

6-30-2016

Lebanon's Shouf Biosphere Reserve: A Protected Area And Sport Hunting

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Lebanon's Shouf Biosphere Reserve: A Protected Area and Sport Hunting

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in

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College of Arts and Sciences

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2016

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DEDICATION

For

Dr. Nellie Haddad

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my deepest appreciation to my committee chair, Professor Ed Carr for the patience, guidance, feedback, and mentorship he provided to me. His enthusiasm, his supportive and critical honesty, his unbridled joy in his work and in his students, brought me into campus each morning with happy anticipation and a silly grin I could not seem to wipe off my face. There is so much I want to thank him for, in particular, his support and crucial feedback in helping me write the grants for my fieldwork and his support during my fieldwork. Finally, I would also like to say thanks to Dr. Carr for his quick turnaround and invaluable comments on this dissertation. He made the process delightful and I wrote each day excited to show him what I had come up with next.

I would also like to thank my committee members, Professor John Kupfer, Professor Amy Mills, and Professor Stephen Sheehi. In particular, I want to thank Professor Mills for providing effective writing support and our fruitful conversations about my research interests and plans. For years there had been a geographer in me, a person concerned with space, place, and territory. Amy's publications, her classes, comments, direction, and feedback gave sharpness and clarity to matters I had always felt deeply but was unable to articulate. From the point of application to finish, Amy has always provided disquieting and crucial criticism.

Professor John Kupfer's modeling courses opened up entirely new worlds to me, pushed me to think in ways that made me uncomfortable, and guided me far past the edge

of what I knew. His course on national parks was pivotal in helping me to decide on a research agenda. In addition to his classes, Professor Kupfer took the time to direct a reading group on the history of ecology that benefitted me greatly. His work with students is the exemplar of service.

I have relied on Professor Stephen Sheehi's guidance over many years, and in particular, I would like to thank him for his candor, his flexibility, his willingness to think and rethink matters and his frank honesty in getting my work to be the best work I can produce. I greatly benefitted from the time he took to discuss my research. His critical insights into understanding Lebanon and the Middle East are foundational to my formation as a scholar.

Among the Geography faculty at the University of South Carolina I would like to thank Professor Greg Carbone who treated me like a colleague and expected nothing less. I would also like to thank Professor Caroline Nagel who was always willing to debate ideas about Lebanon. My years in that department among such interesting faculty and peers were among the happiest. I would also like to thank Dr. Jennifer Engel, the previous director of Study Abroad at University of South Carolina, now at Loyola University in Chicago. My fieldwork would not have been possible without her efforts.

Thanks also Dr. Marian Shaw (VMD) and Dr. Doug Dobbin (VMD) who provided the warmth of family while letting me stay at their farmhouse to write for a summer. I would like to thank my previous department chair at Middlebury College, Professor Larry Yarbrough, whose flexibility gave me the opportunity to complete my fieldwork. As well, my current chair, Professor Usama Sultan, made sure I had time to work on my dissertation. I would also like to thank my writing partners Professor Natalie

Eppelsheimer, Professor Linda White, and Professor Dave Allen with whom I shared countless hours of silent writing. I would also like to thank Isadora Goudsblom for her precision editing. Professor Mahmoud Al-Batal and Professor Kristen Brustad were key in encouraging me to embark on a PhD program. To the Greeley's, thank you for your love and support.

Nizar Hani, director of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve (SBR), and the team at SBR, are tireless, committed, and able individuals who, while I did my research, commanded my respect and gained my profound appreciation. This would not have been possible without the direct support of Hani and the team. I would like to thank the families and hunters living in the Shouf who opened their homes and their lives to a stranger. Their kindness will not be forgotten.

I would also like to also thank Professor Hussein Elkhafaifi, now at the University of Washington in Seattle, who introduced me to Arabic at the University of Utah. Professor Mahmoud Aballah helped me to make massive leaps at the Middlebury Arabic Summer School. Ghada Housen, Manal Yousef, Shadi Alhayouk made my Center for Arabic Study Abroad (Damascus) a truly excellent experience and I left with a fluency I could never have imagined. While in Damascus, Ahmad Karout spent countless hours teaching me new words and concepts. Their teaching inspires me each day to be the best teacher and scholar I can be.

Finally I would like to thank my beloved wife, Nellie Haddad, to whom this work is dedicated. For the countless hours of crucial editing, brilliant debate, patient listening, genius ideas, for all the details you handled while I worked, the hassles you took in stride,

and your love, thank you from the bottom of my heart. I could not have done this without you. Hayaati, thank you

ABSTRACT

Fortress conservation, the act of setting aside for conservation goals and protecting them through sanction, coercion, and violence, towards local users has become the paradigmatic understanding of how protected areas are created and maintained. The fortress conservation critique is marked by a preoccupation with the negative livelihood impacts of these areas, portrays animosity and social conflict between local users and the protected areas, is primarily concerned with national parks and clearly defined protected areas, and places state power at the center of the creation and maintenance of protected areas. This dissertation takes the tenants of fortress conservation to task by scrutinizing attempts to make hunting laws effective in and around the Shouf Biosphere Reserve (SBR) in the mountains of Lebanon. This counterpoint case study opens new arguments about protected areas and points to a more nuanced understanding of how people feel about protected areas, how protected areas are negotiated, spoken about, and occasionally valued by local users. Through my data, which were collected over nine months of interviews and participant observation in and around the Shouf Biosphere Reserve in the fall of 2011 and the summer and spring of 2013, I test the assumption of conflict between local users and a protected area by answering why SBR has been able to effect a ban on hunting in its core zone without a great deal of conflict. I demonstrate how the literature has partly neglected to theorize the space that constitute the multiple administrative zones of the biosphere reserve model and contribute a new reading of the role of these multiple zones by theorizing their role in relation to the Reserve, the police, and hunters. I

continue in creating my counterpoint by departing from the understanding of the state as central to the creation and persistence of a protected area by further interrogating the role of these zones in the context of a the Lebanese state which is unable or unwilling to make hunting laws effective in these areas and detail how state actors seek the support of the Reserve in hope of making national law effective. I then address how the Reserve seeks to create buy in among hunters such that they value the Reserve and provide a counter point to fortress conservation in which some hunters come to value the Reserve.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GEF.....	Global Environment Facility
ISF.....	Internal Security Forces
IUCN.....	The International Union for Conservation of Nature
MOA.....	Ministry of Agriculture
MOE.....	Ministry of Environment
SBR.....	Shouf Biosphere Reserve
SPWFE.....	Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire
SPFE.....	Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire
UN.....	United Nations
UNDP.....	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO.....	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The following work makes its fundamental contribution to conservation studies, and more specifically, to the study of protected areas. Creating protected areas—the act of setting aside and administering land for conservation goals—has been critiqued by social scientists— among them geographers, who have developed the concept of fortress conservation, which serves as a shorthand noun to describe the act of creating a highly delimited protected area that is often supported and maintained by the state, is heavily guarded, fenced, employs heavy sanctions, coercion, and violence in order to affect conservation goals in these areas. The fortress conservation critique is fundamentally preoccupied with the detrimental effects of protected areas on local user livelihoods in the form of loss of access to land that provided those resources. These resources range from pasturelands, timber resources, water rights, to rights to pass over the land. Given the detrimental effects of protected areas on livelihoods, much of the work portrays the opposition to protected areas and the conflicts between local users and the protected areas.

This dissertation takes the tenants of fortress conservation to task by looking at the practice of sport hunting—shooting birds with shotguns to consume them—in and around the Shouf Biosphere Reserve (SBR) which is a United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) biosphere reserve in the Shouf Mountains of Lebanon. SBR is one of 651 biosphere reserves in the United Nations

Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization's (UNESCO) Man and the Biosphere Programme (UNESCO, 2015b). Most UNESCO biosphere reserves have a core zone, a buffer zone, and a transition zone, all of which have differing levels of conservation enforcement with the core zone being much like a national park with strict enforcement and the transition zone being largely an area of development intervention.

I question the tenants of fortress conservation to task by first demonstrating how a reserve, The Shouf Biosphere Reserve in the mountains of Lebanon, has been able to effect a ban on sport hunting in the core zone of the Reserve without employing the hallmarks of fortress conservation: miles of fences, heavy patrols, the use of violence, and enforcement support from the state. Thus, I demonstrate a case that stands in counterpoint to the fortress conservation preoccupation with animosity and conflict between local users and the protected area by answering why the Reserve has been able to get hunters to not hunt in the core zone and by demonstrating that instead of animosity and conflict, the Reserve has been able to create a valuing of the park from hunters who live adjacent to the Reserve.

In creating this counterpoint, I show that protected areas are not singular, that the lens of fortress conservation does not always apply to understanding protected areas and I do so by undertaking a detailed, nuanced analysis of how hunting is governed and addressed through policy and public discourse on the part of the Reserve and state actors, like the police and employees of the Ministry of Environment (MOE), and negotiated by hunters. Therefore, this work contributes to expanding the understanding of protected areas beyond the lens of fortress conservation. I contend that fortress conservation, in its preoccupation with livelihood impacts has ignored non-livelihood practices and has

thereby created an interpretive lens that forecloses an interrogation into and understanding of the multiple social and conservation outcomes of protected areas. My results about the SBR stand in opposition to the tenants of the nearly tautological findings of conflict, animosity and assumed clear territorial delimitation and control that the fortress conservation critique has come to exact. In answering why a reserve has limited conflict with local users with regard to sport hunting—the practice of killing and eating birds—I contribute to a much more comprehensive understanding of protected areas by addressing how the core zone is spatially understood by hunters. I also address the transitional zone of the Reserve and how a UNESCO biosphere reserve allows for continued, multivalent, indeterminate negotiations, and contests. In this case, it allows for such interactions between state actors like the police, employees of the Ministry of Environment (MOE), local hunters, and Reserve administrators. Thus, in addition to taking the tenet of fortress conservation to task, this work makes a clear contribution to expanding the understanding of biosphere reserves as protected areas.

Despite the ubiquity of biosphere reserves, the social sciences have allowed biospheres to remain understudied. The few social science considerations of biospheres adopt the precedent set by a fortress conservation critique and thereby treat biospheres much like national parks. Apart from the work of Sundberg and Edge (Edge & McAllister, 2009; 1998a, 1998b, 2003, 2004), many do not treat biospheres qua biospheres; biospheres are spatially complicated, they contain different zones with different intensities of conservation and different goals. Such zoning is a fundamental conservation, administration, and governance strategy on the part of biospheres and has been since their inception. In particular, these zones were created to mitigate problems

associated with national parks: marginalization of local peoples and loss of access to livelihood resources (Batisse, 1982, 1997). Biospheres are not national parks, which have a state-like border and a governance strategy that is often unconcerned with those living outside the demarcation. Biospheres' zoning mandates different governance strategies that are quickly changing the face of protected areas. However, the critique of protected areas remains preoccupied with the territorial administration practices of national parks with strictly bordered protected areas. Of course, it is true that biosphere reserves have clear borders. However, they have multiple borders and multiple zones. A critique that does not consider this fact is incomplete.

Specifically, I contribute to the understanding of these zones by demonstrating how the effectiveness of conservation governance and the reduction in conflict is facilitated by how the Reserve governs hunting in the core zone by undermining the main motivation for hunting which my data demonstrate to be pleasure. I also demonstrate that people can and do hunt in the transition zone. They have access to birds beyond the core zone which provides alternatives to hunting in the core zone, reduces conflicts with the Reserve. In its preoccupation with immobile grasslands and fixed resources that can be held behind a fortress the paradigm of fortress conservation has become a redundant and self-reproducing critique.

The fortress conservation critique largely operates out of the model that the state is fundamental to the operation and maintenance of protected areas. I problematize this by demonstrating the state's inability or lack of will to enforce hunting laws within the transition zone. Specifically, the police, who are national police, are unable to enforce laws due to a fear of retaliation through social networks. I continue to problematize the

effectiveness of the state by pointing out the highly compromised condition of the Lebanese state. Obviously, I am not the only one to point out the weakness of the state. But, my contribution in this regard is different in that it theorizes of the role of the transitional zone, which I do through detailing the interactions between these actors at public events located in the transition zone. I demonstrate that the transitional zone is an administrative space where individual agents of the state, i.e. the police and employees at the Ministry of the Environment (MOE), and the agenda of the Reserve meet, overlap and wash into each other. I contribute to the understanding of transition zones by taking up Arun Agrawal's concept of environmentality (Agrawal, 2005a, 2005b) which interrogates how people come to value the environment and adopt conservation projects and spatial setting that the transitional zone provides for these interactions to take place. My treatment of the transition zone as a separate and distinct administrative space presents a departure from the work on protected areas, which, with few exceptions, treats these areas as spatially homogenous.

Chapter 2 situates my work within the social science literature on protected areas. In this chapter, I respond to the literature on protected areas and demonstrate how this literature is largely informed by the tenets of fortress conservation and a particular preoccupation with livelihoods. I demonstrate that this is a fundamental concern of the literature and fortress conservation. In responding to the literature, I argue that there is much more to protected areas than this concern and that the concern for livelihoods precludes other inquiries.

In addition, I interrogate the utility of sectarianism as an interpretive lens to understand Lebanon. Lebanon has been marked by the reality of sectarian conflict that

has been codified in the state and the larger Lebanese polity. Others have found entry into an analysis of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve through a fortress conservation lens and through understanding the Reserve as a Druze sectarian territory that is run by Walid Jumblatt (Kingston, 2001; Solberg, 2014). I respond to this literature saying that while sectarianism is salient, effective, and a reality of Lebanese social relations, it is not the only social variable through which we can and should interpret the Reserve. In particular, I question Solberg's use of fortress conservation and I assert that conservation and an adherence to conservation goals is much more than simple sectarian fealty. In fact, in chapter 7 I demonstrate that hunter buy is partly connected to Reserve attempts at creating discursive alignment with hunters who hold similar environmental values. Additionally, in responding to these pieces, I rely on the work of Edward Said to show why I do not make sectarianism my point of intervention, and why I rely on phrase "social practice" rather than "culture" in my analysis.

In this chapter, I also point to three other bodies of literature that make up my analyses in the main chapters. I briefly point to the literature on the state in Lebanon in the post war era, specifically, the literature that addresses the breakdown of the state and the consolidation of sectarianism in Lebanese polity. In particular, I am concerned with the effects of a lack of state interest or capacity to make environmental laws effective in areas around the core zone. Namely, the state does not enforce national law in the SBR transition zone. This section addresses the literature that takes up the break down of state effectiveness.

I also use the geographic literature on space and in particular, I adopt the idea of relational space—space produced by the events and occurrences that take place in that

space, in the area that is the core zone and the transition zone. I use relational space to think about the core zone and the transition zone and how emotions play a role in the construction of space. Relational space is a way of understanding space to be made up of the events that take place in that space. Thus, I look at how hunters perceive the area of the core zone as a space where the ban on hunting is enforced and I look at what that means. I also address why I use the concept of space instead of place when talking about the Reserve zones. This work makes a contribution to the small body of work that has so far taken up space and protected areas.

Finally, I point to Arun Agrawal's concept of environmentality (Agrawal, 2005a, 2005b) which he builds from Foucauldian governmentality (Foucault, 2009). I use Agrawal's concept of environmentality to talk about hunter buy in, about how hunters have come to value and see the Reserve as serving their interests and how interest itself is mutable and negotiable.

Chapter 3 fleshes out my use of grounded theory methodology in my fieldwork to build a working theory during the data collection process. I demonstrate how grounded theory allowed me to continually refine and reshape the research with the use of data as it was being produced. I also address the multiple participant observation methods that allowed me to observe hunters while hunting and engage with the Reserve administration during moments when it addressed hunting. To obtain this data, I undertook an extensive ethnography in which I interviewed hunters and observed them while hunting. I also worked with the Reserve in multiple capacities including organizing and attending events connected to an anti hunting campaign. In this chapter, I also speak of my background as a researcher who has spent years living in the Arab world, who teaches Arabic

professionally, and who has a background in Arabic literature. These experiences with studies have helped me understand the manner, tone, and word selection used to discuss the Reserve, hunting and governance.

Chapter 4 focuses on the core zone and sets about destabilizing the fortress conservation narrative of conflict and animosity between protected areas and local users by demonstrating ways in which conflict is reduced between the SBR and hunters. This chapter does so in three basic ways. Firstly, the chapter explores how hunters *feel* about hunting, demonstrating that hunting is a complex social practice whose fundamental motivation is pleasure. The chapter then situates this motivation in relation to the core zone and the Reserve's enforcement of a hunting ban within that zone. Hunters see this zone as a space of enforcement and their desire to hunt is reduced by the fact that the Reserve enforces a ban on hunting within this area. In particular, this chapter focuses on emotional perceptions of the territory of the core zone and I argue that it is a space that produces anxiety, which undermines the main motivation to hunt. To do so, I turn to my data, which demonstrate that sport hunting is a pleasure practice and not a livelihood practice. The fact that hunting is a pleasure practice is a fundamental explanatory variable of the Reserve's success in getting hunters to not hunt in the core zone of the Reserve without employing violence or heavy coercion. Namely, the Reserve is well aware of the social function of hunting as a pleasure practice and knows that to achieve control of that practice in the core zone, it need only disrupt the pleasure experience through ticketing and harassment. Pleasure is the social lever that the Reserve knows to be a motivation for hunting and by compromising that pleasure, the Reserve compromises the motivation to hunt. It is much easier to compromise a pleasure experience than a desire to bring food to

a family and secure a livelihood. These findings contribute to the understanding of protected areas because the success of the Reserve in achieving a ban on hunting within the core zone greatly differs from the manner in which the fortress conservation critique that which features a great deal of coercion to maintain its capacity to enact territorial control.

Secondly, I address another factor that reduces conflict between the Reserve and hunters and that is the ubiquity of the resource, the ubiquity of birds, outside of the core zone of the Reserve. In its concern for livelihoods, the literature looks at access to fixed resources that can only be protected within a fortress. My data show that the ubiquity of the resource beyond the Reserve itself contributes to a reduction in conflicts between the Reserve and hunters. Finally, I address the fact of hunter buy in and the valuing of the Reserve. I point again to Agrawal's environmentality and look at how and why hunters buy into and value the Reserve as a place that serves their hunting interests by providing habitat and ensuring the possibility of hunting in the future.

Chapter 5, 6, and 7 all discuss the transitional zone. Chapter 5 makes a direct contribution to the study of protected areas by theorizing the spatial significance of the biosphere transition zone as a territory of conservation intervention and a site of national law enforcement. To my knowledge, this is one of the very few considerations of how a transition zone functions and what role it plays in achieving environmental governance. Certainly, it is the first to take up this question in a context in which the state is unwilling or unable to enforce the laws that apply within the transitional zone. Others have addressed this question in Canada and in a context in which the state is quite able to be an effective player (Edge & McAllister, 2009). The work on protected areas is largely

concerned with national parks and rarely addresses biosphere reserves. The social science literature on protected areas has a gap regarding biosphere reserves and this dissertation should begin to fill that gap. In expanding the literature on protected areas, my work takes on a more direct theorization of the spatial construction of the transition zone.

To question the transition zone, I trace the rationale behind the creation of transition zones as sites that were meant to ameliorate the problems associated with negative livelihood impacts of national parks. I then detail the Madrid Action Plan (MAP) on biosphere reserves, an United Nations (UN) administrative working document that allows reserves to also take on a conservation agenda within the transition zone in addition to development goals. I then take up the current legal status of SBR's transition zone, its relation to the MAP framework and the desire of the Reserve to address hunting in the transition zone in conjunction with the inability of the police to enforce laws in the transitional zone. I am then able to demonstrate how the transition zone is a zone of mixed, contesting and unsettled governance between multiple actors. Specifically, I look at the transition zone as a territory that is a mixed and unstable space, neither governed by the Reserve nor by the state, and yet their mandates to govern these areas bring these two entities into contact with each other creating an administrative space that is continually negotiated. Through the data I collected I demonstrate the constitution of this space by looking at hunter attitudes towards the police and their willingness and ability to strike back at police who might ticket them for hunting in this area. I also look at the desire and the ability of the Reserve to have the police enforce the law within this area. This contradicts much of the work on protected areas that understand authority, capacity and enforcement to be rather singular and unilateral in national parks and protected areas

that are highly delimited with clear borders and modes of historical authority. The transition zone has neither of these and my data demonstrate that a transition zone is a much different protected area zone, is anything but a fortress, and that all actors therein operate out of an uncertain positionality.

Chapter 6 continues my exploration of the transitional zone. Among the bulwarks of fortress conservation lies the role of the state in enforcing protected areas. However, by way of environmental governance, the Lebanese state is all but absent. Yet, per my data, I observed multiple individual state actors, MOE employees, attempting to end the profoundly failing national ban on hunting which has been in effect since the end of the civil war by making the Lebanese National Law 580, which regulates and normalizes hunting, an effective and applied law. This leads to a very exceptional situation in which state actors seek out the support and effective governance of the Reserve. These attempts to make this law effective come to ground in the form of environmental campaigns undertaken in the transition zone by the Reserve and in conjunction with the MOE, other environmentalist actors, and the police. Thus, this chapter specifically looks at how the Reserve negotiates with state actors to make national law effective in the transitional zone and how state actors with a compromised enforcement capacity negotiate with the Reserve in hopes of making national law effective.

Chapter 7 addresses the existing literature on hunting and protected areas. This literature largely demonstrates how protected areas limit, control, and wrest control of hunting rights from locals. This chapter makes a direct contribution to this literature by making a contrary argument. Through analyzing public speeches given by state actors and the SBR director at a meeting in the transition zone, I demonstrate how the Reserve

attempts to create an alignment of interests, environmental values, conservation goals, and a consonance in speech between hunters and the Reserve. In looking at these speeches, this chapter demonstrates how the Reserve attempts to craft public discourse that targets, fashions, and defines the roles of the police, the state and what constitutes a “good hunter”. To address this attempt at aligning interests, I again use Agrawal’s concept of environmentality and discuss how the Reserve attempts to create hunter buy in. In its concern for the marginalization of hunters, the literature ignores how protected areas might seek other ways of getting local users to adopt conservation values and this chapter demonstrates one manner in which the reserve does so by focusing on these speeches and on hunter assertions about what is acceptable hunting in my interviews.

Chapter 8 concludes the dissertation by summarizing all I have argued and bringing some of the main themes to light again, suggesting future research directions and policy considerations. In this final chapter, I point out that in my experience in the Shouf, those running the Reserve are acutely aware of the livelihood grievances leveled against protected areas. Indeed, the majority of their time is spent on making the Reserve economically effective for the local villages. Thus, while a livelihood critique of protected areas is important, at what point have those who administer these sites heard these grievances and what more might we as academics provide to our readers, to locals, and the administrators of these areas.

Of course, by creating a counterpoint to fortress conservation I do not mean to suggest that the fortress conservation interpretation is incorrect or inapplicable. With a background in literary studies, I know full well that protected areas, like texts can be interpreted in different manners, that text is multiple. Yet, I would like to contend that the

paradigm of fortress conservation has become a default lens for understanding protected areas and needs to be challenged with greater rigor. Nor would I suggest that my findings are applicable to all contexts. My interrogation into the Shouf Biosphere Reserve is concerned with the particularities of the Reserve, its local population, and Lebanon. Indeed, in the *Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, the poet William Blake reminds us that, “all knowledge is particular” (Blake, Ellis, & Yeats, 1893, p. 330). However, the questions I answer about protected areas, the state, and hunting can be applied to other protected areas and practices.

I turn now to setting the scene for my research. The Reserve sits in the Shouf mountains of Lebanon, run north to south along the eastern Mediterranean coast and reach up to 1200 meters (Shouf Biosphere Reserve, 2015). The west facing side of the mountains is quite green and fed by the rains of an orographic uplift from the Westerlies that come from the Mediterranean Sea. This orographic uplift creates quick changes in temperature, precipitation, and ecology. Down on the coast of the Shouf Governorate, banana plantations provide a green edge to the blue seawaters. Above them in the cooler sunny climes, the olive and oak tree are king. Above them is the upper Shouf, its villages, and the Shouf Biosphere Reserve. In this area the apple makes its entry. In this land of rising and condensing sea air we find fog, the mainstay of the cedar tree. Once the condensed air has released its waters onto the west face of the mountains it rises over the ridge to the eastern side of the Reserve where the Western Bqaa Valley rests in a rain shadow and provides rich farmlands as part of the Lebanese breadbasket, which is fed by the Litani River. My research took place on the west facing side, among views of the

Mediterranean, cedars, oak, migrating birds and the kindness of those unknown to me in the form of apples, cherries and many appreciated meals.

The particulars of this research began with a visit to the Shouf Biosphere Reserve in the early spring of 2008. At that time I was a student at The Center for Arabic Study Abroad (CASA) in Damascus, which was run by the Arabic program at the University of Texas in Austin. I was attempting to conduct preliminary research in Syria on the results of Turkey's Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP) on Syrian agriculture in the Euphrates river basin. Despite a few trips to Deir ez-Zor and the exceptional support from the CASA director, Mahmoud Albatal, my research was thwarted by a lack of support on the Syrian side. Given this difficulty, I did not attempt more research in Syria and took a short preliminary research trip to Lebanon where I visited SBR. I then returned in the fall of 2011 and the summer and fall of 2012 to conduct the fieldwork that informs the following chapters.

CHAPTER 2

THE LITERATURE REVIEW

During my research in the fall of 2011 I became interested in the absence of conflict between sport hunters and the Shouf Biosphere Reserve (SBR). I found myself with a body of knowledge that did not seem to fit with my observations on the ground. Namely, I had studied the academic literature on protected areas, memorized the tenets of fortress conservation which hold:

1. Protected areas marginalize local users,
2. Have negative impacts on livelihoods by cutting off access to locally used resources,
3. Are marked by conflict and animosity between local users and the protected area,
4. Are founded and maintained by the state,
5. Or. are founded through colonialist enterprises and subsequently maintained by the state.

Given these clear livelihood concerns and the prevalence of conflict in the literature, I arrived to the Shouf expecting conflict and animosity. I anticipated a desire among hunters to go into the Reserve to shoot, and shoot a lot, because the hunters had been denied access to this area. Yet I found a very different situation. I found hunters who said they had no problem with the Reserve, that they liked and valued the Reserve, or that they were indifferent to the Reserve. I was confused. The map was not fitting the territory. Thus, in the following chapter I will detail and respond to the main concerns of the

literature on protected areas, which is fundamentally informed by the tenets of the fortress conservation critique. I do so in my endeavor to take fortress conservation to task. I am not alone in this endeavor; others have also begun to question aspects of fortress conservation. Kelly describes much of the same dissonance I experienced while listening to people lament the decommissioning of a national park in *The Crumbling Fortress: Territory, Access, and Subjectivity Production in Waza National Park, Northern Cameroon* (2015). While Kelly looks at the difficulty experienced by local peoples at the decommissioning of the park, she does not question the fortress conservation tenets of conflict and livelihood damages (see also Büscher, 2016). I begin my critique by situating my research within the social science work done on protected areas, and draw out its paramount concern for livelihoods, detail its treatment of the role of the state in the founding and maintenance of protected areas, and point to its understanding of protected space.

While this literature addresses Latin America, India, and protected areas in Asia, much of the work done on protected areas focuses on Africa and the Americas. In addition, there is little work done on protected areas in the Arab countries (see Davis, 2013; Kingston, 2001; Solberg, 2014). In connection to Arab countries, nature-society scholarship largely takes up issues related to water, trees, and pastoralism and a history of destruction (see Barnes, 2013, 2014; Beinart & Hughes, 2009; Davis, 2013; Harris & Alatout, 2010; Jones, 2013; Masri, 1997; Mikhail, 2012; Mitchell, 2002; Rae, George, & Nordblom, 2002; Reynolds, 2013; Waterbury, 2002). Thus, to address the governance of hunting in connection to the Shouf Biosphere Reserve in Lebanon, I turn to the nature-society work on protected areas outside of the Arab world.

The social issues connected to protected areas are myriad, yet a concern for how protected areas impact local peoples' and local users' livelihoods informs a great deal of the work on protected areas. These works often take up a critical treatment of protected areas by demonstrating how and why such areas negatively impact these livelihoods. My work intentionally does not take up livelihoods and interrogates an absence of conflict and the social role of the transition zone. Let us first look at the literature's paramount concern for livelihoods, a concern that we can largely define as "the material ways in which people produce and reproduce their household economies" (McCusker & Carr, 2006, p. 790). The concept of livelihoods covers a broad range of considerations, however the literature on protected areas tends to focus on concerns that range from eviction to loss of access to lands and resources.

PROTECTED AREAS AND LIVELIHOODS

The literature on protected areas often takes up the livelihood impacts of peoples' eviction from lands for the purpose of creating protected areas. Dowie's *Conservation Refugees* (2011) chronicles the forced eviction of local, native, or indigenous peoples for the purpose of creating protected areas, looking at national parks in the Americas and throughout Africa. In connection to eviction, Chatty and Colchester's edited volume, *Conservation and Mobile Indigenous Peoples*, contains several pieces that look at instances of forced migration for the sake of conservation and includes treatments of protected areas. For example, in this volume Fabricius and de Wet address economic difficulties faced by those evicted from national parks in South Africa (2002) and these livelihood concerns inform a crucial element of much of the treatment of eviction of the creation of National Parks in other parts of Africa (Fisher, 2002; Igwe, 2002; McCabe,

2002), Australia (Griffen, 2002), Vietnam (McElwee, 2002), and Indonesia (Eghenter, 2002). Indeed, the matter of negative livelihood impacts due to evictions has come to dominate the literature on protected areas (see Brockington, 1999; Calhoun, 1991; Cernea & Schmidit-Soltau, 2003; Geisler & de Sousa, 2001; Ntshalintshali & McGurk, 1991; Raval, 1991). In *Eviction for Conservation: A Global Review* (2006), Brockington and Igoe connect eviction to livelihoods in a review of “250 reports of relocation from 180 protected areas” (p. 427), presenting an exhaustive analysis of this topic. However, in *Nature Unbound* (2008), Brockington, Duffy and Igoe partially decouple livelihoods from eviction. In a short review of their own *Eviction for Conservation*, they say,

[O]ur review also showed that there were far more important things going on than just eviction. It remains the most dramatic and devastating impact, the most violent thing a state can do to its law-abiding citizens. But it is not the most prevalent problem that many people face and there is a real danger that a focus on eviction will divert attention away from more pressing issues. One such pressing issue is the problem of empowerment and marginalization. (p. 77)

In this quote the authors offer a two-step rhetorical strategy. First, they highlight the profound consequences of eviction by saying that it is “the most violent thing a state can do”. They then draw a distinction between eviction and livelihoods, asserting, “a focus on eviction will divert attention away from “more pressing issues” like “empowerment and marginalization”. For Brockington, this concern is fundamental to his critique, which, he says, “is driven by an abiding interest in inequality and how it is perpetrated by different forms of environmental and conservation policy” (Brockington, 2015).

In keeping with this, Brockington often addresses a key feature of the treatment of livelihood impacts apart from eviction—loss of access to lands that once provided livelihood benefits. For example, his often cited book *Fortress Conservation* (2002) addresses issues of land alienation for the creation of the Mkomazi Game Reserve in Tanzania and the multiple difficulties the presence of the Reserve has created for pastoralists who used to live in or once had access to Reserve lands. Brockington details the difficulties associated with the loss of access to lands by looking at herd size loss, income loss, and the need to travel great distances to obtain income and livelihood benefits that were previously locally available on the lands that are now under conservation protection, and argues, “Exclusion has impeded their use of gathered wild resources, reduced household herd size and performance, damaged the local livestock economy, and caused serious hardship to thousands of people” (p. 117).

The issues surrounding loss of access to lands that provided livelihood benefits informs Roderick Neumann’s often cited *Imposing Wilderness*, whose subtitle, *Struggles over Livelihood and Nature Preservation in Africa*, clearly points to livelihoods as a fundamental concern. He provides a detailed analysis of the founding and presence of Arusha National Park in Tanzania, which has led to the dispossession of lands that provided livelihoods for locals. Neumann’s analysis of Arusha National Park begins with its colonial history, the contemporary role of the state, conflicts around rights to residency in the Park, and the ongoing difficulties locals face with the loss of access to these lands or the ability to cross these lands (see also Adams, 2004). He highlights the Park’s failure to compensate people for the loss of income generation (p. 167), saying,

Through historical contextualization, I challenge standard interpretations of the conflicts surrounding parks as being driven by population growth and ignorance of conservation values. In a detailed analysis of Arusha National Park, I demonstrate the effects of nature protection on rural livelihoods and document the historical continuity in local responses to state preservation policies. (p. 9)

These matters echo through the literature. For example, Fratkin's *Ariaal Pastoralists of Kenya* (1991), an anthropological study of pastoralists in Kenya, describes herders' loss of access to lands and livelihood services that resulted from the creation of Serengeti Park and the Ngorongoro Area (p. 32). Beinart and Coates (2002) remark on similar consequences in the founding of Kruger National Park and Natal Parks in South Africa (see also Fisher, 2002).

Concern for livelihoods and land access inform Juanita Sundberg's treatment of the Maya Biosphere Reserve in Guatemala. Her article *NGO Landscapes in the Maya Biosphere Reserve, Guatemala* (1998a) addresses disputes surrounding land use practice and rights of access to land within the Reserve. Sundberg focuses on poor immigrants in the biosphere, of whom she says, "Immigrants to the Petén are primarily landless or land-poor peasants who have been uprooted by economic and political violence" (p. 394). Sundberg interrogates the marginalization of immigrants to northern Guatemala who fled grave violence. The NGO's she holds responsible for this marginalization claim that the immigrants are damaging to the environment and have "feeble ecological conscience" (p. 396). These immigrants thereby lose access to land because the NGO's marginalize them in their policies and practice.

These same land access and livelihood concerns inform Sundberg's article *Strategies for Authenticity, Space, and Place in the Maya Biosphere Reserve, Petén, Guatemala* (1998b) which looks at how NGO's portray and discursively construct user groups so as to marginalize other user groups. These environmentalist discourses portray groups as appropriate or inappropriate forest users. Sundberg says, "So-called 'inappropriate' forest dwellers include immigrant farmers from the *Oriente* and Q'echi' from Alta and Baja Verapaz [areas in Guatemala outside of the Maya Biosphere Reserve]"(p. 89). These are the same immigrant groups she addresses in her aforementioned *NGO Landscapes in the Maya Biosphere Reserve*. By constructing these immigrants as "other", these NGO's marginalize these users by ensuring that development funds privilege *Pateneros* who often are members of these NGO's (see also Sundberg, 2003; Sundberg, 2004).

In addition to issues of land access, the scholarship addresses livelihoods in other manners. For example, protected areas are taken up in connection to the creation of poverty. For example Caroline Upton's analysis focuses on the relationship between poverty and the scale of protected area at the national level (Upton et al., 2008) and finds that the relationship is "locally specific" (p. 23). This means that the size of protected areas does not always constitute a factor in the creation of poverty, and that the specifics of each situation need to be considered. On the matter of poverty, William Adams and his co-authors (Adams et al., 2004) present a distilled review of the literature on the problematic relationship between conservation and poverty. This review situates the main points of this particular debate, which range from efforts to reduce poverty and create protected areas, to how protected areas cause poverty, how the two are at odds, how they

are intertwined, and how they are thought of as separate (see also Brockington, Igoe, & Schmidt-Soltau, 2006).

In addition to poverty debates, the literature interrogates donor driven agendas in connection to their impacts on livelihoods, specifically addressing NGO agendas and protected areas as sites of NGO capitalist projects and neoliberal concerns. The flagship work of this critique is the aforementioned *Nature Unbound*, which bears the subtitle *Conservation, Capitalism and the Future of Protected Areas*. In looking at protected areas' funding, policies, and practices the authors assert that "capitalism and conservation are allying mutually to reshape the world" (p. 4). In particular, the authors look at the failure of tourism to create income, the problems that attend "co-management" of protected areas with local communities (see also Brockington, 2004) and the role of international conservation in the form of highly capitalized NGO's that create multiple agendas to the detriment of local communities (see also Brockington & Duffy, 2011; Solberg, 2014; Sundberg, 1998a, 1998b, 2003, 2004).

Igoe and Brockington continue this critique in *Neoliberal Conservation* (2007), which addresses how neoliberal agendas form "reregulation" as opposed to deregulation of lands. Protected land that had been regulated by local users was reregulated and subject to conservation demands when they came under the influence of NGO agendas. They assert that this constitutes a process of territorialization that serves to divide local users from livelihood resources at the behest of highly capitalized protected areas in Africa. Finally, Igoe contributes to the critique of neoliberalism and protected areas in *Conservation and Globalization* (2004) where he addresses the role of conservation NGO's in Africa. Such NGOs are implicated in a system of globalization which is a

“network of institutions” that range from NGO’s to the International Monetary Fund (p. 11). This work then details how local NGO’s come to work with this globalized network of institutions to create negative livelihood impacts on Maasai herders.

In addition to the work of social scientists, historians have taken up a robust critique of protected areas in the North America. For example, Jacoby’s *Crimes Against Nature* (2001) looks at the history of four protected areas in the United States, Adirondack State Park, Yellowstone National Park, Grand Canyon National Park, and Glacier National Park. Each of these treatments includes the loss of access to lands that provided livelihoods to local peoples. Jacoby details how the U.S. government or the state forcefully removed local users, implemented laws forbidding customary use of lands, and deemed lands as protected areas which led to the complete loss of access to livelihood and cultural resources. These same issues are take up by historians who address the founding of protected areas in North America and their impacts on local populations (Burnham, 2000; Keller & Turek, 1998; Nabokov & Loendorf, 2004; Sandlos, 2005, 2008, 2011; L. Warren, 1997).

Historians of Africa also address the founding of protected areas in Africa through a concern for livelihoods and loss of access to lands. This historical literature stands in partial contrast to the literature on North America, which often portrays the loss of access to lands as an effort to protect animals within the bounds of a National Park. This was much the same story in Africa. However in Africa, historians also address a different relationship between hunting and protected areas. Protected areas also began under a call to protect animals from hunting on the part of settlers and the local populations, which contributed to the creation of game reserves for the purpose of white European hunting.

Often, these areas eventually became fully depopulated protected areas that disallowed use apart from tourism and biological studies. (Beinart, 1989, 2008; Beinart & Coates, 2002; Beinart & Hughes, 2009; Beinart & McGregor, 2003; MacKenzie, 1997; Neumann, 1998; Steinhart, 2006). Thus, within the historical literature on protected areas in Africa there is a concern for the practice of trophy hunting. In particular, consider Steinhart's, *Black Poachers, White Hunters: A Social History of Hunting in Colonial Kenya* (2006), which addresses the history of hunting in Kenya by Africans and the transformation of hunting into commercial safaris. In connection to protected areas, Steinhart traces how the creation of game reserves played a role in the racialization of hunting practice. These areas were set aside either for white tourist hunters on hunting safaris, which were led by "professional hunters"—white hunters who lived in Africa, knew local languages, and knew local game. As such, Africans who hunted on traditional hunting grounds and within these reserves were then portrayed as poachers who were illegally hunting and used unethical or non-sportsmanlike strategies.

The historical literature on protected areas in Africa often informs the scholarship on contemporary trophy hunting and poaching debates which often evaluates the economic role and benefits of trophy hunting in and beyond Africa. Much of this work evaluates the state management of trophy hunting programs or programs like CAMPFIRE in Africa, which attract high paying tourist hunters who are seeking trophy species. Much of this literature touches on the economic livelihood impacts of trophy hunting and sport hunting (Adams, 2009; Brockington et al., 2008; Duffy, 2010; Frisina & Tareen, 2009; K. Ghimire & Pimbert, 1997; Humavindu & Barnes, 2003; B. Jones,

2009; Lewis & Alpert, 1997; Lindsey, Roulet, & Romañach, 2007; Wilkie & Carpenter, 1999).

The scholarship on protected areas and livelihoods also includes two works that take up signature concerns within geography—landscape approaches and space. The first consideration of landscape is Sundberg’s aforementioned *NGO Landscapes in the Maya Biosphere Reserve, Guatemala* in which she develops the idea of NGO landscapes. That is to say that in the Petén Biosphere Reserve there are multiple NGOs operating with disparate goals. She says, “My research suggests that the implementation of these efforts may undermine existing strategies and community structures and lead to landscapes that reflect NGO conservation and development goals rather than the aspiration of local people” (p. 405). Sundberg focuses on the effectiveness of NGOs in enacting their goals to the detriment of local users. In particular, she addresses how the Reserve’s framing of technical environmental concerns depoliticizes its interventions. Sundberg argues that it is through this process that migrants to the area are then identified as a problem population who undertake forest management that is degrading and damaging to the environment. In turn, these migrants ability to secure livelihoods is undermined due to their status as a problem population.

The second work that features a landscape approach is Neumann’s aforementioned *Imposing Wilderness* in which he points to the visual landscape, and the role of humans in producing landscapes. For example, Neumann depends on a distinction between landscapes of production and landscapes of consumption. He defines the latter by saying,

The critical component, symbolically and practically, of the law that created Yellowstone as a model for all of the world's national parks was the prohibition against human settlement and activities. This clause reflects the essence of the landscape way of seeing: the removal of all evidence of human labor, the separation of the observer from the land, and the spatial division of production and consumption. *A national park is the quintessential landscape of consumption for modern society* (emphasis in original). (p. 24)

The landscape of consumption is a landscape valued and produced by local users before the establishment of Arusha NP and is that of a land used by herders on common lands. It is valued in that it produces livelihood benefits. It is lived in and used. This then stands in opposition to a European landscape of consumption that is consumed at a visual moment, that is valued for its lack of people and understood as visually beautiful.

In connection to the Shouf Biosphere Reserve, there are two social science pieces that have been done on the Reserve and these works echo the work on protected areas in their concern for livelihoods. They also take up a detailed consideration of Lebanese politics in connection to protected areas. Kingston's *Patrons, Clients, and Civil Society: A case study of environmental politics in postwar Lebanon* (2001) portrays the creation of the Shouf Cedar Reserve by looking at "political elites" like Walid Jumblatt, the political leader in the Shouf area. Kingston contends that in the post war era Jumblatt's political power made the founding and maintenance of the Shouf Cedar Reserve possible. In particular, he evaluates how the founding of the Reserve was a matter of patron-client exchange as opposed to a state-society event. Under such an approach, Kingston portrays Jumblatt as responding to local and global demands for environmental conservation (p.

55) by using these agendas to expand his own holdings by creating a protected area. Kingston argues for a patron-client understanding of the Reserve by tracing the effective power of patrons before and after the war in 1975 and the difficulty of defining civil society in such a context. In concert with much of the literature on protected areas, Kingston traces the inflow of post conflict funding and conservation agendas through NGOs and asserts that these agendas came into a “regime of compliance” under Jumblatt in the Shouf and afforded access to capital for political elites (pp. 62-63).

Solberg’s *Patronage, Contextual Flexibility, and Organizational Innovation in Lebanese Protected Areas Management* takes Kingston’s piece as its point of entry in its occupation with patronage. In this piece, Solberg challenges the rigidity of Kingston’s portrayal of patron power as vertical and nonnegotiable and asserts that “SBR’s historical trajectory cannot be reduced to the agency of patronage opportunism” (p. 271). He develops a rendering of patron-client relations that is negotiated and flexible. He demonstrates this negotiability through narrating two observed events during his fieldwork in the Shouf in 2010, which serve as his “ethnographic data”. He first points to a family that had lost access to natural fresh water reserves by virtue of the Reserve. The family then negotiated, not with the NGO associated with the Reserve, nor the state, but with Jumblatt. This did not solve the issue, but once they went to the state and threatened a suit they were able to come to a resolution. He also points to an event at which Jumblatt was giving a public speech and was asked by people if it would be possible to control animals in areas adjacent to the Reserve because they were eating crops.

Solberg locates a “contextual flexibility” in these moments of negotiation between the state, the Reserve staff, local people, NGOs, and Jumblatt. He contends that they

show how “novel conservation regimes emerged from interactions between civic conservationist, state, and patrons” (p. 272). In this piece, Solberg details his reading of political agency and patronage in the Shouf. His representation of observed events speaks in concert with the literature on protected areas in its concern for access to water and animal conflicts. These losses of access to livelihood resources and the interest in animal conflicts speaks in concert with a concern in the literature for animal conflicts arising from a change in fauna ecology as a result of protected areas or in areas adjacent to protected areas (see Weladji & Tchamba, 2003).

The concern for livelihoods is fundamental to the critique of protected areas and has become a default method for evaluating and understanding them. While I appreciate the contributions this literature has made, I would nevertheless like to underscore the redundancies in these ideas. The concern for livelihoods produces and then reproduces itself over and over again in the fortress conservation critique. The idea that people lose livelihood resources behind the walls of the fortress have created a tautology between the literature and the territory and perhaps researchers go to protected areas looking for what they find in the literature. This closure presents creates an epistemic closure, and attenuates the possibility of interrogating protected areas in different manners.

For example, Solberg’s analysis of the family that lost access to water resources and his detailing of how it was resolved in a “novel” manner is an excellent contribution to understanding how local politics can work in connection to SBR. However, in its concern for livelihoods, it is redundant and fits neatly and predictably into the fortress conservation lens—people lose resources behind the walls of the protected area. This is not to say that we should discontinue talking about livelihoods. Rather it is to say that

there are many more potential conversations, which is exactly what I am doing when I investigate the significance of the non-livelihood and pleasure practice of killing birds. While livelihoods and their loss behind the walls of the protected area fortress informs much of the critique of protected areas, this critique also has a number of other commonly held tenets, for example, the role of the state in creating and maintaining protected areas.

PROTECTED AREAS, THE STATE, AND LEBANESE SECTARIANISM

The literature on protected areas often portrays the role of governments and states as the major drivers behind the creation and persistence of protected areas. Scholars often begin with the colonial era when the efforts of many colonial governments created these areas. For example, Neumann's *Imposing Wilderness* looks at colonial appropriation of large lands in Tanzania (1998). Diana Davis' *Enclosing Nature in North Africa* directly situates the creation of national parks in North Africa with French colonial government aims and projects (2013). William Adams also addresses the role of colonial governments in creating protected areas in Africa in his *Against Extinction: The story of Conservation* (2004). Frank Matose, in *Nature, Villagers, and the State*, encapsulates this understanding of the post-colonial state:

Through a case study of protected forests in Zimbabwe, the chapter argues that the colonial and post colonial Zimbabwean state implemented practices to dispossess and alienate forest residents from protected forests to make way for commercial timber harvesting and wildlife hunting (Matose, 2014)

This literature portrays the post-colonial era as marked in part by state-led conservation efforts that deployed protected areas. For example, Piers Blaikie traces the myriad ways in which colonial-style conservation played out after colonialism ended. He states: “In other instances, a colonial coercive conservation was reproduced by the newly independent state itself” (Blaikie, p. 138). This literature often demonstrates the state’s neoliberal economic goals in creating protected areas (Brockington et al., 2008; Igoe, 2004), providing an effective and powerful critique of how neoliberal agendas work through the state and come to be grounded in protected area projects. In many of these works, state efficacy is fundamental to the goals, aims and application of law in connection to protected area (Colchester, 2004; Duffy, 1997; Neumann, 2004; Spence, 1996; L. Warren, 1997).

My work contributes to this literature by looking at the particular case of the interaction between state actors and the Shouf Biosphere Reserve. However, it does not and cannot take up the Lebanese state as the agent or institution that created or maintains the Reserve because the Lebanese state is either unable or unwilling to help maintain the Reserve and many have commented on the weakness or break down of the Lebanese state and its fracture along sectarian lines (Deeb, 2011; El-Khazen, 2000; Khalaf, 1987; Norton, 2014; Salibi, 2003; Traboulsi, 2012). The breakdown of the state along sectarian lines informs the two aforementioned pieces done on SBR. Both of these pieces operate out of the paradigm that Lebanon and the Shouf is to be understood as a Druze sectarian space and that Walid Jumblatt is final arbiter in matters. The Kingston piece *Patrons, Clients, and Civil Society: A case study of environmental politics in postwar Lebanon* (2001) portrays Walid Jumblatt as the final arbiter in all matters related to the Reserve. In

counter point, Solberg's *Patronage, Contextual Flexibility, and Organizational Innovation in Lebanese Protected Areas Management* (2014) shows how patron networks can be negotiated with state involvement. Both of these portray Walid Jumblatt as having nearly final control of what happens in and around the Reserve in lieu of a state that does not exercise unilateral control over the Shouf area. Even in Solberg's attempt to show how patron client relations are flexible he reinscribes Walid Jumblatt as the "sectarian leader" of the Druze (p. 276). To be certain, Walid Jumblatt is essential to the creation and maintenance of the Reserve. However, this dissertation cannot explore the full implications and full extent of how the sectarian histories and identities inform the management of the Reserve and hunting as a social practice. This research recognizes the Reserve (and its constituent zones) as spaces of negotiations and mediations between multiple social networks, interests, and social relations. To that end, this research contributes to the work on protected areas vis a vis the state by inverting the fortress conservation preoccupation with the efficacy of the state (or the sectarian leader) and undertakes a detailed and robust interview based interrogation of how individual state actors, seek out the support of the Reserve.

I would also contest that the default use of sectarianism to understand Lebanon is problematic in many of the same ways that the continued use of fortress conservation is problematic—it creates a tautological finding of "these people of this sect live here and their leader is this person," and thus the landscape is rendered much more interpretable. Of course, I do not want to overstate my case nor deny the value of Solberg's and Kingston's work and others who have taken up questions of identity. However, I do think

that we can come to new insights when we think of Lebanese social practice as something that is not always related to confessional identity and sectarian space.

In a similar vein, I use “social practice” rather than “culture” throughout my work. Having cut my teeth as an undergraduate student on Edward Said’s canonical *Orientalism* (Said, 1979), I have become reluctant, as a person who works in Lebanon, to use “culture” to describe observed practices, lest my assertions be understood as drawing a cultural “oriental other” whose “culture” is somehow determinant of their actions. This reluctance was further confirmed when I became a geographer and read James Duncan’s *The Superorganic in American Cultural Geography* (1980), which handily deconstructs the idea that culture is somehow determinative of practice. I prefer to speak of “social practice” because “practice” is negotiable, abstractable, and knowable to both agent and observer and can be informed and interpreted by countless factors.

BEYOND LIVELIHOODS: OTHER CONCERNS FOR PROTECTED AREAS

While much of the work on protected areas is largely occupied with livelihoods, this body of work also takes up matters apart from nature society questions and asks if protected areas are effective. It looks at the management of flora and fauna within these areas (Brockington et al., 2008), for example through debates on rangeland ecology in connection to eviction (Leach & Mearns, 1996). Yet, to be certain, these matters are addressed with a concern for livelihoods. Matters of cultural practice or identity rarely serve as the main intervention. There are notable exceptions to this. For example, Steinhart’s *Black Poachers, White Hunters* directly addresses racialization of African hunters. Additionally, Sundberg’s work takes up the discursive construction of identity in connection to user groups and the Maya Biosphere Reserve (2004) at the intersection of

gender, democracy and conservation (2003). These geographic inquiries are in addition to a growing body of anthropological work on protected areas concerned with the impact of protected areas and address the difficulties faced by people living in areas adjacent to protected areas (West & Brockington, 2006).

THE PLACES AND SPACES OF PROTECTED AREAS

Although much of the literature on protected areas is produced by geographers, there is scant application or interrogation of the space that makes up protected areas. A notable exception is Sundberg's aforementioned *Identities in the making* (Sundberg, 2004) in which she considers how identities are produced through discourse. Sundberg points to the institutionally powerful NGOs and their agendas within the Maya Biosphere Reserve to relate a discursive practice of producing subjects to a spatially and temporally bound moment. She says, "[T]he subject is understood as constituted through language and disciplining institutional practices that are dynamic, constantly changing, yet time- and place- specific" (p. 46). Although Sundberg is concerned with livelihoods, her approach stands in relief to the scholarship's focus on livelihoods of income and land access, and instead focuses on issues of identity and discourse.

Despite these few treatments of identity, the use of landscape, and the application of spatial approaches, the scholarship on protected areas overwhelmingly addresses protected areas through a livelihood, state centered lens. Thus, my work contributes to the scholarship on protected areas by speaking to considerations beyond livelihoods and taking up protected areas as contested, and changing administrative spaces. To do so I benefit from Sundberg's focus on discursive construction of identity. I concentrate on how people speak of the administrative spaces that make up the Shouf Biosphere Reserve

and what they do in these spaces. In particular, this discursive production of space draws on theories of space and place and how people talk about the spaces that constitute the zones of the Biosphere Reserve.

My research concern for the biosphere transition zones can be situated in the work on protected areas and specifically in Edge and McAllister's *Place-Based local governance and sustainable communities: lessons from Canadian biospheres reserves* (2009). In this piece, Edge and McAllister look at how sustainable governance and ecosystem management is created through cooperation with people living in the transition zones of two Canadian biosphere reserves. The core zone of one of their sites is a Riding Mountain National Park and of the transition zone they say, "The area of co-operation or 'transition zone' supports a rural agricultural economy supplemented by resource extraction, and tourism primarily associated with the national park" (p. 286). This is one of the few pieces that directly interrogates the transitional zone as a distinct area. However, they leave the terms "space" and "place" intentionally under-theorized to address what happens in these areas and how co-ordination actually occurs between the various players. This dissertation is equally concerned with the coordination and interaction between actors. However, I take the space and place theorization of the transition zone further. This is not to say that I am contributing to the theorization of space and place. However, I take the standing literature and apply it to an understanding of the core and transition zone, which to my knowledge, has not been done in connection to the zones of a biosphere reserve.

To talk about these zones, and space in particular, I draw on theories of relational space in which objects, actions, performances, and activities undertaken in and around

the Reserve create and constitute space. In his *Phase Space* (2009) Jones traces the origin of relational space as the third approach in a three step transformation in approaches to considerations of space. The first of these was absolute space, then relative space, and finally relational space. Jones defines absolute space by saying, “Absolute space is a condition in which space exists independently of any object(s) or relations: space is a discrete and autonomous *container* (emphasis in original) (p. 489).

This treatment of space gave way to relative space, which has two conditions. “First, space can be defined only in relation to the object(s) and/or processes being considered in space and time. Second, there is no defined or fixed relationship for locating things under consideration...” (p. 490). Eventually, this thinking gave way to relational space which, “dissolves the boundaries between objects and space, and rejects forms of spatial totality” (p. 491). Within geography, the relational space approach has had a myriad of applications and Jones presents a distilled review of some of these applications of relational space by pointing to the works in geography, summarizing them by saying, “[i]n short, the spatial project for relational thinkers is to replace topography and structure-agency dichotomies with a topological theory of space, place and politics as encountered, performed, and fluid (2009, p. 492). To be certain, a “topological theory of space, place and politics as encountered, performed, and fluid” is an apt description of how I approach the core zone and the transition zone. This definition brings space and place together (see Wainwright & Barnes, 2009), allowing me to think of these zones as both space and place, where space and place construct each other. Thus the zones are different spaces to different peoples. To the Reserve, the state, and the police they elicit different administrative duties. To hunters who might hunt in a place in these territories,

the experience of getting ticketed in a specific authority for hunting in such a place then causes the experience of that place and the sanction received to inform the constitution of the area in which the place sits, the administrative space.

To understand this multiple and contingent understandings of these territories, I turn to an articulation of the tenets of relational space by Whatmore, who says,

The hectic patterns of very different kinds of comings and goings, encounters and separations, occupations and dwellings in which territoriality inheres, fold space as well as time in multiple, relational and provisional configurations. In these complicated space-times there are, as Nigel Thrift has put it, ‘no stable and complete orders, only tentative and fractional orderings’ (1999: 302). (Whatmore, 2002, p. 68)

Relational space, for Whatmore, stands in contrast to absolute space, in that space and territory are not stable containers of events. Instead, territoriality is made up of and “inheres” within “hectic comings and goings, encounters and separations, occupations and dwellings” that happen or occur in that territory. That is to say, the events that take place in a territory are what create the territory, such that the events *are* the territory. It is precisely these events that “fold space”. That is to say that events fold absolute space into “tentative and fractional orderings”. In this manner, relational space exists in relation to and is produced within the events and objects within the territory.

In addition to Whatmore, my work benefits from Massey’s *for space* (2005) in which she demonstrates that much of the treatment of space is that of a static stage on which history and time play out, that space contains the temporal (p. 26). She argues against this idea with the assertion that society is spatial and temporal (p. 27) or that

space and time are one (p. 47) and builds this out of three propositions; understanding space as a product of interrelations, imagining space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity and finally imagining space as always in process (pp. 10-11).

Thus, in the following work I use the “space” to talk about the core zone and the transitional zone. I do so because I understand these areas to be areas that are administrated by various agencies and actors who seek to create generalized and expanded spaces: tourist friendly spaces, public hiking spaces, spaces of conservation, spaces without hunting, spaces where hunting is regulated. These spaces are not singular; they are multiple and continually negotiated by these actors and by hunters who hunt in them. In this manner, my work benefits from the idea that space is always in process, which gives me the tools to look at how different people and objects negotiate and produce the space that continually constitutes the Reserve. Specifically, I use space in chapter four, the following chapter, to demonstrate how hunters perceive the core zone of the Reserve as an administrative space in which they know that the Reserve will ticket and sanction them for hunting. In this manner, for a hunter to be hunting in the core zone produces anxiety, it produces fear and wrecks the fun of hunting. The possibility of being ticketed or sanctioned creates an emotional perception of the core zone that undermines the basic motivations of the hunters. Thus, managing pleasure becomes implicated in governance. In chapters 5, 6, and 7 I show how and understanding of the transition zone is being constructed through multiple, changing and negotiated interactions between hunters, the police, the state, state actors, and Reserve administrators.

To understand the negotiations between hunters, state actors, and Reserve administrators, I use Arun Agrawal’s concept of environmentality (Agrawal, 2005a,

2005b), which he builds out of the Foucauldian concept of governmentality which Foucault developed in his lectures at the college of France from 1977-1978 (Foucault, 2009). I use this concept throughout the dissertation and at its core, it states that those who want to achieve rule do not do so by force, but instead by effecting an alignment of interests towards defined, but continually shifting, goals. In doing so he asserts that interests are “mutable” and can be shifted towards multiple ends (Agrawal, 2005a, p. 161) I use environmentality to look at how and why hunters buy into and come to value the Reserve. This stands in stark counterpoint to fortress conservation, which is preoccupied with animosity and conflict. Because I was confused by the lack of conflict and animosity, I found Agrawal’s environmentality the best way to account for the differences I observed and best explained how hunters have come to see the Reserve as serving their interests by providing habitat for future hunting.

In my project to rethink fortress conservation, I explicitly address the social science literature on hunting and protected areas in chapter 7, the final body chapter. However, the practice of hunting pervades the following work. But to be specific, the practice of sport hunting pervades my work. To share some of my research findings, and ensure the reader knows what is being said, I will begin with a response to the one line I have found on hunting in the Shouf by Solberg. He says that hunting is “a popular pastime among men” (2014, p. 275). This is correct. Yet I am not entirely sure what Solberg means by pastime because there is much more to be said about the practice. Of course, per my findings, I discovered that the overwhelming response to why people hunt was that people hunt for the joy and the pleasure of it. Yet it has a much more complicated social context. Hunting is almost an exclusively male practice and as such, it

is when men talk about business deals, problems at home, upcoming wedding plans and most anything. It serves as a chance to seek advice or give advice. It is not any different than the talk heard in blinds the world over. Yet specifically in the context of Lebanon, hunting mediates social relations in that it gives people a chance to network across villages, to meet new people and go new places. It brings villages together and excludes villages from each other—hunting areas are both heavily localized and can be open to anyone. Local village politics also come into play, as village heads sometimes do not want hunters hunting in areas adjacent to the village. This too can bear on village politics. In addition, hunting serves as a male performative practice. Per my interviews, many informants talked about how it was not only about getting birds, and yet they insisted on telling me that they were a very good shot. It was apparent that a sense of prowess and control was connected to the ability to make difficult shots. So while Solberg is correct that it is a “pastime” it is a pastime that has myriad social functions.

CHAPTER 3

METHODS

INTRODUCTION

My research question asks: why is there an absence of conflict surrounding how the Shouf Biosphere Reserve (SBR) personnel, police, state institutions, and hunters negotiate attempts to curb and regulate hunting in and around the Shouf Biosphere Reserve? How do these negotiations come about? To answer these questions, I chose to use the qualitative methods of recorded interviews, participant observation and document collection. Doing so entailed fieldwork in and around SBR. In this section, I discuss the research schedule, site selection and the rationale for choosing qualitative methods, and the opportunities and limits such methods place on my research and its associated conclusions.

FIELD RESEARCH SCHEDULE

The field research spanned September to October 2011, a total of nine months. I undertook initial field research during which I began to create research contacts and explore research questions. From June to December 2013 I returned for more in-depth research. During the initial fieldwork I discovered the prevalence of hunting and associated issues and developed a research agenda around the matter before my return in 2013. The second phase of fieldwork spanned from June 2013 to December 2013. I chose the summer, fall and early winter season because this is when the fall migration of birds takes place and according to my initial interviews, late summer, fall and early winter are

when people hunt migratory birds. This time frame allowed me to observed how SBR, law enforcement, and hunters prepared for the fall season and observe the limited hunting that took place in the summer. During the fall hunting season I observed how enforcement strategies used by SBR and law enforcement played out with hunters and the campaigns used by SBR and others. The research ended in December 2013 with the closing of most of hunting and the beginning of winter.

During my preliminary research trip in the fall of 2011 I built a network of informants. This network was made up of hunters, former hunters and Reserve staff. However, the data obtained during this short trip was not sufficient and the few interviewees with whom I spoke were not nearly enough to serve as a robust sample to understand the issues at hand. More field research was required. Additionally, while parts of the preliminary data become the major themes of the research, I did not understand their significance at the time.

In addition to allowing time for the interviews to reach theoretical saturation, as Baxter and Eyles argue (1997), this amount of time also allowed me to overcome initial impressions of the situation and afforded me a chance to build a good rapport with a number of people in the area. On the Reserve side, I sat in on meetings and helped with proposals throughout the latter period of fieldwork. In addition to overcoming initial impressions, people were able to overcome their initial impressions of me as an outsider doing research. There were a number of critical contacts who allowed me to do interviews and proved to be contacts for other interviews only after 7 months of being in the field and allowing myself to be observed by them in other interview situations and keeping to the matter at hand, hunting and the Reserve.

This extended time in the field was crucial because I built trust with a number of people who were initially unwilling to talk to me. In particular, the extended research period was critical in connection to informants who struck me as introverted or perhaps wary. Gaining trust or creating a safe interview environment can be difficult with such individuals (see Scott, 2004).

RESEARCH AREA

My preliminary trip in the fall of 2011 created a starting point for my research contacts and these were expanded during my stay in 2013. The majority of research took place on the western side of the Reserve in the villages between Bmohray to the north and Niha to the south (see figure 3.1). These villages provided the most viable research area because they were accessible and they were where I had the greatest number of research contacts. This area was most accessible because the road that bisects the Reserve is closed in the late fall and winter making the Biqaa villages to the east a two-hour drive. Also, given my budget, I was only able to afford a scooter and to make the trip over the mountains on regular basis was not an option. I rented a car for a two-week period when the snow got deep and the scooter became dangerous. The map below, Figure 3.1, details my research area:

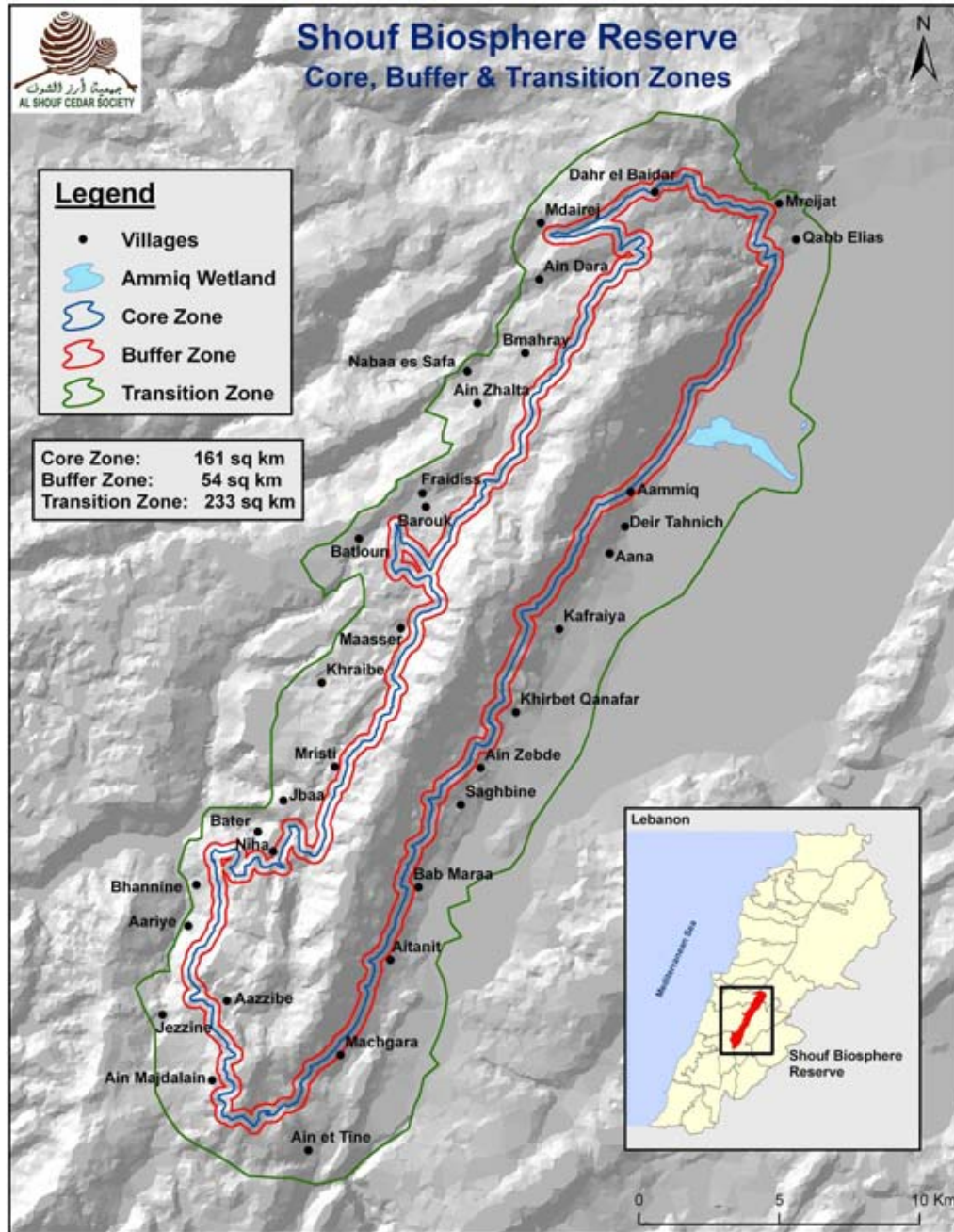


Figure 3.1 (Abu-Izzeddin, 2010, Annex II, p 4)

I went to Beirut for the final site of my research, where I interviewed staff at the Ministry of the Environment (MOE), met with staff at the Society for the protection of nature in Lebanon (SPNL), Birdlife international, the American University of Beirut (AUB) and attended multiple meetings and conferences connected to hunting and the Shouf.

DATA COLLECTION

The research question seeks to understand the relationship between the practice of environmental governance and hunting in and around the Shouf Biosphere Reserve. This question addresses an evolving, multivalent governance event that spans a large territory and is concerned with changing perceptions and multiple on-the-ground events and outcomes. In particular, the research is concerned with the discursive construction of attempts to govern hunting in and around the Shouf Biosphere Reserve. Thus, the research question entails a temporally progressive and spatially contingent concern with how discourse changes in time and space. To capture data that answers this question requires prolonged observation of continually changing events, and attention to how people speak about them, making a qualitative approach ideal (Brockington & Sullivan, 2003, p. 59; Johnson, 2001).

Therefore, I chose to forgo surveys because a fixed survey can only gather static data on a particular, predetermined phenomenon; this was an evolving situation in which I was seeking to identify the relevant processes and actors shaping the interplay of governance and hunting. In order to gather data that addresses how governance works, is spoken about and negotiated, I employed the commonly-employed qualitative methods of interviews and participant observation (Gerson & Horowitz, 2002, p. 199). I chose to live in a village near the Reserve to place myself amidst the area in which the attempt to

govern hunting and the practice of hunting were ongoing. In addition to interviews and participant observation, I also used document collection, extended fieldwork, and a large research area, as my main strategies to obtain reliable, accurate and robust data that addresses the research question.

I also chose to forgo quantitative methods because the sample population cannot be compared to the full population of hunters around the Shouf Reserve; there is no population data against which to judge the sample. Lebanon's last census was conducted in 1932, so village population is hard to determine. This is compounded by the fact that many people live in different places throughout the year. Most villages around the Reserve empty out in the winter and people live abroad or they live in Baqaata, which has better access to highways and work in Beirut. I also chose not to seek out an official population figure, as the matter of a census is a highly sensitive political issue. Governmental positions and parliament representation were set according to the population numbers of the various religious groups from the 1932 census and was made effective with the National Pact of 1943 and was partly modified after the end of the civil war in 1991. This confessional system played a role in creating the civil war, and the issue of a census remains highly contentious amid calls for, and resistance to implementing a new census. In particular, tensions connected to the census are a result of demographic changes that have occurred as smaller populations have grown and others have shrunk. Given these difficulties, I did not enquire into population numbers nor would I give great credence to current population numbers.

Qualitative Interviews

I adopted a snowball sample strategy to recruit interview informants. The research had an initial preliminary research phase in the fall of 2011 and a longer fieldwork phase in the summer and fall of 2013. I used the snowball strategy throughout both field visits. The network of participants grew from my initial contacts in 2011.

In speaking about qualitative sampling for grounded theory, Bryant and Charmaz point out that “the qualitative researcher must select participants to observe or interview who have the information (or have had or are having the experience) in which you are interested” (2007, p. 132), thus making qualitative sampling purposive. For the purposes of my research question, the people “who have had or are having the experience” in which I was interested were hunters and conservationists in the Shouf. Yet prior to the research, I did not have contacts on the ground. The snowball strategy was thus the best way to get in contact with the most people within the target population who might be willing to do an interview about hunting. I worked through the social network of hunters in the Shouf and build my own network of acquaintances. I used a snowball strategy because most people in a village won't give an interview without a prior reference, which precluded random sampling strategies (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981; Browne, 2005; Kristensen & Ravn, 2015). This did not stop me from making random sample requests, though all but two were rejected. I expanded this snowball to meet more informants and sought out younger and older hunters so that I could get a different perspective on the matters discussed in the interviews. On the ground, I was able to expand this network by asking hunters to introduce me to other hunters, which they were often willing to do. I received a high level of cooperation and was only occasionally denied an interview.

In connection to the Reserve, a snowball strategy was facilitated by several factors. As a professional organization, they made clear efforts to be transparent in their work and made significant efforts to put me in contact with their colleagues in Beirut and other places. In the course of my preliminary fieldwork, I developed positive relations with Reserve staff and came to know their contacts at development agencies, NGOs, governmental agencies, and local political figures.

I used a grounded theory approach for my data gathering interviews because it best addresses the question of an evolving and situationally contingent attempt to govern hunting in the Shouf. Grounded theory approaches were developed by Strauss and Glaser in their *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, Glaser's *Theoretical Sensitivity* (1978), which is an elaboration of *The Discovery of Grounded Theory*, and Strauss' *Qualitative analysis for social scientists* (1987). Grounded theory is theory a researcher develops through the processes of analyzing data during the research process itself. In particular, research should develop "substantive theory", which is theory developed through continual analysis of the data as the fieldwork progresses. Substantive theory is defined as theory "developed for a substantive, or empirical area of sociological inquiry, such as patient care, race relations,..." (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 32). For Glaser and Strauss, substantive theory stands in partial counterpoint to formal theory which is theory "developed for a formal, or conceptual, area of sociological inquiry, such as stigma, deviant behavior..." (p. 32). Of course, the authors agree that these two areas "shade into each other" (p. 33), however, this delineation allows a researcher to be sensitive to data that is being produced. Indeed, they say,

Ignoring the first task—discovering substantive theory relevant to a given substantive area—is the result, in most instances, of believing that formal theories can be applied directly to a substantive area, and will supply the most or all of the necessary concepts and hypotheses. (p. 34)

In such a case, the concepts of the field, the standing literature and its prevalent ideas exert an undue influence on the understanding or interpretation of data in the field. They create a blind spot for the researcher, an epistemic closure that precludes an ability to see to the data. They can cause the researcher to confuse the map for the territory.

To address this, Glaser and Strauss developed grounded theory methodology that includes “theoretical sensitivity” to allow a researcher to remain sensitive to data as it is being produced. As a result, the researcher produces theory directly from the data. Theoretical sensitivity entails a continual analysis of the data while it is being produced (Glaser, 1978). This continual analysis then bears on the subsequent research as one gleans new knowledge from an accruing base of information and theory which inform and create an “emergent” theory about the line of investigation (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). This is a theory that emerges over time through the research process; it is knowledge about an issue and a continually refined interpretation of the data. Emergent theory is best described by Eisenhardt and Graebner who say, “The theory is emergent in the sense that it is situated in and developed by recognizing patterns of relationships among constructs within and across cases *and* their underlying logical arguments” (emphasis in original 1989, p. 24). By continually analyzing the data as it is being produced a researcher can be “theoretically sensitive” to the data (Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967). I adopted this approach because I had not lived in the Shouf before my

research and there was an initial need to create an understanding of the practice of hunting, governance in the area, and the role of the Reserve. This method allowed me to understand the basics of what was happening on the ground as time moved forward, and refine my inquiry as I moved forward. In choosing to adopt this methodology, I developed an interview structure, an interview questioning style, and an interstitial data analysis process.

To make the new theory salient in each new interview I chose to use semi-structured interviews. Those that were semi-structured contained specific questions developed before the interview, but also I asked new questions that came up during the interview. Because I came to the field with little knowledge of the practice and politics of hunting and environmental governance in Lebanon or the Shouf, the semi-structured interviews allowed me to ask new questions as I became more aware of the matters at hand. Thus, interviews and interview data built on one after the other. This strategy allowed me to develop an “emerging theory”—theory about the research data that is developed out of a continual analyses of the data which drives the research (Glaser, 1978, p. 2).

Within these interviews, the structured questions I asked were of two types. The first were the few questions that I asked with such consistency that they bordered on an oral survey. These research questions were tested and modified through repeated interviews and were asked with the intent of achieving robustness in responses. The questions that reached theoretical saturation were: “Why do you hunt?” “Where do you hunt?” “What do you hunt?” “What are your thoughts on the Reserve?” “Have you ever been ticketed or sanctioned for hunting?” “Do you hunt in the Reserve?” The robustness

of the questions and the information they elicited was assessed through the common qualitative measure of robustness, "theoretical saturation" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, pp. 61-62, 111-112). This is the point at which the results of a line of investigation begin to repeat themselves until no new questions or information is presented by informants. This convergence of repetition in questions and answers generally suggests that all significant viewpoints and issues have been addressed, though it does not rule out the existence of outliers. I employed a number of questions that reached theoretical saturation (Bowen, 2008).

The second type of structured question was built out of previous interview data and was refined with each subsequent interview. However, these questions did not reach theoretical saturation. Thus, in addition to questions that sought to reach theoretical saturation, my interviews included questions I knew would never reach theoretical saturation. I chose to ask these questions because they often produced a great deal of detailed information about a particular topic or individual. These questions were often used in order to gain detailed or expert knowledge about a subject. I usually knew whom I was going to interview and wanted to get as much information as possible on a matter from well-versed informants. For example, I met with people who were involved in the manufacturing of shotgun shells and asked them multiple technical questions to understand the metric system, locally used hunting guns, and the nomenclature for these items. These open ended interviews on a particular topic with a technician were crucial in the development of theory because they shed light on aspects of hunting and governance that were unknown to me and informed the emergent theory. Thus, I made an attempted to be exhaustive during these interviews. However, given the particular technical content

of such interviews, I did not seek out theoretical saturation for the information from other interviews, as not enough members of the general population had the same technical knowledge.

My semi-structured interviews progressed into unstructured interviews, open-ended, detailed interviews. I allowed this to happen because it provided rich detail, and I also do so in light of the critical evaluations of Glaser and Strauss' grounded theory. These critical evaluations have pointed to the situated position of the researcher and pointed to a postmodern turn which problematizes the empiricism of grounded theory (Annells, 1996; Bryant, 2003; Clarke, 2003, 2005; Mills, Chapman, Bonner, & Francis, 2007). To wit, Clarke speaks of this postmodern turn as a shifting "to localities, partialities, positionalities, complications, tenuousness, instabilities, irregularities, contradictions, heterogeneities, situatedness, and fragmentation—complexities" (2003, p. 555). To address these critical concerns, I allowed interviews to move to the personal and these parts of my interviews were very open-ended. These sections allowed for the particular, the recondite and the seemingly inconsequential. However, it was often these moments of openness and ambiguity that produced some of the most interesting lines of investigation and contributed heavily to the theory. In particular, they facilitated a Geertzian thick description (Geertz, 1973) of my theoretical categories. In fact, during the research phase I would assert that I was creating a thick understanding of a given matter because these moments allowed participants and me as a researcher to enter into a precise and expansive social background and experience of a given line of inquiry. I say thick understanding because it was the participants who were giving me a thick description of the matter at hand in these latter parts of the interviews, and all I could do was listen.

These latter sections of the interviews often looked at particular events: hunting events like a particular animal kill, an interaction between conservationists and hunters, or particular reactions to attempts to curb hunting in specific places. The results of these unstructured sections of the interviews did not always reach theoretical saturation, but they speak with detail and depth to the issues and events at hand by those involved in and affected by them and contributed to the larger emergent theory by providing an understanding of the fundamentals of a particular matter. These were interviews that were much like recorded conversations (C. Warren, 2001).

During the interviews I often began with open-ended questions that led to specific questions. Given the need to develop grounded theory while I moved forward with the interviews, I used open-ended questions because they elicited multiple kinds of data. First, they produced data that can be broken down into specific categories which could helped me to achieve theoretical saturation on a number of lines of inquiry. At the same time, these assertions were accompanied by longer discourse that contributed to the emergent theory, and provided a more complete and exhaustive understanding of the matter at hand. Thus, interviews were often a back and forth between open ended and direct, specific answer questions. To elaborate on and develop the emergent theory, I asked open-ended questions, and sometimes, direct questions. Bryant and Charmaz distill this interview style:

When conducting an interview, experience enables the researcher to know at what points in the interview process to move the participant's narrative from the general to the specific, and when to interrupt the participant to ask for more examples. Experience enables the researcher to know when to let the participant

move forward in the narrative into new areas, or when to move back in the interview to obtain addition details. (2007, p. 230)

In short, this question style allowed me to test emerging theories while facilitating broad data capture, which alerted me to developments, changes, and other pertinent information that would create better fit for my emerging theory. In an attempt to maximize an interview's contribution to the emerging theory I often furthered the "openness" of my open-ended questions by using what Bernard calls the Silent Probe, allowing moments of silence in the interview to encourage "the informant to define the relevant information"(2011, p. 162). To allow "the informant to define the relevant information" I often allowed for longer uncomfortable moments of silence because as Bernard reminds us:

Inexperienced interviewers tend to jump in with verbal probes as soon as an informant goes silent. Meanwhile, the informant may be just reflecting, gathering thoughts, and preparing to say something important. You can kill those moments (and there are a lot of them) with your interruptions. (p. 162)

In my interviews, I hoped to exhaust the information that an informant might have on a given subject and participants were often quite willing to fill that silence with their own information (a skill I learned in the classroom). Yet, at the same time, I maintained a great deal of respect for their time and did what I could to move them through the interview as efficiently as possible.

Interviews were conducted in Arabic, a language in which I am fluent. I have taught Arabic at the university level since the fall of 1996 and am currently a visiting Lecturer in Arabic at Middlebury College where I teach all levels of Modern Standard

Arabic language in courses that include advanced content based language courses. I am conversant with southern Iraqi Dialect, which I learned in Amman, Jordan during my Fulbright research on Iraqi exile poetry and prose. I learned the Damascene Arabic dialect during a year of intensive Arabic study while I was a student with the Center for Arabic Study Abroad (CASA) program at the University of Texas, Austin. The only difficulty I encountered was initially speaking with older people who used the local mountain dialect. I committed myself to learning the dialect and through study and observation became proficient.

Between interviews I analyzed my data by partially translating and listening to them and developing questions for my upcoming interviews. In order to make my emergent theory effective and have a better “fit” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 3) for my data, I created a two-step process between interviews. First, I analyzed the completed interview by listening to it and translating sections or the whole into English. The process of listening and translation brought me close to the data and gave me the opportunity to consider it with detail. In grounded theory approaches, this process also entails the coding of data. This is the process of creating categories that are coded and all subsequent data are then filed within this coded framework. (Bernard, 2011, pp. 492-493; Coffey & Atkinson, 1996; Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Glaser, 1978; Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Holton, 2007, p. 275). These categories then have certain “properties” which can constitute subcategories (Kelle, 2007). Thus, during this interstitial process I created a number of theoretical categories, considered possible subcategories and used them to create theory as the interviews and research moved forward. To facilitate the accrued production of theory during this interstitial process, I opted to memo the newly analyzed data. This

method is an alternative to strict coding and the filing of new data under codes as it is produced. My reason to not write out codes and file all new data under these codes is well explained by Strauss and Glaser.

If the analyst wishes only to generate theoretical ideas—new categories and their properties, hypotheses and interrelated hypotheses—he cannot be confined to the practice of coding first and then analyzing the data since, in generating theory, he is constantly redesigning and reintegrating his theoretical notions as he reviews his material. Analysis after the coding operation would not only unnecessarily delay and interfere with his purpose, but the explicit coding itself often seems an unnecessary, burdensome task. As a result, the analyst merely inspects his data for new properties of his theoretical categories, and writes memos on these properties. (1967, pp. 101-102)

The purpose of creating new theory, the research goal of comprehensively understanding the relationship between the Reserve, hunters, and state institutions, forced an intense interest in creating new theory, new categories. Thus, I did as Strauss and Glaser say, “the analyst merely inspects his data for new properties of his theoretical categories, and writes memos on these properties.” However, the words “merely inspects his data” do not quite describe my process. I sat and translated and interrogated the data in light of my theoretical categories and in search of new ones every step of the way. I also listened to interviews repeatedly. Thus, the process by which I was able to make the new information contribute to and refine the emergent theory was close data scrutiny as it was being produced and memoing (see also Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Lempert).

After wholly or partially translating interviews, I kept written and oral memos in which I recorded the salient content that were related to the theoretical category of concern. Of course, as Strauss says, coding “fractures the data, thus freeing the researcher from description and forcing interpretation to higher level of abstraction” (1987, p. 55). The process of translating, and closely analyzing the data brought the conceptual categories into relief and forced me to analyze the data in light of them. This pointed and directed analyses helps to move the theory and the research forward (see also Stern, 2007, p. 119).

Initially, this was a labor-intensive process because the learning curve was steep and I was coming across a massive amount of new of information. To begin then, I borrowed from Strauss who reminds us that this process begins with looking at “themes” in the data (1987, pp. 56-58) and these then became my theoretical categories. As I began to discover core categories to my research question I returned to my older memos to compare my earlier findings and understandings. This process included going back to older interviews themselves and listened to them again. This was sometimes cringe-worthy because I saw how little I knew about a category at the early stages. Despite, the awkwardness of listening to it, the process had the effect of showing me how much I had learned and this iterative relistening alerted me to aspects of the data that I had overlooked upon the initial analysis. Being alerted to overlooked aspects helped to structure the emergent theory as the research continued.

The second part of this interstitial process was to use this new information to develop questions for the structured sections of upcoming interviews. Therefore, I went to each new interview with a number of questions that had been designed as a result of

the analysis of the memos or the interviews. Some of the early questions were asked to seek redundancy, which allowed me to further confirm parts of the emergent theory. These analyses also produced questions about new themes that appeared either in previous interviews or during interstitial analyses process. Such questions contributed to the emergent theory and took me down multiple unexpected lines of inquiry.

I engaged 122 informants in interviews that varied from 20 minutes to two hours in length. Of these informants, 91 of them are hunters who actively pursue hunting activities. I define a hunter as a person who currently practices hunting; there are degrees of commitment and differences in time spent hunting from hunter to hunter. I observed some who would spend mornings and nights on end out in the field and others who would hunt twice a week. However, I aggregate these because both are hunters and the research question, in connection to hunters, is how do those who pursue hunting negotiate attempts on the part of the Reserve and the state to change their behavior. Of the total informants, 10 were previous hunters or people who had had hands on experience with hunting and no longer pursued hunting, 21 were non-hunters who had no experience with hunting. 13 of the informants were Reserve employees and 114 of the interviewees were males. There are few women in the sample because hunters and conservationists were my main interview targets and these populations are almost entirely male.

INTERVIEWS

Quantified Rationale

Given the large number of interviews, I achieved saturation through massive redundancy on a number of theoretical categories. Indeed, it can be asserted that a category can achieve saturation with 20 or 30 interviews or hours of observation. (Stern, 2007, p. 177).

I also sought out so many informants also because I sought to answer as many questions as possible in the time I had.

PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

I went on hunts with hunters to undertake participant observation, which sometimes enabled me observe hunters who were hunting in public places. In connection to the Reserve, participant observation was readily available. I had access to an office, was asked to review and assist in multiple written projects. I sat in on staff meetings and attended all meetings connected to hunting and hunting management in addition to most other meetings. I participated in multiple events connected to the Reserve, ranging from organizing hikes to meeting visitors. I was asked to write a funding proposal to the EU on behalf of the SBR, and in doing so became intimately acquainted with the inner workings of the Reserve. I was also asked and was willing to comment on a number of other projects and proposals and offer language support in English. I participated in multiple activities organized by the Reserve, including running activities for school students to high level coordination and planning meetings.

During participant observation with hunters I had opportunity to observe hunting styles, practices, what people were shooting, the strategies they used, how quarry was handled and consumed and other information that was or was not discussed in interviews. These observations provided rich material for interviews and formed the theoretical underpinnings of this project. Indeed, Gerson and Horowitz assert that “the relationship between observation and interviewing is intertwined and mutually supportive” (2002, p. 200). In addition to providing material that contributed to theory, participant observation also provided me fluency with the concepts, attitudes, and material practices of hunting

such that interviews became easier as I became more and more familiar with actual hunting practice. Thus, the participant observation supported the interviews by providing information that helped to produce more theory about my observations.

In addition to producing theory, participant observation with both the Reserve and with hunters allowed me to crosscheck information obtained in interviews.

Crosschecking this information was crucial to ensuring the accuracy of my interview data. Bernard reminds us that, “Even when people tell you what they think is the absolute truth, there is still the question of whether the information they give you is accurate” (2011, p. 245). Crosschecking assertions made in interviews allowed me to see where people were being inaccurate or perhaps duplicitous in their answers. Crosschecking interview content with observed practice allowed me to confirm or deny interview content. The few situations in which people might have been inaccurate or perhaps dissembling in their answers contributed to the theory by asking why they may have been so.

For the sake of full disclosure, I purchased a shotgun with personal funds in order to undertake participant observation during hunts. During these hunts I killed and ate three chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*). I did not shoot at soaring birds or raptors. Initially, I did not intend to purchase a gun and had hoped to observe hunters by simply going to the field with them and watching them hunt. However, I was largely unable to join a hunt without a gun because hunters did not want to go with someone who was not also shooting. My presence was awkward, drew lots of comment and blunt derision. It quickly became apparent that the purchasing a shotgun was the price of admission to do participant observation. It was apparent that the practice of hunting was much different

than a livelihood practice. It was often done in close-knit social groups and it took some hunters a long time for them to trust me to go with them while others were happy to take me along after my purchase.

DOCUMENTARY RESEARCH

The third qualitative strategy I used was the collection and analysis of archival and documentary material. I collected archival and documentary material to crosscheck and document assertions made in interviews. Corbin and Strauss speak of this technique when they say that a researcher can obtain such documents out of a “desire to triangulate or obtain various types of data on the same problem, such as combining interview with observation, then perhaps adding documents for the purpose of verifying or adding another source of data” (2008, p. 27). In addition to using documents to verify information and triangulate interviews and participant observation, I also used documents to contribute to the theory. This method is well explicated by Bowen in saying, “The researcher can use data drawn from documents, for example, to contextualize data collected during interviews” (2009, pp. 29-30).

For example, in interviewing about public events connected to hunting that were sponsored by the Reserve or that the Reserve had participated in, I obtained documents from the Reserve confirming the event. This document collection was much like the interviews and contributed to the production of theory. By way of a specific example, there were some villages that made public commitments to curb hunting. I obtained these public documents and this confirmation of the information contributed to an accrument of data. In analyzing such data I was able to think about the particular situation in these

towns and the reasons why other villages had or had not done this—I began to theorize events with respect to the new data.

DATA ANALYSIS

As the research moved toward the end of my fieldwork and I had reached theoretical saturation on a number of matters, I began to assemble the data. My approach was both constructivist grounded theory and objectivist grounded theory, which Charmaz says, “not only theorizes the interpretive work that research participants do, but also acknowledges that the resulting theory is an interpretation” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 130). As for the latter, she says, “An objectivist grounded theorist assumes that data represent objective facts about a knowable world. The data already exist in the world; the researcher finds them and ‘discovers’ theory from them (Charmaz, 2006, p. 131). With the juxtaposition of these two quotes we seemingly find ourselves at a crossroads.

However, there is most certainly a third way, which is the use of both of these ways of thinking about and addressing the data. Elements of the data are redundant because they achieved a high level of theoretical saturation, and I wanted redundancy in the answers to a number of questions. At the same time, as I looked at the data, I made attempts to be aware that my interpretation was bearing on its “construction”. That is, I selected and deselected data. Given the massive amount of hours of recorded interviews, this was inevitable. It also allowed me to have data out of which I could later produce more material. Yet in this selection process, I inevitably emphasized and contextualized data and thereby created a representation of the data. Most certainly, I made an attempt to be true to the data and not force a reading on it that it cannot bear. Indeed, given a background in literature, I often used a close reading analysis of quoted texts and give

quotes from my interviews. I did this knowing that, “one of the most important methods in grounded-theory text analysis is the presentation of direct quotes from respondents—quotes that lead the reader to understand quickly what it took you months or years to figure out (Bernard, 2011, p. 503). It is in this manner that I present the most accurate and truthful interpretation I can produce. To that end, I use transliteration to talk about the meaning of Arabic words used in interviews and use the International Journal of Middle East Studies Transliteration System (International Journal of Middle East Studies, 2016).

These methods and the data they produced are the bedrock for the following chapters which present my core findings. I do not believe they will change. Again, these findings are not “the data” which cannot be given in whole. Given the large amount of data I have produced, I continue to reanalyze the data. I do so remembering John Berger’s reminders that perspective and time can change the way in which we perceive objects (1972). Time and perspective can change how we see matters. Knowing this initially, yet in need of producing a “final” text, I often made an attempt to sit with the data in the most open manner possible. That is, I sat with the data. I listened to interviews four or five times at different times of the day over a period of time. I made my best effort to hear the data and what people were saying. Having done so, I know that the data is static recorded medium, but it has and will continue to yield even more that what the following can hold.

CHAPTER 4

THE CORE ZONE: A TERRITORY OF GOVERNANCE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses why hunters do not hunt in the core zone of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve., I analyze the motivations that underlie the restraint of bird hunters who do *not* hunt in the Reserve and their attitudes towards the core zone of the Reserve. I contend that a combination of hunting rationale and Reserve administration practice facilitate the adherence to a prohibition on hunting in the core zone of the Reserve and reduce the conflict that often attends the banning of activities in protected areas. In making this contention the chapter theorizes some particular effects of how environmental governance is enacted in the territory of the core zone of the Reserve in relation to the Reserve administration and the Lebanese state.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To address hunters' motivations for restraint in the core zone of the Reserve, let us first draw out some of the larger themes of the literature on protected areas. Many studies of large-scale conservation projects have focused on conflicts surrounding the creation and presence of protected areas. These conflicts are often related to the appropriation of lands for the creation of protected areas and the ensuing marginalization of those living in the protected area. These treatments are largely concerned with the demarcation of lands, the loss of access to resources, the loss of access to lands that provided livelihoods, and the difficulties and conflicts that attend the loss of lands that provide livelihoods (Adams,

2004, 2008; Brockington, 2002; Brockington et al., 2008; Brockington & Homewood, 1996; Dowie, 2011; Jacoby, 2001; Neumann, 1998), often historicizing how protected areas came to be demarcated and annexed through a history of colonial appropriation (Davis, 2013; Neumann, 1998). Such appropriation tends to restrict access to livelihood resources like grasslands and other livelihood resources, and thus the literature often concerns itself with conflicts between local users and the need for strict enforcement of the protected area. For example, Brockington asserts, “Land alienation in Tanzania is marked by the prominence of land loss for conservation purposes” (Brockington, 2002, p. 7; see also Sandlos, 2011). This concern has produced a literature focused on how people’s livelihoods are lost or adversely affected by the establishment of protected areas, and how people who once lived in such an area were displaced to the edge of, or beyond a reserve. For example, in *Imposing Wilderness* Roderick Neumann addresses the loss of land and says, “Before the arrival of the Europeans, the estates and the reserves were utilized or occupied by the Meru and Maasai peoples. Today the park [Arusha National Park] lies entirely within the area historically claimed by the Meru, who used it as a grazing commons (some of it shared with the Maasai), and as a source of numerous products from the forest, until the colonial governments outlawed most uses in the name of conservation” (p. 148). This body of critique provides an effective and powerful analysis of how people have been, and continue to be, affected by the establishment of protected areas. This chapter contributes to the understanding of conflicts and negotiations connected to the loss of access to land by exploring the nuances of these negotiations in connection to the practice of sport hunting in and around the Shouf Biosphere Reserve in the mountains of Lebanon.

QUESTION

Based on the literature, I undertook the fieldwork with the expectation that hunters would feel angry about not being able to enter the Reserve, and that they would take advantage of the Reserve's limited enforcement capacity to hunt in the core zone of the Reserve, and therefore, they would have conflicts with Reserve administrators whenever that enforcement capacity was brought to bear. Despite these expectations, I found that the overwhelming majority of hunters interviewed A) do not hunt in the core zone, and B) are often not troubled by the ban on hunting in the core zone of the Reserve.

METHODS

This chapter draws from interview data that addresses how hunters feel about not having hunting access to the core area of the Reserve. It draws from interview data with hunters, biosphere staff, and field observations of the presence or lack of hunters in the core zone. The data used in this chapter was collected through interviews with 90 hunter informants and 13 biosphere staff members. The assertions made by hunters were corroborated by participant observation during the hunting season in the form of observing hunters while hunting outside of the core zone and entering the core zone to look for hunters.

ANALYSIS ONE

Governance of the Core Zone: Space, Anxiety and Hobby

Within the core zone hunters have a fear and anxiety about being caught or ticketed because the Reserve actively sees to it that people who hunt in the core zone are ticketed and confronted. Thus, to understand why there is little conflict between hunters and the Shouf Biosphere Reserve around hunting in the core zone, I will begin with a discussion of the core zone as a legal space in which there is a complete ban on hunting (Abu-

Izzeddin, 2010). Within the core area, the Reserve staff makes a clear and concerted effort to enforce the ban on hunting. The enforcement of bans within the Reserve affects the character of what it means to be inside and outside of the Reserve. Such a spatial division has been noted by the literature on protected areas, addressing what such a spatial division means to local users' livelihoods (Brockington, 2002, p. 146; Igoe, 2004; Jacoby, 2001) and the arbitrary constructions of nature within and non-nature outside of a reserve (Adams, 2004; Davis, 2013). In connection to hunting, Adams sums up this spatial concern rather succinctly: "[t]he creation of protected areas involves not only the partition of space (between that for nature and that for development) but also the designation of rights – the determination of who has the right to enter, to enjoy wildlife, or to kill it" (Adams, 2009, p. 131). The fact that the Reserve enforces a hunting ban within particular boundaries facilitates this spatial division, which is one of several factors that contribute to the lack of hunting in the core zone of the Reserve.

Enforcement of the hunting ban creates a clear sense of inside and outside of the Reserve. This was apparent at least on the part of the hunters, which bears heavily on the practice of hunting and how little hunting there is in the Reserve. All hunters asserted that they do not hunt in the core zone of the Reserve. These assertions are corroborated by field observations within the core zone. One can head into the Reserve during a fall bird migration season and listen to thousands and thousands of shotgun shots from all areas adjacent to the Reserve without hearing shots from within the Reserve. I have hiked in the Reserve on such days and was later told in the evening that those days were some of the best hunting days of the year. I heard the thousands of shots, but I did not see any hunters in the core zone of the Reserve.

We might surmise that hunters do not enter the core zone to hunt because the Reserve enforces the law within the core zone. While this might well be true, the simple fact of enforcement does not always stop people from hunting in a protected area. Enforcement here owes its success to two factors: the hunters' motivations for hunting and their anxiety over the repercussions for violating the ban. Such anxiety was apparent in the data during an interview with two hunters, when we began to speak about the lack of hunters entering the Reserve.

Interviewer: I see that few people want to go into the [Reserve].

Respondent 1: Very, very few. Very few. In each village there is only one or two and they go in like a thief. Anyways, you go in to practice your hobby.

Respondent 2: And you are scared.

Respondent 1: And you are scared. No, you go to relax (personal communication, 2013).

Let us begin with the use of the word “hobby”. In English, “hobby” is not often associated with hunting. However, its use speaks to a consistent assertion in my interviews. This is apparent in the Arabic word for hobby, *hiwāya*, which has the root for the word “love.” Hunting is defined as a hobby, a practice of loving an activity. The use of the word hobby to describe hunting strikes me as interesting in that it is not often used to describe hunting in English. Thus in the interviews, I often asked hunters what they meant by “hobby”. All of the hunters said that it was an activity one enjoys doing, that makes one feel good and relaxed, and the practice of it is the joy of it. When I asked directly about this hobby: “What does hunting do for you? What does it bring you?”—

over and over again, the answer was that it is a form of fun and this was often told in detail about the pleasure of a good shoot, of getting a bird that one thought to be a difficult shot. It is a relaxing pleasure and it serves as an escape. All of the hunter informants talked about it as a form of respite in nature and a way to relax and find pleasure.

Returning then to the interview above, the first hunter says, “you go in to practice your hobby,” the other hunter cuts in and says, “and you are scared,” which the first hunter echoes and expands by saying, “And you are scared. No, you go to relax.” Given the light enjoyment and pleasure practice of hunting, being scared undermines such pleasure; going into the Reserve undermines that pleasure. The assertion, “you go in to practice your hobby” is as much as to say that you would not go into the Reserve to practice your hobby because it would not give the relaxation that you seek. Hunting in the Reserve is the opposite of hunting to relax, which he makes clear when he says, “No, you go to relax,” which I understand to mean “No, you go (hunting) to relax as opposed to going into the Reserve where you are scared.” Thus, the hunting in the Reserve is not done because one hunts to relax and for pleasure, and hunting in the Reserve is not relaxing.

Therefore, in connection to governing the core zone, the fact that hunting is a pleasure practice, that the motivation and rationale for hunting is that of relaxation, has its consequences. The paucity of hunting within the Reserve and the ability of the Reserve to maintain a hunting ban within its territorial purview of the core zone is partly predicated on the fact that hunting is not subsistence hunting but is a hobby and is a practice of pleasure. The overwhelming response to my interview question, “Why do you hunt”, was

“for pleasure.” So while hunting is also bound up in larger social practices, and is therefore complicated, the Reserve administration in its mandate to ban hunting in the core zone pursues a governance strategy that is based on disrupting the main motivation to hunt—disrupting the fun and pleasure. The Reserve pursues and tickets hunters who hunt in the Reserve and in doing so compromises that pleasure, compromising the motivation to hunt in the core zone even if they cannot catch every hunter every time. The condition of anxiety created by the presence of regulation reduces pleasure such that even under conditions where the likelihood of enforcement is low, the risk of being caught wrecks the fun. The presence of regulation ties pleasure to an understanding of space and territoriality. Hunting in the Reserve is not fun; it undermines that pleasure. The possibility that such pleasure might be disturbed contributes to an unwillingness to hunt in the Reserve.

Such findings are significant because they partly stand in contrast to the literature on protected areas. Again, this literature is often concerned with livelihoods, loss of livelihoods and customary use and focuses on how the enforcement of protected areas cuts access to livelihood resources. However, in the case of hunting and the Shouf Biosphere Reserve, hunting is a pleasure practice, which allows for different negotiations and consequences to enforcement of the protected area: the production of anxiety undermines the fundamental motivation for hunting. The pleasure is the sought resource. The joy that comes with hunting is the sought resource. Thus enforcement, through observation and the risk of ticketing and jail time for those who violate the ban, undermines what hunters seek—an experience.

When we look to non-livelihood pleasure practices, enforcement practices can possibly produce different outcomes. The experience of pleasure can be undermined, and this can happen in ways more subtle than the visible compromising of access to livelihood assets. In this case, I would contend that it is the fragility of pleasure that facilitates the effectiveness of the ban. Hunters partly avoid hunting in the Reserve because the sanctions associated with the ban are such that they remove the aspect of pleasure that motivates hunting in the first place.

In addition, I would contend that in and around the Shouf Reserve this fragility helps to explain why there are relatively few conflicts between hunters and management, where such conflicts are common in the literature on people and reserves. By undermining the pleasure at the heart of motivations to hunt, the ban and its associated sanctions create a situation where hunters simply see no reason to go into the Reserve. This does not generate major conflicts between hunters and the Reserve because access to livelihood resources and access to a pleasure experience are not the same. A restriction in pleasure is different than restricting the ability of an individual to feed his or her family. The force of anxiety and its amelioration is going to be different. In this case, the force of anxiety attached to a pleasure practice does not rise to a level that produces significant conflicts in and around the Reserve.

Of course, an unwillingness to hunt in the Reserve is not without exception. I have observed power struggles between particular hunters and the Reserve, and sometimes people will snub the Reserve and hunt in the area. This is apparent in the interview above, when the hunter says, in response to the question about the number of people who hunt in the Reserve, “Very few. In each village there is only one or two...”

However, the limited character of this resistance speaks to the importance of pleasure in the motivations for hunting, and the ways in which even limited enforcement of a hunting ban can disrupt the motivations for hunting.

The character of the environmental use to be regulated and controlled is therefore important in connection to the governance of territory via environmental use. The Reserve can produce anxiety within its territory. Through the fact of enforcement, the Reserve constitutes itself by creating spatial sensibilities among hunters tied to understandings of what activities can, and more importantly, *should* take place in particular spaces. Hunters could hunt, but as hunting is about pleasure, one should not hunt in the Reserve area where pleasure is disrupted. This creates a sense of self and comportment that is bound up in a spatial rendering: do not hunt here. This territoriality, in turn, legitimizes the enforcement of the hunting ban in the core zone of the Reserve, which results in lower levels of conflict between hunters and the Reserve staff.

ANALYSIS TWO

Governance of the Core: Legal Sanction

While part of the motivation to not hunt in the core zone is that it is not pleasurable and hunting is a pleasure practice, this is only part of the story. In addition to the core zone being space that produces anxiety that undermines pleasure when one goes there to hunt, there is also hunters' fear of the Reserve's ability and willingness to arrest them for hunting in those territories. Simply, the threat of the material effects of sanction keeps hunters from hunting in the core zone.

As noted earlier, such enforcement has powerful consequences for how hunters consider space and the Reserve. Under the UNESCO biosphere management plan and

SBR's management plan, the administration of this zone runs parallel to the national park model. It has designated entrances and closes after certain hours. It is a highly regulated area where, "hunting, grazing, tree cutting, new asphalt roads" and other activities are prohibited (Abu-Izzeddin, 2010, p. 69). Alongside these regulations is the ban on hunting, which is enforced through the use of sanction on the part of the Reserve staff in the form of ticketing, prison and legal action. For hunters and others, these regulations create specific understandings of administrative space and territory. In the early stage of one interview, I asked a group of hunters, "Did the founding of the Reserve affect any of you as hunters?"

Respondent 1: As hunters, it is forbidden for us to hunt in the Reserve. It is highly prohibited, that is a binding commitment. On private land a person can go and hunt, birds and swallows. But at the Reserve, it is forbidden, totally forbidden because a person who goes and hunts at the Reserve will be punished to the extent of the law.

Respondent 2: He would go to prison (personal communication, 2013).

In this section of the interview, it is apparent hunters know that hunting in the Reserve will lead to legal sanctions and perhaps prison. This is a "binding commitment" and it is "totally forbidden" and if a hunter hunts in the Reserve, "he would go to prison". Per the interview, part of the motive for not hunting in the core zone is the sanction that might be inflicted. Such use of legal sanction came out quite clearly later in the interview when a hunter makes the matter spatially explicit in connection to the founding and presence of the Reserve.

Respondent: The hunters were affected because... some areas have become part of the Reserve and they are cautioned from going there so they start to go to private properties. These areas are not part of the Reserve and they want to hunt, you know what I mean. The law does not extend beyond the Reserve, outside of the Reserve (personal communication, 2013).

Thus, if the Reserve is understood as a place where a hunting ban is enforced, and beyond which there is no ban, it creates a spatial boundary for the law. This framing has multiple consequences. Firstly, it renders the core zone as a place to not hunt because it is a place where the law reigns, where the threat of being heavily sanctioned is real. The word “law” in the hunter’s sentence appears to refer to the Reserve law, i.e. the ban on hunting within the Reserve. Though it is somewhat left open to question, it is clear that hunters have a territorially explicit idea of where hunting can lead to legal sanctioning—in the Reserve, in the core zone.

The hunter was quite correct in asserting that the Reserve is a place in which a ban on hunting is applied. During my fieldwork I observed the Reserve staff on periodic and random patrols in the core zone. When they came across hunters in the core zone they vigorously pursued these hunters on foot. Some of the Reserve staff is deputized by the state and are able to issue tickets, citations and imprison those who commit infractions. Thus, in looking at the assertion that the law does not extend beyond the Reserve, we might restate it by saying that the law becomes absent in areas where the Reserve has no legal purview, and is quite effective in the core where they do. Therefore, one might as well not hunt in the Reserve, because that would be a good way to end up in prison.

Of course, this use of legal sanction does not entirely address our concern for why there seems to be little conflict between the Reserve and hunters. Certainly, the biosphere's sanction is not exceptional. But sanction as a governance strategy is found throughout the literature, and often sanctions aimed at controlling the use of natural resources bring about conflict. While the Shouf experiences such events, the Reserve enjoys a limited amount of conflict with hunters while at the same time keeps hunters from hunting in the core zone. And while I contended earlier that the pleasure nature of hunting contributes to a reduction of conflict between hunters and the staff, this explanation cannot account for the limited conflict between hunters and Reserve.

ANALYSIS THREE

This Space of Reserve Enforcement: That Space of State Enforcement

To further address why there is no hunting in the core zone and why hunters in the Shouf have few problems with the Reserve, I begin by noting that hunters have many places to hunt outside of the Reserve. This simple fact plays a role in creating a core zone that can be governed with minimal conflict. The following interview is emblematic of what most hunters say.

Interviewer: Ok, you said that you do hunt, but there is now a Reserve. When did you stop going up there?

Respondent: From when they announced the Reserve, they announced its borders, from and to where it extends and which mountains and what not. So we stopped hunting in the Reserve and we started to hunt outside of the Reserve. There are places we can hunt and we go; we go there. But in the Reserve, we don't go there (personal communication, 2013).

When this hunter refers to “the Reserve”, he is referring to the core zone only and is not speaking of the transition zone or the buffer zone. The hunter asserts that he stopped going to the Reserve areas when the Reserve was announced. While it might be possible that hunters stopped hunting once they announced the borders of the Reserve, what concerns us here is the assertion that he currently does not go into the Reserve to hunt. Again, there is ample evidence that most hunters do not hunt in the Reserve. As stated in my methods chapter, I spent a lot of time in the Reserve and attempted to ground truth assertions made in interviews; I observed very little hunting within the core zone of the Reserve and a general compliance with the hunting ban.

I also observed that hunters do in fact seek their quarry in multiple areas outside of the core area, they hunt in the territory of the buffer and transition zone. Among these areas we find the maqwas, the shooting place. This is a particular area that lies adjacent to a village that has a good flow of birds, usually has multiple fire rings, burnt trash, and hundreds of spent shells. Each village has its local places and may or may not be known to people in other villages. I have sat through many hunts at multiple local shooting spots. Given this ground truthing, there is no reason to doubt the informant’s assertion when he says, “there are places we can go and hunt”. This was echoed throughout the interviews and in the same interview he later asserted that the Reserve “did not affect me a lot. I personally, as a hunter, I have a lot of places that I can go to hunt.”

The fact that these hunters have other areas where they can and do hunt stands in contrast to much of the critical literature on protected areas, for in most areas the entire critical resource or territory is contained by the Reserve. By way of example, Dan

Brockington's work on the Arusha and the Mkomazi in Tanzania emphasizes a loss of access to lands.

Land alienation in Tanzania is marked by the prominence of land loss for conservation purposes. Conservation in Tanzania is distinguished by its energetic pursuit of more lands to gazette as protected areas. No less than 27 per cent of Tanzania's land is now national park, game Reserve or forest Reserve, and so prohibited to human habitation. (Brockington, 2002, p. 6)

This loss of access to lands and other natural resources is a central theme in much of the literature. For example, Brockington, mentioned above, focuses on herders who have lost access to pastureland through the founding of these national parks. These findings of conflict depend on an enforced scarcity, a lack of access to the resource because it has been shut behind the borders of protected areas. The contests in the literature often address territorially fixed resources within a protected area, fixed timber resources, immobile grasslands, and seasonal farmlands to which users have lost access.

Birds, on the other hand, are mobile resources that fly beyond the Reserve and frequent shooting areas. Thus, they are available to hunters beyond the Reserve. Hunters in the Shouf have access to their local shooting areas and therefore do not need to go into the core zone to hunt because their quarry is readily available in these areas. The mobility and prevalence of these species in areas beyond the Reserve greatly preclude conflicts between the Reserve and hunters. As the above interview continued, I asked the hunter how he felt about the establishment of the Reserve.

Interviewer: You as hunter, were you angry at first? Or are you still angry? What is your opinion about that, you can no longer go where you used to, what do you think of that?

Respondent: In my opinion, it is normal. There is no problem with the Reserve (personal communication, 2013).

Having “no problem with the Reserve” was a common theme with respondents in connection to access to these areas. Of course hunters were not overjoyed with the fact that they could not hunt in those areas, but they were not angry about it. Again, all expressed that they were largely able to hunt in other areas. Such availability partly ameliorates resentment and conflict; thus, hunters have “no problem with the Reserve”.

These hunters were speaking about hunting in areas outside of the core zone Reserve: the buffer zone, the transition zone, and areas beyond in which the Reserve has no direct legal authority to sanction hunters (Abu-Izzeddin, 2010; UNESCO Man and the Biosphere, 2008). In these adjacent territories places to hunt are ubiquitous. The local shooting spot is not a single place, but rather a collection of sites where birds are known to pass in large numbers, and their use changes depending on the species. Should hunters find that there are lots of hunters at the local shooting site, they can go to the next one. Or they might sit between them and take what comes their way. If they don’t want to head out to the immediate area, they might simply roam around their local wood and shoot what they can. If none of these are appealing, hunters hunt on the roads that connect villages, in the village streets, or from porches and rooftops.

Such practices can lead to problems with hunters who choose to hunt within a village. During my fieldwork I observed a lot of hunting within villages. One event is

rather prominent in my mind, though not unusual. I was walking to a local store, lost in thought, observing the weather and trees, when a shotgun blast sent me ducking as an unseen hunter on my left took a shot at a bird. I don't know if he got his quarry, but the birdshot rained down on a family that had set up breakfast on their patio. The metal shot fell all over their food, the plastic shot had landed on the jasmine covered lattice over their heads, and they began to throw out their breakfast, asking each other if anyone had seen the hunter. I observed consistent hunting on the roads and in villages during the fieldwork.

Of course, not all hunters hunt in the villages and not all will shoot toward homes. Places to hunt are ubiquitous and this abundance and the persistence of attendant dangerous practices like hunting in a village, belie a larger debate in Lebanon—an absence of effective state enforcement of laws. I observed that the constant road and village hunting occurred without sanction. Public roads and villages are under a standing national ban on hunting, and the enforcement of that ban is the responsibility of the state. Given the observed hunting practice in these areas, clearly the state is not enforcing the hunting ban in these areas. This seeming lack of a state in Lebanon and the attendant discussions of sectarianism have served as fodder for much debate (Deeb, 2011; Khalaf, 1987; Norton, 2014; Salibi, 2003; Traboulsi, 2012). Given this lack of state presence, municipal services, and the prevalence of rampant corruption, the Lebanese like to ask, sometimes in all earnestness, and sometimes with sarcasm, “where is the state?”— *Wain al-dawle*? While this is often asked in the context of discussions of absent civil services, in connection to hunting it is asked because people can shoot pretty much anywhere they want. There is no state enforcement in areas adjacent to the Reserve. I asked multiple

hunters if they had ever been given a ticket, had their gun taken, asked for a license, or been sanctioned by any state associated official. The resounding answer was no. Hunters can and do hunt in these areas because the state makes little to no attempt to forbid them from doing so.

Much of the aforementioned literature on Lebanon addresses the question of “where is the state” by looking at sectarian fracture, regional instability and international intervention from regional and other states. All of these have come to mark the Lebanese state with discord, fracture and ineffective or absent law application. The absence of state enforcement or sanction of hunting in areas adjacent to core zone of the Reserve has spatial effects in the core zone because the lack of enforcement beyond the core zone stands in contrast to the Reserve’s actual enforcement within the core zone, and thus has powerful consequences for the governing of territory within the core zone.

Understanding this territory requires us to think of space relationally (Allen, 2004; Amin, 2004; Lefebvre, 1992; Massey, 2004), to think of how different spaces come to inform each other’s construction. In this manner, we can think about the core zone as a space in which hunting is suppressed through legal sanction and is thus a territorial space of legal practice that is made effective through the Reserve staff, and which removes pleasure from hunting such that it is impossible to hunt as a “hobby” in this space. Beyond the core zone, there lies space where the state does not enforce the national ban on hunting and thereby constitutes a space and territory that is absent of legal enforcement or regulation of hunting, and therefore a space in which the enjoyment of hunting as a hobby is possible. Therefore, the lack of state enforcement outside of the

Reserve, outside of the core zone, facilitates the capacity of the Reserve to enforce the hunting ban within the core zone.

Finally, the presence of a space to hunt, the presence of an alternative is yet another part of the explanation as to why there is little hunting in the Reserve, and minimal conflict between hunters and the Reserve. Hunters are presented with multiple alternatives and do not seek to hunt within the Reserve and therefore there is less conflict with the Reserve. The lack of enforcement on the part of the state allows the Reserve to enforce the ban within its purview and hunters negotiate this by simply hunting outside of the Reserve and do not need to come into conflict with Reserve officials.

ANALYSIS FOUR

A Core Territory of Sanction: A Core Territory of Governmentality

To this point we have clear evidence that part of the reason that people do not hunt in the core zone of the Reserve is that the Reserve can undermine the pleasure of hunting, it can create a fear of sanction, and there are many alternatives where sanctions are not present and pleasure is possible. However, sanction is only part of the motivation to not hunt in the Reserve. The Reserve does not have enough staff to patrol the whole core zone. It cannot level sanction or oversee the entire core zone at all times. In fact, the Reserve does not want or need to patrol the whole core zone.

The management style of the work team is not that of confrontation, but rather a level of clearly articulated faith and trust that people will respect the Reserve. Among my crucial research contacts was Nizar Hani who is the manager of SBR. In an interview with Hani I asked why the Reserve did not put more into having guards and enforcement. He responded that he was interested in an inviting, open and well-run space that does not

have adversarial relationships with locals. He said that he trusts locals to not hunt. This is not to say that there was no enforcement or that the matter of hunting was left to the birds, so to say. However, the intensity, sharpness, and consistency of enforcement in the SBR core zone were at odds with common portrayals in the literature on protected areas of heavy sanction against infringement (Brockington, 2002; Neumann, 1998; Robbins, Hintz, & Moore, 2013; Sandlos, 2011; K.S. Zimmerer, 2006; K.S. Zimmerer & Young, 1998).

Given this lack of constant enforcement, there are reasons beyond displeasure, fear, and sanction that motivate people to not hunt in the core zone. In addition, people talked about the Reserve with respect, support, and accommodation. A different part of the interview with the previously mentioned group of hunters, who said that they don't hunt in the Reserve because it can lead to problems and even prison, illuminates this point.

Interviewer: Of course all of you that, um I know that many hunters used to go up to the mountain and hunt up in the hills and now they can't. They can no longer do that. Was there anger about the matter? What was the effect of the founding of the Reserve on all of you as hunters?

Respondent: We granted that there be a Reserve here with us because those birds have started to become extinct. They are starting to be lost, they are beginning to be lost. Domestic animals are being lost, because that Reserve has a great deal of value, it is valuable and we preserve it, we preserve it (personal communication, 2013).

In many ways Hani's trust of the hunters is not misplaced because there is a respect of the Reserve. These hunters' assertion that the Reserve has a great deal of value, "it is valuable and we preserve it" was a consistent finding among many of the informants. The fact that hunters, who have been disallowed from hunting in the expansive and beautiful areas of the core zone, say, "the Reserve has a great deal of value, it is valuable and we preserve it, we preserve it", stands in contrast to much of the literature on protected areas, which often highlights opposition to and conflicts with protected areas. Of course, this does not negate the literature, but rather impels us to ask why things are different around the SBR. Why are these hunters finding value in the Reserve? Why do they perceive the Reserve as a place of value, a place they allowed to be established and they preserve?

To understand why hunters might assert that they "preserve" the Reserve, I point to Arun Agrawal's concept of environmentality (Agrawal, 2005a, 2005b), which he builds out of the Foucauldian concept of governmentality. At its core governmentality is a concept developed by Foucault in his lectures at the college of France from 1977-1978 (Foucault, 2009). In these lectures he mentioned governmentality as an "abstract" form of rule that attempts not to rule by force, but rather by addressing and aligning the desires and wants of a population with the goals of those who are enacting governance. In this formulation, power is not centered in the figurehead of a king or ruler, or class, but rather power is everywhere. Indeed, as Foucault says, "Power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere" (Foucault, 1978, p. 98). In this manner, those who want to achieve rule do not do so by force, but instead by

defining and addressing the needs of the population, and in so doing effecting an alignment of population interests towards defined, but continually shifting, goals.

Arun Agrawal takes up this aligning of interests in developing the concept of environmentality when he discusses the development and change of people's attitudes towards forest conservation from not caring about forest conservation (Agrawal, 2005a, p. 161) to becoming very committed to the project later. This change occurred once conservation was no longer a matter of British Colonial policy but rather a locally "owned" project of conservation (p. 170). It is through this changing outlook that Agrawal locates subject formation. Agrawal says,

To say that people's interests change so as to take into account environmental protection is not to suggest that conflicting desires for personal gain, defined potentially in as many ways as there are subjects, no longer exist or that interests do not matter. Instead, it is to insist on the mutability of conceptions of interests and subjects' practices. (p. 166)

It is this "mutability" of interests that is crucial to governmentality. Returning then to the hunter's assertions in the quote above, it is apparent that the hunter values the Reserve because it preserves species and animals. Much like Agrawal's informant, this hunter has adopted the Reserve as his own, allowing its founding out of a mutable interest. In this case, the hunter defines his interest as preserving threatened animal species.

In looking at the Reserve some hunters have come to see the Reserve as a space that preserves the species they want to hunt. It gives the birds more of a chance and further ensures the presence of birds to hunt during the next season. I asked a hunter how hunters felt about the Reserve and he responded, "You need to remember that if a bird

has five eggs in the nest and you kill that bird, then those five die. In this manner, they are happy about the Reserve because the Reserve has secured something for them to hunt later on” (personal communication, 2013). The Reserve gives them an ecosystem service they value: an assurance that birds will be around to hunt. In Agrawal’s terms, this is their interest, their interest is to hunt and as so many hunters assert, hunting is about pleasure, then the interest we speak of is an interest in a pleasure pursuit. Thus, if the presence of the Reserve can help to maintain these species, then they will support the presence of the Reserve which then supports their interests.

This idea that the Reserve preserves these species is a prevalent way of talking about the Reserve. Hunters connect preservation of species to their availability for hunting in the future, but also to species loss and extinction. Again, the hunter above says, “We granted that there be a Reserve here with us because those birds have started to become extinct. They are starting to be lost, they are beginning to be lost.” This idea echoed throughout many of the interviews and most hunters in the Shouf claim that bird numbers over the years have taken a nosedive. I was told over and over again that there used to be many more birds twenty or thirty years ago and now they seem so much less such that there are hunters who have quit hunting because they never get to shoot and are bored. This common understanding of bird loss contributes to a support of the Reserve and some hunter informants assert that the presence of the Reserve is a good thing because it helps to guard against loss. Thus, whether the Reserve is preserving endangered species or maintaining higher numbers to shoot, some value the Reserve because they understand it to be supporting their pleasure pursuit.

Such buy-in is at the heart of environmentalism; these hunters have bought into the idea that the Reserve is a valuable environmental project that furthers hunting as a pleasurable pursuit. These hunters “granted” that the Reserve be established, they express consent to the establishment of the Reserve and even if they did not do so previously, they have come to “value” the Reserve such that they are unwilling to hunt in the Reserve. In this quote, it is clear that there is a level of ownership of the Reserve, they allowed the Reserve to be established and thus why would they hunt in it if they were part of its establishment.

In looking at the multiple motivations to not hunt in the core zone, a desire for pleasure in hunting, fear of sanction, accommodation for the fact of the Reserve, we might begin to wonder then about this governance strategy on the part of the Reserve. As we have seen, the Reserve is run in a way that promotes and encourages rather than punishes, when possible. However, what of the buffer and transition zones? If we move out from the heart of the core, in what sorts of legal spaces do we find ourselves? What spaces of governance are to be found in territories adjacent to the Reserve where the Reserve is not the final word of enforcement? Such questions serve as lines of inquiry in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 5

A TRANSITION ZONE: PROTECTED(ISH) AREAS

INTRODUCTION

This chapter takes us out of the core zone and into transition zone. To my knowledge, this chapter is one of the first attempts to directly theorize the role of the core zone in a biosphere reserve in a context in which state actors, the police, are unable to enforce the standing national law within those areas. Fortress conservation concerns itself with the fortress and that which is lost behind its walls. This chapter addresses legal enforcement of the national ban on hunting beyond the core zone. While it is apparent from earlier chapters that there is little to no enforcement of this ban beyond the core zone, hunting remains contested by the Reserve in these areas. This chapter addresses the history of the biosphere transition zones and demonstrates that they are unsettled spaces of contested governance and enforcement between the Reserve, the police, and hunters.

In doing so, this chapter provides a counter point to fortress conservation by looking at how these administrative zones as distinct from the core zone which allow the Reserve to take up conservation interests. It demonstrates how the transition zone is an administrative space where Lebanon writ large and the Reserve meet, where police responsibility and authority to enforce national state laws and the Reserve goal of suppressing and curbing hunting wash into each other. In this manner, there is no single authority as there is in the heart of the fortress because we are now moving to adjacent areas that are within and beyond the Reserve's administrative purview.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To understand the transitional zone as unsettled spaces of contested governance and enforcement requires further exploration of the literature on protected areas, specifically the need in this literature for further explicit spatial theorization of how the territories created by protected areas interact with other areas and within themselves. Much of this literature, when engaging with territory and space, focuses on conflicts surrounding the creation and presence of protected areas—the demarcation of land, and an ensuing loss of access to livelihood resources by those deemed to not belong to the territory this demarcation creates (Adams, 2004, 2008; Brockington, 2002; Brockington et al., 2008; Brockington & Homewood, 1996; Dowie, 2011; Jacoby, 2001; Neumann, 1998).

However, not all of the conservation literature relies on this framing of territory. Drawing on Juanita Sundberg's aforementioned work on the Maya Biosphere in Guatemala, which pushes the idea of territory and conservation by focusing on landscape, space, and identity, this chapter goes much further in its theorization of territory in conservation contexts. This chapter contributes to this literature through a more detailed consideration of why these areas have been introduced, and theorizes how these administrative spaces have come to function with regard to conservation efforts on the part of the Reserve, the state, and hunters in the Shouf. This chapter also benefits from Edge and McAllister's *Place-Based local governance and sustainable communities: lessons from Canadian biospheres reserves* (2009). In this piece, Edge and McAllister look at how sustainable governance and ecosystem management is created through cooperation with people living in the transition zones of two Canadian biosphere reserves. They describe the transition zone as the "The area of co-operation or 'transition zone'" (p. 286). This is one of the few

pieces that directly interrogate the transitional zone as a distinct area. However, they leave the terms space and place intentionally under-theorized in order to address what happens in these areas and how coordination actually occurs between these the various players involved. This chapter looks at how coordination actually occurs, however it is fundamentally concerned with demonstrating that this coordination is different than the coherence offered by the narrative fortress conservation. It demonstrates that these administrative spaces are continually constructed and tenuous in that there is no clear singular administrative presence in these areas.

ANALYSIS ONE

Spatialized Intervention

The spatial and territorial practice of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve in the mountains of Lebanon finds its roots in the first national park: Yellowstone. The Territory of Wyoming in 1872 and contemporary Lebanon both share roots in a history of modern conservation. To get to the Shouf we must go through Yellowstone, and to get to Yellowstone we need to partially locate the beginning of conservation. Of course, when, where and how conservation began is highly contested and wrought with historical uncertainty. To locate the beginning of conservation is tantamount to locating the beginning of an idea, something that began as inarticulate emotion, a feeling, a sense that an observable notion called nature, the environment, should be maintained, conserved, preserved or at the very least not destroyed through laws and practices that regulate the use of said nature.

Historian Karl Jacoby (Jacoby, 2001) situates the modern conservation movement's intellectual roots in George Perkins Marsh's *Man and Nature* (1864) which takes up deforestation and soil erosion as the fundamental environmental problem facing human

kind. Geographer William Adams locates the beginning of conservation in Africa with the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPWFE), which was founded in 1903 in London (Adams, 2004) and sought to enact hunting laws in England's African colonies. Given this British interest in Africa, many historians link conservation with empire and colonialism (Adams, 2004; Adams & Mulligan, 2012; Anker, 2009; Herne, 2014; Rubin, 2000; Steinhart, 2006).

Despite the difficulty of historicizing conservation, for many of these historians, protected areas are among the strategies and outcomes of conservation efforts. Adams (2004) contends that game conservation efforts in Africa facilitated the establishment of protected areas in Africa, such as national parks, game reserves, and preserves. In his book *Black Hunters, White Poachers* Edward Steinhart details how the British conservationists picked up on the idea of national parks from the American model of Yellowstone, and applied them in Africa (2006, pp. 174-188). The beginning of protected areas in particular is usually understood to have begun with the creation of Yellowstone National Park, Wyoming in 1872. In the conservation literature, many argue that Yellowstone served as the beginning of conservation's protected areas, and as the first national park it served as the model for other parks (Adams, 2004; Jacoby, 2001; Zaslowsky, 1994; K. S. Zimmerer & Bassett, 2012). Historians Zaslowsky and Watkins situate the origins of Yellowstone with the painter George Catlin, who painted numerous Native Americans in the 1800s, as the progenitor of the idea of protected areas in the U.S. (Zaslowsky, 1994). Catlin argued for the vision of a park, and it is this articulation that arguably played a role in the founding of Yosemite in 1850 and Yellowstone 1872 which was the first National Park set aside as a "pleasuring ground" for public use (Zaslowsky,

1994). This understanding of Yellowstone as the beginning of National Parks and protected areas echoes in much of the literature.

Though many have claimed a seminal status for Yellowstone, environmental historian Dan Brockington challenges the idea that protected areas began with Yellowstone, asserting that the "Yellowstone myth" is just that, a myth. He asserts that people have set aside natural areas for millennia and lists a number of private timber and game reserves used by royalty in antiquity (Brockington et al., 2008, p. 21). Such questioning forces us to face the question of landscape history, and perhaps genre: can we enforce an historical coherence on what lies before us? The global landscape is replete with protected areas that were ostensibly created with the environment, the public, and tourism in mind. These range from game preserves, reserves, wilderness areas, forest easements, conservation easements, national parks and biosphere reserves. In looking at this global landscape and the history that Brockington cites, I would concede that his observation is interesting; but all of the contemporary areas have come into being since the founding of Yellowstone, less than a century and a half ago, thus I would take issue with his Yellowstone myth conceit. Even Brockington, with his protestations, says that it is "useful to consider how protected areas spread after Yellowstone" because Yellowstone has served as a launching point for the spread of protected areas within the guise of modern conservation (p. 21).

Much of the literature on protected areas concerns itself with national parks and protected areas that maintain strict boundaries that keep people out despite the loss of access to livelihood resources within these areas. This have given rise to a critique in the literature on the ways in which people have lost access to livelihoods by virtue of these

areas (Adams, 2004, 2008; Brockington, 2002; Brockington et al., 2008; Brockington & Homewood, 1996; Dowie, 2011; Jacoby, 2001; Neumann, 1998). There have been multiple attempts on the part of protected areas to resolve the tension between livelihood needs and conservation goals. The critical literature on protected areas has often found these attempts to be ineffective, oversold, and socially problematic in their development goals and achievements (Brockington et al., 2008; Duffy, 2010; Leach & Mearns, 1996; Robbins et al., 2013; Sundberg, 1998a, 1998b, 2003, 2004). Protected areas' lack of success in addressing livelihood and development concerns has driven a great deal of the social critique of protected areas.

Juanita Sundberg, in *NGO Landscapes in the Maya Biosphere Reserve, Guatemala*, (1998a) is among those who address the failure of protected areas to take into account development. Sundberg also brings us beyond national park model to focus on the rationale for UNESCO's creation of biosphere reserves and their zoning strategy. She says,

National parks were once favored to protect wildlife habitat, encourage national and international tourism, and provide governments with revenue (Harroy 1974; Western and Henry 1979). That model was disillusioning, for it neglected the concerns of resident populations and often worsened existing socioeconomic problems (West and Brechin 1991). To address economic and environmental needs together, the United Nations Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) developed the biosphere-reserve model as an alternative to the national park (Batisse 1986). The model is celebrated as an ideal solution to

environmental degradation and poverty in developing countries (UNESCO 1984: Vernhes 1987: Annis and others 1992). (Sundberg, 1998, p.388)

Sundberg makes a three-step argument. First, the model of national parks failed to address “the concerns of resident populations and often worsened existing socioeconomic problems.” Second, as a result of this failure, UNESCO “developed the biosphere-reserve model” in a particular manner. Third, that model “is celebrated as an ideal solution to environmental degradation and poverty”. In short, National Park model either failed to address or exacerbated human needs and the creation of the three zoned biosphere model was meant to remediate these national park model issues. These are the Yellowstone roots of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve, which at the time of writing was one of 651 UNESCO biosphere reserves in the world (UNESCO, 2015b). These reserves are part of UNESCO’s Man and the Biosphere Program which began in 1971 (Martínez & Valderrama, 1995, p. 204) and whose basic tenant is “to establish a scientific basis for the improvement of relationships between people and their environments”. It is within the Man and the Biosphere program that UNESCO launched the Biosphere Reserve program, which sets up protected areas under the name of Biospheres.

These protected areas attempt to remediate the failures of national parks through a different territorial strategy: they feature three different administrative zones instead of one protected area that only addresses conservation goals to the detriment of local peoples. These zones are a main feature of UNESCO biosphere reserves (UNESCO, 2015a) and to illustrate their purpose and function, I point to the Shouf Biosphere Reserve’s own management plan for the core zone, the buffer zone and the transition zone. The core zone of a biosphere is meant to be a highly protected area. Its main goal is

“for the protection and rehabilitation of natural and cultural values, building community support, encouraging education and research, promoting ecotourism, and developing long term financial sustainability” (Abu-Izzeddin, 2010, p. 69). This area has rules of conduct that allow for “environmental education, scientific research, [and] ecosystem rehabilitation (p. 69)”. It is forbidden to hunt, graze, cut trees, build asphalt roads or any facilities (p. 69). The goals of the buffer zone are consonant with core zone conservation goals, and is defined as a zone in which “only activities compatible with the conservation objectives can take place” (p. 69). In the buffer zone grazing, agriculture, picnicking, recreational land use are all permitted. Major industrial and construction projects are not permitted. Biosphere reserve buffer zones are partly protected through landowner agreements, and 60% of the buffer zone in the Shouf is private land (p. 30). This zone is rather thin and extends 500 meters beyond the edge of the core zone (p. 68). The transition zone is “where all the villages surrounding the Reserve are located and sustainable resource management practices are promoted” (p. 69). This area allows for “construction activities permitted by law, industrial activities permitted by law, agricultural activities with minimal pesticides, restaurants and guesthouses for ecotourism, picnic areas and food stalls” and the area prohibits “activities that contribute to climate change and pollution/garbage of all kinds” (p. 69). The Shouf Biosphere Reserve’s management plan demonstrates the spatial and territorial strategy of UNESCO’s biosphere model, which attempts to reconcile development and conservation. The core zone preserves ecosystems, the buffer blends conservation with agriculture and non- industrial activities, and the transition zone renders the villages around the Reserve as sites of development intervention.

The attempt to couple conservation and development has informed the Biosphere Reserve project since its beginning. In the early eighties Mexican biologist and then-Secretary of the Mexican Committee of MAB Gonzalo Halffter compared biospheres and national parks. He concludes, "[t]he biosphere reserve concept being developed within the MAB Program offers a new and dynamic approach to reconciling conservation and development needs" (Halffter, 1981, p. 94). The *Madrid Action Plan for biosphere reserves (2008-2013)* (MAP), which serves as the roadmap for the implementation of biosphere reserves, directly embraces the conflation of protected areas and development goals.

The biosphere reserve (BR) concept has proved its value beyond protected areas and is increasingly embraced by scientists, planners, policy makers and local communities to bring a variety of knowledge, scientific investigations and experiences to link biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development for human well-being. (UNESCO Man and the Biosphere, 2008, p. 3)

The site for these development goals is the transition zone, and development activities take shape under rubric of the Millennium Development Goals (UN, 2015, p. 8).

UNESCO's biosphere reserve model of blending conservation and development intervention is meant to serve as an administrative territorial structuring that promotes and advances the seemingly disparate goals of development and conservation through the presence of a protected area surrounded by zones which feature mutually complementary green projects which raise and sustain incomes.

Biosphere reserves territorialize and spatialize the attempt to meld protected areas and development. Certainly, on a map it would appear that these are clearly separate

zones with different goals. Yet, when we look closely at the attempt to create a protected area coupled by a development zone, the goals and projects of each spill into each other (Amin, 2004). In fact, this is sanctioned in the MAP which renders the transition zone not only a territory of green development, but also a new site of conservation intervention and says, "the transition area, in addition to the development function, can also consider conservation/environmental goals and elements" (UNESCO Man and the Biosphere, 2008, p. 16). Thus, while Sundberg looks at the buffer and transition zones as economic development zones, this chapter addresses the transition zone as territory of conservation intervention.

To begin to look at these territories, let us first address how they came to be part of a UNESCO biosphere reserve. As a project, the Reserve began during the Lebanese Civil War. Faisal Abu-Izzeddin, considered the "father" of Lebanese reserves, was living in Virginia when he took a trip to a number of U.S. National Parks. After meeting with park managers and employees, he believed that a similar project would serve Lebanon well for social and environmental reasons. Upon returning to Lebanon, he and others worked with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the Global Environment Facility (GEF) to select a site and obtain funding (Abu-Izzeddin, personal conversation, 10/11/11). Also during the civil war, Assad Serhal, who is the current director of the Society for the Protection of Nature (SPNL) which is the "the Bird Life national partner in Lebanon" (SPNL, 2015) and works on habitat protection, was studying resource management at Oklahoma State University. In his public speech course, Serhal gave a talk about his hope that Lebanon might build something akin to national parks. His classmates laughed at him and pointed out Lebanon's then-crushing

civil war. After completing his degree he returned to Lebanon, and with support from the Shouf political leader Walid Jumblatt, Serhal became the Reserve's first manager (Serhal, personal conversation, 10/20/11). The reserve Serhal ran differs from the current Shouf Biosphere Reserve. It began as a legally protected area in July of 1996 (Official Gazette, 1996). This law sets much of the forest and public lands between Niha and Ain Zahalta as part of the Reserve and the east side of Barouk mountain. This original area comprises much of the current core zone and at the time was simply called "Al-Shouf Cedar Nature Reserve".

In 2006 the protected area grew when Al-Shouf Cedar Nature Reserve became the UNESCO Shouf Biosphere Reserve. At that time, much of Al-Shouf Cedar Nature Reserve became the core zone, and the Reserve added buffer and transition zones. Becoming a biosphere reserve constituted a sea change in governance for the Reserve. It went from becoming a reserve with laws and sanctions attached to very specific, delimited territories, much like the national park model in the United States, to a different model in which the population in and around the Reserve are not trespassers, but sites of intervention. Therefore, the transition from a national park model to a biosphere reserve constitutes a different territorial governance strategy. The founding law of the al-Shouf Cedar, which is still in effect in the core zone, sets a binary of rules and penalties. In Foucauldian terms this binary is a form of discipline (Foucault, 2009, p. 3). In such a formulation, the state, or the Reserve seeks to regulate, control and set up lines of force to access the body and reform individuals who violate rules (Foucault, 1977). In reading the law, infractions are apparent and the penalties are clear. For example,

Each person that breaks, spoils or transfers any of the produce of the protected land or removes the board signs is punished by a fine ranging from one hundred thousand Lebanese pound to one million Lebanese pounds and enter prison for fifteen days to six months (Official Gazette, 1996).

However, in the transition zone the binary of infraction and punishment disappears and the Reserve is not the final authority. In the core zone it can arrest and imprison hunters in its enforcement of the protected area. In the transition zone, it must deploy other strategies in its attempts to curb and suppress hunting. Among those strategies is an attempt to enlist police and by the police we are speaking of the Internal Security Forces (ISF), which is the civil authority and are the police for all of Lebanon. They see to the security and application of law in Lebanon. In the transition zone, the Reserve attempts to enlist the police in the enforcement of the national ban on hunting. This ban on hunting has been in effect since the end of the civil war, and there has been a total and complete ban on hunting throughout Lebanon since that time. However, the national ban on hunting is entirely ineffective and people hunt openly in most all places. Thus, the transition zone becomes a space that brings together the disparate and intersecting roles, responsibilities, and interests of the Reserve, the police, the state, and hunters. During my fieldwork there were many ways in which I observed these elements interact in the transition zone. For example, as we saw in the previous chapter, there is little to no enforcement of the national ban on hunting in this area despite the presence of these authorities. To ask why there is no enforcement is to ask why there is little state enforcement and what is the nature of the state in Lebanon. We can begin to address

these questions by addressing the transition zone as a legal space where a national ban on hunting is supposedly in effect.

ANALYSIS TWO

Mixed Zone, Unstable Zone

UNESCO's current biosphere model renders the transition zone as a site of conservation intervention on the part of the Reserve. Again, the MAP states, "the transition area, in addition to the development function, can also consider conservation/environmental goals and elements" (UNESCO Man and the Biosphere, 2008, p. 16). On the ground, the Reserve does take up a conservation agenda in the transition zone, specifically through attempts to curb and limit hunting in these areas. In its attempts to govern these areas, the Reserve must depend on the police. As opposed to the core zone, the Reserve has no mandate or legal authority to sanction hunters in the transition zone, a point emphasized by the hunter's assertion last chapter that "the law does not extend beyond the Reserve." The Reserve is responsible for enforcing the ban to the edge of the core zone. Yet, beyond the core zone, the Reserve does not have enforcement authority, it can merely "consider environmental goals and elements" as they are not legally responsible for controlling hunting in this area. It is a development area and hunting is not among the prohibitions of the Reserve management plan for this zone. Instead, hunting outside the core zone, which at the time of the field work was subject to a national ban, is the responsibility of the police and the state. The Reserve does not have any authority to sanction hunters outside the core, as buffer and transition zones not protected areas. Yet, it is the transition zone of the Reserve where the Reserve is asked to "consider environmental goals and elements". Thus, the transition zone is an administrative space

where Lebanon writ large and the Reserve meet, where police responsibility and authority to enforce national state laws and the Reserve goal of suppressing and curbing hunting wash into each other.

Thus, when Africa-bound birds arrive in the transition zone each fall, they are under the authority of the police who are charged with enforcing national law in these areas, including the national ban on hunting. Despite this responsibility, the police do not enforce this ban and, as we began to see in the last chapter, there is rampant hunting in the transition zone. Thus, given the requirement for “considering conservation goals” in the transition zone, the Reserve seeks to address the rampant hunting in this zone but to do so it has to depend on the police to enforce the national ban on hunting. I have observed Reserve staff in multiple venues and on multiple occasions ask the police to confront and address hunters shooting birds on roads and in villages. Despite the Reserve’s requests, police do not always confront hunters. Without such requests on the part of the Reserve, the police certainly would never ticket or confront hunters. This was readily apparent on multiple occasions when hunters would hunt all over these areas and would be joined by police officers or simply ignored.

There are many reasons why police do not enforce the national hunting ban in the transition zone despite the Reserve’s attempts to enlist them. Interviews with non-hunters, hunters, and police yielded one of the reasons for police not confronting hunters—priority. People often said publicly and in interviews what can be summed up as, “Lebanon is a small country with limited resources. Where are you going to put your resources? There are those who are killing people, you can’t worry about birds right now”. The “right now” was during my fieldwork in the summer and fall of 2012—a

particularly difficult time for Lebanon. The war in Syria seemed to be spilling onto coastal Lebanon with multiple gun battles, explosions in coastal cities, and car bombs in Beirut. These events grabbed international headlines, which detailed the grimness of each event and speculated about local and regional perpetrators, motives, means and possible outcomes (Abedine & Pearson; Barnard; Morris & Haindamous; Samaha).

While international headlines concern themselves with prominent violent events, international journalism often omits the myriad ways in which people are affected by these events. News stories don't often address the constant tension, anxiety and fear produced by these events and they miss the tense talk of the street in which there was often mention of yet another attempt at exploding a public place and how it was thwarted by the police. This pervasive tension created a massive demand for police control and intervention to prevent and stop such bombings. Such concerns eclipse a concern for confronting hunters. Many informants, in answering the question of why the police do not address hunting, echoed a hunter who said "there are some hunting people these days" and that the police were not as worried about bird hunters (personal communication). From such interviews and data we find that a lack of political stability contributes to a lack of enforcement of law, which is to be expected, perhaps.

However, narratives of stability or instability do not fully explain an absence of enforcement. Indeed, the absence of enforcement remained prevalent even in the fall hunting season when tensions had begun to ease. Additionally, during my preliminary research in the fall of 2011, I observed a lack of enforcement in the transition zone. This was a rather calm time in Lebanon. So while the instability of summer 2013 was a

contributing factor to a lack of enforcement of the ban on hunting, it is not the *only* reason.

ANALYSIS THREE

Hunter Police Interaction

Given a lack of enforcement beyond political and regional instability, police are often blamed for a lack of commitment in applying laws. This was a lament put forth by Reserve staff and hunters themselves. One hunter informant said to me simply that the police were simply not strict. Thus police are often blamed for not enforcing the law. However, there is more to the matter than a police laxity. In the Shouf, the target of the Reserve's attempts to reduce hunting in the transition zone is the hunters themselves, and the Reserve attempts to address them through the police. Among the mitigating circumstances that keep police from enacting Reserve requests or enforcing the national ban in the transition zone on their own initiative are the hunters themselves. The effectiveness of police intervention is partly predicated on a willingness to work with police on the part of the hunters, but hunters maintain an unwillingness to stop hunting or to be cubed in their pursuit. This is apparent in many of the hunter interviews. When asked what they would do if they were given a ticket or sanctioned in any manner for hunting, they said they would simply wait for the officer to leave or go hunt in a different place. Should their gun be confiscated as a form of sanction they would simply buy a new gun and continue to hunt. Quite simply, they would do what they could to ignore the matter, and direct sanctions would be met with anger, resistance and indifference. This answer was given across the board. The following interview demonstrates the common

attitude towards police and hunting-related sanctions in the villages in the transition zone.

I asked a hunter about problems with police while hunting:

Respondent:... we have run into them, the police, a number of times.

Interviewer: And what do you do?

Respondent: We run away.

Interviewer: You run away?

Respondent: We go into the forest.

Interviewer: Do they follow you all?

Respondent: They can't. There are places each hunter knows, everyone is in his own village. So if, by way of example, if a guy from another area comes and he wants to catch me, he won't know about my village as much as I know about places and such so I can hide between rocks, among the trees and he gets lost. And he won't rally to follow you over a long distance. He gets scared that if something happens to you, you get hurt, if you get hurt he is responsible.

As is apparent in the above interview, the hunter claims to simply run from the police when he knows he might be pursued, demonstrating an unwillingness to submit to any sort of enforcement of hunting laws. Yet in looking at the interview there is more to the matter than an unwillingness to be ticketed. The hunter asserts that the officer won't give chase because "if something happens to you, you get hurt, if you get hurt he is responsible". Here, the hunter turns the responsibility for the pursuit of hunters around onto the officer. He is claiming that the officer is responsible for what happens during the pursuit of a hunter who is committing legal infractions. As a result of this responsibility, the hunter claims that the officer is too scared to come for a hunter, he is scared that

should something happen to the hunter during pursuit, he will be held responsible. On its surface, this might sound a bit strange, but in truth it is quite accurate and gives us a clue as to why officers are unwilling to pursue hunters.

To understand why this is an accurate statement it is important to note that the hunter does not explicitly say that the officer is *legally* responsible. He simply says, “He gets scared that if something happens to you, you get hurt, if you get hurt he is responsible.” In the spirit of the above quote, should a hunter be hurt while being pursued, the hunter might well try to find blame for the officer in the matter. In practice, this is what actually happens. Officers are held responsible to hunters, and more specifically they are held responsible for whom they pursue.

To further understand this fear of accountability on the part of the police, I turn to an interview with a hunter who, in the course of the interview, said that the largest problem with enforcement was the matter of *maḥsūbiyya*—patronage. Of course, during the interview he used the word *maḥsūbiyya*, which often translates to patronage. However, this translation does not explain the matter well. Patronage gives the sense of a single final patron who controls matters. Instead, to translate this word we might look to its trilateral root of *ḥā sīn bā*, which is the root for other words in the semantic field that has the words, account, accountant, the check at a restaurant. The translation of the root gives us a better sense of the social role of *maḥsūbiyya* in that should police pursue hunters, they might be held accountable to the ability of the suspect to strike back through the local social network of accounts built on favors, social indebtedness and local positions of power. For example, should the police pursue a hunter connected the owner of a large company, a large land owner, or simply a politically connected person, the

consequences of pursuing such people could be drastic. The officer's brother, sister, mother or son might well be employed by this person in some manner, might need a political favor, or might need a job. Pursuing a hunter and causing him harm could, through these social networks, spell big trouble for the officer and his family. There is a willingness to use these networks against people even though they may well be fulfilling their legal duty. Given this, a police officer who pursues hunters might be risking his entire career and his family income over the matter.

With the matter of *maḥsūbiyya* in hand, let us return to the first interview when the hunter says, “if something happens to you, you get hurt, if you get hurt he is responsible”. The hunter is asserting that even though it is the hunter who is breaking the law, law enforcement can be brought to account. Yet in saying this, he does not use the word *account*, he uses the word *maṣʿūl*—responsible. The root for this word in Arabic is *sīn hamza lām* and its use in this sentence translates quite well to demonstrate the irony of how *maḥsūbiyya* flips responsibility onto the officer. In Arabic, the root of *maṣʿūl* (responsible) is the basic root for the word *question* (*suʿāl*), and put in the form of *maṣʿūl* it makes the word into the passive participle and can be construed such that the officer is the one who is questioned about his actions. The same sense of the word can be found in the English morphology of *responsible*; the person who is able to give a response—the person who can be questioned in order to elicit a response. Thus, it is the police officer who may well be brought to account, have to give a response, be questioned, and held responsible for his choice to pursue a hunter.

Given this asymmetrical inversion of culpability, what officer would dare confront hunters over shooting some little birds? Police are therefore less than responsive to the

Reserve's request to confront hunters outside of the core zone, and the Reserve finds itself quite limited in its capacity to curb hunting beyond the core zone. Considering that the ban on hunting is a national ban we can also begin to think of the transition zone as the meeting place of the Reserve and the state.

ANALYSIS FOUR

The State, The Police, The Transition Zone

The national ban on hunting began after the end of the civil war. It was to be in effect for only a few years until there was a new law that regulated hunting. At the time of my fieldwork in 2013, the ban on hunting was still in effect. The failure of the total ban on hunting is nothing if not spectacular. Hunting is rampant throughout rural Lebanon. As we have seen, it is legally the responsibility of the police to address hunting because in Lebanon there is no department of wildlife, nor is there a Department of Natural Resources. Indeed, there is no specific enforcement entity dedicated to the protection and regulation of wildlife. There is however, the Ministry of Environment (MOE), which partly funds and has some say in Lebanon's reserves. However, it too must depend on the police for the enforcement of environmental laws and regulations.

As we have seen, the transition zone is the point of interaction between the police and the Reserve. In this zone the police do not enforce laws because at times they work under the shadow of instability, and at other times they work in fear of those they are commissioned to govern. In this zone the Reserve is limited in its ability to curb hunting because, in depending on the police for enforcement, it is confined to limitations of the police. When the Reserve makes requests that the police confront these hunters in these areas, a myriad of conflicting factors come together. When the Reserve requests the

police to ticket hunters in these zone, the Reserve is asking the national police to enforce national law. It is asking the state to do its job. Yet, the Reserve is not speaking with the state, it is speaking with police who, while representatives and agents of the state, are also individuals who have much reason to hesitate in enforcing law.

When the Reserve requests police to confront hunters in the transition zone, the question takes on a spatial dimension. In the core zone the Reserve has full legal authority. It can sanction people very heavily. Yet in the transition zone the Reserve needs to request the support of the police, it needs the state. And where is the state? It is certainly not ticketing hunters or enforcing the national ban on hunting.

To understand why this negotiation is significant to the spatial administration of national parks, let us consider the literature on national parks. This literature often addresses the killing of wildlife and other conflicts on the very edge of the park and the production of distinct zones that divide the protected area from the non-protected area (Adams, 2004; Brockington, 2002; Cronon, 1996; Jacoby, 2001; Neumann, 1998). Beyond the protected area, parks and reserves have little to no capacity to address hunting or other environment-related activities. For example, Jacoby's *Crimes Against Nature* recounts a massive killing of Elk on the edge of Yellowstone which the Park was unable to address (Jacoby, 2001, p. 139). Of course, Jacoby addresses a different time and a different situation, yet the parallels between this case and the rampant hunting just beyond the core zone in the Shouf are quite striking. To quote one hunter who lives near the Reserve, "once an animal comes out of those borders, it will get shot".

UNESCO's model seeks to remediate what it sees to be the issues of national park model, the Yellowstone model in which administrative spaces are hard, set and highly

delimited and sought do so in connection to development goals. However, as we know from the MAB plan, reserves can “consider conservation goals” beyond the core boundaries. Yellowstone had and has no capacity to “consider conservation goals” beyond the park boundaries, which is precisely what UNESCO’s biosphere reserve model allows protected areas. SBR’s spatial structuring facilitates this state and protected area interaction in connection to enforcement of hunting law in SBR’s transition zone. The presence of this territory allows the Reserve to make the request of the police, it allows the Reserve to ask the police to confront hunters, it is the space in which the capacity and authority of the Reserve and the state, in the form of the police, wash into each other and begin to negotiate how to address hunting in these areas.

In the case of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve the transitional zone is a liminal space that engenders negotiations between the protected area and civil authorities in the effecting of conservation in addition to development goals. The Reserve can make this request of the state more easily in these areas. At the same time, the Reserve does have deputized staff working for them who could go and begin to confront hunters in these areas. However, the Reserve does not have the legal authority for such enforcement outside the core zone. It is not in the management plan, and is not an element of zone structuring of obligations and authority (Abu-Izzeddin, 2010). The spatial understanding of authority for the effective ban on hunting associated with protected areas is limited to the core zone. This is quite apparent from the hunter who asserts that, “the law does not extend beyond the Reserve”. In turn, the transition zone is not the Reserve, it is a mixed area and the Reserve has to depend on the police for enforcement of the national ban and they can only get so far in doing so.

Thus, as we saw in the earlier chapter four, people like to rhetorically ask, “Where is the state?” Hunting is rampant in areas adjacent to the Reserve because attempts to govern hunters in this area are failing. It is the police that are suppose to enforce hunting laws, to enforce state policy. However, they have never done so and given the level of fear they feel from hunters they are not about to begin doing so, despite the Reserve’s requests. So we are left again with the question where is the state? I am not so sure that we can answer where the state is, but perhaps we might answer where the state is *not*. The police fear of retaliation evidences a lack of state support for police executing their charge. The state does not back up police in enforcing laws which reduces their effectiveness and in turn, reduces any semblance of the rule of law or in the case of hunting laws, it reduces the effectiveness of environmental governance. In the case of the Shouf, it allows for the rampant hunting in all areas adjacent to the core zone, thus creating a spectacular hunting area in the transition zone.

CHAPTER 6

CATCH 580: A PROTECTED AREA AMONG THE VAGARIES OF THE STATE

INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter we have seen that the zoning practice of the UNESCO biosphere reserves constitutes an intentional territorial administrative shift from the national park model. There is not a rigid delineation of in and out, but a blending of development and conservation in transition zones. Under such territorial structuring the Shouf Biosphere Reserve is able to “consider conservation goals in the transition zone,” which provides reserves with a rationale for attention to the transition zones as a site of conservation intervention as well as a site of development interventions. However, the Shouf Biosphere Reserve’s attempts to address hunting are contingent on much more than the mandate presented by UNESCO’s MAP. In this chapter, I further explore the transition zone in relation to the attempt to end the national ban on hunting in order to enact Lebanese National Law 580, which regulates and normalizes hunting (Official Gazette, 2004). In doing so this chapter details the limited capacity of the Lebanese state in enforcing national law and thereby provides a counterpoint to the fortress conservation model of the state as central to the founding and continuance of protected areas. However, in the case of the transition zone, I demonstrate that it is state actors that seek out the support of the Reserve in hopes of making the national law effective through having the Shouf be an example of the successful application of Law 580.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on protected areas often addresses the role that governments and states play in creating and sustaining protected areas. Scholars often begin with the colonial era when the efforts of many colonial governments created these areas. For example, Neumann's *Imposing Wilderness* looks at colonial appropriation of large lands in Tanzania, observing,

Like most of Tanzania's protected areas, the origins of Arusha National Park is linked directly to the country's colonial past. With the exception of a small portion of former public land, the park was established on land that was either colonial forest and game reserve or alienated for European estates. (Neumann, 1998, p. 148)

Other scholars historicize the colonial practice of appropriating land in the name of conservation. Diana Davis' compelling *Enclosing Nature in North Africa* directly situates the creation of national parks in North Africa with French colonial government aims and projects (Davis, 2013). William Adams also addresses the role of colonial governments in creating protected areas in Africa (Adams, 2004).

The literature also portrays the post-colonial era as marked in part by state-led conservation efforts that deployed protected areas. For example, Piers Blaikie traces the myriad ways in which colonial-style conservation played out after colonialism ended. He states: "In other instances, a colonial coercive conservation was reproduced by the newly independent state itself" (Blaikie, p. 138). This literature often demonstrates the state's neoliberal economic goals in creating protected areas (Brockington et al., 2008; Igoe, 2004), providing an effective and powerful critique of how neoliberal agendas work

through the state and come to be grounded in protected area projects. In many of these works, state efficacy is fundamental to the goals, aims and application of law in connection to protected area (Colchester, 2004; Duffy, 1997; Neumann, 2004; Spence, 1996; L. Warren, 1997). This chapter contributes to this literature by looking at the particular case of the interaction between the state and the Shouf Biosphere Reserve. It takes up the transition zone as a site of interaction between attempts on the part of the state to make a new national hunting law effective and the Shouf Biosphere Reserve's desire to make hunting laws effective in the transition zone. This chapter further investigates the spatial structuring of the transition zone as a site of intersection between the state and the Reserve and further theorizes the role of the Lebanese state in relation to protected areas in Lebanon. In doing so it demonstrates a situation that is quite opposite of the literature on protected areas. Rather than a state that creates and supports the Reserve, enforcing its parameters, instead we have a situation in which the state seeks the support of the Reserve to implement national law.

ANALYSIS ONE

A New Hunting Law

UNESCO's biosphere reserve zoning model facilitates the Reserve's intervention into the transition zone by providing administrative cover for the Reserve to "consider conservation goals" in this zone. In the case of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve there are factors and reasons beyond hunting that drive the Reserve to take up conservation goals in the transition zone. The Reserve finds itself implicated in a legal project on the part of the Ministry of Environment (MOE), an attempt to implement Law 580 "The Regulation

of Wild Hunting in Lebanon”. The MOE’s desire to make Law 580 effective and actually applied on the ground brings the ministry into the transition zone.

Law 580 is a national law that regulates and normalizes sport hunting throughout Lebanon. Law 580 became law in 2004 (Official Gazette, 2004). However, it was not an applied law because it was awaiting implementation decrees that would allow the state to establish agencies and means to enact the law. Saleem Hamadeh who, at the time, was working on a project to create implementation decrees, explained that when a law is enacted in Lebanon it still awaits implementation decrees. In other words, law comes from the parliament as a set of general statements of what should be without stipulations of *how* it should be. Implementation decrees are the details of how a law is made effective; they create the licenses, and the tests and the other details to implement the law. For example, Hamadeh quotes a section of the law that requires hunting licenses:

‘A hunting license good for a year to hunt birds during the hunting season.’ The law says that you have to have a hunting license, but the law does not state how to get the license, what is the format of the license. This is the implementation decree. (Personal Communication).

During my initial fieldwork in Lebanon during the fall of 2011, Law 580 was languishing due to a lack of implementation decrees. It seemed to me there was little to no desire to make the law effective on the ground, and it appeared that the implementation decrees would never be put into place. However, during fieldwork in 2013, the writing of implementation decrees had moved forward quite a bit through the efforts of Hamadeh and his counter part Lara Samaha at MOE.

Law 580 goes into full effect once the Minister of Environment announces the opening of a hunting season. Whenever he does so, Law 580 will supersede the standing national ban on hunting, which was enacted in 1994 (SPNL, 2005) in the aftermath of the civil war. The ban was to be a one or two-year stopgap measure until Lebanon could establish a new law that normalized and regulated hunting. That regulation law was never written, and in 2013 during my field work the ban was still standing, at least on paper. However, at the time of writing, it appears that the implementation decrees have been completed, and it remains for the Minister of Environment to announce the season (UNDP/Birdlife/GEF, 2015).

The efforts to make this law effective necessitated that Hamadeh and MOE undertake a public awareness campaign to inform hunters and law enforcement about the soon-to-be-implemented law. These efforts brought them to the Shouf, and to the villages of the transition zone of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve.

ANALYSIS TWO

Intervention is Spatial

On September 20th, 2013 I observed an informational meeting about Law 580 in the village of Niha, which sits in the southern part of the transition zone. The meeting consisted of presentations from Hamadeh, representing MOE, hunters from the Higher Hunting Council (HHC) who spoke about their role in creating, debating and negotiating Law 580, employees from the Society for the Protection of Nature in Lebanon (SPNL) who addressed the need for this law to be made effective, and Nizar Hani, the director of the Reserve, who reiterated the need for this law to be effective around the Reserve. The general message was that Law 580 was expected to go into effect and that the status quo

of limitless, mechanized, and species-blind hunting would come to an end. To be certain, the selection of Niha as the site to hold the meeting is not without calculation. Hamadeh said that MOE had coordinated with all of the protected areas in Lebanon (currently Lebanon claims “13 nature reserves and 18 protected forests” (MOE, 2015) to conduct these sorts of meetings and create public awareness and knowledge about the upcoming law (personal communication). Niha provides the site for the meeting when MOE comes to the Reserve and Niha sits in the transition zone. The transition zone is the meeting space for the state and the Reserve. It is where they wash into each other and in doing so they produce spaces of governance.

To explore this space let us consider part of Martin Jones’ summation of relational space for which he says, “space can be defined only in relation to the object(s) and/or processes being considered in space and time” (M. Jones, 2009). Within such a formulation, space is created and informed by the actions and events that occur there (see also Lefebvre, 1992). The meeting was held in Niha, which is in the transition zone. MOE articulates national law in conjunction with the Reserve in a territory that falls both under Reserve administrative purview and state authority. By jointly articulating national law MOE and the Reserve construct Niha as a site that articulates the constitution of the territory that is the transition zone, the space in which hunters will be expected to adhere to the new law, a new space of environmental governance. MOE’s attempt to make this national law effective entails these sorts of meetings all over Lebanon, in and beyond the protected areas. Niha was not the first meeting; multiple meetings about hunting have taken place in other villages in the transition zone, in Maasar al-Shouf and in Barouk,

which sit in the transition zone, thus serving as sites to announce the run-up to the physical application of Law 580.

ANALYSIS THREE

A State Intervention, A State Request

At the Niha meeting the state, as represented by MOE, was trying to lay the groundwork for the new law so when it becomes effective, there will be awareness of and adherence to it. Such action on the part of the state reminds us of the aforementioned literature in which the state plays a role in creating and enforcing protected areas. Perhaps we are seeing much the same phenomena in the Shouf when we look at the events in Niha. Certainly MOE is part of the state and as an organ of the state it has a compelling interest in seeing that the national law that it has drafted goes into effect on the ground. However, MOE does not encompass the entirety of the state or the fact of “state”, which in Lebanon is fraught with indeterminacy. Much of the reigning sense in Lebanon is that the state seems entirely ineffective, or not even present. This has prompted much work on the state of the state in Lebanon, which is captured in a recent call for papers from the Arab Studies Journal:

One of the most common expressions of popular rhetoric in Lebanon is the question, “Wayn al-dawleh?” Where is the state? The idea that the Lebanese state does not exist imbues the daily perceptions and attitudes of Lebanese of all backgrounds in the wake of failing public services, institutional deadlock, civil strife, and political stalemate. Even incumbent politicians have blamed the state’s “nonexistence” on the inability to provide goods and services... (2015).

Thus, to consider the Reserve and the state let us first explore the question of the nonexistence of the state in Lebanon. In my observations, the question “where is the state” is often asked as a rhetorical accusation that points out the lack of useful and appropriate intervention on the part of the state. For example, if a building were to collapse due to faulty engineering and a lack of regulation, one might ask, “where is the state?”—pointing to larger issues of corruption and regulatory enforcement. The question also implies an historical component, suggesting that there once was a state, but wondering why it no longer acts in a useful, appropriate manner. Such a concern for the state and its seeming non-existence brings us to social discord, state breakdown, the civil war which began in 1975 and post war state ineffectiveness. Indeed, social discord in Lebanon quickly calls up conflict that can easily occur along sectarian lines in Lebanon. A concern for sectarian conflict is paramount in many of the treatments of the Lebanese state, its breakdown and current ineffectiveness, or “non-existence”. While the breakdown of the state or sectarianism is not our fundamental concern, a limited review of the literature allows us to understand why people ask “where is the state?,” why there seems to be no state which as we will see has consequences for how state actors negotiate this during attempts to effect conservation agendas.

The history of the Lebanese state and its contemporary problems can be understood through multiple confessional conflicts. For example, Samir Khalaf’s *Lebanon’s Predicament* situates the beginning of these hostilities in the middle of the 1800s with a number of confessional conflicts which have continued until and after the civil war in the form of social instability, conflict, and the hardening of confessional identity (1987). Sectarianism found legal effect with the Lebanese National Pact (al-

mithāq al-waṭanī) which was a 1943 oral agreement between sects and reserved governmental positions for specific groups. The National Pact was meant to be a form of power sharing along lines of religious groups. This was not successful and much of the scholarship locates part the breakdown of the state on the National Pact's formulation. For example, Farid el-Khazen's *The Breakdown of the State in Lebanon, 1967 - 1976* (2000) focuses on the eventual breakdown of the state before the civil war in 1975 and addresses the problems generated by the National Pact (see also AbuKhalil; Khalaf, 1987; Salibi, 2003; Traboulsi, 2012).

Indeed, many situate social breakdown on sectarianism. Historian Kamal Salibi's *A House of Many Mansions* foregrounds a sectarian understanding of conflict in Lebanon, and it is on this sectarian history and tension that he levels the greatest responsibility for the civil war (2003, p. 2). Others place a heightened sectarianism sensibility in the more recent past. Deeb's *An Enchanted Modern*, in which she interrogates the intersection between modernity and enchantment in the form of public piety and social policy in connection to women, asserts that "sectarian identity had been solidified for many Lebanese as a result of the civil war" (2011, p. 11). Deeb and Harb continue this interrogation in their exhaustive research of leisure in south Beirut (Deeb & Harb, 2013). Augustus Norton's *Hezbollah: A Short History* (2014) also asserts an intensified sectarianism after the civil war era and points to communal homogenization of areas during the war (pp. 121-123). While these thinkers might differ with regard to the origin, timeline, and development of sectarianism, the pervasive encoding of sectarianism in the Lebanese polity makes it difficult to deny its role in the breakdown of the state and contemporary social salience.

Yet not all treatments of social breakdown in Lebanon privilege a sectarian interpretation. Fawwaz Traboulsi's *A History of Lebanon* (2012) explicitly challenges and undermines a sectarian reading of breakdown in Lebanon. This comes through most clearly in chapter "From Social Crisis to Civil War (1968-1975)" in which he foregrounds an economic causality for conflict and the descent into armed conflict. This chapter addresses urbanization resulting from massive rural migration to the cities and his treatment details the cost of living, rent costs and the transformation of urban and peri-urban areas and their connection to class conflict as opposed to confessional solidification. In addition to economic interpretations, the question of social and state breakdown is imbued with the matter of regional and international intervention. el-Khazen (2000) suggests that much of the breakdown of the state is attributable to multiple unresolved conflicts and wars between regional and international actors weighing down the Lebanese state. Such intervention on the part of international actors and the instability that it engenders is most cogently addressed by Salibi's aforementioned *A House of Many Mansions* (2003) which address the role various European powers played in supporting specific groups thereby giving them large technical knowledge and expanded financial access.

Of course Lebanon's ills are not exceptional. There are many examples of the negative intersection of confessional conflict and the role of states; one merely need to think of Northern Ireland (Kerr, 2006). At the same time, the particular nonexistence of the Lebanese state remains an evasive historical and contemporary question. Thus, while we may not be able to finally answer what happened to the Lebanese state, we can set aside the historical and instead consider the outcomes, effects and results of its

‘nonexistence’. This allows us to move beyond the historical question of why the state does not enforce its own laws (which we partly answered in demonstrating the difficulties the police face in enforcing the law) and opens the possibility of considering questions that address the outcomes of a lack of enforcement; for example, how do individuals negotiate state absence?

In connection to the Shouf, how do MOE and the Reserve negotiate the state’s lack of enforcement of its own hunting ban? In answer, people must compensate for the absence of the rule of law. They seek ways to create effective law and negotiate ineffective law enforcement. This state deficiency and the compensatory action come to ground in the Shouf in Hamadeh’s need to create a campaign to support the law. Hamadeh is charged with creating the implementation decrees for Law 580. This it would seem is quite enough for his charge and duty; once a law is created it, given its implementation decrees it should become an effective and applied law that would be announced prior to its application with an expectation of compliance. However, everyone knows much better. The lack of law application or enforcement of law is often spoken of in Lebanon with another common rhetorical expression: *al-qānūn ḥibr ‘alā waraq*, in English, "law is ink on paper". Meaning law is nothing more than ink; it is not applied in life. There is a deep level of skepticism regarding the application of law in Lebanon. Law lives in a theoretical realm with little effect on the physical world. Thus, people negotiate the absence of the state by taking on the work of the state in their own initiatives. Hamadeh is working to put lots of ink on paper, but when I asked who was to enforce the law, he made it clear to me that MOE has no enforcement capability. It cannot compel the police to enforce the law, even when the means of enforcement are agreed upon, when

the implementation decrees are written and done, and it is clear that it is the duty of the police to make the law effective on the ground.

The inability of MOE to enforce law puts them in the position of not only creating the implementation decrees but also making multiple compensatory interventions to see that the law goes into effect. These interventions, like the one in Niha, are compensatory actions that demonstrate how individuals negotiate the lack of a state. Hamadeh in the MOE, which is an element of the state, understands that the law may well not be applied, so he looks to local actors and institutions to facilitate its effectiveness. That is to say, specific actors within the state are aware that the state cannot apply the law and in the process of legislating, they seek other means by which legislation will become effective. In connection to hunting in the Shouf, the MOE is an institution of the state looking to gain local effectiveness, but the MOE knows that it cannot address hunting alone so to do so it seeks the support of a local protected area. The transition zone becomes the perfect venue through which the MOE can seek the support of SBR and articulate national law.

ANALYSIS FOUR

A Campaign for a Campaign in the Transition Zone

Each fall when migrating birds pass from Europe on the way to Africa, hunters in Lebanon buy new guns and head to the mountains to shoot whatever comes through. As we have seen, because the state does not enforce its own hunting regulations, SBR faces an awkward dilemma. The Reserve would like to see hunting addressed in the transition zone, but it cannot do that effectively without state support. The Reserve has addressed this with compensatory actions to curb and limit hunting. Each fall, the Reserve

implements an anti-hunting campaign aimed directly at hunting behavior before migrating birds arrive and hunters head outdoors.



Figure 6.1 (Anti Hunting Campaign Banner)

In the fall of 2013, as the hunting season began, the Reserve created a banner campaign that reads in the Lebanese Arabic dialect: Imagine yourself in his place! Certainly death is not a pleasure (see Figure 6.1). By my count, these banners were hung at the entrances of four villages of the transition zone, and two villages not in the transition zone and the main street of Baqaata, a local larger city. The intentional use of “pleasure” aims at hunters’ motivations and seeks to create empathy with their prey. This is the pleasure spoken of in chapter four in which hunters speak of their hunting as a relaxing pleasure practice. Local graphic arts professor Nijad al-Samad said that he created the image of the bird to replicate the pose and stance of hunters when they shoot so as to generate a sense of fearful empathy on the part of the hunters. A 5K run in a section of the 2013 Beirut Marathon route is another effort of this campaign. I joined a group of Reserve employees in this run, all of us wearing t-shirts with Samad’s logo and text.

During the meeting in Niha the Reserve staff spoke in further detail about the campaign and showed the banners. The Reserve’s campaign was designed to coincide with MOE’s efforts to make the law effective and amplifying. The site of articulation of

these campaigns is of consequence as it helps to construct the space that is the transition zone. The clear articulation of the national law in the presence of the Reserve and inside the administrative space of the Reserve gives MOE greater weight, a weight that it might not have in another place. This weight, the possibility of effectiveness of these laws in the transition zone was made clear by Hani during the meeting in Niha when Hani gave a quick introduction of Hamadeh which he opened up by saying: “We consider all of the people here, and in particular the ISF, the forest guards, the municipal police, the Reserve staff and the volunteers, as a single group that coordinate on the matter of infractions which occur in the Reserve surroundings and in particular the matter of hunting.” Hani brings together the enforcement capacity of the state, the ISF and the enforcement capacity of the Reserve. He asserts the Reserve staff and the police are a “single team” in “the matter of infractions.... and in particular the matter of hunting.” Hani’s assertion of a single team brings together MOE’s campaign, the enforcement responsibilities of the ISF and the role of the Reserve.

Hani limits enforcement to the Reserve surroundings, including the transition zone. This is where the Reserve has an administrative purview to the transition zone of the Reserve, not the core zone. Hani defines the role of the Reserve staff as able to, “provide information about infractions to the police.” In this zone, the role of the Reserve is to inform, not enforce. In this assertion, we are observing the conservation role of the transition zone par excellence: Hani is defining the role of his staff and the Reserve in the transition zone vis-a-vis the state, MOE, and the police, bringing together the legal administration of the state, the police, and the Reserve. He knows that he does not have the legal authority to enforce Law 580 should it come into effect, and should the Minister

of Environment announce a hunting season. It is the role of the state to enforce a national law. In setting the role of the Reserve staff as information bearing he creates a contrast between the role of the Reserve and the police: the Reserve gives information if there is an infraction and the police are to act on such information in an enforcement capacity. This public casting of roles is more than a repetition of known law. It is a reminder of mutual and shared duties of “a single team.” Such language bespeaks trust and mutuality and in making these statements Hani is in a non-explicit manner publicly confronting the police for failures to do this to the detriment of Reserve staff. There have been occasions in which there was hunting either in or quite close to the core zone and the Reserve staff asked the police to address the matter. The police then gave the names of the staff that had made the call to the hunters and the hunters retaliated. Thus, Hani’s request is a reminder that the goal of the police and the Reserve is the application of laws and a call for an understanding about how law should be enforced such that they work as “a single team”—a rubric that would preclude disclosure of a complainant’s identity.

The question of space also rings through Hamadeh’s talk, which reiterated Hani’s hope that the law be effectively enforced in the Shouf. The meeting in Niha was partly held, he said, “in order to find a way that we can change this area into an effective example, that we together might be able call it *a pilot project*, a pilot project that could be applied to the rest of Lebanon, because it succeeded in the Shouf.” Although, both MOE and the Reserve want Law 580 become effective, Hamadeh’s spatial goals are different than the Reserve’s. The Reserve is focused on its own purview, whereas MOE’s goal encompasses the whole of Lebanon. The difference in territorial goals matters in connection to how the transition zone functions as a site of legal intervention for the two

parties. Hani speaks about the law becoming effective in the “Reserve surroundings” and his goal is to achieve conservation goals in the transition zone. Hamadeh uses less specificity in speaking about the Reserve or the transition zone. Instead, he talks about the law becoming effective in the “Shouf” in general and does not mention the Reserve surroundings, or the transition zone.

Hamadeh’s ambiguous “Shouf” could refer to the Shouf, which is a district (qaḍāʿ) within Lebanon and extends from the mountains down to the Mediterranean Sea and is one of six districts within the Mount Lebanon Governorate (muḥāfaẓa) and is tied up in the larger polity of Lebanon. At the same time, the ‘Shouf’ also describes a territorially ambiguous term describing the mountainous area of the Shouf district which does not include the coast. Thus, the Shouf is an ambiguous term that conflates the mental and political maps of the Shouf (Gould & White, 2012). Both of these understandings of the Shouf include the transition zone, the Reserve surroundings.

The ambiguity of Hamadeh’s “Shouf” has consequences in how it articulates the territorial governance strategy on the part of MOE. To understand this, we must remember that this law is being articulated in a village in the transition zone. In this meeting an attempt is being made to have this law become effective in the transition zone as articulated by the Reserve director. However, Hamadeh is articulating a hope that the law becomes effective in “the Shouf”. At this moment of articulation, “The Shouf” encompasses the transition zone as well as the mountain region and the district. Should the law become effective in the transition zone it can then extend beyond the transition zone and into the Shouf Mountain and move beyond to become an example for the rest of Lebanon. In this way Hamadeh expands the territorial effectiveness of Law 580 beyond

the Reserve and into “the Shouf,” into the larger polity of Lebanon. In this manner, the transition zone is a territory that serves as a space of legal intervention on the part of the state such that if Law 580 is made effective in this area, the area can serve as a larger launching point for an intervention into Lebanon at large. The transition zone creates an administrative space that amplifies the conservation goals of the Reserve and the conservation and governance goals of the state. The goal is to create mutual support that might enhance Reserve effectiveness in these areas, while creating a model and launching point for a larger intervention on the part of MOE. The meeting at Niha is the meeting point of two conservation-driven campaigns. While the hunter earlier told us that the law does not extend beyond the core zone of the Reserve, that might change. Perhaps law might begin to extend from the state via the Reserve, which would require enforcement.

ANALYSIS FIVE

Niha and Enforcement

In earlier chapters, I addressed a number of the issues that police face in their attempts to enforce laws. To think further about matters of legal enforcement and state absence in the transition zone, let us look further into the meeting at Niha. In the meeting we see that MOE, a ministry of the state, finds itself reaching out to a protected area in order to facilitate the application of its own national legislation. This situation differs from the usual portrayal of the state as playing a central role in creating and sustaining the Reserve. In Niha, the state finds itself reaching out to the Reserve to expand and support its own efforts. This reaching out is a spatial strategy on the part of the state. As we saw in earlier chapters, the Reserve is quite effective in enforcing the ban on hunting within the core

zone. In doing so, it distinguishes itself as able to bring law to bear on the ground. In the Niha meeting, Hamadeh hopes such effectiveness can be amplified locally, and beyond.

To think about the state's goals let us again think of space relationally and intersectionally, in which the practice and actions undertaken in spaces and territories that appear distinct might, inform and bleed into the constitution of other territories (Amin, 2004; Massey, 2005; Whatmore, 2002). The effectiveness of core zone enforcement can move beyond the core zone. Thus, in contrast to the literature, the state seeks out the effectiveness of the local so as to hopefully effect national law. MOE's need to seek out this effectiveness is born of the absence of state, of the fact that law is merely ink on paper. Hamadeh and the MOE team have worked for many years through tremendous legislative difficulty to complete Law 580. Much of this work has become an attempt to see that the law is enforced—they know full well that effective application is spotty at best.

In addition to seeking out the Reserve's cooperation, we also find MOE, the Reserve, SPNL, and HHC reaching out to enforcement agencies. During the meeting in Niha, there were multiple invocations of police duties and calls to have the police enforce the law once it goes into effect. These were aimed at the police and ISF representatives at the meeting. As far as I could tell, the ISF representatives took these requests seriously and the police expressed a willingness and commitment to enforce the law. However, after the meeting I was standing with Hani and he asked me if I had heard the interaction between him and the policeman. I had not. Hani recounted the interaction, telling me that during one of the calls to ticket hunters one of the police replied by asking, "who is going to back me up?" Hani then replied that the Reserve would back up the police should they

ticket hunters. Yet, how much the Reserve would be able to support a hunter and to what lengths would it go should such a request arise remain unclear.

Such a moment is quite telling about the state of the state in Lebanon, where the police are a national entity. The officer who is being asked to enforce the law finds himself in a difficult position; he knows that he will not get backing from the state should he find himself in trouble for confronting a hunter with political clout. Asking for backup is evidence of this dilemma. This lack of state support also puts the Reserve in the difficult position of having to support the police in their job. It forces the Reserve to negotiate how far it can, should, or would be willing to go to support police. For example, if police find difficulty with a hunter in the transition zone, what can, should, and would the Reserve do if police were to seek support from the Reserve in the area? Thus, the Reserve is in an indeterminate position vis-a-vis the state, an indeterminacy created by the presence of the transition zone. The transition zone presents the Reserve with a territory in which it can play a role in the application of this law, but it is not the final arbiter. If the Law 580 were enacted, its arbiter would be the state itself. Thus the transition zone is the meeting space between these entities and becomes a space of intersecting jurisdiction, goals, and projects. Given this territorial purview, the Reserve, MOE, and others can ask that police enforce national law when it goes into effect and request that it be made effective in the transition zone. Had the Reserve been a national park and limited to its core zone, the Reserve would have had no administrative purview in such an area. The request would simply be a moment of asking the police to confront hunters beyond a park; the presence of a transition zone gives territory to such a request.

Yet in contrast to the literature on protected areas, the state needs these sites and cannot enforce the law on its own. MOE needs the Reserve to enforce this law. At the same time, the Reserve needs the police to enforce this law to meet its own goals. So while the Reserve's concern is the area around the core zone, MOE is interested in territories beyond the core zone. In this way, the transition zone is used by the state to inform the governance of the territory of the state. It is a spatial strategy that is meant to serve as an exemplar of what is possible for an absentee state.

ANALYSIS SIX

A Space of Governmentality

To further understand the negotiations at Niha I return to Foucauldian governmentality (Foucault, 2009), which he calls an “abstract” form of rule that attempts not to rule by force, but rather by aligning the desires and wants of a population with the goals of those who are enacting or attempting to enact governance. However, governmentality is more than between governing and governed. In this understanding, power is a diffuse, non-centered and available to all actors at different times. MOE partly needs the Reserve to enforce this law, the Reserve needs the MOE to enforce this law, and both the Reserve and MOE need the police to enforce this law, and the police need the support of the Reserve in enforcing the law. In Niha, we find an articulation of the limited capacity of the state to enforce that law and the circumscribed administrative authority to enact the law on the part of the Reserve. Each of these entities, on their own, cannot make this law effective. Thus the meeting in Niha articulates the alignment of interests; Hamadeh's talk, Hani's talk, and the expression of concern on the part of some of the police is the negotiation that articulates and brings those interests into alignment around the desire to

have Law 580 become an effective law. Of course, for the Reserve the goal is a conservation goal in the Reserve's transition zone, where it would like to see Law 580 enforced but it cannot do so alone. MOE would like to see the law applied in Lebanon, both for reasons of conservation and for reasons of consolidating and building state sovereignty over its territory. The police are willing to enforce the law, but they want backing that protects them from local reprisals that the state cannot stop. The meeting at Niha is an attempt to bring together the mutual interests of each of these elements into coherence around the eventual application of Law 580 on the ground.

This aligning of interests is crucial in Agrawal's concept of environmentality (Agrawal, 2005b), which addresses subject formation through the mutability of interests. In connection to the police, there is an apparent mutability of interest. As we have seen, police hesitate to confront hunters. Yet in this meeting they are being called on in a very public manner to do so though it might carry heavy consequences. The police do not refuse. They engage the project and the calls and in doing so begin to take on this project. They seek backing. Through asking where they might receive support, they engage in a negotiation of the project. In such a moment, we are witnessing the negotiation that allows for self-fashioning of an interest. To understand this then, let us look more closely at how Agrawal uses the term "environmentality". "I use the term 'environmentality' here to denote a framework of understanding in which technologies of self and power are involved in the creation of new subjects concerned about the environment" (Agrawal, 2005a, p. 166). In such a moment, the police refashion their interests to come into alignment with a project of rule, with the attempt to make Law 580 effective. They express a willingness to enforce the laws on environmental protections. However,

whether the police are “concerned about the environment” or the birds, remains unknown. However, in this moment we see the alignment of the police duty to legal enforcement of legislation and legislation that targets the environment. Thus, whether or not this is “concern for the environment” or a commitment to duty, would remain unclear. However, it partly answers Agrawal’s concerns about how people come to care for the environment, or act in environmental interests.

Of course, the Reserve knows that the police are in a difficult position and so emphasizes their willingness to back them. The Reserve then fashions itself in state capacities as an entity willing to support police, in order to achieve its conservation goals in the transition zone it has to play the role of those willing to back the police should they be politically challenged for executing a commissioned duty. Specifically, the Reserve is articulating a willingness to step in where the state should, and is doing so as a compensatory measure the makes up for the lack of state support for the police. The Reserve negotiates its identity in an attempt to achieve its conservation goals. In the absence of state, it seeks to support police who apply laws. At the same time, it is not the state and its governance capacity is limited in the transition zone.

The need for compensation, for seeming informality is also apparent in Hamadeh’s negotiation of the application of Law 580. Despite being from a state agency, he is reaching out to the Reserve for support in effecting a conservation agenda. Thus, identity formation within environmentality, within the attempt to make Law 580 effective, is about how individuals—Hani, Hamadeh, and the police—and their institutions—negotiate these projects, how these individuals and institutions rule and are

ruled by the attempt to bring Law 580 into effect, how they form and are formed by this attempt.

In this attempt at rule, this environmentality, identity and institutional role become mutable and contingent and the transition zone brings them together in a particular way, offering an opportunity to build shared goals that allow these actors to work together in achieving those goals. But, what about the hunter themselves? Certainly, there were hunters in the audience. There were are also hunters doing what was being spoken of that very day—hunting everywhere and hunting in the transition zone. Let us move then to the hunters for our next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

A DISCOURSE OF PRACTICE: THINGS COME (PARTLY) TOGETHER

INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter discusses the Reserve and MOE campaigns that target hunting practices in and beyond the transition zone. Although MOE's campaign addresses hunting in Lebanon and the Reserve focuses on hunting in the transition zone, the meeting at Niha brought these two organizations and their mandates together. This chapter continues the examination of that alignment of interests by exploring the target of these campaigns: hunters and their interests. Specifically, the chapter addresses how conservationists attempt to bring hunter interests into alignment with the goals of the Reserve and the MOE in the transition zone.

LITERATURE REVIEW

To address the matters of law and governmentality in connection to hunting practice in the transition zone I return to the scholarship on protected areas. The work that focuses on hunting and the practice of hunting in protected areas (Beinart & Coates, 2002; K. B. Ghimire, 1994; Gibson & Marks, 1995; Jacoby, 2001; Keller & Turek, 1998; MacKenzie, 1997; Sandlos, 2011; Steinhart, 2006; L. Warren, 1997; Weladji & Tchamba, 2003) stands in partial relief to works on protected areas that mention the hunting practice of local populations, whose fundamental inquiries range from pastoralism to eviction (Brockington, 2002; Brockington et al., 2008; Cernea & Schmidit-Soltau, 2003; Wells & McShane, 2004). Steinhart, for example, notes that most of the scholarship on

conservation has not addressed the fact that many pastoralists affected by conservation projects are also engaged in hunting (Steinhart, 2006, p. 22). Thus, while the general scholarship on the social impacts of protected areas does apply to those who used to hunt in these areas, the scholarship rarely details issues of hunting.

However, the works that do interrogate protected areas and hunting are nothing if not thorough. In large part they address the presence and founding of national parks in conjunction with issues of subsistence hunting or hunting as a means to supplement diets. Much of this work has been done by historians (Beinart, 2008; Jacoby, 2001; Keller & Turek, 1998; Sandlos, 2011; L. Warren, 1997), who focus on national parks' marginalization of livelihood hunting or hunting that partly informs livelihood.

In its concern for livelihood hunting, much of this literature addresses conflicts between such hunters and protected areas that seek to ban, limit or regulate access to game within the protected area, such as the banning of hunting in national parks including Yellowstone. Situating their *American Indians and National Parks*, Keller and Turek (1998) detail the rationale of the earliest proponents of U.S. national parks, who supported the imposition of a hunting ban, which began in 1995. They note, "Only a few years after the creation of Yellowstone, Secretary of the Interior Carl Schurz outlawed all hunting. Schurz's regulation remains the general rule in all parks, although some exceptions exist (p. 122)." Karl Jacoby's *Crimes Against Nature* also closely details the conflicts surrounding the removal and banning of hunters from Yellowstone, which involved the U.S. Army. These conflicts continue to this day, in a limited manner, and Keller and Turek address hunting rights disputes with National Parks that heated up as recently as 1982 (p. 91).

In contrast to the Yellowstone model, Canadian National Parks gave latitude to native groups who were able to hunt in Wood Buffalo National Park after protestations from the hunters and the intervention of the Canadian Bureau of Indian Affairs (Sandlos, 2011). John Sandlos, in *Hunters at the Margin*, notes that despite this, the fact of the park was a “manifestation of state control over Native hunters in the park” (p. 53). This state apparatus wrested wildlife management from these groups and put it under the state’s authority as there came to be “a rigidly supervised game preserve on their traditional hunting grounds” (p. 45). Bureaucratic regulation of wildlife carried the heavy sanction of permanent expulsion should hunters commit an infraction (p. 53).

The literature addresses how conservationists, governments, and land managers justified the imposition of hunting laws in protected areas through negative portrayals of local hunting practices. Even today, conservationists seeking to found or expand protected areas find justification for doing so through claiming that the targeted hunting practice is either wasteful, wanton, unethical, damaging to species, or not sportsmanlike. For example, Sandlos recounts the efforts of Maxwell Graham, Chief of Park Animals, in creating the territory that became Wood Bison National Park in Canada. Part of these efforts included attempts “to discredit local systems of wild life management practiced by Cree and Chipewyan hunters” that lived in the area. (Sandlos, 2011, p. 36). Sandlos brings to light a letter written to his colleague (Harking) that Sandlos quotes, “An Indian with a gun will shoot anything he sees until his ammunition is gone. They seem to be entirely devoid of any idea of economy in slaughtering, even though they must know they are certain to suffer from starvation, as a result of their indiscriminate waste of game” (p. 37). Such negative portrayals of local hunting practice are also common in the literature

and have been used historically to justify land appropriation. The portrayal of “wanton and wasteful” (Sandlos, 2011, p. 37) works in synergy with the appropriation and expansion of national parks in the Americas. In *The Hunter’s Game*, (1997, pp. 126-151) Louis Warren relates the attempts of Glacier National Park Superintendent J.R. Eakin to extend the park boundaries further into Blackfoot hunting grounds on the basis that the Blackfoot kill elk in great numbers.

Much of the scholarship on Africa mirrors that of North America; the application of law in protected areas is supported by a negative portrayal of local hunting practice. For example, Roderick Neumann’s *Imposing Wilderness* addresses protected areas in colonial Tanzania. Like the Wood Buffalo National Park, these areas began as game reserves under the German colonial state. Neumann says, “The Germans made similar efforts to control wildlife, legislating a complex set of regulations on hunting, as well as creating eighteen game reserves where all hunting was prohibited” (Neumann, 1998, p. 99). Once the British took over the area they created the Game Control Ordinance of 1921, which regazetted the reserves with more liberal hunting laws. However, the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire (SPFE) opposed the hunting policy and SPFE embraced language that sought to discredit African hunters’ practices as “slaughter” (p. 101). Clearly, in their attempts to impose law in protected areas, conservationists have sought to discredit the hunting practice within local populations. This chapter contributes to this literature by looking at how conservationists portrayed hunting practice at the meeting in Niha and how hunters themselves think about their own practice. The manner in which conservationists in Niha speak about hunting constitutes a break from the literature on hunting and protected areas, which often portrays

conservationists who speak of “slaughter” on the part of hunters. By speaking of hunting differently, I contend that these conservationists are making an attempt to intervene in current debates among hunters about hunting, and thereby creating an alignment between hunting interests and conservationist campaigns.

ANALYSIS ONE

Conservationist Talk, Protected Areas

In looking at the literature, we find that those who seek to control hunting in protected areas rely on discrediting the practice of hunting as it takes place in the area in question. Each of these examples has its particular speaker, its particular moment, and its particular context. Yet they all include an attempt to effect hunting law within a given territory and they all resort to negative portrayals of hunting within these territories in an attempt to discredit and stop local hunting practices. At its heart, the meeting in Niha was also an attempt to bring hunting laws into effect in the transition zone. Much like their previous counterparts, Hani and Hamadeh spoke about hunting in their campaigns. In doing so, however, they described hunting and hunters in a manner different than that seen in the literature, in contrast to the language of earlier conservationists.

Let us begin with Hani. Although the campaign seeks to address hunting in the villages around the Reserve, Hani says that it

is not at all aimed at hunters... who really respect hunting and know what they should shoot, they respect the law which is that currently that hunting is forbidden, meaning no one should hunt. But in this campaign we want to stand next to the ISF for whom this matters has the greatest relevance...

His description of hunting practice differs from other conservationists who seek to forbid hunting in national parks. He does not describe it as slaughter, but instead ascribes respect and knowledge to the hunters. In making this distinction, he invokes a binary between a lawful hunter and an illegal hunter. Hani's portrayal of hunters who follow the law speaks to his paramount concern—the effectiveness of conservation law in the villages around the Reserve.

This concern for the law pervades Hamadeh's talk as well. He says that there is evidence for an “historic opportunity” to make Law 580 effective. Hamadeh points to, the readiness of the municipalities, and the call from the municipalities that there is a dubious situation, there is an unhealthy condition in connection to the matter of hunting and we should organize it. That is first an admission, and at the same time it is a decision to counter this slapdash condition at which we have arrived. Hamadeh's point of intervention is legal and again spatial. He speaks of municipalities' desire to resolve hunting issues. At this meeting, there were a number of Shouf village presidents in attendance who oversee local village municipalities. But, as we saw in previous chapters, Hamadeh is also speaking to a Lebanese public and does not distinguish the municipalities of the Shouf. He speaks of a general “call from the municipalities” to address the issues. He asserts that this “call” constitutes an “admission” that Lebanon has arrived at an “unhealthy state” with regards to hunting—a state that is “slapdash.” Hamadeh chooses the word “*‘ashwāʿī*” which often translates to haphazard or random—slapdash, to describe this situation. He does not use the word “*fawḍawī*”—chaotic. This distinction emphasizes Hamadeh's legal concerns; *‘ashwāʿī* suggests practices that are “legally unguided”, and often describes informal urban areas

that have been built without adherence to code or permits. These areas can start with squatters and grow into large sections or neighborhoods within a city. This is not to say they are completely unorganized, but there is no formal state planning or legal organization that has structured them. Thus, Hamadeh is stating that the practice of hunters falls out of the purview of any guiding state direction and is random, unpredictable, and legally uncontrolled. To have described it as chaotic, *fawḍawī*, would deride the character of hunters. It would imply that it is chaos, without a single internal control. By using *‘ashwāī* Hamadeh privileges a concern for legality and avoids insult when he chooses “slapdash” rather than “chaotic.” To call it chaos would border on an accusation of slaughter.

In their statements about hunting, Hani and Hamadeh speak of hunting in relation to the legal and the administrative, standing in sharp contrast to the assertions made by conservationists in the literature on the application hunting law in protected areas. However this literature is largely concerned with national parks, so its application here is partly limited. Niha sits in the administrative space of the transition zone, which differs from a national park. And because Hani and Hamadeh are speaking about and in the transition zone, the transitionality of the zone is manifest. Indeed, the attempt to govern it on the part of the Reserve is the attempt to govern a delimited territory. In this liminality, this legally in-between but territorially defined area, lies a slippery project of rule.

This zone is slippery in that it brings those who desire to effect conservation and those who might resist limitations on their activities into conversation. To be certain, there were hunters, police, police who are hunters, conservationists, and conservationists who are hunters, all present in Niha. Thus, we can say that the territory of the transition

zone mediates attempts at making Law 580 effective by bringing these disparate entities together, into dialogue with each other. In part, Hani and Hamadeh avoid portraying hunting as “slaughter” because they know that cooperation is essential for these laws to work. These parties are brought into conversation by a mediating transition zone as opposed to what is found in the literature on hunting and protected areas— national parks—which have the backing of the state and effect laws within their purview regardless of the consequences for those governed. Hani and Hamadeh seek to work with the interests and desires of the hunters and the sensibilities of the police in the transition zone. Calling them “chaotic slaughterers” would be counterproductive.

In addition to these territorial differences we must also consider the difference between the hunting practices addressed in the literature and those of the Shouf. Beinart and Coates remind us of what has not been done in the literature in connection to hunting:

We need to distinguish types of hunter and phases of hunting: pre-colonial and colonial era indigenous hunting; settler hunting for subsistence and trade; hunting as an adjunct to agriculture or a subsidy for other frontier enterprises; and élite hunting for the thrill of the chase, commonly called sport in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (p. 17).

Thus, in addition to the literature’s preoccupation with national parks, this literature does not parse out the types of hunting it is addressing and it concerns itself largely with the practices that are subsistence or semi-subsistence hunting. Beinart and Coates also locate sport hunting as practice done “for the thrill of the chase” on the part of an élite.

However, in Lebanon hunting is not the practice of an élite and “the thrill of the chase” only partly describes this practice of leisure, pleasure, and relaxation. It is certainly a

pleasure pursuit as opposed to a livelihood imperative. By bringing into relief this very different practice, we can begin to address its governance.

There is discord in the transition zone between the ubiquitous presence of hunters in villages, the shooting of birds of prey for sport, and the constant shooting of shotguns on public roads, all of which stand in contrast to a national ban on hunting. It is this dissonance that the conservationists seek to remediate in their campaigns. Theirs is an attempt to bring hunter interest and conservation into greater alignment. The impetus for cooperation drives the more positive representations of hunting. Yet the matter is more complicated than restraining criticism to encourage cooperation; by invoking a legal hunter, Hani and Hamadeh craft their presentations in ways that articulate the standing debates among hunters about what constitutes acceptable and proper hunting practice.

ANALYSIS TWO

The National Ban

Among the opening questions I asked of hunters in the Shouf was whether they thought that hunting needed to be organized or if it was acceptable in its current state. Few hunters were content with the situation as it stood, and the overwhelming majority said that hunting needed to be organized, often echoing the word ^ʿashwāʾī (slapdash) to describe hunting among hunters. One particular hunter responded to this question with a look of incredulity and asked ironically if I had noticed that hunting was a bit “^ʿashwāʾī?” The consonance in word choice between Hamadeh’s portrayals and hunters’ understanding of their own practice brings us back to Agrawal (Agrawal, 2005a, 2005b) and the alignment of interests, whereby projects of rule work with mutable interests in order to effect a governmentality that entails conservation goals, an environmentality in

which people take on projects of rule and formulate their interests and identities in relation to these attempts to rule. In this case, it is an attempt to bring a law to bear.

In bringing these interests in alignment in a legal sense, I point to a common theme among hunters: they desire an effective hunting law to allow them a sense of legitimacy in their pursuit. Meaning that if they have licenses and are given sanction by the state and legal authorities, then they would feel legitimate in what they do. They know that currently all hunting is illegal, but they enjoy it and there is no effective sanction against it. The presence of a law would grant them a sense of legitimacy. Such legitimacy would likely increase a sense of enjoyment and adherence to that law. This sense of legitimacy is the core of subject formation in relation to the application of Law 580. For example, during an interview with a hunter, I asked how he felt about the law and the fact that he hunts. He said that he would prefer hunting laws to be in effect, explaining: “I feel like I am doing something wrong when I hunt” (personal communication). Of course, there were hunters who said that hunting is fine as is and that it needs no control, but they were few and far between. More common by far were those assessments of hunting that were aligned with Hamadeh’s assessment—hunting is haphazard, random, unguided, beyond control. There is a desire among hunters to legitimate their hobby.

The desire to end the national ban on hunting finds resonance with conservationists. During the meeting at Niha, Hani spoke directly of his regret that the ministry of environment was not able to open up a hunting season that year by saying, “very sadly the hunting season did not open this year, but hopefully next year”. Certainly having an open hunting season would serve the conservation interests of the Reserve. The

presence of a legal season allows for a legitimate demand of enforcement. If we return to his earlier quote in which he says that hunting is currently entirely illegal, it is merely a reminder to the police at the meeting. He knows as well as they do that they cannot entirely enforce the ban everywhere at all times. Hunters also know it, too. Much of the effort at Niha was not to have the standing ban made effective everywhere at all times, and this did not pervade the content of the meeting. The effort was to prepare for the eventual application of Law 580. This is an attempt to bring these interests into larger legal and applied alignment and create a new negotiated consonance between hunters, lawmakers, and conservationists. In this emerging environmentality, there is more than a circumstantial similarity between how hunters use the word °ashwā°ī, how they feel about their practice, and how Hani and Hamadeh speak of it. Hamadeh hopes to bring the way in which hunting is spoken of by hunters and conservationists into alignment. Hani's depiction of hunters who do and do not respect hunting reflects debates among hunters themselves. Again, he says that these campaigns are not aimed at those who respect hunting and know what they should kill: it is not aimed at hunters who respect the law. In this assertion, Hani is making an intervention into debates among hunters. He is directly speaking to them about killing, about how to kill, how much to kill and what to kill. To look more closely at the debates into which Hani is entering, I turn to the use of electronic callers as a key technology that has reshaped hunting and as a result, the debates around it.

ANALYSIS THREE

A Compelling Practice

A caller is an implement that makes a bird sound that attracts a bird in the practice of hunting or observation. These can be mouth callers, manual callers, or electric callers. Mouth callers often have a reed-like a musical instrument and must be mastered through listening and practice. They are quiet and unpredictable and require knowledge of prey behavior. An example would be a goose caller that looks much like a little flute or recorder. Much of the same is true of manual callers, but these produce sound by shaking it or pulling a spring-loaded tab. These could even be a set of two natural antlers rubbed together to create the sound of deer fighting. Electronic callers come in many shapes and sizes, produce a very realistic bird sound, and when turned on they have a powerful capacity to call in birds. They are loud. They are clear. They are realistic. They work at the push of a button. All a hunter has to do is follow the diagram for season and prey, go to the presets, and click. The electronic callers can range from an application downloaded onto a smart phone that can be played on the phone to separate units that might cost hundreds of dollars. Electronic calling devices are illegal in most hunting situations, but they are ubiquitous in Lebanon and in the Shouf. Very few of the hunters with whom I spoke did not use callers. On my field trips with hunters, all parties, including ours, used them.

Hunters justify this action by asserting that there is no effective way to hunt without the callers. The following interview illustrates this point:

Interviewer: Do you use an electronic caller or not?

Respondent:... you have to use an electronic caller if you want to bring the bird close to you.

Interviewer: Without an electronic caller, what would happen?

Respondent: You won't shoot anything. (personal interview)

Hunters felt compelled to use callers to be able to shoot anything. This is apparent in the above interview in which the hunter says, "you have to use an electronic caller if you want to bring the bird close to you." The sentiment was echoed throughout the interviews; hunters felt they were necessary. A group could hunt all day without a caller, but if there is a group a couple of hundred yards away running a caller, the group without a caller is never going to get a bird. To hunt, one must run a caller because everyone else is running a caller that attracts the birds.

In addition to being told this in interviews, I have observed this play out during field observations on hunts, simply observing hunters from roads or while out for a run. I have seen birds flock to callers in great numbers while hunters with weaker or broken electronic callers watch the quarry go to the louder electronic calls. The use of these callers has escalated into louder, more expensive callers such that they are hooked up to car batteries overnight to collect up roosting birds in the dark, which beautifully trained dogs jump up for a shoot the following morning. Despite feeling compelled to engage in the use of callers, there remains a debate among hunters about the adoption of these technologies. Attempts to govern hunting must address this debate. Let us turn then to these campaigns and the imbrication of hunters' feelings about callers with attempts to govern hunting.

ANALYSIS FOUR

How Much to Kill

At the meeting in Niha, Hani directs the Reserve's campaign and goals of the MOE and SPNL to specific hunters. He says that what is happening is "not at all aimed at hunters... who really respect hunting and know what they should shoot, they respect the law...". Knowing then to whom it is not directed, we can infer to whom it *is* directed: hunters who don't respect the law and don't know what to shoot. By indirectly targeting this statement toward such hunters, Hani makes a public intervention into the spectrum of practice and debate among hunters. He is taking sides, interjecting himself into debates that play out among hunters. His is an attempt to align the governance goals of the MOE, SPNL, and the Reserve with hunters, hunters who "respect hunting," who align themselves with a respectable, lawful practice. Hani's mention of "hunters who know what to shoot" directly calls up a fundamental issues in hunting, bird calling strategies and bag numbers, which are the number of birds legally allowable birds to be killed in a given period of time.

The debate into which Hani enters is a changing spectrum of attitudes. There are many ways in which hunters negotiate and debate bag numbers. Discussions of bag numbers are directly related to the use of electronic callers, which increase kill capacity. This fact alone creates debate among hunters, and on the two ends of the spectrum of opinion we find hunters who hate the callers but use them because they feel compelled to do so and those that use them uncritically and are happy to do so. The following interview excerpt is an example of the uncritical use of the callers:

Interviewer: What do you think of the electronic caller?

Respondent: It is a nice invention, a nice invention and a nice idea and we can shoot more birds that way...

Interviewer: How do you hunt?

Respondent: We go and we take an argile, we take Nescafe, and we sit with yerba mate tea. We sit up in the hills. We all sit together and when the birds come, we shoot them.

This hunter is indicative of an uncritical adoption of the callers. He asserts that they are “a nice invention, and a nice idea” because he can shoot more birds. At no point in the interview did the hunter feel a need to defend or rationalize his use of the callers for any reason. From his assertion that it “is a nice idea and we can shoot more birds that way” we find he is pleased with the bag numbers the caller can generate.

On the other side of the spectrum we find hunters who deplore the use of the callers because they create high bag numbers. The following interview provides an example.

Interviewer: What is your opinion of the mechanical callers?

Respondent: I am against them.

Interviewer: You are against them?

Respondent: I am against them. I support hunting that is a hobby. I don't go hunting to bring lots of birds and increase my kill and act out. I go to relax my mind. It's a nice hobby, a nice hobby. You hunt and get birds and you eat or you don't eat what you get, no problem. The matter is that you relax personally, that is hunting. But today they are perpetrating a crime against the right of the birds and the land because the bird does good things for the land.

This hunter's stance on the high bag numbers generated by the electronic callers diametrically opposes the earlier hunter who adopts the caller and enjoys it for its increased bag numbers. For this hunter, the higher bag numbers is precisely the problem. He says, that hunters today "are perpetrating a crime against the right of the birds and the land because the bird does good things for the land". This opposition to the increased bag numbers is rooted in environmental values, in the idea that the bird and the land have a "right." In saying that the killing is "a crime against the right of the birds and the land because the bird does good things for the land," it would seem that birds derive their rights from the good they provide the land. However, he leaves what that good might be undefined, and he leaves these rights unspecified. Yet, the act of affording rights to birds and land demonstrates a valuing of animals, a valuing of land in its own right. Affording rights to these indicates a moral ecology. Such a moral ecology is pointed out in the literature on the part of local hunters and environmental users whereby local environmental users negotiate environmental use and associated practices (Jacoby, 2001). Such are the moral ecology debates that play out among hunters, and this hunter's moral ecology stands in contrast to that of the hunter who is happy about the callers because they allow him to kill more.

Given these two hunters, it is clear to whom Hani is directing the campaigns. Hani's entry into these conversations sets lines and take sides with those who do hunt but do not value killing in large numbers just because it is fun. In the current situation, under the ban, there is no control. Callers are used everywhere and at all applicable times. Hani's intervention is partly an attempt to enroll hunters in supporting the application of

Law 580. It is an intervention into the acceptability of the bag numbers associated with callers, it is an entry into a debate about what constitutes hunting.

Such an assertion echoes the words of the hunters I interviewed. In the above interview with the hunter who opposes electronic callers, the hunter brings up much more than an opinion that opposes the use of callers on an environmental basis. He implicates the practice of hunting and what defines hunting, and thereby goes further than a mere rejection of using callers. He says, “I support hunting that is a hobby. I don’t go hunting to bring lots of birds and increase my kill and act out. I go to relax my mind. It’s a nice hobby, a nice hobby”. He begins by defining hunting by stating what it is not. It is not going out to get lots of birds, it is not to increase the kill, and it is not to act out. By delimiting hunting practice such that it negates the use of callers, a hunter is not one who uses an electronic caller, or seeks to increase the kill.

This quite well describes, and derides, the practice of the other hunter who expresses joy at killing more birds with the use of the electronic caller. The hunter who is against the caller also defines what hunting is, to relax, a hobby, a nice hobby. In fact, the pleasure of going out and hunting, the value of relaxation in hunting is so paramount that he decouples a basic part of hunting – eating what is killed – from hunting. He says, “You hunt and get birds and you eat or you don’t eat what you get, no problem”. It is not a problem if you get birds or not. The point is to get out and relax because relaxing outstrips the desire to kill more with a caller.

ANALYSIS FIVE

What to Kill

In addition to an intervention into the matter of bag numbers, Hani's call to hunters "who know what to shoot" also brings up species selection. Again, Hani is implicating himself in a larger debate that takes place in the transition zone and beyond Niha. My field observations revealed some hunters for whom species selection is simple: if it flies, it dies. I observed hunters pursue multiple birds of prey. One hunter told me that he knows people who eat the birds of prey, which, if cooked well, actually taste good. However, they are not killed to be eaten; they are killed because they are charismatic species. In the process of shooting hundreds of swallows, shooting a large bird of prey would be quite an exceptional experience. And this is what matters. Of course people shoot birds to eat them. During my interviews, I asked many hunters what species they hunt. Often hunters would present a usual list of suspects: blackcap (*Sylvia atricapilla*), quail (*Coturnix coturnix*), bulbul (*Pycnonotus xanthopygos*), plover (*Charadrius alexandrinus*), chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*), multiple types of swallows, and other species. But in this area, hunting is a pleasure sport, so their palatability is not a priority. When I asked, "what does hunting do for you?" hunters often pointed to the feeling of making a good or difficult shot, of watching the bird fall as evidence of that success. That feels good. Given this feeling, this motivation to hunt, this mental reward, I have observed people shoot inedible species. I have observed people shoot at birds of prey and other soaring birds. I have observed people shoot at bats. There is little in the way of species selection; the indiscriminate nature of these hunters' choices highlights the sport of it.

This attitude has generated much debate about which birds to kill. Like the use of the caller, there are hunters that kill indiscriminately and uncritically. For example, when I asked hunters what was the best hunting experience they have had while hunting, I got responses like, “I shot an eagle”. I asked him if he had eaten it and he said no. When it began to rot it was thrown it out. Much like hunters who uncritically use callers, this hunter simply smiled at his joy of having taken such quarry, a joy with which most hunters are familiar.

This lack of species discrimination stands in opposition to those who take issue with killing any bird that flies. I return to the hunter who opposes the use of callers and quote the above interview in greater length for context.

Respondent: ...The matter is that you relax personally, that is hunting. But today they are perpetrating a crime against the right of the birds and the land because the bird does good things for the land.

Interviewer: To those hunters, if they were here with you, what would you say to them?

Respondent: People are of different types. There are people with me and there are people against me. They have it in them to shoot if they see – whatever they see they shoot and that is wrong. That is bird extermination and bird have benefits. It's wrong.

This hunter knows he is entering into a debate among hunters—that some will agree, but most others will not. Often, the debate centers on killing charismatic birds like eagles and other soaring birds, but in speaking about the matter the hunter does not define species. He dives into the matter of killing specific species and says, “they have it in them to

shoot if they see.” He then cuts off his sentence and generalizes the matter of species by saying, “whatever they see they shoot” and he gives his valuation of the practice, “and that is wrong”. On the ground, there are hunters who turn on callers and shoot anything and everything that flies within or just out of range if it seems worth killing. Of course there might well be many reasons to oppose such practice and he continues by asserting why he opposes practice because it is “bird extermination and birds have benefits”. Again, these are the benefits spoken of earlier, the benefits to the land and the deeming of rights to these birds.

ANALYSIS SIX

A Changed Practice, Kill More

Hani’s entry into conversations about the practice of hunting takes us further into debates about the use of callers. Thus, to continue looking at how the campaigns that seek to make Law 580 effective articulate with debates about hunting, I continue with a treatment of callers, which would be outlawed with the application of Law 580. Specifically, I continue with the comments of the hunter who so dislikes the electronic callers. In particular, I return to his assertion, “I don’t go hunting to bring lots of birds and increase my kill and act out.” Of course, the context of this assertion is the use of callers, and he is talking about why he does not like callers that facilitate the increase in bag numbers. However, in this sentence the hunter is pointing to a desire among hunters to increase bag numbers as opposed to the caller in particular. He says that he does not hunt to increase bag numbers. He hunts to relax. This derision of the caller and its use to increase bag numbers is both about bag numbers and the way in which electronic callers have changed

hunting. In particular, electronic callers reduce and reshape hunting social practices such that the act of hunting becomes intensely focused on shooting more birds.

The caller connects shooting more birds with a reduction in the amount that people hike while hunting. Electronic callers tie people to a single hunting site. Many hunters, and particularly older hunters, associate hunting with hiking, exploring, and seeing the world. Hunting was an outing that included walking over multiple types of terrain and ended with a friendly repast that often included araq, a white licorice tasting spirit made from aniseed. The following interview transcript with a hunter provides an example.

Interviewer: What is it that brought you to hunting?

Respondent: Do you see that mountain? If I haven't circled around it some thirty times. That mountain that you see there, a person goes out to the end of it and it turns around on itself. Fulaan ibn Fulaan and I have circled around this mountain some thirty times from over there to there, about 18 kilometers on the way out and 18 kilometers on the return. Some 60 kilometers we would walk because of hunting, you know what I mean?

In answering what brought him to hunting he responds that it was the hiking with friends; they would regularly hike great distances. But this practice has been sharply reduced by the presence of the callers. During interviews, hunters directly connect the presence of the callers to a reduction in hiking and blame the callers for the change in practice. Hunters feel compelled to use callers because they know that without the caller they will not have much of a chance at a bird. Thus, the basic point of hunting, shooting and killing a bird, increasingly depends on sitting next to a caller. This change in practice

comes out in a rather interesting linguistic manner. The verb to go out, set up a caller, and wait for birds in Arabic is *rabaṭa*, (*yarbuṭ*), to tie. Hunters go out and tie off on a caller and sit. People are tied down by the caller. The expression “tied down” would best describe how some hunters feel about the need to use the callers.

By reducing hiking on the part of hunters, the callers change the social interactions of hunters. In the above quote the hunter mentions hiking and hunting with a friend. At the end of each interview I asked for a favorite hunting story. Among these were stories about the great times people had hiking all over with a friend and going new places to hunt. Hunting is a chance to tell stories, talk about issues, and be close to someone. It is not only about getting birds. Per my field observations hunting, when a caller is running, everyone is silent and waiting. The caller focuses the activity on getting birds and reduces social interaction. Of course, stretches of silence are part of hunting, but the continued presence of the loud running caller presses hunters into a long seated silences in wait of birds. This is quite different than hiking 60 kilometers and getting shots along the way and interspersed conversation.

Of course, hunters still walk and hunt. Whether or not callers are used and how they are used depends on the quarry and the mood of the hunter. People still walk and hunt because it is fun and when one gets an invitation to hunt it may well be a question of “do you want to roam around or do you want to tie off (set up a caller)?” During the times I have walked with hunters and gone on walking hunts there is a great deal more joviality, talking, and interaction. This interaction sharply decreases when a caller is turned on, and their effect was apparent in my field observations. This is apparent in the interview which I repeat from above.

Interviewer: What do you think of the electronic caller?

Respondent: It is a nice invention, a nice invention and a nice idea and we can shoot more birds that way...

Interviewer: How do you hunt?

Respondent: We go and we take an argile, we take Nescafe, and we sit with matte.

We sit up in the hills. We all sit together and when the birds come, we shoot them.

In addition to an uncritical adoption of the callers, this hunter understands hunting to be a practice of sitting, drinking tea, smoking argile and shooting birds when they come to an electronic caller. To be certain, these hunts include conversations and fun. Yet with the change in practice, the simple act of sitting to hunt with the caller running increases kill capacity not by virtue of the electronic call only, but by focusing the activity on killing birds with less distraction of walking, talking, looking around, guessing and hoping there might be birds in a given area which might well lie three kilometers beyond the area to which a hunter just walked, only to find nothing. Given the difference between sitting with a electronic caller which can pull in possibly hundreds of birds vs. hiking great distances while hunting and bringing in much fewer, it comes more clear why the hunter who opposes the use of callers would describe the use of electronic callers as “bird extermination”.

ANALYSIS SEVEN

Subject Formation and a Want for Regulation

On the note of “bird extermination” the roles flipped: the hunter calls hunting slaughter rather than the conservationists. In their talk neither Hani nor Hamadeh used the word slaughter. To understand this inversion of roles let us return to Beinart’s and Coates’

reminder that we need to distinguish between types of hunting, that pre-colonial hunting is different than post colonial hunting and settler hunting (2002, p. 17). The inversion of roles, and the inversion of who invokes ‘slaughter’, is born of a different hunting practice. It is a practice that is understood by most hunters to be “‘ashwā’ī” and out of control and a practice for others that seems quite acceptable. Given the possibility of thinking of hunting as different at different times, we can allow ourselves to think of conservation as different at times. The attempt to bring Law 580 to bear in the transition zone fundamentally differs from the attempt to rescind land and hunting rights from native subsistence hunters in national parks. While this is established in this chapter, saying so brings us to again consider what is the intervention on the part of Hani, the Reserve, Hamadeh and the MOE. Their conservation goals are not a ban on hunting. Their goals seek to work in concert with many hunters’ goals. In their attempts to bring Law 580 to bear in the transition zone Hani and Hamadeh craft statements about hunting so as to enter into a conversation with hunters. They craft statements that appeal to a moral ecology among hunters. As a result there is a consonance between the conservationists and some hunters; at such moments they – conservationists and hunters – want hunting to happen. They want it legal. They want it controlled. The meaning of this differs to various degrees from party to party. The manner in which conservationists would actually interject, were they present in the above conversations, would be multiple and disparate. But through meetings like the one in Niha, and dialogues with hunters, the goals of both are brought into closer alignment. Hunters speak in a consonant manner with conservation goals and most of the informants feel that hunting is ‘ashwā’ī and needs organization. Conservationists speak like hunters in a concern for making hunting

respectable. Thus, this is more than a similarity of goals on the part of conservationist and hunters, this is precisely what Agrawal points to when he addresses subject formation in thinking about environmentality, and which I use to think about governing hunting. The MOE in Beirut, the Reserve in the Shouf, the ISF, and the hunters partly come into alignment about how hunting will be conducted when the ban is lifted and hunting becomes legal. Perhaps at that time hunting will be controlled and fun. This seems to be almost everyone's goal.

CHAPTER 8

CONCLUSION

While the previous chapters have sought to challenge and expand the literature on protected areas and to destabilize the tenets of fortress conservation, the work owes a debt of gratitude to this literature. Indeed, the literature's paramount concern for livelihoods and livelihood conflicts helped me interpret and make sense of much of what was happening in and around the Reserve. Some of what I observed in the Shouf was consonant with the literature. For example, livelihood conflicts exist there. However, much of what I saw in the Shouf did not fit the interpretations laid out in the work on protected areas, and these contradictions intrigued me. During my research, it became apparent that conflicts and the absence of conflicts around conservation were not only about livelihoods, but were also about the governance of pleasure and leisure practices, and about how different areas of the Reserve were administered by different actors. I came to see that understanding both conflict and its absence had to be informed by how conservation territories and space come about in the absence of effective state enforcement.

To further explore these initial ideas, I adopted a grounded theory approach in which the new data I obtained began to inform the theory as it developed. These grounded theory methods required that the investigation be redundant in that I asked the same question over and over until I came to a point of theoretical saturation, the point at which the predictable redundancy of the answers demonstrates a robustness to my

findings and allows me a base on which to build more questions. The applied methods of grounded theory also brought out three of my best research tools: my background in social theory, my knowledge of Arabic, and my experience as a hunter. Between the three of them, I was in an ideal environment: listening to the interviewees talk about the outdoors and hunting in Arabic during the day, and listening to and thinking about the answers in the evening. Grounded theory methodology enabled me to build theories about the significance of pleasure in the motivation to hunt, spatially-conducted environmental governance, and how environmental governance can succeed despite a seemingly non-existent state context.

This theory developed from my initial interviews with hunters during which I was struck by their insistence that hunting was about pleasure and fun. During those initial days, I was confused because my experience conflicted with the literature. Where I expected to find resentment in the hunters toward the Reserve, there was none. Where I expected to find conflict in relation to the Reserve, I found none. My initial and continued experience went against the expectations created in reading the literature, which portrays a great deal of conflict between local users and protected areas. Because I expected there would be conflict in relation to the bans on hunting in the protected areas, I also expected that any ban would be largely ineffective. Thus, when I found an absence of conflict around hunting and a very effective ban on hunting within the core zone of the Reserve, the imperative to understand this “exception” grew. In adopting a grounded theory approach I was able to ask questions that got at the core of what hunting means to people, and why there are limited conflicts with Reserve in the core zone around hunting. These methods helped me understand that the makeup and motive for hunting as a

pleasure and leisure practice partly contributed to an observed limited conflict with the hunters.

In chapter 4, I address why hunters comply with a ban on hunting in the core of the Reserve, an outcome that stands in contrast to the expectations of the literature. The deviation from these expectations caught my attention initially. Thus, this chapter argues that when we look at non-livelihood practices like a pleasure practice in the context of environmental governance, we might find a different outcome than the conflict portrayed in the literature. In the case of the Shouf, we find an absence of conflict, which is partly explained by hunting as a mutable pleasure practice rather than a livelihood imperative. I demonstrate that the main impetus to hunt is pleasure. This pleasure motivation has a spatial component, as hunters do not enjoy hunting in core zone of the Reserve because they are harassed, ticketed, and arrested in this zone. Such experiences compromise the pleasure of hunting in this area and undermine the main motive to hunt—pleasure. This work makes a new contribution to the literature by demonstrating that when the practice of killing wildlife is a pleasure practice, not a livelihood imperative, conflict in protected areas is greatly mitigated and, at least in the case of the Shouf Biosphere Reserve, more readily managed. Chapter four explains this by discussing the mutability and fragility of pleasure as opposed to a livelihoods situation in which the imperative to eat could trump harassment and other sanctions. Of course, hunting as a pleasure pursuit is not the only reason that people do not hunt in the core zone. Chapter 4 addresses the lack of state enforcement of hunting laws which allows people to hunt everywhere beyond the Reserve's core zone and contends that weak state enforcement beyond the core zone facilitates effective enforcement of the Reserve's core zone because, as a result, hunters

do not have significant access issues (a driver of conflict around conservation efforts in the literature) that might drive them to violate the hunting ban in the core zone.

By design, there is more to a biosphere than the core zone, and chapter 5 moves us out of the core zone and into the transition zone. Chapter 5 further historicizes the development of the idea of biosphere transition zones and their relationship to protected areas and national parks. In doing so, it addresses the weak state context that marks Lebanon and points out the legal capacities and mandates that the Reserve and the state possess in make hunting laws effective in the transition zone. Of course these capacities are rather limited and these limitations intersect in a situation in which neither the Reserve nor the state are able to enforce the national ban on hunting. In particular, this chapter addressed the Reserve's dependence on the police to enforce hunting laws, the vulnerability of the police in their charge to enforce hunting laws, and the ability of hunters to strike back at police for enforcing the law. I posit that the transition zone acts as a mixed space of unstable and highly negotiated interaction between hunters, conservationist and the state. This argument is new to the literature on biosphere transition zones and conservation.

Chapter 6 and 7 further examine interactions between hunters, the state, and the Reserve's attempts to curb hunting in the transition zone. In light of the weak enforcement of hunting laws, the transition zone serves as a territory in which the goals and capacity of the Reserve, hunters and state actors like the police come into clear negotiation with each other through attempts to curb hunting in the transition zone. The Reserve has a mandate and a desire to curb hunting in the transition zone. The state has the duty to enforce the hunting ban in the transition zone, but it too does not have the

capacity to enforce these laws. Hunters resist law enforcement to an intense degree because they do not see hunting as needing regulation and because police remain vulnerable to hunters who are able to strike back at the police should they ticket hunters. This chapter addresses negotiations between the Reserve and the police, which produce a degree of mutual support between the Reserve and the police as they both seek to curb hunting.

Chapter 6 is particularly concerned with the breakdown and seeming absence of the state. By way of conservation and the state, there are many who have considered how protected areas impact livelihoods and how the state and conservation are connected, treating conservation as a state-making project. These contributions are invaluable to the understanding of the relationship between conservation and the state. However, the Lebanese state seems altogether absent *in Lebanon* most of the time. In this absence, much of Lebanon's polity and structure is rendered as sectarian by scholars of Lebanon, a construction that sees regions of Lebanon as run by the local dominant sect and not the state. Such an understanding of sectarianism bears out on the ground. It is real, salient, and is often a reality in daily Lebanese social practice. During my fieldwork, there were many moments and there is much data that can be understood as social practice that is informed by sectarianism, sectarian tension, and a sectarian sensibility about self and other. However, it is not the only element that informs social practice, the way in which people order their affairs and need not be the only lens through which we see Lebanon. All models have limits and thus limit explanations when we remain preoccupied with particular explanatory variables. Thus, while sectarianism is real, I have showed the ways

in which the practice of environmental governance in connection to hunting comes about apart from sectarianism.

Chapter 6 brings to the fore ineffective governance in the Shouf, and a concern for the ways in which the state governs or fails to govern territory. It specifically addresses attempts on the part of the state and the Reserve to work through their mutual mandates in the transition zone to bring them into compliance with the upcoming hunting law—Law 580. This chapter then scrutinizes how the biosphere model’s transition area becomes a site of collision and imbrication of mandates, duties, responsibilities, and goals. It explains why the transition zone is a mixed, liminal and unstable space of environmental governance because of the lack of effective state enforcement in a territory in which it is mandated to govern. This lack of enforcement creates a territory of flux and change in which the governance remains highly unsettled between those who seek to create conservation agendas and those who might resist them. In this area, the Reserve does not have the authority and the state does not have the interest, time, or perhaps capacity to enforce hunting laws in these areas where the Reserve decidedly would like to see enforcement happen. Thus, this chapter further theorizes the role of Biosphere transition zones and it challenges the model of fortress conservation of a state enforcing a protected area by demonstrating how a protected area is sought out by state actors to make their agenda more effective. In addition, it shows how state actors negotiate a lack of state efficacy through compensatory measures like seeking out an effective Reserve to gird their national projects.

Chapter 7 examines the attempts of the Reserve and state actors to expand the effectiveness of the Reserve’s success in making the ban effective in the core zone. This

chapter looks at a public meeting held in anticipation of the application of impending hunting laws to the area around the Shouf. In particular, I examined how conservationists sought to create an alignment of interests between those who might oppose them and those who support them. This chapter uses Foucault's concept of governmentality to demonstrate how conservationists seek to bring the interests of hunters into a discursive alignment with their own. This alignment of interests was created in the hope that the application of law might move beyond the core zone, into the transition zone, and beyond.

Much of the literature on protected areas, in its highly critical constitution, has a bearing on the way that protected areas operate. In my experience in the Shouf, those running the Reserve are acutely aware of the livelihood grievances leveled against protected areas. Indeed, the majority of their time is spent on making the Reserve economically effective for the local villages. This is not to say that there are no conflicts, or that an ideal has been achieved. Rather, it is to point out that as scholars, we need to catch up with aspects of the practice of creating and enforcing protected areas that do not pertain only to conflict and livelihoods. This is not to say we should discard a critical evaluation of conflicts. For example, in many conflicts over conservation, livelihood concerns are paramount. However, there were moments in my work when I wondered if the practice of conservation, at least in this context of limited state sovereignty, had started to move faster than its critique.

My work asks that we rethink critiques of and the approach to protected areas, as well as our approach to sectarianism in Lebanon. Indeed, understanding social practice in Lebanon necessitates an understanding of sectarian conflict and tension. My background

in Arabic literature exposed me to Lebanese war literature, which allowed me to understand multiple tensions that remain in the country today. The work of other social scientists that focus on sectarian realities gave me the framework to begin to interpret multiple aspects of practice in the Shouf. However, my work highlights elements like pleasure, a sense of place and practice vis-a-vis the state, and the Reserve's environmental governance practice. In addressing these matters, my work does not deny sectarianism, but rather highlights that which might be explanatory in addition to sectarianism. It looks at the daily, the personal and even the emotional to begin to understand questions of policy, practice and governance.

In closing, this work presents a different way of thinking about protected areas and conservation and challenges the tenets of fortress conservation. The dissonance between parts of my findings and the previous work on protected areas was difficult to see at moments. It made me uncomfortable. Yet using the literature as a launching point, allowing it to inform and frame how we apprehend our findings, creates opportunities in empirical research to find critical contradictions between the case at hand and the literature. The concern for livelihoods in the literature largely eclipses questions of space and place, questions of how sensibilities of space, place inhere within environmental governance and environmental practices. This case demonstrates that we must widen our considerations of the spaces of conservation if we are to understand conservation outcomes and environmental governance. The question of pleasure, the emotional, the mundane, the daily, and all that falls beyond livelihoods should be considered, scrutinized and taken into the conversation on protected areas. The question of how UNESCO biosphere reserves are changing the spatial and territorial administration of

protected areas also needs to be explored. As one among many, giving my voice to the critique of protected areas, I would urge that we become more flexible and more open to seeing different events and practices. Indeed, I hope that this work contributes to furthering these conversations.

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