also show that male farmers have stronger negative attitude towards cutting down of trees than female farmers in the two districts but at the same time it is the men who collect more forest products than women especially in Mzimba. Having strongly negative attitudes, and being aware of the negative consequences associated with cutting down of forest trees, the intention to cut down forest trees was generally low. However, farmers were highly dependent on forest resources, especially in the north, due to high levels of poverty and a lack of alternative income opportunities (Meijer, et al, 2015). I believe the disparities between Mzimba and Chiradzulu could also be explained differently since in Mzimba there is still large forest cover, hence high collection rate, however, the situation is rather different in Chiradzulu where most of forest has been cleared.

In a related study, Banda, Senganimalunje and Missanjo (2015) analyse community attitudes and perceptions towards management of Kaning'ina forest reserve in Malawi. The findings reveal that local people are aware of the causes of forest destruction with majority of the respondents (66.7%) indicating that Kaning'ina forest reserve is highly degraded and recognized this as major environmental problem. Illegal harvesting of trees for charcoal production was reported by the majority of the respondents (61.9%) as the major contributing factor as it is the most destructive agent to the reserve. The results also show that majority (54.8%) of the households, with a high significant (61.9%) percentage from Zolozolo, do not get permission in order to access forest products in the reserve (Banda, Senganimalunje and Missanjo,

2015, p. 34). This indicates that people relying more on the forest do not want their user rights to be restricted. The local people can participate in forest activities only if there is good relationship between forestry personnel and forest users.

Finally, Borgstein (2017) study on the role of perceptions and priorities in establishing sustainable livelihood opportunities around Mulanje Mountain reveal that the core of the problem in Mulanje is poverty. People do not want to be overexploiting, however at the end of the day, they have no other choice. According to Meijer, et al (2016 as cited in Borgstein, 2017, p. 60), “people continue to carry out things they had expressed that they didn’t want to do, because they often believe their own effects would be smaller than those of others”. In terms of limitations of the study, Borgstein (2017) explains that one of the major weaknesses of the study was use of interpreters during focus group discussions which may have resulted in misinterpretation and limited understanding of some concepts due to limitations of Chichewa and the double meanings of words which he believes affected accuracy of the responses. To argue that poverty is the driving force behind exploitation of resources in Mulanje Mountain may not be entirely true since there are other economic activities that they can engage in.

2.5 Literature Gap

The literature review has shown that there is not any study that has been done so far to examine values underlying local people’s perspectives towards conservation of MMFR. The review has also shown that locally there is not much literature on values and people’s perception on conservation in general. Most of the studies that have been reviewed were done either in other African countries or beyond. Therefore, this study will make a contribution towards the limited literature by way of joining the conversation on role of values in environmental conservation from a local perspective.

2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed various studies on values, attitudes and perceptions of people towards conservation of nature around the globe. The literature review has demonstrated that positive perception towards conservation is generally influenced by

utilitarian factors, be it economic or otherwise. The studies have shown that people more likely appreciate conservation efforts if they instrumentally benefit them. A number of studies have revealed that people support conservation because they get food, rains, firewood and other benefits from it. The literature has also revealed that education levels tend to influence perception towards conservation in the sense that those with high levels of education demonstrating positive perception and vice versa. The studies have further shown that restrictions that come with protected areas trigger negative attitude in people from surrounding communities that depend on resources from the reserves. The next chapter presents the theoretical framework that is used in data analysis and discussion of results.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Chapter Overview

The main focus of this chapter is to describe the theoretical framework used in this study. Weak anthropocentrism is the environmental theory that informs the study. It has been used to discuss the findings of the study in chapter five. The theory also guided the researcher during collection of both primary and secondary data. The study is examining values underlying people's perspectives towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. So the theory will help in interpreting the values that influence the people's perceptions and their actions in relation to conservation of the Forest Reserve.

3.2 Anthropocentrism

Anthropocentrism is an environmental theory that advances the view that humans are at the centre of the universe. It places interests of humans above all the nonhumans. According to Goralnik and Nelson (2012, p. 145) "Anthropocentrism means human-centered, but in its philosophical form it is the ethical belief that humans alone possess intrinsic value. In contradistinction, all other beings hold value only in their ability to serve humans or in their instrumental value". This view is echoed by Casas and Burgess II (2012) who explain that "anthropocentrism is the view that nature has value only because it is useful to human beings while non- anthropocentrism on the other hand recognizes that nature has instrumental value but also has value that is independent of its usefulness to human beings". The difference between anthropocentrism and nonanthropocentrism is explained in terms of whether nature has intrinsic value as well as instrumental value.

According to Rae (2014) anthropocentrism has a long dominant history and is expressed in a number of sources. Rae (2014, pp. 1-2) explains that it is expressed in

some aspects of the Judeo-Christian-Islamic tradition. The Biblical statement in Genesis 1vs 26 that “God said, ‘Let us make man in our own image, in the likeness of ourselves, and let them be masters of the fish of the sea, the birds of heaven, the cattle, all the wild animals and all the creatures that creep along the ground’” is taken by some to sanction a privileged role for humans. These anthropocentric views are strongly supported by Aristotle, Descartes and Kant.

While discussing the relationship of plants to animals and some distinctions between wild and domesticated species Aristotle contends that:

Plants exist for the benefit of animals, and some animals for the benefit of others. Those which are domesticated serve human beings for use as well as for food...accordingly if nature makes nothing purposeless or in vain, *all animals must have been made by nature for the sake of man*. (Barker (trans), 1995, p. 16).

Similar views are shared by Descartes (1999) who tries to show the special role and unique place occupied by human beings by analysing the relationship of humans to animals and machines. Descartes (1999, p. 31) concludes that “the human being is distinguished from (1) machines because the human has greater spontaneity and linguistic capabilities and (2) animals because humans are capable of employing reason whereas animals are defined by instinct”.

While Kant (1997, p. 212) argues as follows:

But since all animals exist only as means, and not for their own sakes, in that they have no self-consciousness, whereas man is the end, such that I can no longer ask: Why does he exist?, as can be done with animals, it follows that we have no immediate duties to animals; our duties towards them are indirect duties to humanity. Since animals are an analogue of humanity, we observe duties to mankind when we observe them as analogues to this, and thus cultivate our duties to humanity. If a dog, for example, has served his master long and faithfully, that is an analogue of merit; hence I must reward it, and once the dog can serve no longer, must look after him to the end, for I thereby cultivate my duty to humanity, as I am called upon to do so if the acts of animals arise out of the same principium from which human actions spring, and the animal actions are analogues of this, we have duties to animals, in that we thereby promote the cause of humanity.

These views express human-centeredness, pointing to the belief that humans are placed in a privileged place in relation to the nonhuman world as advanced by

anthropocentrism. The nonhuman world is thus considered valuable only in as far as it is useful to humans.

However, according to Aldo Leopold's land ethic, humans exist within a large community of life that also includes other animals, plants, rocks, soils and waters. These collectively constitute what he referred to as biotic community or the land (Leopold, 1949, p. 204). Leopold (1949) argues that humans are mere members and citizens of the biotic community; as such they have a moral obligation to act consistently with the long term welfare of that community. In other words humans ought to respect other members of this community as well as the community itself. For Leopold, "an interaction with nature is right when it tends to preserve the integrity, stability and beauty of the biotic community and is wrong when it tends otherwise" (Leopold, 1949, p. 224). Leopold is simply implying that human beings should avoid all kinds of interaction with nature that is damaging. He plainly disputes the assertion that humans are in any way at a privileged position over the rest of nature, but rather are mere members of a larger environment which they ought to preserve for the sake of their continued existence.

Similarly, Tangwa (2004, p. 389) points out that "according to the traditional African metaphysical worldview, the dichotomy between plants, animals, and inanimate things, between the sacred and the profane, matter and spirit, the communal and the individual, is a slim and flexible one" It is for the same reason that people believed in transmigration of the soul into animals, plants or into forces such as the wind. Such beliefs have very important implications for the way traditional Africans approached and treated nature. In other words there was respect for nature. These beliefs however are slowly being diluted resulting in people losing respect they used to accord nature, the result is destruction. In contrast to the western worldview, which Tangwa sees as predominantly anthropocentric and individualistic, he views the African worldview, as eco-bio communitarian which entails coexistence with nature. (Tangwa, 2004).

However, Ikuenobe, (2014) explains that from an anthropocentric point of view; Africans respect nature because it is in the interests of humans, in that there is some utility to be derived from it. It is in our interest to use natural resources to our benefit and to also maintain a balance and harmony in nature because what affects nature

affects us since we are part of the natural environment. “This idea is bolstered by the general belief that human ill-health, some natural disaster, or any bad occurrence is the result of disharmony in nature”. (Ikuenobe, 2014, p. 10).

3.3 Weak and Strong Anthropocentrism

Norton (1984) argues that there are two kinds of anthropocentrism thus weak and strong anthropocentrism. He believes that weak anthropocentrism is adequate to support an environmental ethic since it provides a basis for criticism of values that are purely exploitative in nature. Norton differentiates between strong and weak anthropocentrism based on considerations about the quality of preferences people have.

Norton (1984, p. 134) writes that:

A value theory is strongly anthropocentric if all value countenanced by it is explained by reference to satisfactions of felt preferences of human individuals. A value theory is weakly anthropocentric if all value countenanced by it is explained by reference to satisfaction of some felt preference of a human individual or by reference to its bearing upon the ideals which exist as elements in a world view essential to determinations of considered preferences. A felt preference is any desire or need of a human individual that can at least temporarily be sated by some specifiable preference of that individual while considered preferences are desires or needs that a human individual would express after careful deliberation, including a judgment that the desire or need is consistent with a rationally adopted world view.

Having clarified on the difference between the two forms of anthropocentrism it could be argued that strong anthropocentrism is concerned about satisfying felt preferences without rationalizing on them or subjecting them to reason is susceptible to unrestrained exploitation of nature. This is possible because it fails to take into consideration the widely accepted world views which recognize that there is unsustainable utilization of natural resources. On the other hand weak anthropocentrism on the other hand, has the ability to question irrational human actions that are exploitative in nature. It can also recommend and support policies that will ensure sustainable usage of natural resources even though it does not attribute intrinsic value status to them. According to Rae (2014), the difference between the two is that strong versions of anthropocentrism assigns intrinsic value to human beings alone while the weaker versions assign a greater degree of importance to humans than to nonhumans.

Goralnik and Nelson (2012) describe weak anthropocentrism as broad anthropocentrism while strong anthropocentrism as narrow anthropocentrism. According to Goralnik and Nelson (2012, p. 149) the distinction is that narrow anthropocentrism is characterized by the traditional human-centered ethics that isolate humans from the environment while broad anthropocentrism as advocated by Norton aims for humans to live in 'harmony with nature.' While nonhuman nature is still valued only in its relation to humans, this value may take forms other than the instrumental, such as aesthetic, educative, or restorative. Rather than bother with a new theory, Norton suggests, we simply need constraints on traditional anthropocentric behavior to prevent consumptive habits.

3.4 Importance of Weak Anthropocentrism

According to Norton (1984) weak anthropocentrism acknowledges that felt preferences can sometimes be irrational hence need for them to be subjected to reason before acting on them. As such weak anthropocentrism provides a basis for disapproval of value systems or preferences which are purely exploitative of nature. From that basis environmental ethicists can make a case for a world view that emphasizes close relationship between humans and nonhumans and can also push for ideals of human behaviour that promote harmony with nature.

Gunn and McCallig (1997, p. 104) point out that unchecked utilization of nature is not consistent with world view because there is a close relationship between human well-being and maintenance of a healthy natural environment. As such environmental policies based on short-term preferences will often not be in humans longer-term interests since humans are so much dependent on the non-human world too. Therefore weak anthropocentrism provides a mutual ground for developers and conservationists to meaningfully deliberate on environmental policies and it urges both sides to appreciate that satisfaction of short term interests should not blind them so that they overlook long term effects. This is echoed by Oksanen (1997, p. 543) who also stresses that "weak anthropocentrism has a better chance to carry out successful preservationist policies than strong anthropocentrism, because it explicitly obliges us to regard biodiversity seriously and to construct social structures that help to pursue its preservation".

Mendenhall (2009, p. 38) point out that “the most important advantage of a weakly anthropocentric ethic over a non-anthropocentric one is public appeal because many people feel that non-anthropocentrism is just too radical and contrary to common sense. For many, all value does come from humans, since they believe we are the only species capable of rational thought”. Mendenhall adds that the importance of public appeal to an environmental ethic cannot be overstated. We are running out of time to slow or reverse the effects of past environmental degradation, and we will need the support of society to combat them effectively. Hargrove (1992, p. 201) adds that he does not think it is possible for humans to avoid being anthropocentric, given that whatever we humans value will always be from a human (or anthropocentric) point of view. He explains that even when we try to imagine what it might be like to have the point of view of (or be) a bat, a tree, or a mountain, in his view, we still look at the world anthropocentrically the way a human imagines that a nonhuman might look at the world.

Another advantage of weak anthropocentrism is its easiness to use as a tool in decision-making. “Assessing the intrinsic value of non-human organisms, objects, or systems is significantly more difficult than weighing human values, possibly because of our proximity to and experience with them”(Mendenhall, 2009, p. 39). In other words it is easier to convince people to take care of the environment because it benefits them in the long run or because not doing so would otherwise threaten their very own existence or the things they value.

3.5 Some Objections to Weak Anthropocentrism

The most common criticism that people usually put forward against advocates of anthropocentric values, is that they do not respect the nonhumans. The critics argue that because anthropocentrists refuse to recognize that the nonhumans also possess intrinsic values apart from the instrumental values, is the reason there is lack of respect for environment, hence its destruction. Mendenhall (2009, p. 40) explains that, “Deep ecologists and other non-anthropocentric ethicists often claim that weak anthropocentrism is impossible, that any anthropocentrism taints the whole ethic because it always devolves into appeals to existing human desires”. According to

them, weak anthropocentrism is human centred as such it would still prioritise human interests over those of the nonhumans.

Just as Mcshane (2007, 171) writes that:

Proponents of non-anthropocentrism often claim that it is precisely the view that ‘it’s really all about us’ that got us into all of these environmental messes in the first place. In order to solve our environmental problems and avoid running into them again in the future, they claim, ethics needs to recognize the folly of such self-centeredness and develop an ethic of, as Tom Regan puts it, “respect for nature rather than mere use of nature”.

3.6 Response to Criticism against Weak Anthropocentrism

In response Norton (1984, p. 136) points out that “within the limits set by weak anthropocentrism as defined, there exists a framework for developing powerful reasons for protecting nature. He argues that one does not need to attribute intrinsic value to the nonhumans in order to show some care”. To clarify his argument, Norton (1984, pp.136-137) uses an example of the neighbour’s horse which he does not harm because he regards the neighbour as having intrinsic value and he in turn values the neighbour’s preference that the horse should not be harmed which results in the horse not getting harmed. This demonstrates that one can act in an acceptable way towards the nonhumans without necessarily attributing to them intrinsic value. In this case he does not harm the horse based on instrumental values. The horse survives because it is useful to the neighbour whom he intrinsically values. He also gave another example of the Hindus and Jains who in forbidding the killing of insects, etc., show concern for their own spiritual development rather than for the actual lives of those insects, but still the insects are not killed, they survive because of the instrumental value they have spiritually. In both cases nature or the nonhumans are being protected regardless of the fact that no intrinsic value is attributed to them.

In his essay, Norton (1984, p. 148) explains that one does not need to make the questionable ontological commitments involved in attributing intrinsic value to nature. He believes weak anthropocentrism offers a foundation adequate to condemn present destructive practices and integrate concepts of human affinity to nature, and to account for the unique nature of environmental ethics. Norton adds that these ideals, which can be derived from spiritual sources or from a rationally constructed world

view, can be based on, and find their locus in human values and are sufficient to provide the basis of criticism of currently overconsumptive felt preferences. Of course non-anthropocentrists could be making a genuine claim in the sense that indeed there are some circumstances when humans could still choose to satisfy their felt preferences which they could choose not to sacrifice at whatever cost while fully aware that they are incompatible with rational world views. However, the same could be true with deep ecology which could be susceptible to similar weaknesses. For instance permitting humans to reduce the richness and diversity of nature to satisfy vital human needs puts nonhuman world at risk of exploitation since the expression 'vital needs' is relative. Actually this platform principle make deep ecology sound anthropocentric too as it gives humans prominence over nonhumans.

3.7 Justification of Weak Anthropocentrism as a Theoretical Framework

Weak anthropocentrism has been used as a theoretical framework in the study because of its practical dimension and approach to issues of environmental conservation. Unlike other theories that are either biased towards humans or the non-human world, weak anthropocentrism promotes interests of both. Despite weak anthropocentrism also insisting that humans are in privileged place, it recognizes that humans are part of a larger environment without which they cannot survive. As a result humans voluntarily take steps to ensure that their actions do not harm the environment of which they are part, and utilize it with some constraints (O'Neill, 2014, p. 130). This makes weak anthropocentrism a better theory. Strong anthropocentrism on the other hand consider human beings as being in a privileged position in relation to other beings. As such, this privileged status over the nonhumans means that the humans are free to use the nonhumans as they please to achieve their ends. It is this lack of realization that caring for the nonhuman world is in humans' best interest, is one that is resulting in unrestrained exploitation of nature, which is now threatening the very existence of the humans. This renders strong anthropocentrism to be a weak environmental ethical theory. Because reality is that whether humans are at the centre of creation or not, they cannot survive without the support of nonhumans, therefore showing some concern for them is the only practical thing to do.

On the other hand, non-anthropocentric theories such as Deep Ecology and Ecofeminism advance arguments that are too radical and not appealing to most people. Deep ecologists' argument on equality between humans and nonhumans sounds too academic and impractical. On one hand they claim that humans and nonhumans are equal, yet put across prescriptions of dos and don'ts, in form of platform principles that only target humans and leave out the nonhumans free to behave as they please. This shows that equality is not possible to attain between human and nonhumans. Hence, non-anthropocentrism is not appealing. Further, their insistence that an environmental theory has to attribute intrinsic values to the nonhumans for it to be adequate is also not convincing. Norton (1984) has shown that it does not have to take one to attribute intrinsic value to nonhumans in order to care for them. His example on the neighbour's horse and Hindus and Jains' forbidding of killing of insects, proves that it is possible to show care for nonhumans based on instrumental values. Just as others have argued, people are really more likely to show care for the nonhumans because of the instrumental benefits they derive from them.

Some principles of Deep ecology sound vague too. For instance, the third platform principle of Deep ecology expresses that humans do not have any right to reduce the richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs (Sessions, 1995). This principle sounds anthropocentric, because by tolerating reduction of richness and diversity for the sake of human's vital needs, it places humans at a privileged position over nonhumans. Even the expression vital need sounds very subjective, since someone can claim that in order to satisfy his or her needs would require the wiping out of the entire nonhuman population. So, the question is vital to whom? Hence it remains fairly anthropocentric.

While Ecofeminism whose main argument is that there is a link between male domination over women and domination over nature and that neither of the movements can succeed in ending the oppression of women nor the abuse of nature without taking the other into consideration, also sounds controversial. Ecofeminists also argue that women's biological make up places them closer to the environment. The philosophies supporting male dominion over women are the same philosophies that are responsible for anthropocentric thinking. Also traditionally, popular symbols

and terminology that are popularized by media such as "Love your mother earth," "raping the land," and "virgin resources" align women and nature. (Hosseinnezhad, 2017). Ecofeminists also advocate for environmentalism and feminism must collaborate in order to achieve their goals. However, most of these arguments can be easily challenged. The argument that biology places women closer to nature has been strongly challenged.

Biehl (1991, p.26) argues that:

If we believe that women are connected with nature and possess the character traits necessary for preserving the environment, then it follows that they are most qualified to serve the earth. Men cannot be expected to participate in this restoration project since they presumably lack the sensibility to nature that women have. Women will therefore simply end up in charge of cleaning up the global mess- fulfilling their traditional role as nurturing mothers.

This observation makes a lot of sense since the argument put across by the ecofeminists indeed does not work very well with the objectives of the movement which I believe includes enlisting the support of all people which includes men.

Also the assertion that neither ecology nor feminism can achieve its goals without cooperation has been strongly contested. Mayer (1994) argues that it is entirely possible for the goals of ecology to be met while those of feminism are left unmet and vice versa. Watadza (2016, p.59) echoes that Ecofeminism is just a project of disgruntled women who have realized that the feminist movement remains unsuccessful due to the patriarchal nature of most societies. Therefore, women think that if they align their views alongside environmental issues they can get attention. The study agrees with the observations against Deep ecology and Ecofeminism as environmental theories.

Therefore, weak anthropocentrism remains a unique theory that provides a middle ground between strong anthropocentrism whose main concern is satisfaction of human desires regardless of how irrational they are and non-anthropocentrism whose arguments on equality and insistence on attributing inherent value to the non-humans seems too radical and impractical to most people.

3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has discussed the theoretical framework which has been used in data analysis and discussion of results from an ethical point of view. Weak Anthropocentrism is the environmental ethical theory used to examine the values underlying people's perspectives towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. The chapter has therefore explained and outlined arguments that are being advanced by the theory on conservation. The chapter has also justified why weak anthropocentrism is being used as a theoretical framework out of the various environmental theories. The next chapter discusses the methodology used in the study. The chapter also explains the data collection techniques, study design and a description of the sample and the chapter will end with an ethical statement.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY

4.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents the methods used in the study. The chapter describes the study design, sampling techniques, study areas, data collection methods, data analysis and data management techniques as well as an ethical consideration.

4.2 Study Design

This is a case study on conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR). The study aims at examining local people's ethical values in relation to conservation of the Forest Reserve. Teegavarapu, Summers and Mocko (2008, p. 4) define a case study as "an empirical research method used to investigate a contemporary phenomenon, focusing on the dynamics of the case, within its real life context. Case study could be exploratory, descriptive or explanatory". According to Singh (2006, p. 148) "case study means a study in depth. It gives a detailed knowledge about the phenomena and not able to generalize beyond the knowledge." Considering the two perspectives, this is a case study that uses interviews and focus group discussions to get a deeper understanding of the values that the people and the conservationists hold in relation to conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve.

4.3 Study Area

Participants for the study were drawn from four villages bordering the Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve namely Nakhonyo and Kazembe in Mulanje district, and Lomoliwa and Bwanaisa in Phalombe district. Some of the key informants (KI) were also drawn from Mulanje as well thus, officers from Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust and the Forestry Department. The study areas were selected because of convenience and ease of access since the researcher had limited time and resources.

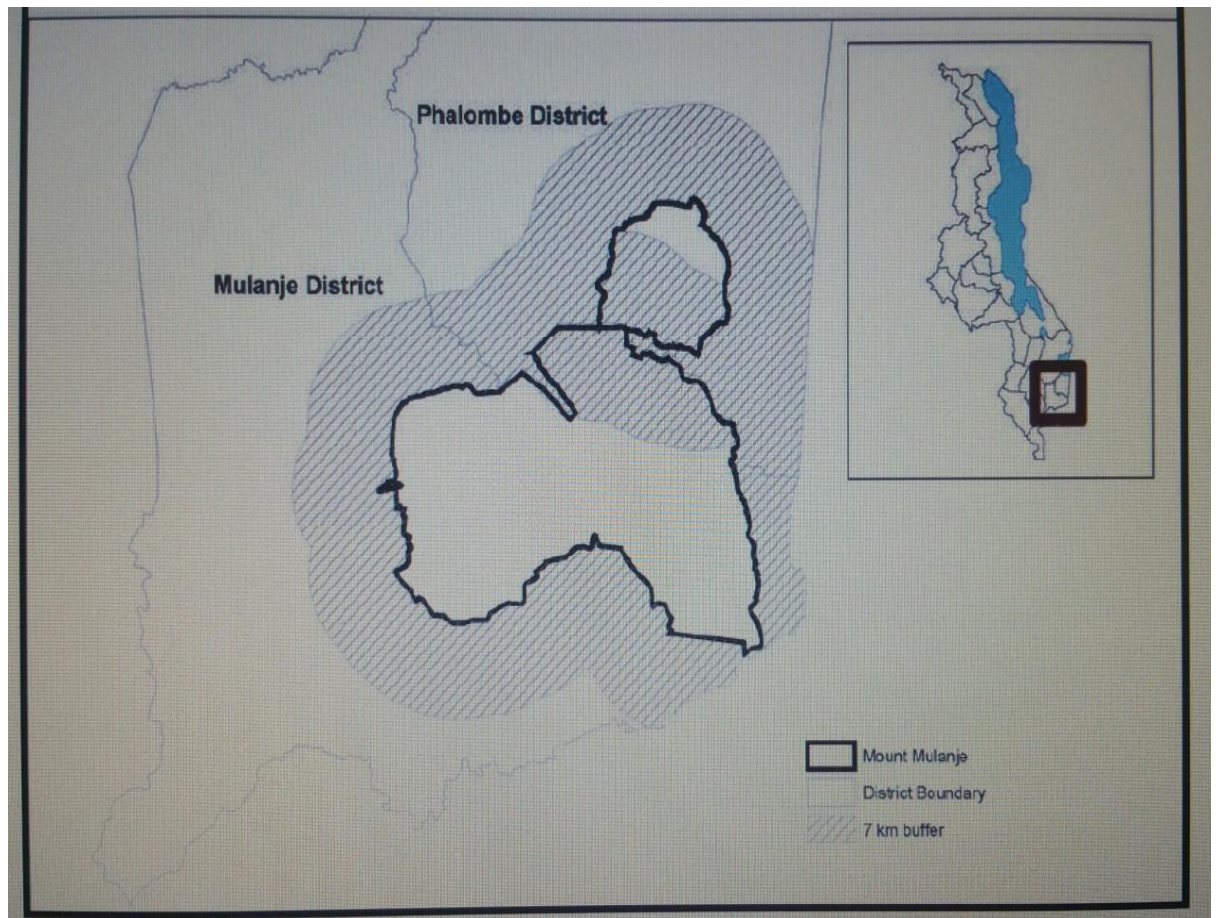


Figure 4.1: Map of the study area-MMFR and Map of Malawi (inset) - *Source: Mount Mulanje Land Cover Time Series Analysis, (2005)*

4.4 Sampling Techniques

Convenience sampling technique was employed in selecting participants for the focus group discussions in the study. The village Heads assisted with selection of all the participants in the focus group discussions (FDG) by mobilising those that he or she could easily gain access to. As for selection of key informants, purposive sampling technique was used because the researcher wanted to have access to specific information that could specifically be provided by the selected individuals. These sampling techniques were used because the researcher needed participants that could be easily accessed and were capable of providing the relevant data needed within the specified timeframe.

4.5 Sample Size

A total of fifty four (54) participants took part in the study. This figure was split as follows: Fifty (50) people participated in Focus Group Discussions: Nakhonyo (10 people), Kazembe (8 people), Bwanaisa (16 people) and Lomoliwa (16 people). In addition to this, six (6) people were also interviewed as key informants (four (4) village heads-one from each village, 1 MMCT officer and 1 Forestry Department officer).

4.6 Data Collection Techniques

The primary data was collected through focus group discussions and key informant interviews. A total of six focus group discussions were conducted in the four villages. At Bwanaisa and Lomoliwa villages two focus group discussions were done in each village. At Bwanaisa one focus group discussion was a mixed group with six females and two males, while the other was an all-male focus group discussion. The situation was similar at Lomoliwa where two focus group discussions were done with one targeting the youth only who were all male while the other targeted females only. The segregation was done in order to have women's perspective that is free from men's interference as was the case in the combined FDGs. So too the youth group was segregated in order to give them a platform where they could express themselves freely so that the data have a blend of views from both young and old. Data was also collected from four village heads from the targeted villages and one officer from MMCT and Forestry Department respectively. These were the key informants for the study.

4.7 Piloting of Data Collection Tools

All data collection tools were piloted to ensure validity and credibility of the results. Piloting was done in Mulanje district at Mangombo village, MMCT and at Forestry Department offices. Eleven (11) participants took part during piloting of data collection tools for both the key informant interviews and focus group discussions. Eight people participated in the focus group discussions, while the remaining three people participated during key informant interviews, and these included the village head, an official from MMCT and another official from the Forestry Department. These officials were different from those who took part in the study.

4.8 Data Analysis and Management

Thematic data analysis method has been used in the data analysis process. All the data and any other information related to the participants in the study has been kept in strict confidence and will at all times be carefully handled to maintain confidentiality. Maguire and Delahunt (2017, p. 3352) define thematic analysis as the process of identifying patterns or themes within qualitative data. Whereas Braun and Clarke (2012, p. 5) point out that thematic analysis is a method for systematically identifying, organising, and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset. Through focusing on meaning across a dataset, the method allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences. Thematic data analysis is a multi-phase data analysis method. The phases include data familiarization, coding, theme generation, review and defining of themes and write-up.

Once the data were collected, the process of analysis started with transcribing of the data from Chichewa into English and voice recorded data into text. This was done because focus group discussions and interviews with village heads were done in vernacular language (Chichewa) and where consent was provided the discussions and interviews were recorded using a voice recorder. The transcribed data were then tabulated using Microsoft word for easy following and understanding. Once this was done the researcher familiarized himself with the data by reading and re-reading the data as well as listening to the data recordings so that before any conclusions were drawn. The researcher understood the data for easy identification of issues relevant to the research question. Braun and Clarke (2012, p.12) explain that “reading data as data means not simply absorbing the surface meaning of the words on the page, as you might read a trashy novel or magazine, but reading the words actively, analytically and critically, and starting to think about what the data mean”.

Once the researcher had familiarized himself with the data, the process of coding started whereby the data was reduced into easily understandable concepts for easy analysis.

According to Braun & Clarke (2012, p.12)

Codes identify and provide a label for a feature of the data that is potentially relevant to the research question. Coding can be done at the semantic or the latent level of meaning. Codes can also go beyond the participants' meanings and provide an interpretation about the data content. Such interpretative or latent codes identify meanings that lie beneath the semantic surface of the data.

The next stage of data analysis involved generation of themes, which involved combining of some codes into a more meaningful concept that say something about the research question. Maguire and Delahunt (2017, p. 3356) define a theme in this context as “a pattern that captures something significant or interesting about the data and/or research question”. Braun and Clarke (2012, p.12) point out that, “the basic process of generating themes and subthemes, which are the subcomponents of a theme, involves collapsing or clustering codes that seem to share some unifying feature together, so that they reflect and describe a coherent and meaningful pattern in the data.”

Once the themes had been generated, a process of theme validation or review was done to check if the themes have captured everything that the data stands for and if the themes are relevant to the research question.

Maguire and Delahunt (2017, p. 3358) point out that:

Themes should be coherent and they should be distinct from each other. One needs to ask the following questions to check if the themes are compatible to the data: Do the themes make sense? Does the data support the themes? Am I trying to fit too much into a theme? If themes overlap, are they really separate themes? Are there themes within themes (subthemes)? Are there other themes within the data?

This is followed by the process of defining and naming themes which is done in order to ensure that each theme is unique from one another. Braun and Clarke (2012, pp.28-29) emphasize that “naming might seem trivial, but this short title can and should signal a lot”. They add that a good name for a theme should be informative, concise, and catchy. They also advise that use of quotes in titles can provide an immediate and vivid sense of what a theme is about, while maintaining the participants' language and

concepts. What follows is production of a report as a final phase in thematic data analysis.

4.9 Ethical Consideration

The study was conducted with full adherence to ethical standards. The study targeted participants who were above eighteen years and they were informed clearly in their language what the study was all about and how their information would be used. Informed Consent to participate in the study was sought by asking them to sign the consent forms. They were also informed that they were free to withdraw their participation from the study at any point. Responses from participants were kept completely confidential. Each participant was assigned a participation number and only the participant number is appearing with their responses. Further, in data analysis and discussion of findings names of Focus Groups and Key Informants have been kept confidential as well. They are only being identified by numbers assigned to them as follows: FGD1 to FGD7 for Focus Group Discussions and KI1 to KI9 for Key Informants. Pilot participants have also been included because data that were collected have been included in the analysis and discussion. Before commencement, relevant authorization was sought from the Philosophy Department at Chancellor College, Mulanje District Commissioner and Senior Chief Nkanda of Mulanje district.

4.10 Chapter Summary

The Chapter has presented the methodology that was used to collect data for the study. It has also described the sampling techniques and sample sizes as well as the data analysis approach. The chapter has shown that data was analyzed using thematic data analysis approach which has several stages that aids in systematic analysis of the data. Further, the chapter has presented the ethical statement on how the findings are being handled to ensure confidentiality of both the data and the participants. The next chapter presents the findings and discussion of the results.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter presents the findings and discussion of the results in relation to the following questions which also represent the main themes of the study: (a) What values inform Mulanje Forestry Department and MMCT's interest in conservation of MMFR? (b) What values inform local people's perception towards conservation of MMFR? (c) How are people's values compatible with those of MMCT and Forestry Department? (d) How are local people's values affecting conservation of the MMFR?

5.2 Values that Inform Mulanje Forestry Department and MMCT's Interest in Conservation of MMFR

To answer the question, key informant interviews were conducted with high ranking officials from Mulanje Forestry Department and Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust to determine values that are informing their conservation drive.

5.2.1 Values that Inform Mulanje Forestry Department

On the part of Mulanje Forestry Department, the study revealed that it is into conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve mainly because it is mandated by law to protect the reserve from illegal harvesting of the forest resources from there. KI1 from Mulanje Forestry Department indicated that their conservation drive is generally influenced by two main reasons. The first reason is protection of the water catchment area for a number of major rivers that have sources in the Forest Reserve. The rivers referred to includes, Thuchila, Likhubula, Lichenya, Ruo and Muloza all of which flow from the reserve. The participant added that some of the rivers are even used for hydroelectric power generation in the tea estates, for example Ruo and Lichenya, as such if the catchment is destroyed these rivers risk drying up.

Secondly, it was revealed that the Forestry Department is interested in conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve for tourism purposes. KI2 had this to say:

We understand Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve is one of the most important biosphere reserves in the world, and in Malawi we only have MMFR and Lake Chilwa. It is most important because we have our national tree, Mulanje Cedar, which is only found on this mountain. Apart from that we also have the highest peak in Malawi which is Sapitwa. As a result we receive a lot of tourists who come to appreciate forest reserve. So if we do not conserve it, the forest reserve will lose its status as one of the most important reserves for biosphere in the world and in turn revenue that is realised from tourism will also be lost.

Apart from the two main reasons stated above, it was also revealed that the Forestry Department is into conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve because it provides livelihood support to the people. KI1 explained that a lot of people sustain their livelihood through collection and selling of legally obtained firewood and timber from the Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. KI1 added that others collect non-timber forest products such as mushrooms, honey and rodents. It was also gathered that it is not only Mulanje people that are benefiting from Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve but also people from other districts as well. The informant cited the issue of firewood which is being supplied to bordering districts as well. Then, there is the issue of water supply project being implemented by the Blantyre Water Board that is currently under way which is going to benefit Blantyre city residents.

The findings have shown that Mulanje District Forestry Department's interests in conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve are largely informed by instrumental values. They would like to have Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve conserved for economic reasons rather than ecological ones. This is in tandem with the goals of the National Forestry Policy (2016) which focuses on "conservation, establishment, protection and management of trees and forests for the sustainable development of Malawi". The policy promotes conservation of trees largely because of the economic benefits they contribute towards the sustainable development of the country. So even the National Forestry Policy which is the guiding tool for conservation of forests in the country has its foundation built on instrumental values.

In other words the Mulanje District Forestry Department's conservation drive is based on weak anthropocentrism values. Weak anthropocentrism views uncontrolled exploitation of nature as being inconsistent with world view because there is a close connection between human well-being and maintenance of a healthy nonhuman environment. It is these values that are informing the Forestry Department to recognise that overexploitation of resources at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve have adverse effects on people and development of the country, hence the support for conservation. Their spearheading for conservation of biodiversity at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve has very little to do with ecological values. Their main interests are rather economical. For example the issue of conserving the forest to protect the catchment area of rivers, and Cedar to attract tourists is being done with human interest in mind. In the end conservation is benefitting both the non-human world at the reserve and also the people since they are the prime beneficiaries in the end through economic gains in form of revenue realized from tourism or harvesting of forest resources.

Regardless of the instrumental values that are driving the Forestry Department into conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, the rich biodiversity that the reserve prides in is still being protected in the process. This is the case because the Department realises that economic gains that it targets can only be attained if the biodiversity is protected, since doing otherwise is detrimental to both the people and nature. This is in line with values of weak anthropocentrism that questions value systems that promote exploitative attitudes towards nature without necessarily acknowledging that non-human entities have intrinsic value (Norton, 1984).

5.2.2 Values that Inform Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust

As for Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust, the study revealed that their core objective is provision of long term support to government through the Forestry Department on conservation of biodiversity on Mulanje Mountain.

KI4 narrated that:

Mulanje Mountain is endowed with over 500 species of both plants and animals, 200 of which are endemic to Mulanje Mountain, meaning that they are only found on Mulanje Mountain and not anywhere else in Malawi or across the globe. If you get into the mountain you feel like you are in a completely different planet. As conservationists we are aware of the importance of such biodiversity because of the different uses and interactions that is there for the ecosystem to function. So MMCT is there to ensure that the resources are protected and well managed and that people have access to sustainable utilization of some of the resources.

KI4 added that the policy and implementation mandate rests with the Forestry Department who are the custodians of the Forest Reserve; as such MMCT is just there to provide support to the Department.

While both Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust and the Forestry Department are advocates of conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, the study revealed that their work is informed by different value systems. The study revealed that while the Forestry department is into conservation mainly because of the instrumental values, Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust on the other hand is absorbed into conservation of biodiversity on Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve for intrinsic values. MMCT's interest in conservation of biodiversity at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve is maintenance of species balance for proper functioning of the ecosystem. Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust would like to see the various species are conserved without considering their usefulness to humans. So Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust is mostly influenced by ecocentric values rather than weak anthropocentric values as is the case with the Forestry Department. However, since the policy and implementation mandate rests with the Forestry Department, who are the custodians of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust is forced to adjust its values to suit the policy direction.

The differences in value systems that exist between Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust and the Forestry Department are somehow affecting conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. It seems there is lack of trust between Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust and the Forestry Department, according to KI3. Among the challenges MMCT is facing is the fact that their efforts are being thwarted by actions

of some Forestry officials who connive with criminals to destroy biodiversity at the reserve. KI3 lamented that, “MMCT and its counterpart are pulling in opposite direction. It is like our enemy is within our camp”. Also listening to the people during focus group discussions it appears they have aligned themselves with either Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust or the Forestry Department. Participants from areas where there is less damage to the Forest Reserve mostly spoke positively about Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust while those from areas where there is great damage to the Reserve sided with the Forestry Department when asked if they know the role the two institutions are playing at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. They blamed Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust as being the one that is destroying the forest. For instance, Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust’s advice to have pine trees removed from the mountain because were regarded invasive to the indigenous forest did not go down well with some members of the community who used to get employed by sawyers of pine in the mountain. They cited clearing of pine trees at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve as an example of how Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust is destroying the Reserve. All this signify that differences in values that inform the conservationists’ interest in conservation of the Forest Reserve have a bearing on the success of the conservation initiatives.

5.3 Values that Inform Local People’s Perceptions on Conservation of MMFR

To examine the values that inform local people’s perceptions on conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, the participants were asked to explain if they think conservation is necessary and why. Participants were also asked to explain if there are really problems of conservation at the Reserve and give reasons why such problems exist. The questions were responded to by both participants of FGDs and their village heads, who were part of another set of key informants.

The study revealed that the local people value conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve for various reasons. The participants in focus group discussions as well as the village heads from all the target areas lamented that the forest has drastically decreased in size hence the need to conserve it. The participants pointed

out that it is for the same reason that they have established Forestry Co-Management Committees in their villages to assist with conservation of the Forest reserve. They indicated that each village was allocated a portion to look after so that they develop the spirit of ownership. It was also highlighted that the committees have tree nurseries that people buy to help regenerate the forest at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. Participants explained that the members of the committees also help in conducting patrols in the reserve to stop people who harvesting the forest resources illegally. Thus local people support conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve.

On reasons why the people support conservation, the study revealed that they believe it is necessary to conserve the forest because it protects rivers from drying, brings them rainfall and fresh air, it also prevents soil erosion and protects them from floods; this particularly came from people of Phalombe which is flood prone. They also support conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve for the sake of their children who are still young and future generation. Many societies seem to attach little, if any, intrinsic value to the environment, they only take part in conservation for as long as they benefit out of it. This also affirms Callicott's argument that African thought revolves around human interests and that the moral views and attitudes of traditional Africans are a blend of moral teleology-anthropocentric view (the view that an action is good if it maximizes human interests) and moral deontology-the non-anthropocentric moral view (an action is good if it has or affirms some intrinsic moral worth) (Callicott, 1994 as cited in Ikunoebe 2014, p. 9). Local people believe that MMFR is worthy conserving mainly because of what it has to offer to them. In this case conservation is only tolerated for as long as it yields material benefits which can then be converted into some other good (Ingle, 2006). These findings are also similar to Yang, et al (2015) that indigenous residents surrounding Bulong Nature Reserve are concerned about ecological values that are linked to their survival and health such as water sources, clean air, and climate regulation.

Looking at the reasons the people gave for supporting conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve as revealed by the study, it is obvious that local people's perception towards conservation is informed by instrumental values. They support the

conservation drive because of the perceived benefits that they are likely to gain. Their interest in conservation has nothing to do with the love of nature for its own sake or inherent value. Both during the focus group discussions and key informant interviews with the village heads it was revealed that the local people appreciate the fact that great damage has been inflicted on Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve which poses a risk to their wellbeing as well. For instance, the people of Phalombe because of the bad experience they have had with floods believe conservation of the forest is the way to go to avoid recurrence of the same. While others fear that if nothing is done to reverse the situation at the Forest Reserve, their successive generations will be left with nothing to pride in, hence their positive perception towards conservation. All this shows that local people's positive perception towards conservation is deeply influenced by instrumental values. This presents an opportunity to the conservationists to capitalize on, it is clear that people are already aware of the benefits that come with conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve.

Despite the positive perception towards conservation, the study revealed that out of the five villages that the study targeted only two villages were really making headway in conserving their section of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve that was allocated to them. The two villages with positive perception towards conservation that is being translated into action include Bwanaisa and Nakhonyo in Phalombe and Mulanje districts respectively. People from these areas are so keen to ensure that their portion is conserved. For instance participants at FGD2 had this to say:

We do not allow charcoal burning here. When you go around you will see smoke both on the eastern and western side of the mountain. For instance at Mbewa village in T/A Mabuka's area and around Chambe basin a lot of charcoal burning is taking place there. But here you never see smoke because we go up the mountain to assist in patrols to ensure that people do not cut fresh trees, and when they do they are taken to task. Our village head punishes them by simply asking them to buy tree seedlings and replant them in the Reserve. That is why you still see some forest cover here unlike in other parts. Even the water that Blantyre Water Board is tapping from Dziwe la Nkhalamba is available because of our vigilance; otherwise it would have dried up by now if we had not protected the forest there, but we are not recognized.

While the rest of the villages are still experiencing very high levels of illegal activities, that are destroying Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. The study came across several reasons why conservation of the Forest Reserve is facing challenges despite local people having positive perception towards conservation. These factors are forcing some of the local people to disregard some moral values in order to survive. As a result, despite having positive perception towards conservation, some of the people find themselves leaning towards strong anthropocentric values that are exploitative, in terms of their actions. FGD3 participants lamented that, “we know the importance of conservation, but we cannot do otherwise because there are no employment opportunities here unlike our friends around Chitakale where there are some tea estates that offer employment”.

Participants from the FGDs gave a variety of reasons why the forest is being destroyed. They cited unemployment, population growth, weak laws and erosion of traditional cultural values and religious values.

5.3.1 Unemployment and Poverty

The study revealed that unemployment and poverty are among the reasons that are forcing local people to disregard some moral values on utilization of natural resources. People are also forced not to act in tandem with their positive perception that they expressed towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. During the focus group discussions issues of unemployment featured highly among participants, mostly those from FGD1, FGD3, FGD6 and FGD7. Consequently, these are also the areas that are badly hit with deforestation and their sections of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve are almost bare. Lack of business and employment opportunities in these areas, has forced people to turn their attention to Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve as their only source of livelihood support. Participants from FGD1 and FGD3 complained that:

The government and MMCT have contributed to the destruction of the forest because they removed all pine trees from the MMFR which used to provide some people with employment opportunities. They could get employed to cut and saw the soft wood in the past. However, MMCT and the government felled them all because they said pine was damaging nature in the Reserve. This has led to unemployment, and many people are now idle that is why they are resorting to cutting indigenous trees, which was not the case then.

Participants explained that people resort to illegal harvesting of forest resources for sale as well as for personal use. They pointed out that most of the people that illegally cut trees from the Mountain Forest Reserve use them for charcoal burning for sale while others go after the Mulanje Cedar which fetches more money on the market. Borgstein (2017) and Fort (2011) reported similar findings in other studies done on Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. They also found that the fundamental problem in Mulanje is poverty; it forces the people into overexploitation of the forest resources because they do not have other means for fulfilling their economic needs.

Economic reasons and issues of poverty are not only driving people from Mulanje and Phalombe into destruction of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, but even beyond. Men from surrounding districts such as Chiradzulu and Zomba were also singled out as the major culprits as far as problems of conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve are concerned. This came up during focus group discussions and key informant interviews with the village heads. Participants alleged that men from these districts are migrating to Mulanje and Phalombe on the pretext of marriage while their real intention is to gain access to Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. Once they settle down they start showing their real intentions. Some village heads said they have started screening some of the men from the said districts, before they are allowed to marry in their villages. In the process, some are being denied a chance to marry if they do not have proof of stable occupations. The participants were claiming that these people are moving to Mulanje and Phalombe because they have depleted their forests particularly those from Chiradzulu.

However, the study also revealed that some participants did not support the view that unemployment and poverty are forcing people into destruction of the Forest Reserve. They argued that unemployment and poverty cannot be used as reasons enough to warrant destruction of the forest. They wondered how others who do not go to the Reserve survive, since it is not all who rely on illegal harvesting of forest resources from Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. In their opinion such people are just looking for an easy way out because others who are not in any different condition survive using other acceptable means. KI7 reported that some of her subjects have openly

challenged that they will not stop destroying the forest until the government provides them with job opportunities. Ironically, when such opportunities arise in the village such as public works programmes these people do not participate. So it leaves them wondering if these people's concerns of lack of employment opportunities are really genuine.

5.3.2 *Population Increase*

Population growth was also cited as another reason why people are destroying the Forest Reserve. Participants from the FGDs and some Key Informants explained that in the past the forest was so vast such that people were not travelling long distances to fetch firewood they could just go around their homes and be able to collect enough firewood for their use. As such, there was no need for them to be going all the way up to the mountain in Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve to destroy it. It was also revealed that people were just targeting dead wood for firewood from the surrounding forest. As for their income, they used to rely on sales of their crop because the harvest was enough from their field since land was so fertile and not in short supply. However, due to population increase, land is becoming scarce and people are now scrambling for it. This in turn, is piling up pressure on the Forest Reserve, because out of desperation people are disregarding their moral values that are crucial in protection of the Reserve.

One of the participants at FGD6 narrated that:

In the past I had a piece of land that I used to cultivate myself, but now am sharing the same piece of land with my two children and three grandchildren. This has greatly affected our yields, such that what we are harvesting at the moment is not even enough for consumption let alone for sale.

This was corroborated by other participants during the discussions. They agreed with the participant that indeed land scarcity is serious and is driving people to the forest reserve for survival. This shows how high population growth is threatening sustainable utilization of forest resources and conservation. Population growth has been cited in a number of studies as a major threat to the existence of the Forest Reserve. There are reports that Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve has been officially reduced in size at least five times since the time it was gazetted to accommodate pressures of increasing population (World Bank Report, 2001). Unchecked population levels will always result in increased demand for the natural resources and amplified

competition for space for both settlement and agriculture. This dire situation to an extent explains why some of the people are not living up to their values regarding conservation of MMFR; they are forced to act contrary to what they believe in.

5.3.3 Weak Legal Framework

Being a protected area, the study also showed that people around Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve believe that the laws that govern its protection are very weak and are not properly enforced. These loopholes in enforcement and the law itself are exposing the Reserve to never ending illegal activities such encroachment of the Forest Reserve boundary, charcoal burning and logging of Mulanje Cedar. During focus group discussions and key informant interviews with village heads, there was a general consensus that there are weaknesses in the law currently being used and needs to be addressed. The participants recalled that what is happening in Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve was unheard of in the past until the country adopted the democratic system of government. They said that during the one party era people were respecting the Reserve as a protected area because of the good policies that were in place then which is not the case nowadays. KI6 complained during the interview that:

The current situation is that when we apprehend some offenders for carrying out illegal activities in the forest, and we hand them over to the police, they do not get punished they get released so quickly. Sometimes they are let go while we are still on our way home from the Police. As a result some of them even insult us and challenge that there is nothing we can do to stop them.

KI8 added that, “if the matter goes to court offenders get very lenient sentences, may be a K10, 000 fine. Since these criminals have a fund that they created, it becomes very easy for them to raise money and pay such small fines”. This according to the participants is promoting the destruction of the forest.

A weak legal system lacks potential to support development of moral values that can contribute positively towards conservation of the Forest Reserve. The positive perception that people have towards conservation needs the support of a strong legal framework and political will to become meaningful. Just as observed by one village head, weak laws have the potential to erode the value that people attach to the forest. If they learn that forestry related offences are attracting weaker punishments, people may begin to think that the forest is of less importance and may begin to treat it with contempt. A strong legal system coupled with proper enforcement can help with

entrenchment of moral values in people. It used to work in the past during one party state, people used to respect protected areas then.

Regarding enforcement, the participants expressed dissatisfaction with the way Mulanje District Forestry Department is handling issues of conservation, especially junior officials (Forest Rangers) who were labelled as being in the forefront promoting destruction of the Forest Reserve. Both the village heads and participants during the focus group discussions expressed concern with the way forestry officials operate. FGD3 participants alleged that:

The patrol men are conniving with criminals. For instance when soldiers were deployed in the forest, it is some of the forestry officials that were alerting and updating the criminals about the movements of the soldiers in the Reserve, in order for the criminals to be strategizing as to when to invade the forest. In exchange for the information, they receive K1500. Sometimes the patrolmen let the culprits get into the forest to burn charcoal; they notice the smoke but do nothing about it until when they know that the charcoal is done. Sometimes they mobilize themselves and ambush the criminals so that in the process they should abandon their charcoal which the officers confiscate and sell. The problem is that these people are not from here so they do not really care what happens to the forest, it could have been better if they employed people from here who could have been feeling at least a sense of ownership.

This was corroborated by participants from other FGDs. Similarly, KI8 claimed that indeed the Forestry Department officials are aiding the culprits; he cited an incident when the District Forestry Officer (DFO) connived with illegal loggers. He said that he once confiscated a truck filled with fresh wood which is illegal, but to his surprise he discovered that the culprits had full support from the District Forestry Officer. Such acts have the potential to dampen people's perception towards conservation. Other studies have shown that if people have negative attitude towards State Forest Department their attitudes towards the Reserved Forests also tend to be negative as well (Macura, et al, 2011). Thus, the negative perception towards the Forestry Department due to corruption is not healthy as far as conservation of MMFR is concerned.

The local people accept that the forest at MMFR is disappearing; they are also aware of the benefits that the forest provides them and have a generally positive perception towards the conservation efforts being undertaken there. Their support for conservation is influenced by instrumental values; the people understand that if

nothing is done to address the current situation at the Forest Reserve they will no longer enjoy its benefits. This positive perception towards conservation needs to be supported, so an effective legal system coupled with effective law enforcement can go a long way in nurturing the values. Immoral behaviour being displayed at MMFR is as a result of weaknesses in law enforcement and ineffective legal system. Even in the past people's values towards respect of nature was supported by use of taboos and there were consequences for failure to observe them. The participants themselves also acknowledged that during the one party state no one would dare cut trees from MMFR because there was respect for the rule of law. However, this is not the case at present, because the law enforcers and the courts are siding with the offenders due to corruption and weak legal system resulting in total disregard for the rule of law hence lack of moral values.

5.3.4 Erosion of Traditional Cultural and Religious Values

The study also revealed that some people believe that the forest is being destroyed because traditional African values have been eroded due to westernization and modernity. They argued that in the past the forest in the mountain was intact because people could agree on the dos and don'ts and adhere to them. Both KIs and FGDs revealed that in the past there were beliefs that spirits of ancestors reside in the mountain where sacrifices were offered. This prevented destruction of the forest. KI5 recalled that:

In the past people feared spirits in the forest, because then some people used to bury the dead in the mountain. Also leprosy patients were being dumped in caves there too which created fear among the people but helped in conservation of the forest. Recently, actually just last year there was a rumour that there is a woman in the mountain who had feet that resembled that of goats, this kept people at home, they feared going up the mountain. Maybe if such rumours continued the forest could be protected.

This was supported by KI6 who narrated that when she was young parents used to stop them from collecting stuff from the mountain because they were sacred. However, this is no longer working because of the influence of western religion and modernity. It is this lack of respect that is leading to the destruction of the forest. KI6 also believes that the ancestors may have performed some rituals to preserve the mountain. That is why people and their livestock do not get attacked by dangerous

animals that live in the mountain. She said even now they hear sounds of hyenas at night from the mountain but they do not hear people complaining that they have been attacked, even those who live very near the reserve their livestock survive. People knew about this so they could not destroy the forest because they were fully aware of the consequences of showing disrespect to magic.

KI1 reported that he has heard rumours that initiation ceremonies in the past were taking place in the forest. Nowadays people do them in halls or along river banks and some have even abandoned the practices altogether, they prefer sending their children to church ceremonies leading to reduced value that people used to attach to the forests. Because they needed the forests for initiation ceremonies they could not destroy it. It was also pointed out that beliefs in traditional medicine made people conserve the forest. However, there are others who feel this practice of using traditional medicine also fuels destruction of the forest because some traditional healers uproot the whole tree, if it is small and even some bigger trees die if some roots are cut or their bark is removed. It is for this reason that members from Co-Management Committees in some villages stopped this practice and take to task all those that are still practicing this.

The study revealed that traditional African beliefs are no longer effective in conservation of the forest. Even the “ethics of care” which means, not taking more than you need from nature as a moral code which was essential to traditional understanding of environmental protection and conservation is no longer working (Ogungbemi, 1997). This was echoed by one participant during the focus group discussion who lamented that, “nowadays people do not get contented easily unlike in the past when our parents used to live a very simple life and could just collect dead wood from the forest, but today people are in love with money.” In other words people are now taking more than what they need and the ethics of care is no longer working. Since traditional values that supported conservation of nature are no longer effective as seen from the study, there is need to propagate and instil new conservational values in people that will work towards sustainable utilization of resources for the sake of the present and future generation. The study has already

shown that local people around the Forest Reserve have positive perception and support conservation of the forest. What remains is for the conservationists to create an enabling environment for such values to thrive. Weak anthropocentrism can work so well with instrumental values that people expressed as reasons for supporting conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, since it permits satisfaction of human desires at the same time condemns unreasonable exploitative tendencies.

5.3.5 Value Differences between Males and Females

The study revealed that there are some minor disparities in terms of values between males and females that inform their perception towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. The results from an all-male focus group discussion were not different from that of an all-female one. In terms of whether they support conservation of the Forest Reserve they all gave positive responses. The reasons why they support conservation were also identical. They both cited protection of rivers from drying, provision of rainfall and fresh air, prevention of soil erosion and protection from flooding as reasons why they think the Forest Reserve should be conserved. So in terms of values, both groups' perception towards conservation is informed by instrumental values.

However, the issue of conserving the forest for the sake of children and future generations came out in an all-female focus group discussion, but did not come out during an all-male focus group discussion. Other differences also appeared when they were asked to differentiate the appearance of the Forest Reserve between then and now, so as to see if they appreciate existence of the problem. In their responses an all-female group cited the distance covered to fetch firewood which they claimed was shorter then. They also pointed out that the forest was thicker and beautiful. Such descriptions did not come out during an all-male focus group discussion. Of course, they agreed that the forest was thicker but the males did not talk about beauty, instead mentioned that there were many wild animals. Since women are responsible for child bearing and taking care of their children, therefore, destruction of the forest is of much concern to them because it threatens the future of their children. This could be where the ecofeminist claim that biology puts women closer to nature comes from. Because biologically they bear the children, they also shoulder the responsibility of

ensuring that they grow without any hindrances, in this case environmental threats. They were also concerned about scarcity of energy sources since it is their responsibility to fetch firewood for their families. Therefore, the destruction of the Forest means going long distances to fetch firewood. To women, destruction of the forest was associated with suffering both for them and their children. This was not the case for men. Participants from FGD6 lamented that, “Since we raise most of the children on our own as single parents, they have not been able to access formal education because we cannot afford. Because of that they cannot get employed, that is why they are exploiting the forest resources for survival, since it is their only hope”.

The study also revealed that it is mostly men who are destroying nature at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, and the men did not contest this view. Instead they simply shared the blame with other men from surrounding districts who come to marry there as a way of gaining access to the mountain. However, the women defended the migrants saying it is not true that they hide behind marriage to exploit the forest; they said the migrants start burning charcoal and doing other illegal activities in the forest upon seeing that the natives are doing the same.

5.3.6 Value Differences between the Young Males and Adults

In this category the study targeted young males with their ages ranging from 20 to 30. The study revealed that unlike the adults, the youth group does not have any remorse towards destruction of the Forest Reserve. They confessed that they are the main culprits and challenged that they would not stop until such a time the government will give them something else to do. They explained that some of them are educated up to Malawi School Certificate of Education level, but they cannot get employed. As a result they are forced to join the informal sector, in this case dealing in charcoal burning and selling which is destructive to the Forest Reserve.

They also complained that programmes that are aimed at cushioning vulnerable groups tend to side-line them and focus on girls and the elderly instead. They wondered why the government does not consider their group since it has the potential to cause real damage to Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. A participant during the FGD gave a classroom analogy, that in class usually it is class trouble makers that are

given leadership roles in order to silence them. It is advisable that the government should do the same if it wants to end destruction of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. In terms of values that inform their perception towards conservation there could be some differences. The youth group showed strong elements of strong anthropocentric values. This shows that they do not care about what the implications of their actions on the future of the forest are. Adults at least could show some remorse though they are also still contributing towards destruction of the forest.

In terms of myths and tradition values, the youth said they have heard stories that people could meet spiritual beings in the forest and some were disappearing there. However, a participant during FGD had this to say about the stories, “I think people were disappearing because they were falling into the mountain cliffs, some places are so steep, if one is not careful could fall, this had nothing to do with spirits”. The findings, however, showed that some adults still believe in myths and taboos though they are no longer effective in terms of protection of the Forest Reserve. KI6 lamented that:

In the past as children we used to listen to their parents, for instance if told that some rituals had been performed in an area, we could stay away from such a place. This cannot happen today with these youths. They are no longer respecting traditional values, when they go up the mountain, they are even collecting pots that were being used for offering sacrifices to the spirits of our ancestors and are now using them as flower pots, and this was unheard of during our time. I grew up here but I have never collected such things from the mountain because my parents could not allow that.

5.4 Areas of Congruence between Values of Local People and Values of the Conservationists

This study reveals that there are different value systems at play as far as conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve is concerned. The data showed that there are some disparities in terms of values that are informing the Forestry Department and MMCT’s motives for their involvement in conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. The findings established that the Mulanje District Forestry Department is motivated by weak anthropocentric values. Its reasons for conservation of the Forest Reserve are generally motivated by utilitarian or instrumental values. They would like to maintain biodiversity at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve not for the intrinsic values, but rather because of the economic benefits that the country realizes from

tourism and other economic benefits that the biodiversity supports. On the other hand Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust's conservation motives are mostly informed by ecocentric values. Their concern is maintenance of biodiversity because of its ecological benefits rather than instrumental values. They indicated that conservation of biodiversity contributes towards proper functioning of the ecosystem. It is for this reason that they are so concerned with conservation of all the 500 species, 200 of which they claim are endemic and only found on the mountain forest.

On the part of the people, the study has revealed that their perception towards conservation is informed by instrumental values. They generally support initiatives being undertaken by the Mulanje District Forestry Department and Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust because of utilitarian benefits that they are likely going to gain in the end. Their support has nothing to do with the love for forest itself but rather the benefits they derive from it. In other words they do not recognize or attribute any intrinsic values to the forest. However, despite appreciating the need for Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust to be conserved, not all are translating their positive perception into action. There are some who have followed up their positive perception towards conservation with action while others are still stuck with exploitative tendencies in spite of showing support for conservation. Thus, in terms of value systems that inform behaviour of people regarding conservation, the study reveals that the local people are either influenced by strong anthropocentric or weak anthropocentric values depending on the areas they came from.

The results have also revealed that Nakhonyo and Bwanaisa are making progress regarding conservation. It seems they are now taking care of their forests. This is evident from their stretch of the Forest Reserve which still has some vegetative cover.

One of the participants from FGD2 who spoke on behalf of the group had this to say:

If we do not conserve the forest we will have a desert soon that will result in droughts and famine due to reduced rainfall amounts and water in rivers will also dry. So we do not want that that is why you will never see smoke here because we do not allow charcoal burning. But if you go around both on the eastern and western side in areas such as Chambe basin and Mbewa village, you will see a lot of charcoal burning activities there. Here we go up the mountain to patrol together with Forest rangers to ensure that people do not cut fresh trees and when we catch them we take them to task. Our village head punishes them by simply asking them to buy some tree seedlings and replant in the Reserve. We also replant Cedar and other indigenous trees from seedlings we raise on our own and also clear fire breaks to protect the trees so that at least the mountain should be restored back to what it used to look like. Even the water that Blantyre water Board is tapping at Dziwe la Nkhalamba is available because of us though we do not get recognized. Without our effort the place would have dried up by now.

The situation is not different at Bwanaisa where KI8 explained that the village head confiscated illegal forest products from people who had connived with Forestry officials and at one time the matter even went to the press. Thus, the study concludes that people's values at Nakhonyo and Bwanaisa are founded on weak anthropocentrism. Unlike Mangombo, Kazembe and Lomoliwa which are still stuck with strong anthropocentric values. The forest in these areas is almost vanished yet the people still insist to continue this unreasonable conduct because they lack alternative economic means of survival. They are oblivious of the consequences of their actions; particularly that Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve will be completely depleted.

Therefore, a conclusion can be drawn that some local people's values are compatible with values of the conservationists particularly Mulanje District Forestry Department in that both are interested in conservation for instrumental values. As seen from the findings, participants acknowledged that it is in their best interest and very significant to conserve the Forest Reserve because it's continued existence is beneficial to them. They realise that a complete destruction of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve will affect their livelihood. On the part of Mulanje District Forestry Department, destruction of the reserve will affect the economic contribution that MMFR makes towards development of the country. In other words, both local people and Mulanje

District Forestry Department generally share similar interests on conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. Their desire to conserve is informed by weak anthropocentric values although there are some people who hold strong anthropocentric values.

On the other hand, Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust's ecocentric values in conservation are not compatible with those of both the local people and the Forestry Department whose values are generally anthropocentric. The only thing connecting them is that they appreciate that Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve is under threat and that there is need for conservation. However, their approach to conservation is varied because of variations in value systems each is operating from. Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust's real interest in conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve is not very clear to some people, as such, some people do not trust MMCT. What made it worse is their decision to remove all the Pine trees which they regarded invasive to indigenous species from the reserve. The pine trees used to provide the locals with employment opportunities. Some of the people used to work as timber sawyers before MMCT ordered the removal of pine trees. This left some of them jobless and bitter. Nevertheless, this action was justified by ecocentric values that inform Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust. In as much as this made sense to them and may be to Mulanje District Forestry Department, these ecocentric ideals remain too complicated for the locals to comprehend.

5.5 How local people's values are affecting conservation of MMFR

The study has revealed that despite the differences in conservational values between the people and the Mulanje District Forestry Department on one hand and Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust on the other hand, they all want the same thing. They are all interested in seeing proper wellbeing of both the people and the Forest Reserve itself. Regardless of the fact that Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust and the Forestry Department advocates for conservation and sustainable utilization of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve resources from a different value perspective, thus ecocentrism and weak anthropocentrism, the expected outcome is the same. The only challenge is that conservation efforts being undertaken by the two institutions are not

congruent with people's perceptions. It appears that some people fail to balance between the economic needs that they derive from the reserve and the conservation efforts, hence the presence of both strong anthropocentric values and weak anthropocentric values.

The implication is that Mulanje District Forestry Department and Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust are making headway in terms of their conservation efforts at least only in those areas whose participants hold weak anthropocentric values. Among the five targeted villages it is only two, one from Mulanje side and the other one from Phalombe side that have embraced issues of conservation. They understand the importance of balancing satisfaction of their desires and importance of sustainable utilization of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve resources. It was observable from the Mulanje-Phalombe road that among all the study villages, the only villages that have relatively maintained some forest cover at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve include Nakhonyo in Mulanje and Bwanaisa in Phalombe. The villages also have very strong Forest Co-Management Committees that are so dedicated towards the regeneration of the forest and they conduct patrols in the reserve to stop illegal harvesting of the forest resources. They also raise tree nurseries for sale and replanting at the Reserve.

The other unique feature is that the village heads from both of these villages are also very tough on matters of conservation of the forest in these villages. For instance, one village head is a strong advocate of tougher punishments for those who cut trees from Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve; the village head said would even go for life imprisonment for such offenders because she equates cutting of trees to killing. While the other village head said that some countries within Africa where he has been to, they even criminalize the killing of birds, so he wondered why our country is not adopting similar tough laws on conservation. By implication, this means that good leadership plays a very important role in instilling good values towards conservation. Lessons from these villages can be emulated by other villages that have not gone past unchecked exploitative tendencies that are associated with strong anthropocentric values. With time they will realize that destroying the Forest Reserve is not in their best interest and cannot be justified by any reason.

The study has shown that local people's perception towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve is also affected by conduct of those entrusted with the mandate to lead, in this case the Mulanje District Forestry Department. Stories of forestry officials conniving with offenders do not help with inculcation of moral values among the local people. Such stories are just creating room for those who still want to continue with exploitation of the Reserve to justify their destructive actions. The Mulanje District Forestry Department being the key player should avoid sending mixed signals to the people because they risk losing the public support indefinitely. Studies have shown that good perception towards park management results into positive perception towards conservation. A study by Ntuli, et. al, (2018) on determinants of local communities perception towards wildlife conservation in the Great Limpopo Trans-frontier, showed that if people perceive the rules governing the park in a negative way, they are less likely to participate in conservation of wildlife, and at the same time this will increase the likelihood of environmental crime. This corroborates the view that authorities can play a very crucial role in shaping peoples' values on conservation. Their conduct can either attract or push away people from supporting the conservation effort. History shows that in the past people used to respect the Forest Reserve as a protected area and were keeping a distance but with time all that is gone. Others push the blame on democracy. Some participants at FDG1 and FDG3 made an observation that, "during the time of Malawi Congress Party the situation was different, no one could dare go into the Forest Reserve, of course Forestry Officials were too brutal then but it used to work unlike now in democracy, people just walk into the forest as if it is not a protected area". This demonstrates that may be there were some good policies then which have now been abandoned or are not being implemented effectively. The issue of corruption among Forestry officials could also be to blame for contributing towards the erosion of good values among the people, therefore it should be dealt with decisively because it has the potential of ruining the gains that have been made so far.

Since traditional values such as use of taboos and myths that used to support conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve have been eroded and western values have taken over, there is need for a workable system to support such values.

People no longer respect taboos that were used to enforce beliefs in the past. Therefore, the conservational values of the people need to be supported by a strong legal system. This is the only way that can keep local people in line in absence of taboos that used to work in the past. Disregard of moral values towards utilization of forest resources that is being experienced at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve could be a result of ineffective legal system and lack of seriousness in enforcement. The participants themselves acknowledged that during the one party state no one would dare cut trees from Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve because there was respect for the rule of law. This is not the case at present, participants lamented that the law enforcers and the courts are siding with the offenders. The study notes that the local people generally support conservation of MMFR because of the instrumental values that come with conservation. Thus, an effective legal system is needed to help nurture these values.

5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented and discussed the findings of the study that was aimed at examining values underlying people's perspectives towards conservation of MMFR. The findings have revealed that people of Mulanje hold both weak and strong anthropocentric values towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. It has been shown that conservation seems to be working in some villages of Mulanje and Phalombe side of the Reserve. In these villages, the people's perception towards conservation is greatly influenced by weak anthropocentric values while in the villages whose forest is completely destroyed; their perception on conservation is influenced by strong anthropocentric values. On the part of the conservationists, the study found that the Mulanje District Forestry Department are also into conservation because of weak anthropocentric values while Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust is much inclined towards nonanthropocentric values. The Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust's main concern is conservation of biodiversity for proper functioning of the ecosystem. On the other hand, the Forestry Department are into conservation mainly for instrumental values that they are likely to be realised after taking part in conservation of MMFR, such as good rains, protection from floods and for the sake of future generation.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

6.1. Chapter Overview

This chapter will present the concluding statement for the study. It will also give general implications of the study and will suggest areas for further studies.

6.2 Conclusion

This was an examination of values underlying local people's perspectives towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. The aim was to find out the role that differences in values is contributing to the conservation problems at the Forest Reserve. It was necessary to learn the values that inform both the people and the conservationist because over the years there have been attempts to slow down rampant exploitation of forest resources at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, but it seems the conservation efforts are not making headway. The problem is that there is value conflict between the local people and the conservationists. The study targeted participants from villages around the reserve both in Mulanje and Phalombe since the Reserve covers both Districts.

The findings reveal that value differences indeed exist even between the conservationists themselves. For instance, the Mulanje District Forestry Department values conservation of biodiversity at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, because it attracts tourists who bring foreign exchange. The other reason why the Department is into conservation is to maintain the catchment area for major rivers in Mulanje namely, Thuchila, Likhubula, Lichenya, Ruo and Muloza which provide livelihood support to people. Drawing from these, values that inform Mulanje District Forestry Department's motivation for conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve are instrumental rather than intrinsic. On the other hand, Mulanje Mountain Conservation

Trust is motivated by ecocentric values. Its main concern is conservation of biodiversity at the reserve for ecological purposes. It places so much value on protection of the various animal and plant species that exist at the Reserve for their intrinsic values. The study has also established that local people believe it is necessary that MMFR should be conserved as it provides them with rainfall and fresh air; it prevents flooding, preserves soil from erosion and for the sake future generation. The local people's positive perception towards conservation is influenced by instrumental values. They would like the Reserve to be conserved because they are concerned that they will lose the livelihood support they get from the forest. However, despite appreciating the need for conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve, some people are failing to strike a balance between satisfying their economic needs and the need for the Forest Reserve to be conserved for sustainability sake. As a result, there are some villages that still regard Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve as theirs; as such it is at their disposal to use as they please. They do this without paying attention to the repercussions of their actions. The study also notes that others have embraced weak anthropocentrism and fully support the conservation drive. Such people fully support the conservation drive and understand that unrestrained exploitation of the forest resources endangers their well-being once the resources are depleted. Thus, they understand that conservation is in their best interests as well.

6.3 Implications of the Study

The implications of the study are that since the people and the conservationists are generally operating from conflicting value systems, it is therefore a challenge for them to properly coordinate in the conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. As observed from the results local people are torn between strong and weak anthropocentric values. Since the values of the conservationists, particularly the Forestry Department, are compatible to those of people who hold weak anthropocentric values, it would appear the conservationists are only making headway in areas where people share these values. Out of the five targeted villages it is only Nakhonyo and Bwanaisa which are embracing issues of conservation. They have demonstrated that they understand the importance of balancing satisfaction of their desires and importance of sustainable utilization of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve resources. The situation is however, different in areas where people hold strong

anthropocentric values. The areas include Mangombo, Kazembe and Lomoliwa. People from such areas are not supportive of the conservation initiative; all they are interested in is extraction of the forest resources for their survival. They do this without giving a thought that the resources are being depleted and need replenishing or sustainable utilization. However, not all is lost. The study has shown that people generally perceive conservation as a necessity at MMFR. The only challenge is that some people fail to translate their positive perception towards conservation into action. What is needed is that Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust and the Forestry Department should continue reaching out to them, to help them see the relationship between conservation and continued supply of the benefits they get from the forest. Value differences are expected and inevitable, but the problem is when they are left unresolved. Therefore, it is crucial that all interested players continue engaging each other on how best they can improve management of the Forest Reserve.

6.4 Areas for Further Studies

Further research should be done using quantitative or mixed methods for comparative analysis of the results of the studies. Anecdotal evidence from the study show that leadership plays a critical role in instilling values, therefore future studies must also examine the role of leadership in conservation efforts. There are claims that some of the people who are causing the damage at Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve are from surrounding districts who marry there to gain access to Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve. Therefore, studies can be done to confirm or dispute the claim.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

I welcome you all to this discussion. My name is Patrick Thole, a Master of Arts in Applied Ethics student from Chancellor College. I am doing research on values underlying people's perspectives towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR). Thank you for volunteering to take part in this discussion. You have been asked to participate as your point of view is important. I realize you are busy and I appreciate your time.

You are expected to respond to my questions and all the information you give me will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and will only be used for scholarly purposes. If you find any question inappropriate you are free to say so and decline to answer. You can also withdraw from participation anytime. The discussion should not take us more than thirty minutes. Here are some of the rules that will guide our discussion:

- There is no right or wrong answer.
- Let's give each other a chance to speak freely, let's speak one at a time and try not to interrupt one another

Ndakulandilani nonse pa zokambirana zathu ndipo khalani womasuka. Dzina langa ndine Patrick Thole ndipo ndikupanga maphunziro a ukadaulo ku Sukulu ya Ukachenjede ya Chancellor College. Ngati mbali imodzi ya maphunziro anga ndikupanga kafukufuku wofuna kudziwa maganizo a anthu aku Mulanje pa kufunika koteteza chilengedwe mu nkhalango ya mu phiri la Mulanje. Ndine wothokoza kwambiri povomera kutenganawo mbali podziwa kuti ndinu anthu wotanganidwa. Maganizo anu ndiwofunikira kwambiri ndipo athandizira kuti kafukufukuyu ayende bwino.

Mukuyembekezeka kuyankha mafunso angapo ndipo zonse zomwe muyankhe pano zisungidwa mwachinsinsi ndipo zigwiritsidwa ntchito pa maphunziro basi. Ndipo ngati mutapeza kuti lina mwamafunso ndikufunsemi ndilosayenera muli ndi ufulu kusayankha komanso mutha kusiya kutenga nawo mbali pa zokambiranazi nthawi ina iliyonse mungafune kutero. Ndikuyembekezera kuti zokambiranazi zitenga mphindi zosapitilira makumi atatu. Komanso dziwani kuti pazokambiranazi palibe yankho lolakwika ndiponso tikupemphedwa kuti tidzipatsana mpata woyankhula popanda kusokonezana.

1. How long have you known Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR)?

Kodi Nkhalango ya muphiri la Mulanje mwayidziwa kwa nthawi yayitali bwanji?

2. In what state was the forest then?

Kodi mawonekedwe a nkhalango imeneyi anali wotani nthawi imeneyo?

3. Is it in any way different to the state the forest is now?

Pali kusiyana kulikonse ndi mmene nkhalangoyi yikuwonekera pano?

4. In your opinion, if there is a difference what has caused this change?

Malinga ndi maganizo anu, ngati palikusiyana chapangitsa ndichiyani?

5. In your opinion do you think it is really necessary to conserve the Forest Reserve?

Malinga ndi maganizo anu kodi nkofunika kuteteza nkhalangoyi kapena ayi?

a) If yes why?

b) If not, why is it not necessary to conserve the Forest Reserve?

Pazifukwa zANJI?

6. According to your culture, are there any values that are either helping in conservation or destruction of the Forest Reserve?

Malinga ndi chikhalidwe chanu pali makhalidwe kapena zikhulupiliro zina zilizonse zomwe zikulimbikitsa kuteteza kapena kuwononga chilengedwe mu nkhalangoyi?

7. Do you know the reasons being advanced by MMCT and the Forestry Department for the conservation of the Forest Reserve?

Mukudziwa zifukwa zomwe a Bungwe la MMCT ndi a Forestry amalimbikitsa ntchito yoteteza nkhalangoyi?

a) If yes, in what ways are their reasons in agreement or not in agreement with your values or beliefs regarding conservation of nature?)

Ngati mukudziwa zikugwirizana kapena zikusemphana bwanji ndi zomwe inu mumakhulupilira pa kuteteza zachilengedwe?

8. Before the coming in of modern efforts in conservation, were there any traditional ways of conserving nature?

Kodi zisanabwere njira zamakono zotetezera nkhalango, pali njira zina zilizonse zamakolo zothandizira kutetezera nkhalango?

9. Finally what are your final thoughts on the discussion we have had about conservation of MMFR?

Pomaliza pali mawu ena aliwonse wowonjezera pa nkhani takambirana yokhudza kuteteza nkhalango ya muphiri la Mulanje?

I really appreciate the time you took to participate in this focus group discussion. As earlier indicated all the information you have provided will be handled in the strictest confidence and will only be used for academic purposes.

Ndikufuna ndikuthokozeni kwambiri potenga nawo mbali pazokambiranazi. Monga ndinanena poyamba paja zonse zomwe takambiranazi zisungidwa mwachinsinsi komanso zigwiritsidwa ntchito ya maphunziro basi.

Appendix II: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR VILLAGE HEADS

My name is Patrick Thole, a Master of Arts in Applied Ethics student from Chancellor College. I am doing research on values underlying people's perspectives towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR). I thank you for accepting to take part in this interview. You have been asked to participate as your point of view is important. I realize you are busy and I appreciate your time.

I will ask you some questions about my research topic but be assured that all the information you give me will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and will only be used for scholarly purposes. If you find any question inappropriate feel free to say so and decline to answer. You can also withdraw from participation anytime. The interview should not take us more than twenty minutes.

Dzina langa ndine Patrick Thole ndipo ndikupanga maphunziro a ukadaulo ku Sukulu ya Ukachenjede ya Chancellor College. Ngati mbali imodzi ya maphunziro anga ndikupanga kafukufuku wofuna kudziwa maganizo a anthu aku Mulanje pa kufunika koteteza chilengedwe mu nkhalango ya mu phiri la Mulanje. Ndikukuthokozani kwambiri povomera kutenganawo mbali podziwa kuti ndinu munthu wotanganidwa. Maganizo anu ndiwofunikira kwambiri ndipo athandizira kuti kafukufukuyu ayende bwino.

Mukuyembekezeka kuyankha mafunso angapo ndipo zonse zomwe muyankhe pano zisungidwa mwachinsinsi ndiponso zigwiritsidwa ntchito ya maphunziro basi. Ndipo ngati mutapeza kuti lina mwamafunso ndikufunsemi ndilosayenera muli ndi ufulu kusayankha komanso mutha kusiya kuyankha mafunso angawa nthawi ina iliyonse mungafune kutero. Ndikuyembekezera kuti zokambiranazi zitenga mphindi zosapitilira makumi awiri.

1. For how long have you been in this village?

Kodi mwakhala mmudzi muno kwanthawi yayitali bwanji?

2. For how long have you been the village head?

Kodi mwakhala pa ufumu wa dera lino nthawi yayitali bwanji?

3. Can you recall how Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR) was then?

Mungakumbukire mmene nkhalango ya muphiri la Mulanje yinalili nthawi imeneyo?

4. Are there any differences with how it is now?
Pali kusiyana kulikonse ndi momwe yilili pano?
5. If there are any differences what has changed or what has caused the differences?
Ngati pali kusiyana kulikonse chasintha kapena chapangitsa ndichani?
6. In your opinion is it really necessary to conserve the Forest Reserve?
a) If yes why?
Malinga ndi maganizo anu nkofunikadi kuteteza nkhalangoyi?
Chifukwa chani?
7. In your opinion are there any values or beliefs within the community that are either promoting conservation or destruction of the Forest Reserve
Malinga ndi maganizo anu pali makhaliidwe kapena zikhulupiliro zilizonse mudera lanu zomwe zikulimbikitsa kusamala kapena kuwononga nkhalangoyi?
8. Before the coming in of the western efforts in conservation, were there any traditional ways of conserving nature?
Kodi zisanabwere njira zamakono zotetezera nkhalango, pali njira zina zilizonse zomwe makolo amagwiritsa ntchito poteteza nkhalango?
9. If yes, were they effective and are they still applicable today?
Ngati njira za makolo zinkathandiza, kodi zitha kuthandizabe pakadali pano?
10. Finally, do you have any more thoughts to add to what we have discussed?
Pomaliza mungakhale ndi mau ena aliwonse wowonjezera pa zomwe takambirana?

I really appreciate the time you took to participate in this interview. As earlier indicated all the information you have provided will be handled in the strictest confidence and will only be used for academic purposes.

Pomaliza ndikufuna ndikuthokozeni kwambiri potenga nawo mbali pazokambiranazi. Monga ndinanena poyamba paja zonse zomwe takambiranazi zisungidwa mwachinsinsi komanso zigwiritsidwa ntchito ya maphunziro basi.

Appendix III: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY

My name is Patrick Thole, a Master of Arts in Applied Ethics student from Chancellor College. I am doing research on values underlying people's perspectives towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR). I thank you for accepting to take part in this interview. You have been asked to participate as your point of view is important. I realize you are busy and I appreciate your time.

I will ask you some questions about my research topic but be assured that all the information you give me will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and will only be used for scholarly purposes. If you find any question inappropriate feel free to say so and decline to answer. You can also withdraw from participation anytime. The interview should not take us more than twenty minutes.

1. What is your position?
2. How long have you been working in Mulanje?
3. What role is the Forestry Department playing on conservation of MMFR?
4. Why is your Department interested in conservation of MMFR? (What reasons does your Department have for the conservation of MMFR)?
5. What is your take on the assertion that nature has an intrinsic value (value in itself, regardless of what it can do for man) as advocated by some environmental conservationists?
6. Do you think the reasons you have for the conservation of the MMFR tally with the values or interests of the community?
 - a) If yes or no please explain.
7. In your opinion are there any values or beliefs within the community that are either promoting conservation or destruction of the Forest Reserve?
8. Finally, in your endeavor what challenges are you facing in conserving the MMRF?
 - a) How are you overcoming them?

I really appreciate the time you took to participate in this interview. As earlier indicated all the information you have provided will be handled in the strictest confidence and will only be used for academic purposes.

Appendix IV: KEY INFORMANT INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR MMCT

My name is Patrick Thole, a Master of Arts in Applied Ethics student from Chancellor College. I am doing research on values underlying people's perspectives towards conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR). I thank you for accepting to take part in this interview. You have been asked to participate as your point of view is important. I realize you are busy and I appreciate your time.

I will ask you some questions about my research topic but be assured that all the information you give me will be treated with uttermost confidentiality and will only be used for scholarly purposes. If you find any question inappropriate feel free to say so and decline to answer. You can also withdraw from participation anytime. The interview should not take us more than twenty minutes.

1. What is your position?
2. How long have you been working for the Mulanje Mountain Conservation Trust (MMCT)?
3. When was MMCT established?
4. Why is MMCT interested in conservation of MMFR? (What reasons do you have for the conservation of MMFR?)
5. What is your take on the assertion that nature has an intrinsic value (value in itself, regardless of what it can do for man) as advocated by some environmental conservationists?
6. Do you think the reasons MMCT has for the conservation of the MMFR tally with the interests or values of the community? If, not why do you think there is that disparity?
7. In your opinion are there any values or beliefs within the community that are either promoting conservation or destruction of the Forest Reserve?
8. Finally, in your endeavor what challenges are you facing in conserving the MMRF?
 - a) How are you overcoming them?

I really appreciate the time you took to participate in this interview. As earlier indicated all the information you have provided will be handled in the strictest confidence and will only be used for academic purposes.

Appendix V: CONSENT FORM



Chancellor College
Philosophy Department
Master of Arts in Applied Ethics

Title of Project: An examination of values underlying people's perspectives on conservation of the environment-The case of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve

Informed Consent Form

Purpose of the Study: The purpose of this study is to find out how you value or perceive conservation of Mulanje Mountain Forest Reserve (MMFR).

What will be done? You will be required to respond to questions posed to you during an interview / to take part in a focus group discussion which will take about..... minutes. This will include questions concerning environmental degradation and conservation efforts being undertaken on MMFR. It may also include questions on your personal experiences on issues of environmental degradation and conservation of the Forest Reserve.

Benefits of this Study: You will be contributing to knowledge that will help in contributing possible solutions to problems relating to conservation of MMFR.

Risks or discomforts: No risks or discomforts are anticipated from taking part in this study. But if you feel uncomfortable with a question, you can skip that question or withdraw from the study altogether. If you decide to quit at any time before you have finished the questionnaire, your answers will NOT be recorded.

Confidentiality: Your responses will be kept completely confidential. Each participant will be assigned a participation number, and only the participant number

will appear with your responses. Only the researcher will see your individual responses. The responses will be securely kept within the Department of Philosophy's premises for some time before they are destroyed.

Decision to quit at any time: Your participation is voluntary; you are free to withdraw your participation from this study at any time. You also may choose to skip any questions that you do not wish to answer.

How the findings will be used: The results of the study will be used for scholarly purposes only. The results from the study will be presented in educational settings and at professional conferences, and the results might be published in a professional journal.

Contact information: If you have concerns or questions about this study, please contact the Head - Department of Philosophy, Dr Yamikani Ndasauka by email: yndasauka@cc.ac.mw or phone: +265 99 74 67 877; or Postgraduate Coordinator, Dr. Simon M. Makwinja by email: smakwinja@cc.ac.mw or phone: +265 99 12 14 677.

**I..... acknowledge that I have read
this information and agree to participate in this research on
.....**

Appendix VI: TRANSLATED (CHICHEWA) CONSENT FORM



Chancellor College
Philosophy Department
Master of Arts in Applied Ethics

DZINA LA KAFUKUFUKU: *Kumva maganizo a anthu a ku Mulanje pa kufunika koteteza zachilengedwe mu nkhalango ya mu phiri la Mulanje.*

Informed Consent Form (Chilolezo chanu)

Cholinga cha Kafukufuku: *Cholinga cha Kafukufuku ameneyu ndikumva maganizo anu pa kufunika koteteza za chilengedwe mu nkhalango ya mu phiri la Mulanje.*

Zichitike nzotani? *Mukuyembekezeredwa kuyankha mafunso womwe ndikhale ndikukufunsani. Ndipo izi zitenga pafupifupi mphindi makumi atatu. Ena mwamafunso akhudza malingaliro anu pa za kuwonongeka komanso kuteteza za chilengedwe mu phiri la Mulanje.*

Phindu la kafukufukuyu ndi lotani?: *Poyankha mafunsowa muthandizira kuti zina mwa njira zothanilana ndi mabvuto a kuwonongeka kwa zachilengedwe mu phiri la Mulanje zipezeke.*

Zoopsa kapena zopinga: *Palibe choopsa kapena zopinga zina zilizonse zimene zingakuchitikireni chifukwa chotenga nawo mbali mu kafukufukuyu. Koma ngati mutawona kuti pali funso lomwe simuli womasuka kuyankha muli ndi ufulu kusaliyankha kapena kusiya kutenga nawo mbali kumene ndipo mayankho anu sagwiritsidwanso ntchito.*

Chinsinsi: *Mayankho anu wonse asungidwa mwachinsinsi ndipo aliyense watenganawo mbali mu kafukufukuyu sachulidwa dzina lake mu lipoti. Aliyense apatsidwa nambala ya chinsinsi ndipo adzingotchulidwa ndi nambalayo. Ndiyekhayo mwini kafukufuku yemwe adziwe mayankho anu ndipo zonse zikasungidwa mosamala bwino ku nthambi ya maphunziro komwe wochita kafukufukuyo amaphunzira (Department of Philosophy) zisanawonongedwe.*

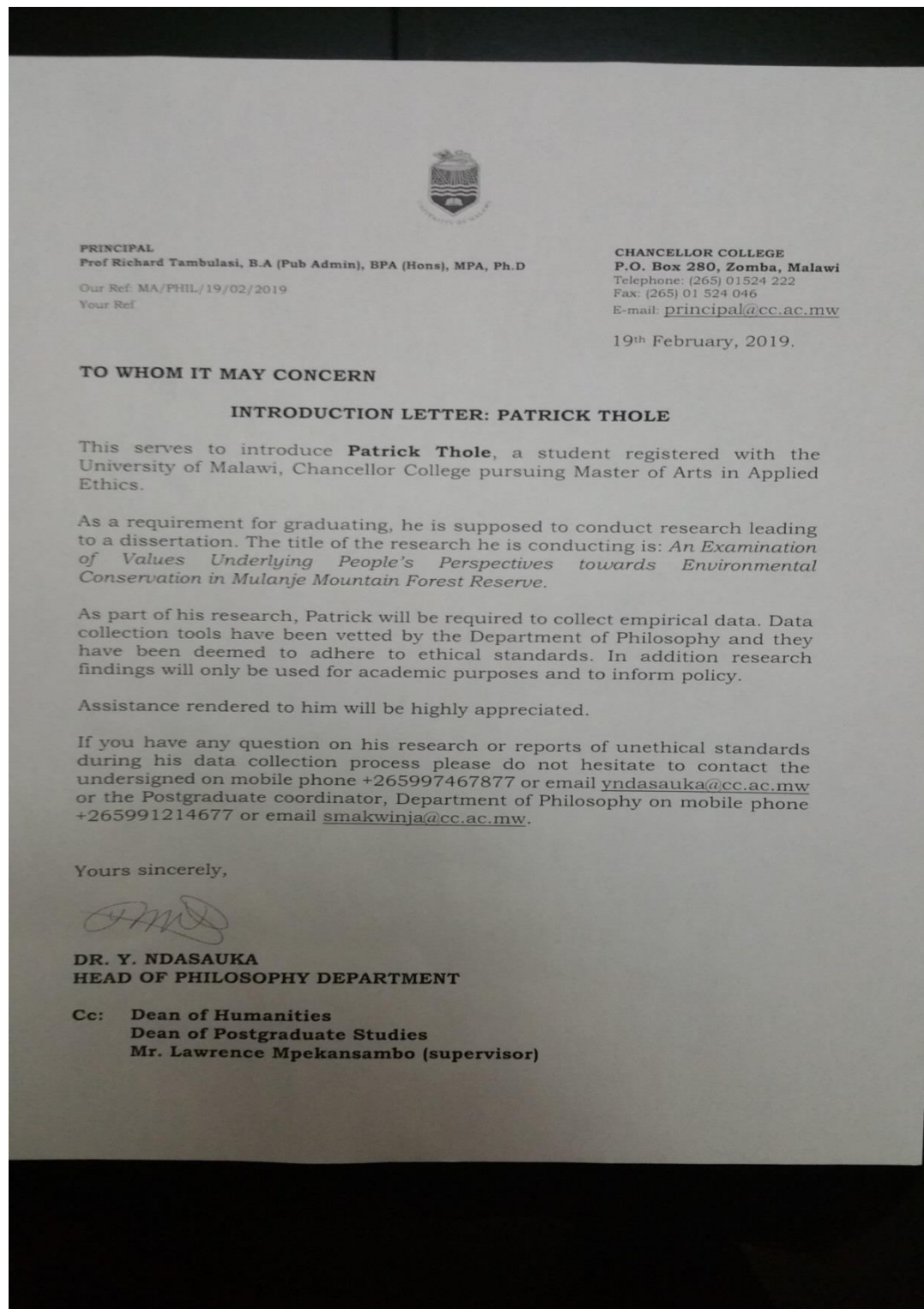
Ufulu wosiya kutenga nawo mbali: *Kutenga nawo mbali ndi ufulu wanu ndipo muli ndi ufulunso kusiya kutenga nawo mbali. Ndipo ngati pali funso lomwe mukufuna kusayankha teroni.*

Zotsatira zidzagwiritsidwa ntchito bwanji?: *Zotsatira za kafukufuku ameneyu zidzagwiritsidwa ntchito ya maphunziro basi. Zotsatirazo zizifalitsidwa malo a za maphunziro basi.*

Ngati pali chobvuta: *Mutakhala ndi nkhwana kapena mafunso wokhudza kafukufuku ameneyu, funsani mkulu wa maphunziro poyimba foni kwa Dr Yamikani Ndasauka kapena kutumiza email: yndasauka@cc.ac.mw or phone: +265 99 74 67 877; komanso kwa Dr. Simon M. Makwinja pa email: smakwinja@cc.ac.mw kapena foni: +265 99 12 14 677.*

Ine **Ndikuvomera** **kuti**
ndawerenga uthenga wonse wofunikira ndipo ndine wokonzeka kutenga nawo
mbali **pa** **kafukufukuyu** **tsiku**
.....

Appendix VII: PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT- LETTER OF INTRODUCTION



Appendix VIII: MULANJE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER-LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

All correspondence should be addressed to:
Telephone: 01466086
Telefax: 01466086
Email: mjdistrictcouncil@yahoo.com



THE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER
MULANJE DISTRICT COUNCIL
PRIVATE BAG 9
MULANJE
MALAWI

15 March, 2018

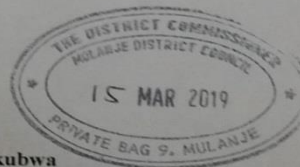
KALATA YOPEMPHA CHILOLEZO CHA KWA A T/A (MABUKA NDI MKANDA)

Mwini wa kalatayi ndi **Patrick Thole** yemwe akupanga maphunziro a ukadaulo ku sukulu ya ukachenjede ya chancellor college. Ngati mbali imodzi ya maphunziro ake akupaga kafukufuku wofuna kudziwa maganizo a anthu aku Mulanje pa kufunika koteteza chilengedwe mu nkhalango ya phiri la Mulanje. Ife ngat offesi ya bwana m'kubwa titamva za nkhanayi tawavomela ndipo tawatumiza kwa inu a T/A, kafukufuku ameneeyi akhuza mafumu choncho ngat offesi ya bwana mkubwa ikupempha chilolezo kwa inu a T/A kuti muloleni **Patrick Thole** kutero. Ife ngat offesi ya bwana m'kubwa tizakhala othokoza kwambiri potengapo gawo kwanu ndi kumuthandiza munthuyu. Maganizo anu ndiwofunikila kwambiri ndipo athandiza kuti kafukufuku ayende bwino.

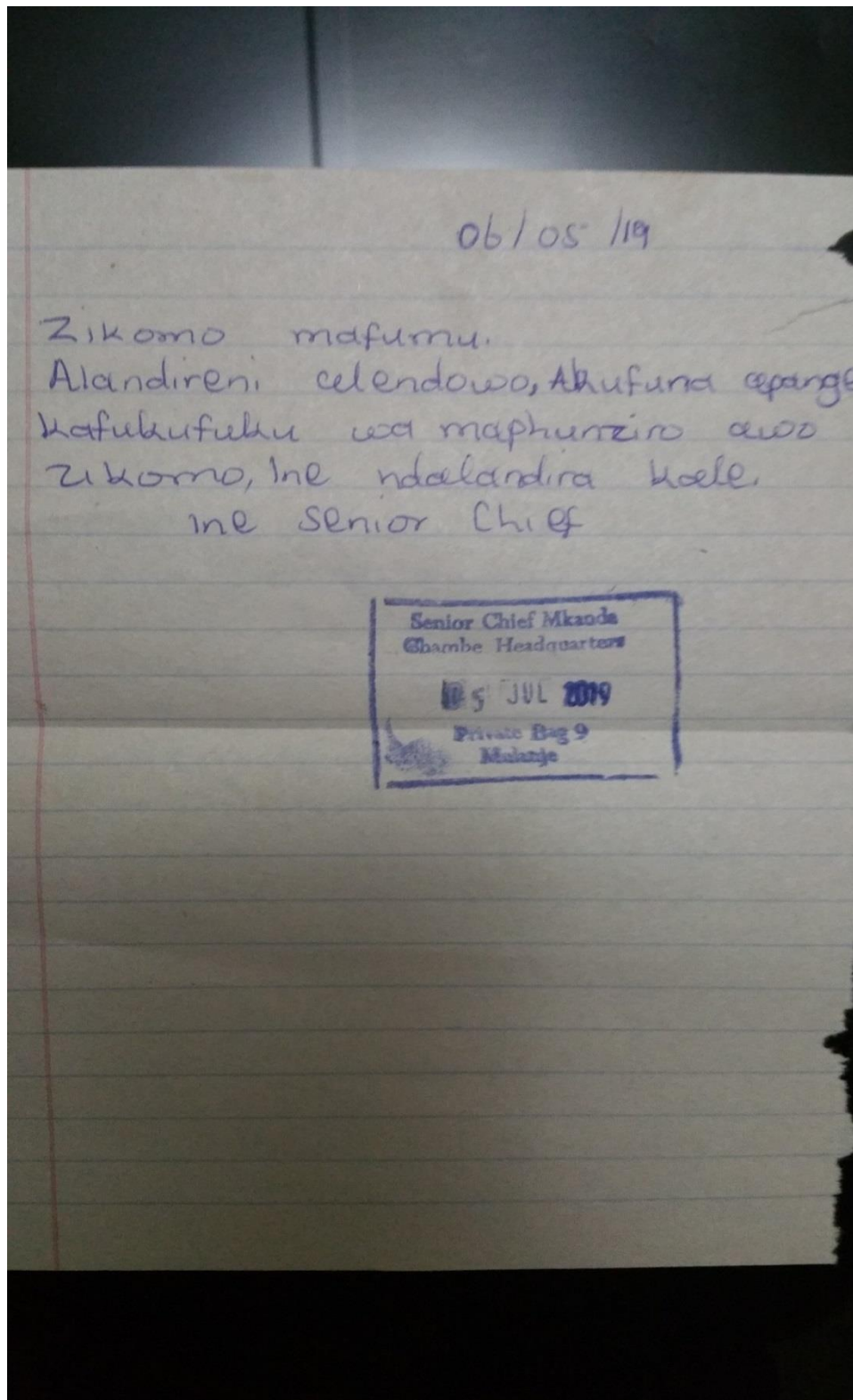
Ndine

Michael Phiri

M'malo mwa **bwana mkubwa**



Appendix IX: SENIOR CHIEF NKANDA-LETTER OF INTRODUCTION



Appendix X: PHALOMBE DISTRICT COMMISSIONER-LETTER OF INTRODUCTION

All Communications should be addressed to:
The District Commissioner
Phalombe District Council
Private Bag 32
Phalombe

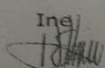
In reply please quote Ref. No
PEDC/DPD/2019 /05/16
Tel: (+265) 01 480 237
Fax: (+265) 01 480 237
16th May 2019

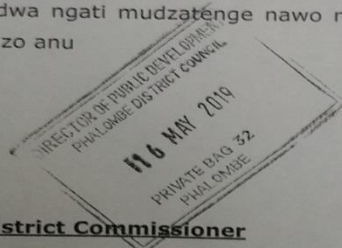


**KALATA YOPEMPHA CHILOLEZO KWA A MFUMU A LOMOLIWA
KOMANDSO A BWANAISA**

Mwini wa kalatayi ndi **Patrick Thole** yemwe ndi ophunzira wapa sukulu ya ukachenjeda ya Chancellor College. A Thole akupanga kafukufuku wofuna kudziwa maganizo a anthu pakufinika koteteza chilengedwe mu Phiri la Mulanje.

Ife a ofesi ya District Commissioner (DC) tikupempha chilolezo kwa inu amfumu kuti muwalore a Thole kupanga kafukufukuyu mu dela lanu. Tidzakhala okondwa ngati mudzatenge nawo mbali mukafukufuku ameneyu popeleke maganizo anu

Ina

Eric Kenamu
M'malo mwa District Commissioner



Appendix XI: RESEARCH SCHEDULE AND COST

DATE	ACTIVITY	PLACE	AMOUNT (MK)
November 2018	Proposal presentation	CHANCOL	12,000.00
January 2019	Data collection tools piloting	Mulanje	30,000.00
January 2019	Progress report	CHANCOL	14,000.00
February-March 2019	Data collection	Mulanje	200,000.00
March 2019	Meeting with Supervisors	CHANCOL	14,000.00
March 2019	Progress report	CHANCOL	14,000.00
June 2019	Meeting with Supervisors	CHANCOL	14,000.00
June 2019	Progress report	CHANCOL	14,000.00
June 2019	Dissertation formatting workshop	CHANCOL	14,000.00
July 2019	Dissertation Submission	CHANCOL	14,000.00
August 2019	Defense of Dissertation	CHANCOL	14,000.00
Total			354,000.00