BACKGROUND
This research was located within theoretical debates on global governance because of their particular relevance to understanding global environmental management. The increasing importance of environmental issues in global politics has generated new and powerful interest groups keen to manage natural resources in particular ways. The transboundary nature of global environmental change has meant that it has become a key site for global governance. For example, oceans, forests, wildlife, and the atmosphere, transcend human constructed national boundaries. In many ways effective environmental management has often been interpreted as requiring regional or global cooperation, and as necessitating supranational conventions, policies and agreements.

However, one way of examining the extent and limitations of the power of governance is to investigate what kinds of challenges and resistances it encounters, and if they are able to place restrictions on it, subvert it or simply ignore it. This research specifically examined how new global formations which interlink the global with the local can subvert contemporary environmental governance projects. In order to do this, this research examined the new networks and formations that appear at the interface of the global and the local in globalised world. For example, Callaghy, Kassimir and Latham (eds) (2001) argue that the study of global politics was infused with a fashionable framework that saw global and local as binary opposites, but that this was not enough to explain new global formations. Instead they argue that what is really compelling to look at is what lies silently between global and local: the structures and relations that emerge in the intersection of social phenomena that vary in range as well as in form. In short – it is important to examine how the global and local impact upon and shape each other.

The shift away from the bipolar world system at the beginning of the 1990s prompted a fundamental change in the ways scholars conceptualised and described global politics. In particular the realist framework, which emphasises inter-state relationships, has proved inadequate for understanding the complicated network of actors involved in global politics in an era of globalisation (Hewson and Sinclair, 1999; Rosenau, 1990; for further discussion of networks and global complexity see Urry, 2003; and Castells, 2000). Instead the increasing interest in global governance is a useful framework for examining the ways that multiple interest groups work together to govern and regulate (for further discussion of complex multilateralism see O’Brien, Goetz, Scholte and Williams, 2000). Within the literature on global
governance, it is common to find subtle differences in the ways it is understood. For example Hardt and Negri have argued that it is a decentralised and deterritorialised regime of power which they term ‘empire’ (Hardt and Negri, 2000). In contrast, realists have argued that global governance reflects a further extension of the power of states in the global system despite the proliferation of non-state actors such as NGOs and international organisations (Waltz, 1999). Other scholars view global governance as a replacement for the term ‘multilateralism’, to indicate types of organisations which may be proliferating, but which are not backed by any centralised, sovereign authority, so they cannot be referred to as a world ‘government’ (Diehl, 2001).

However, even amongst these different ways of analysing global governance, there is some agreement about what it means. As Selby notes it is a definitively liberal idea, conveying a pluralistic and post-ideological conception of the world. In essence the global governance project is normatively about dispersing power away from hegemonic centres of power, especially states, about extending and overcoming resistance to liberal democratic values and procedures, and about ordering people and things through recourse to reason, knowledge and expertise. In this way global governance is no less than a project for rationalising global social relations (Selby, 2003: 6; also see Duffield, 2001).

It is tempting to assume that global environmental governance represents a compelling example of the hegemonic power of the North over the South. However, this research focused on the disruptions in the global system that seemed to challenge the idea that global environmental governance is a carefully and fully implemented regime of power. It did this through an examination of the extent and reach of global environmental governance. Latham suggests that nearly every domestic transaction has global implications and every transnational transaction has domestic implications, this means that the idea of global governance is very open, or fuzzy. For Latham there is a need to be more cautious about the reach of global governance structures, because global governance theorists are so preoccupied with showing which forces of governance can produce order, that forces which might challenge or undermine order are treated as undesirable disruptions. These are forces that strain and stress the global order, thereby threatening to produce instability. Since the logic of global governance does not allow anything to roam outside the governance grid, resistances to it are defined as places where governance has gone wrong in some way (Latham, 1999; also see Cochrane, Duffy and Selby (eds), 2003).

This research examined the ways that global environmental governance has succeeded and failed as a result of its encounter with numerous global formations as defined by Callaghy, Kassimir and Latham (2001). In order to illuminate these debates on the challenges that global environmental governance faces, this research examined how transnational networks of governance impact on environment and development in the South; and more generally the many ways criminalisation as a ‘global formation’ represented a challenge to traditional and western centric understandings of global politics (Chabal and Daloz, 1999; Callaghy, Kassimir and Latham, (eds) 2001; Nordstrom, 2001; Nordstrom, 2004; Bayart, Ellis and Hibou, 1999; Bayart, 1993; Herbst, 2000; and Reno 1998).
OBJECTIVES
The aims and objectives of this research project were met in full. Details are given below and further analysed in the ‘results’ section of this report.

1. To provide a critical analysis of current concepts of global governance
This objective was fully met, and then further explored through an extensive literature review of the key texts on global governance, including Hardt and Negri (2000), Rosenau (1999), the Commission on Global Governance (1995) and Wilkinson (2004) amongst others. As detailed in the section on ‘research results’ in this report, it became clear that it was useful to reflect upon the ways debates centred on global complexity (Urry 2003; Thrift, 1999) can be used to extend and refine current analyses of globalisation and global governance.

2. To critically examine the contours, boundaries and limitations of global environmental governance
This objective was met in full through interviewing individuals based in Madagascar. Interviews meant that the research could explore the ways different actors responded to varied forms of global environmental governance. Through an examination of the roles and activities of the donor consortium in Madagascar and its increasing powers following a change of government in 2002, this project effectively researched the extent of global environmental governance in the Malagasy context. During the course of the project, it was clear that the levels of external control and regulation in Madagascar had increased, but that this was not an ever present and complete form of power. Rather Malagasy organisations and individuals did have means of resisting external controls and following their own agendas.

3. To investigate and analyse the natures and capacities of local processes that remain resistant to global governance
This research objective was achieved through interviewing in Madagascar. During interviews it was possible to explore the differing forms of resistance to global environmental governance, and the multiple strategies and tactics used by organisations and individuals. Two processes stood out as areas that could be seen as beyond the reach of external forms of governance. The first was that local organisations and individuals appeared to conform to donor agendas, while following their own interests and attempting to meet their own needs. The second was the continuance of illicit sapphire mining in southern Madagascar.

4. To examine the nature of environmental politics in Madagascar
This research project examined the nature of environmental politics in Madagascar. It investigated the ways that NGOs operate together and cooperate to influence policy making by donors and the Malagasy Government. It also examined the workings of the donor consortium which is specifically focused on the governance of the environment through the provision of aid for environmental policy making and implementation. Furthermore, in interviews it was possible to explore how NGOs, donors and government agencies interacted with one another, as well as how they perceived their own roles and the relative power of other organisations.
5. To examine the ways that global and local actors construct and define environmental change and management in Madagascar

This objective was met in full through interviews with representatives of global and local agencies and organisations, as well as through analysis of documents and web pages. For example, it was useful to examine the web pages of a number of global environmental organisations such as Conservation International and WWF to gain an insight into how they construct and define the environmental problematic in Madagascar, and how they communicate those problems to their memberships and the broader public (especially in Europe and North America). These themes were then further investigated through interviews with representatives of those organisations within Madagascar. In interviews it was possible to examine whether the perspective of the individuals based in Madagascar differed from the ways the organisations constructed and defined Malagasy environmental change on their websites and in official documents.

METHODS

Prior to fieldwork in Madagascar I completed library and on-line bibliographic searches as well as completing a literature review centred on global governance and shadow states/collapsed states. The literature review provided the theoretical context for the research, highlighted relevant publications and assisted in identification of future research priorities. In addition, before and after fieldwork I regularly met with members of the Research Advisory Panel to discuss the project.

The field research in Madagascar was carried out by myself as Principal Investigator. During that period I carried out semi-structured interviews with key interest groups involved with environmental governance in Madagascar. Interviewees were identified according to their expertise and role in environmental governance and the gem sector. A total of 36 interviews were carried out in Madagascar.

During interviews, the topics covered were specifically tailored to suit the interests and expertise of the informants. A number of interviews were carried out with the assistance of a translator, Mrs Bodo Rajaonarison. Using an interpreter inevitably changes the interactions within an interview situation and may impact on the kinds of information obtained (for further discussion see Ebbuh, 1998; Herod, 1999). However, it was clear that the benefits out weighed the problems associated with using a translator, and I am very much indebted to Bodo for her work on the project. The interviews were not taped, instead I took detailed notes. This allowed a more free flowing discussion so that the interviewee and myself could respond to new issues as they arose in conversation. Similarly, taking notes rather than taping interviews meant that interviewees felt more comfortable when giving information about criminal activities or politically controversial topics. Interviewees were informed that their identities would remain confidential if they requested anonymity.

1 Breakdown of number of interviewees by institution: Global Environmental NGOs (8) (e.g. World Wide Fund for Nature and Conservation International); Local environmental NGOs (6) (e.g. Christina Dodwell Trust and Fanamby); Government Agencies (9) (e.g. Madagascar Ministry of Tourism, Madagascar Ministry of Environment, Water and Forests); Global Donors (13) (e.g. Madagascar offices of the World Bank, Embassies, USAID and the United Nations Development Fund). The project was carried out according to best practice as defined by the Faculty of Social Sciences Ethics Committee at Lancaster University (details of their guidelines are available on the university website at http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/resources/ethics/.

4
(for further discussion see Brace, 1995; Nordstrom, 2004, Duffy, 2002). (This is further explored in the results section of this report).

Finally, the archive of interview material that was collected in the case study sites was highly sensitive. The interview material contains allegations of corruption, sapphire smuggling and trafficking of rare and internationally protected species of animals and plants. As a result, the content could jeopardise the employment and/or personal safety of some of the participants in Madagascar. Sample interviews were sent to the Qualidata Archive to be assessed, and they have been deemed unsuitable for archiving for reasons of research ethics and confidentiality. A letter from the Qualidata Archive confirming this is attached to the end of this report.

RESULTS
The results for this project can be divided into three categories: conceptual development, methodological issues and empirical material. Each of these is expanded on below:

Conceptual Development
The research project benefited from further thinking about the nature of global environmental governance. In particular, the remaking of global politics requires a new kind of social science that allows us to think in more innovative ways, instead of dualistic thinking on global and local, chaos and order, structure and agency. Urry (2003) argues that the complexity sciences provide a useful framework for understanding the dynamic, self creating, self transforming processes that currently characterise the global system. Complexity theory examines how components of a system can, through their dynamic interactions, spontaneously develop collective properties or patterns, which do not seem implicit in the individual components. A complexity approach investigates these emergent properties that somehow transcend the ingredients that make them up. Complexity argues against reducing a whole to its different parts, and rather suggests we should break with dualistic thinking of success and failure because chaos and order are always interconnected (also see Urry, 2003; Thrift, 1999; Castells, 1999; Duffield 2001; Greene, 2000). It incorporates notions of networks, fluids, dynamics and flux to provide a new understanding of the ever-changing world around us. The debates about complexity are especially useful for understanding emerging political processes in the developing world. In particular, they illuminate the ways that states have become intimately intertwined with global actors, and how that is producing a new kind of politics in the developing world. Harrison (2004: 23-26) refers to this as the ‘governance state’, where global networks of governance have become indivisible from nation-states, which in turn creates an entirely new phenomenon. Governance states are characterised by a high degree of external influence from a range of global actors. This influence is extended through a politics of ‘post conditionality’ characterised by terminology such as participation and partnership, rather than through the formal conditionalities that accompanied loans and aid in the 1980s and 1990s (Harrison, 2004: 71). In line with this, the politics of global environmental governance is indicated by the ways that states are increasingly incorporated into networks of new power actors, including NGOs, international financial institutions, international organisations, bilateral donors and private companies (Chandler 2002, Clapham, 1996; Duffield 2001). Harrison (2004) makes the point that it may no longer be useful to look at the impact of specific external actors such as the World Bank on African states. To do so would assume they
operated as some kind of neatly bounded black box that imposes its will across sovereign boundaries. Instead it might be more fruitful to think of sovereignty as a kind of space where different actors (national governments, international financial institutions, NGOs and so on) operate and compete to define sovereignty in different ways. In this view the sovereign frontier is formed by an interaction of forces therein rather than by the delimitation of one space versus another; in this new form of sovereignty its boundaries are turbulent, and they are neither wholly national nor completely global. We then do not have to resolve the contradiction that international actors undermine sovereignty as a boundary while simultaneously strengthening it through reliance on states (Harrison, 2004; and see Walley 2004: 1-50).

**Methodological Issues**

The methods required for research on politically sensitive topics is very under researched (see Nordstrom 2004; MacGaffey 1996). It is an area that raises specific questions about the ways that knowledge is collected and produced for academic consumption (see Bondi et al, 2002). Furthermore, the experience of this project, and other research that has already been published, indicates that there is a need for a greater level of academic debate that centres on the dynamic character of social research on politically sensitive topics, especially research that could constitute a risk to the researcher or to the participants in the project. In many ways, this debate can be seen as a significant challenge to existing models of social research, and the often strict, western centric academic methodological model used by some social research. Experience of field research in Sub-Saharan Africa indicates that participants often regard taping and written consent forms with the utmost suspicion, and interviewees often fear for their own personal safety, and the potential risks they might expose others to if they are taped ‘talking for the record’. In a situation of political turbulence researching politically sensitive topics, including criminal behaviours is very challenging and demands subtlety, regard to notions of ‘duty of care’ towards informants as well as guarantees of confidentiality. It was clear that much richer and denser information was collected when participants were guaranteed complete confidentiality and were not taped. In this project, this was especially the case with representatives of Embassies from European and North American states who were involved in the donor consortium and in providing conservation funding for Madagascar.

**Case study results**

Madagascar has experienced rapid expansion in conservation related activity by international organisations and global donors, especially since the change in government in 2002 following a prolonged presidential crisis. As such it is an excellent case study for exploring the extent and limitations of global environmental governance. Madagascar has become a key site and nexus of global interest in environmental governance partly because it contains high levels of biodiversity (also termed megadiversity), boast high rates of unique species and is regarded as a site of chronic levels of human poverty and wildlife habitat loss.2 The idea of an environmental crisis in a megadiverse and extremely poor country means that Madagascar has been identified by donors, NGOs, International Financial Institutions and others as a place that demands global attention, and more importantly, global

---

2 For further discussion of threats to biodiversity in Madagascar see Kull (1996); [http://www.bbc.co.uk/Madagascar Biodiversity Threatened](http://www.bbc.co.uk/Madagascar Biodiversity Threatened) (16.01.02). Accessed 08.02.02; and Financial Times, 15.05.01, ‘Madagascar’s jewels of nature under threat’.
action (for further discussion see Kull, 1996). As such it has become and object of prestige for funding and campaigns by donors and by global NGOs. For reasons of brevity, here I will explore some illustrative examples that indicate the broader themes raised by this research project.

This research project demonstrated that environmental politics in Madagascar fits very well with Harrison’s (2004) idea of the governance state. Donors and NGOs play a central role in environmental policy making in Madagascar. The role of the donor consortium in formulating and directing national policy in Madagascar provide to be especially instructive for exploring the themes of this project. The donor consortium is made up of USAID, the German Government (GTZ), the Japanese Government, the French Government (Cooperation Francais); the Swiss Government (Cooperation Suisse), Conservation International, WWF, Wildlife Conservation Society (joined in 2004), but the key lynchpin of the donor consortium is the World Bank. The donor consortium meets monthly to review the progress made so far, to determine future funding priorities and future policies for Madagascar. The discussions regularly centre on environmental policy and the ways donor and NGO funds can be used to produce specific environmental outcomes. The consortium can be seen as a mechanism which has transformed the Malagasy state into something that is neither local nor global, but is a complex new formation: a governance state.

One illustrative example of the development of Madagascar as a governance state was the ways a group of external organisations (especially Wildlife Conservation Society and Conservation International) working through the donor consortium were at the forefront of persuading the Malagasy Government to increase the number of protected areas. In 2003 the new Malagasy President, Marc Ravalomanana, announced that Madagascar was to triple the area under protection within 6 years to create a 6 million hectare network of terrestrial and marine reserves. The commitment was named the ‘Durban Vision Initiative’, named after the World Parks Congress in Durban, South Africa, where it was first announced. It led to the creation of the ‘Durban Vision Group’, which includes donors, NGOs and Malagasy government agencies, which is tasked with implementing the vision within six years.

However, the case is more complex than a clear example of external actors ‘producing’ a policy commitment in the developing world. While the Durban Vision Initiative could be regarded as a clear example of the power of global environmental governance, it can also be regarded as an example of its limitations. The newly set up Durban Vision Group (which included global and local NGOs, donor and state agencies) dealt with this policy announcement. The group rapidly redefined the meaning of ‘protected areas’ in order to create a policy that was globally and locally acceptable. Under the Durban Vision Initiative, the new protected areas will now include numerous types of multi-use areas rather than requiring the establishment of strict National Parks, which is costly in financial and social terms as well as being

---

3 Interview with Dr. Helen Crowley, Country Director, Madagascar Programme, Wildlife Conservation Society, Antananarivo 25.03.04; and interview with Bienvenu Rajohnson, Senior Environmental Policy, Adviser, World Bank, Antananarivo, 26.03.04.


5 Interview with Dr. Helen Crowley, Country Director, Madagascar Programme, Wildlife Conservation Society, Antananarivo 25.03.04; interview with Dr Joanna Durbin, Director of the Madagascar Programme, Durrell Wildlife Conservation Trust, Antananarivo, 31.03.04; and interview with Leon M. Rajaobelina, Senior Executive Director, Conservation International Madagascar, Antananarivo, 23.03.04.
time consuming and extremely difficult. In many ways the Durban Vision Group demonstrates how forms of global environmental governance become modified by their encounter with other actors, drawn from the global level (especially French and German donors) and the local actors (communities and the Malagasy Government).

A further example that could be regarded as an arena where the reach of global environmental governance was weak, was in the gem sector, and its environmental impact. The case of illicit sapphire mining and gem smuggling is especially illustrative of broader conceptual debates on complexity theory. In particular, it demonstrates the ways that complexity can provide a useful way of thinking that transforms binary ideas of the legal and illegal, the local and global, governance and resistance, order and chaos.

During the late 1990s a deposit of high quality sapphires discovered was discovered near the village of Ilakaka is south-central Madagascar. It was estimated that the population of Ilakaka town increased from 30 to 100,000 between 1998 and 2000. The sapphires are considered to be of the highest quality and if gem mining and trading were properly regulated then Madagascar has the potential to be a very rich state. However, the sapphires have been mined in a haphazard and disorganised way and the stones are mostly exported illegally to Sri Lanka, Thailand, Democratic Republic of Congo and Europe. The sapphires are found in alluvial deposits, which means that they are accessible to individuals and do not require an organised and commercial mining operation to extract them. Since Ilakaka is close to Isalo National Park, ANGAP, NGOs and donors involved in the area have become concerned about the environmental and social impact of illegal mining. The discovery of sapphires has had multiple environmental impacts, ranging from cholera outbreaks to miners collecting fuelwood in the park. As a result ANGAP has tried to run education campaigns to encourage the diggers to stay out of the park, but these have had limited effects.

Despite attempts to introduce more controls and regulations in the Malagasy gem sector, it was clear that participants in the research regarded an already established gem mining area, Ilakaka, as effectively beyond local or global control. As a result the Malagasy State, in conjunction with the World Bank and other donors were turning their attention to identifying new gem mining areas and trying to obtain control over the extraction of mineral resources in those areas from the outset. While

---

6 Interview with Dr. Helen Crowley, Country Director, Madagascar Programme, Wildlife Conservation Society, Antananarivo 25.03.04; interview with Dr Joanna Durbin, Director of the Madagascar Programme, Durrell Wildlife Conservation Trust, Antananarivo, 31.03.04; and interview with Lantoniaina Antriamampianina, Director of the Terrestrial Programme, Wildlife Conservation Society, Antananarivo 24.03.04.

7 Interview with Tom Cushman, Manager/Adviser, Institut de Gemmologie de Madagascar, Antananarivo 18.03.04; interview with Josoa Razafindretsa, Environmental Policy Specialist, USAID Madagascar, Antananarivo 22.03.04. Financial Times, 18.08.00, 'Big hopes for Madagascan sapphires'.

8 Interview with Beatrice Olga Randrianarison, STD and AIDS Unit Head, Catholic Relief Services – Madagascar, Antananarivo, 30.03.04.

9 Interview with Parfait Randriamampianina, Director of Parks, ANGAP, Antananarivo, 21.08.01; and interview with Jose Ravelonandro, Chef de Volet Ecotourisme, Isalo National Park, Ranohira, 29.08.01; also see Interview with Parfait Randriamampianina, Director of Parks, ANGAP, Antananarivo, 21.08.01; Financial Times, 18.08.01, 'Blue dreams in a world of red clay'; and Focus, August 2000, 'Sapphires in the Sand'.

10 Interview with Tom Cushman, Manager/Adviser, Institut de Gemmologie de Madagascar, Antananarivo 18.03.04; interview with Josoa Razafindretsa, Environmental Policy Specialist, USAID
neither of these themes or processes could be defined as ‘resistance’ in the classical sense, they do indicate the areas where the reach of global governance encounters significant challenges; these challenges then effectively modify the outcomes of global governance when it reaches the local level. The ways that gems are trafficked out of Madagascar and into the international economy is illustrative of complexity theory. Trafficking gems disrupts the idea that global and local are separate but rather that they are indivisible. For example, the names of gem trading posts in Ilakaka reveal the globalised networks that are present in the local areas: Colombo Gems, Congo Gems, Thai Mada Cooperation and Sri Lanka Saphir.

A World Bank Study in 1999 found that US$100 million in gems was smuggled out of Madagascar in that year alone. It is impossible to place a precise value on the stones that are traded in Ilakaka each day, but one rough estimate was that US$4 million worth of stones changed hands each day in 2001 when trading was at its peak. Despite this massive cash flow in southern Madagascar, the Malagasy franc continued to fall against the US dollar. Rather than making its way into the formal economy, the income generated from the gem sector remains in an informal and illegal economy populated by gem dealers, criminal organisations, protection racketeers, miners and individuals in the Malagasy elite. While the key traders are foreigners, rumours have abounded that prominent Malagasy officials (mostly from the former Ratsiraka regime, ousted in 2002) have been able to siphon off large profits from the illegal gem sector. Therefore, the illicit networks between global capital in the form of gem dealers and local elites can be regarded as a new form of complexity in global politics that constitutes a new kind of ‘global formation’ as defined by Callaghy, Kassimir and Latham (eds) (2001).

In sum, this research further developed the conceptual framework, raised methodological questions and tested the objectives and hypotheses of the project through field research. This research project effectively explored the boundaries and limitations of global environmental governance in Madagascar. Furthermore, it developed the conceptual framework to include notions of governance states and complexity theory.

ACTIVITIES

- **Links with participants:** I am involved in on-going correspondence with participants in this research to ensure that they have maximum input into the development of the work and its preparation for academic publication.

- **Conferences/Seminars:** Within Madagascar I attended a major international workshop facilitated by Conservation International and held over a period of 4 days. The key NGOs, state agencies and donors in the environmental sector in Madagascar attended the workshop. The workshop was intended to promote discussion, as well as develop policy framework for Madagascar.

Madagascar, Antananarivo 22.03.04; and interview with Pomphile Rakotoarimanana, Directeur de Mines et Geologie, Ministere de Mines et Geologie, Antananarivo 16.03.04.

11 also see interview with Tom Cushman, Manager/Adviser, Institut de Gemmologie de Madagascar, Antananarivo 18.03.04; interview with Josoa Razafindretsa, Environmental Policy Specialist, USAID Madagascar, Antananarivo 22.03.04; and see Focus, August 2000, ‘Sapphires in the Sand’. For further information on the World Bank reports on Madagascar and the sapphire sector see http://www.worldbank.org/afr/wps/wp19/1.pdf; and http://www4.worldbank.org/afr/poverty/pdf/docnav/03298.pdf. (Accessed 05.09.03)

12 Anonymous interviewee; and Financial Times, 18.08.01, ‘Blue dreams in a world of red clay’. 
Attending international conferences is important and provided me with an opportunity to discuss the research with fellow academics and policy makers. I presented a paper on the politics of ecotourism in Madagascar at the University of Waikato, New Zealand, in December 2003. Furthermore, I attended a workshop on globalisation and criminalisation at the Centre des Etudes et des Recherches Internationaux (CERI) in Paris in June 2004. In addition, I have given seminars on the research at the Universities of Bristol, Cambridge, Lancaster and York.

- **Networks:** from 27 August until 26 September 2004 I was on a research trip in New York, this gave me an opportunity to discuss the research with US based academics, and to carry out further interviews with the North American offices of a number of organisations working in Madagascar, including the United Nations Environment Programme and the International Headquarters of the Wildlife Conservation Society located at the Bronx Zoo.

- **Future Activities:** I will be presenting a paper on environmental governance at the IASTE conference in Dubai in December 2004; I have organised a workshop on the politics of ecotourism and its relationship to global mobilities to be held in Lancaster University in January 2005; I have applied to attend the European Consortium on Political Research (ECPR) in Granada in April 2005 to present the research findings to the workshop ‘Comparing Environmental Movements in the North and South’.

**OUTPUTS**
Details of the publications, conference papers and seminars will be submitted to REGARD website, [http://www.regard.ac.uk](http://www.regard.ac.uk) as they become available.

**Academic Outputs:** there are a number of publications that are associated with this project. I have drafted three papers, one of which will be published as chapter in an edited collection, the other two papers are under review with journals. A further publication examining globalisation and criminalisation in Madagascar through the lens of complexity theory is currently being developed for submission to Third World Quarterly; this will constitute a core theoretical publication from the project.

**Other Outputs/Dissemination:**
- Website: A project website has been established to allow users of the research to gain access to and comment on research results from an early stage. It can be found at [http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/politics/people/duffy/duffy.htm](http://www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/politics/people/duffy/duffy.htm)
- Project leaflets: the graphic design unit at Lancaster University is currently producing Project leaflets.

**IMPACTS**
The work carried out on this project is of interest to academics and environmental policy makers. In the academic community the impact of the research has been to generate debate (through presentations and draft publications) on the need for a greater degree of subtlety when discussing what global governance means and what its capacities are. Furthermore, the project has stimulated debate on the specific nature of globalisation in Sub-Saharan Africa: that the continent is drawn into global networks in very particular ways. Within the donor and NGO community a number of organisations have expressed an interest in the research. In particular, representatives
of donor organisations and environmental NGOs have indicated that they are interested in how other donors and NGOs in Madagascar perceive and respond to their activities. Furthermore, NGOs have requested that they are regularly informed of any outputs in order to assist them with refining their policy making agenda in Madagascar, to help them develop the networks between local and global organisations and to be more responsive to local needs and perceptions of their activities.

FUTURE RESEARCH PRIORITIES

From this project there are three areas that could be further pursued:

1. On a theoretical level it would be interesting to work on the specific ways Sub-Saharan Africa has been globalised in order to challenge assumptions that the continent has been left behind by globalisation.

2. There is a need for further research on the increasing inter linkage between environmental NGOs and donors in Madagascar, and its implication for concepts of governance states.

3. Drawing on the two points made above, I am developing a further research project which links ideas about globalisation in Africa and environmental governance to the transformation of European and North American zoos into conservation organisations acting in the developing world. In particular, this project would look at the ways the Bronx Zoo and Zurich Zoo amongst others have directly linked their displays to conservation programmes they fund within developing countries (e.g. in Masoala province in Madagascar and the rainforests of Gabon/Congo).
Appendix

Bibliography