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COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN ECOTOURISM: THEORETICAL OVERVIEW

"Healthy, thriving communities are the touchstone for a successful tourism industry" (Haywood, 1988:105)

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Gunn (1988) argues that decision-making in planning tourism and development is most important at the local level, and yet the majority of local communities are not involved and do not have any experience in tourism. He suggests five reasons why communities should be involved in tourism planning:

- * it can provide better understanding of the interdependence between the attraction and the service business;
- * it promises greater community harmony by avoiding problems;
- * it reduces business failures by assuring sound growth;
- * it fosters community acceptance of tourism; and
- * it assists in obtaining necessary human and financial resources.

It is further suggested that if one wants to discourage negative attitudes among the local communities, it is important for tourism planning to consider community priorities and goals (Gorio, 1978; Paul, 1987; Gunn, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995). The communities involved will then endorse tourism attractions because they will be assured that the integrity of their local community traditions and life styles will be respected (Gorio, 1978; Gunn, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995). In the end, broad-based community participation should be attempted.

During the 1982 World Congress on National Parks and the 1992 World Parks Congress in Venezuela, conservationists and park managers promoted the policy of providing more support for communities adjacent to parks by offering "... *education, revenue sharing, participation in decision making, and, where compatible with the protected area's objective, access to resources*" (Brandon, 1993:134). This was agreed upon after it was acknowledged that very few benefits of ecotourism activities initiated actually went to local communities. It is therefore important for any ecotourism project to be consistent with the local social, ecological, and economic objectives of its the area where it is situated (Sayer, 1981; Fowkes, 1992; Brandon, 1993; Cater, 1994; Fowkes, 1995; Jamal & Getz, 1995).

Through community participation, ecotourism can benefit the disadvantaged, particularly in poor, rural areas (**Weekly Mail**, 1994a). Ecotourism should involve the local community and entrepreneurs in an equal partnership because that will ensure that both partners benefit from the venture.

Ecotourism projects entail motivating people to manage wildlands and wildlife in a sustainable way, since the benefits reaped by the community depend on wise management (Brandon, 1993). Research has shown that projects which aim at generating economic benefit without effectively influencing local participation in the identification, design, implementation, or evaluation of development activities are less likely to provide widespread community benefits (D'Amore, 1983; Bodlender et al. 1991; Brandon, 1993; Dubley, 1993; Jamal & Getz, 1995).

This chapter addresses the first objective (1.3.2) which investigate different trends in community participation. It also indicates that the Eurocentric view which has been dominating conservation, and prevented local community involvement. Finally different models of community participation are reviewed.

2.2 CRITICAL ISSUES IN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Brandon (1993) suggests the following ten critical issues in eliciting community

participation in ecotourism:

- * role of local participation;
- * empowerment as an objective;
- * participation in the project cycle;
- * creating stakeholders;
- * linking benefits to conservation;
- * distributing benefits;
- * involving community leaders;
- * using change agents;
- * understanding site-specific conditions; and
- * monitoring and evaluating progress.

Residents who benefit from tourism start supporting it, whereas those who do not benefit from it tend to regard its impacts in a negative light (Wells et al. 1992; King et al. 1993). That is why remarks such as the following are sometimes made: "*In my opinion, tourism is a necessary evil for the local economy. It is an important source of many peoples' income and livelihood. Therefore, I will tolerate the hassles that come along with it*" (Ap & Crompton, 1993:49).

2.3 THE MEANING OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Paul (1987) suggests that there are various opinions about the meaning of community participation. He maintains that some people think that it means involvement in political decision-making; others, like the development economists, see it in terms of sharing of the benefits; others regard it as an end in itself; still others see it as a means to achieve other goals, while some regard it as an instrument to enhance the efficiency of projects (Paul, 1987).

Local participation could also be described as giving people more opportunity to participate effectively in development activities (Brandon, 1993) or enhancing their ability to influence the outcome of development projects (Drake, 1991a; Wells et al. 1992). Santhanam et al. (1984), Vivian (1992), Brandon (1993) and Horwich

et al. (1993) describe community development as a process whereby local people are empowered to control and manage valuable resources in ways that not only sustain the resources but also meet the social, cultural and economic needs of the same community. Thus Cemea (1991, as cited in Brandon, 1993:139) argues that local participation means "... *empowering people to mobilize their own capacity, be social actors rather than passive subjects, manage the resources, make decisions, and control the activity that affect their lives*".

A participative approach involves people in the process of their own development. Local community participation includes, but goes well beyond, simply sharing social and economic benefits (Santhanan et al. 1984; Wells et al. 1992; Vivian, 1992; Brandon, 1993). Thus, providing employment opportunities is an important local benefit, but it does not involve the community in decision-making. Conferring with people and getting their opinion or simply providing them with benefits are both elements of a participative approach, but neither empowers people. In terms of the participative approach, the local community is consulted and has a say in decision-making (Arnstein, 1969; Vivian, 1992; Reilly, 1992; Wells et al. 1992; Brandon, 1993).

Most ecotourism projects emphasise a beneficiary approach in which people receive benefits but are not empowered (Drake, 1991b; Wells et al. 1992). Decisions concerning projects are made far from the site. Thus, "... *ecotourism planning need to view local people as their counterparts and use both the planning process and ecotourism activities as tools that empower local people to exercise greater control over their lives*" (Brandon, 1993:139).

Furthermore, Paul (1987) argues that people (beneficiaries) are the object of development and that their involvement is of outmost importance in the execution of the project. He states that the joint or collaborative involvement of beneficiaries in groups is a hallmark of community participation. Community participation can be said to occur only when people act in concert to advise, decide or act on issues which can best be solved through such joint action (Paul, 1987; Drake, 1991b; **Financial Mail**, 1994a).

For the sake of this study, community participation is defined as the active involvement of the local community in influencing the direction and management

of a project with a view to enhancing itself in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance and other values.

2.4 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The basic aim of community participation should be to provide citizens with adequate information. This will guarantee active exchange of information and opinion among all members of the community (Keogh, 1990; ANC, 1994), because *"... if full information is not available on issues under consideration, opportunities or even rights to participate become meaningless"* (Lucas, 1978:51 cited in Keogh, 1990:450). As a result, a major part of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) will be doomed to failure (ANC, 1994). Therefore, it is important during the planning stage to make information available to those involved because a lack of *"... familiarity with development proposals among residents might have an overall adverse effect on general attitudes towards tourism projects"* (Keogh, 1990:450).

The major goal of tourism development in rural areas should be to obtain a balance between economic diversification and preservation of the quality of life sought by many rural residents (Drake, 1991a; Morris & Morris, 1995). It is furthermore important to enhance quality of life through the economic, social, cultural, recreational and other benefits of tourism (Place, 1991; McCool & Martin, 1994). The major goal in any tourism venture should be to raise the standard of living of communities through economic benefits (McCool & Martin, 1994). However, such changes have both positive and negative consequences, which disrupt the sense of belonging or attachment to one's community (Lankford, 1994; McCool & Martin, 1994). In fact, McCool & Martin (1994:29) stress that *"... since tourism is a community development tool, the development process should not destroy the values people seek in community"*.

In turn, community participation should strive to achieve the following: to be an instrument of empowerment which will enable local communities to initiate actions on their own; to allow communities to share in the management of the project; to increase project effectiveness; and to get the community to share the costs of the project in terms of labour, money or maintenance (Paul, 1987).

The community planning process recognises the importance of external linkages and makes sure that these linkages are related to the internal arrangements of the community. Since community tourism planning does not focus simply on the formulation of a strategy as a problem-solving process, but also on the problems of implementation and control, it should be part and parcel of a tourism management process (Haywood, 1988).

According to Haywood (1988) the goals of community-based tourism are threefold:

- * to identify the possibility and choices for the future of tourism within the community;
- * to examine each possibility carefully in terms of its probable impact; and
- * to include in the planning process the real preferences of the people in the community, whose lives and home environment are influenced by the decisions made.

It is important to adjust the objectives of the tourism business according to the community's objectives for tourism. Unless this is achieved, the behaviour of individual decision makers within each business might not correspond with the desired community view (Haywood, 1988). Because of this, a participative approach to tourism planning at community level is very important. By involving all decision makers and stakeholders in discussion, and by persuading everyone to listen to each other's deepest concerns, scenarios can be written which reflect the community's desires, potential and probabilities (Haywood, 1988).

The aims of tourism should be consolidated into a single community objective because they depict one of the several activities within many economies. Getz (1987, as cited in Simmons, 1994:99) gives the following requirements for this integration to take place:

- * goal orientated - with clear recognition of the role to be played by tourism in achieving broad social goals;

- * democratic - with full and meaningful citizen input from community level up;
- * integrative - placing tourism planning issues into the mainstream of planning for parks, heritage, conservation, land use and the economy; and
- * systematic - drawing on research to provide conceptual and predictive support for planners, and drawing on the evaluation of planning to develop theory.

2.5 DECISION MAKERS WITHIN A COMMUNITY

There is a problem of authority, which in a democratic sense derives from the community, but it has through the historic processes of representative democracy established its own characteristic technique which contributes to the distancing of citizens from the real exercise of power (Pine, 1984).

Although congruency of public opinion and public policy is not without its critics, the formulation of a tourism policy at community level needs some degree of consensus among all stakeholders (Boo, 1991; Haywood, 1988; Lankford, 1994). Planners must be thoroughly informed about the views of the host community and must identify, evaluate and present the elected decision-making bodies with all information they possess (Paul, 1987; Lankford, 1994).

Allen and Gibson (1987:100, as cited in Lankford, 1994) conclude that "... *the responses of community leaders are not generally congruent with the desires of the public regarding specific community issues and concerns*". If decision makers cannot efficiently reflect public needs, the democratic process will gradually disintegrate. Thus, information concerning the opinions of residents should be collected by means of meetings, surveys or other forms of public involvement.

In most instances, small groups are preferred for logistic and cost reasons and for

administrative convenience, but where there is a need for adequate representation, large groups are necessary. While it is acceptable to choose individuals by virtue of their knowledge, reasonable standard, it must be emphasised that the community should be allowed to choose its own representatives. In this way the risk that the community will regard its representatives merely as a token body, and participation as a hollow exercise, will be avoided (Haywood, 1988). In turn, representatives are expected to report back to their constituencies as a sign of their commitment.

Participants must also have access to all available information on the tourism industry. They need a variety of tools, such as conciliation, mediation, arbitration and the establishment of superordinate goals (Haywood, 1988).

2.6 LOCAL ENTREPRENEURS: WHY THEY SHOULD PARTICIPATE

Because of rapid growth of the industry, most of the members of local communities and entrepreneurs are barred from becoming involved in the tourism industry, other than working as menial wage earners. Those who are involved, get stiff competition from foreign investors who aim at maximizing profits at the expense of the local population.

Most of the lodges are owned by foreigners and this means that, except for tips or salaries earned by local employees, income mainly flows out to large cities (Sherman & Dixon, 1991; Whelan, 1991; Cater, 1994; Chalker, 1994). The lodges, besides providing low-paying part-time (in some instances) employment to locals, are not a significant source of capital for local development (Place, 1991). Because of this scenario, it is important for ecotourism to focus on expanding, improving and promoting village-based tourism. This type of tourism could help establish local entrepreneurs who will help minimise leakages of profits, unlike upmarket foreign-owned enterprises (Place, 1991; Sherman & Dixon, 1991; Whelan, 1991; Cater, 1994). This in turn will encourage production in local agriculture and other services associated with the tourism industry.

2.7 A HOLISTIC APPROACH TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN ECOTOURISM

The community outreach programmes which are designed to educate people about ecotourism and its economic potential must be utilised because many rural communities do not understand the parks missions, and how these could contribute to the economic development of their area (**Sunday Nation**, 1994). This community education based on consciousness raising should be used to "... facilitate local people's transition from an economy based on resource extraction to one based on the preservation of the ecosystem around them" (Place, 1991:199).

Parks serve an important ecological function by protecting water resources and soil, together with a diversity of animal and bird species. But, on the other hand, they represent a loss of vital resources to the local community. If parks are to succeed, the local community must be able to replace the exploitation of natural resources with the benefits from ecotourism (De Viliers, 1995). National parks have the ability to act as the cornerstone of regional advancement in some parts of the Third World (Place, 1991; De Viliers, 1995). It will be a disaster if there is a happy paradise, but a seething, unhappy mass of people eyeing it from across the river (**Sunday Tribute**, 1994; **The Argus**, 1994; **The Star**, 1994).

Steady development and planning of tourism is necessary at community level if a region or country wishes to deliver an exciting and a novel tourist experience (Haywood, 1988) of a high quality. Thus, like in any other business, strategic planning is insignificant unless it is sanctioned and executed at the operational level. Hence there is a "... need for partnership - the wholesome participation of, and gain sharing with, all people concerned with the tourism product" (Haywood, 1988:106).

The challenge facing us is to provide opportunities for local communities to participate in the economic benefits of ecotourism. If ecotourism is to produce a positive social cost-benefit ratio, a large fraction of the local population must benefit from the inflow of tourists, rather than merely bear the burden of the cost,

such as cultural erosion (Place, 1991).

Public participation in tourism is a process of trial and error; it is incremental, experimental, managed, shared and based on recent information (Place, 1991). By learning to plan and planning to learn, a community tourism planning process can be set up to achieve public participation (Boo, 1991; Place, 1991). The process should move at the group's pace, and deal with the issues the group chooses to consider.

2.8 CONSTRAINTS IN COMMUNITY TOURISM PLANNING

A great deal of time, energy and keen organisational ability is necessary in implementing local participation processes. There is always the risk that the preferences of the local population may differ from one community to another, or even differ radically within the same community (Brandon, 1993). These risks need to be addressed and incorporated into the project design if the objectives of ecotourism are to be realised.

According to Haywood (1988:107), any project which involves many stakeholders, especially a whole community, faces a number of constraints:

- * the process of participation often tends to become institutionalised, and consequently represents only the socio-economic and environmental elite;
- * community participation may be regarded as unnecessary, unwieldy, time consuming and idealistic dream;
- * there are several burdens such as a dilution of power, a lack of time to interact with citizens, a lack of patience to educate others, and a lack of negotiating skills;
- * there may be a lack of money, corporation, attendance and interest; and

- * there may be extensive bureaucratic control.

In addition to the above, there might be deficiencies within the community, such as:

- * a lack of knowledge; and
- * a lack of willpower and initiative.

It is important to note that these constraints to community participation are not insurmountable. Stakeholders could, through consultation, work on a new set of policies and recommendations, which could make local community participation a reality.

2.9 WHY INVOLVE THE COMMUNITIES IN ECOTOURISM?

According to Haywood (1988), the following is necessary if locals are to participate in ecotourism:

- * an opportunity to improve the management of the community's tourism life cycle;
- * an improved understanding of those elements in the community that have an impact on tourism;
- * better anticipation of the internal and external challenges of tourism;
- * a chance to ameliorate detrimental impacts, such as congestion; and
- * an improved opportunity to accommodate all sectors of the public that may be affected by tourism.

On the other hand, Jones (1993:147) argues for the involvement and participation

of the local community for the following reasons:

- * the longer-term viability or sustainability of tourism in rural areas might depend on support from the local community;
- * the community, is more likely to become an active partner in tourism development if it has a say in the development process;
- * the community can often provide its own environmental checks and balances; and
- * carefully developed tourism can provide economic, environmental and cultural benefits for the community.

The quality of community life can be enhanced and tourism can be integrated into the community by orientating tourism planning towards the "... *probable, the desirable and the achievable*" (Haywood, 1988:108). In the end, consultation and collaboration is a complex undertaking and the forging of partnerships through public participation can be fraught with difficulty (Pine, 1984; Jamal & Getz, 1995).

2.10 MODELS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The democratic world has accepted community participation in principle, but as Simmons (1994) argues, the very countries and organisations involved in tourism and ecotourism and the promotion thereof, employ a variety of strategies. The most common strategies are manipulation, therapy, consultation and placation, all of which retain political or bureaucratic control and deflect public involvement. As a result, the local community often has a high degree of enthusiasm at the start of a project, but this changes to disillusionment as the project progresses (Butler, 1980).

This section will review three theoretical models or methods of community participation and two practical models (case studies) to see how this problem has been addressed elsewhere. Thereafter, key issues or basic steps for the formulation of a model will be outlined. These will be based on the two sets of models.

2.10.1 2.2: THEORETICAL MODELS PARTICIPATION

2.10.1.1 *Participation ladder model*

Haywood's (1988) participation ladder model (Table 2.3) was adapted from Pine's (1984) participation ladder (Table 2.1) which, in turn, had its origin in Arnsteins's (1969) eight rungs on a ladder of citizen participation (Table 2.2).

Pine's (1984) model (Table 2.1) evolved from a perspective of the authority towards the community (as illustrated at stage 1). This eight stage participation process is adapted from that of Arnstein (1969) and relates more closely to the process of participation in a recognizable system. At the end of the process, the community and the authorities reach joint agreement on the policies to be followed.

TABLE 2.1: PARTICIPATION LADDER RELATED TO THE PROCESS OF PARTICIPATION

1. Information	Introduction of policy to citizens by the authority.
2. Animation	Stimulation of perception among citizens and authority.
3. Participation	(First stage) Opening of dialogue between citizens and authority.
4. Participation	(Second stage) Initiation of planning on a basis of partnership.
5. Participation	(Third stage) Joint research: identification of facilities and resources.
6. Strategies	Implementation of strategy by administrators.
7. Participation	(Fourth stage) Joint decision making regarding allocation, management and development.
8. Participation	(Fifth stage and also first stage) Review of policy and achievements.
<i>Source: Pine, 1984</i>	

TABLE 2.2: LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

8. CITIZEN CONTROL	Degrees of citizen power
7. DELEGATED POWER	
6. PARTNERSHIP	
5. PLACATION	Degrees of
4. CONSULTATION	
3. INFORMING	tokenism
2. THERAPY	Non-participation
1. MANIPULATION	
<i>Source: Arnstein, 1969</i>	

Arnstein's (1969) participation ladder (Table 2.2) is based on levels of involvement of the authorities with citizens or from well established institutions to those developing. It depicts a 'top down' approach of authority towards citizens. Three main levels are identified: non-participation, tokenism and citizen power. With non-participation (manipulation and therapy), citizens are not involved, their opinions are not considered and they have no power. In tokenism (informing, consultation and placation), people are listened to and receive information, but their decisions and opinions are not heeded by the authorities. Finally, citizen power (consisting of partnership, delegated power and citizen control), the process of participation and empowerment, starts to unfold.

Haywood's (1988) participation ladder was therefore adapted to suit conditions in tourism reflected in general citizen participation models.

Haywood's (1988) participation model (Table 2.3) is simply an attempt to recognise that tourism is a community affair, and that a variety of delegates from interested community, business and government bodies should convene to determine an ideal approach to managing tourism within the community as a whole. Community tourism should therefore not focus only on the formulation of

TABLE 2.3: PARTICIPATION LADDER MODEL

1. Information	Introduction of existing tourism policy to citizens
2. Animation	Stimulation of perception among citizens
3. Participation (stage 1)	Opening of dialogue between citizens and authorities
4. Participation (stage 2)	Initiation of tourism planning on a basis of partnership
5. Participation (stage 3)	Identification of strengths and weaknesses
6. Participation (stage 4)	Determining tourism objectives and strategies
7. Participation (stage 5)	Joint decision-making regarding resource allocation, development and management
8. Operational	Implementation of tourism strategy by administrators
9. Participation (stages 6 & 1)	Review of tourism policy and achievements
<i>Source: Haywood, 1988</i>	

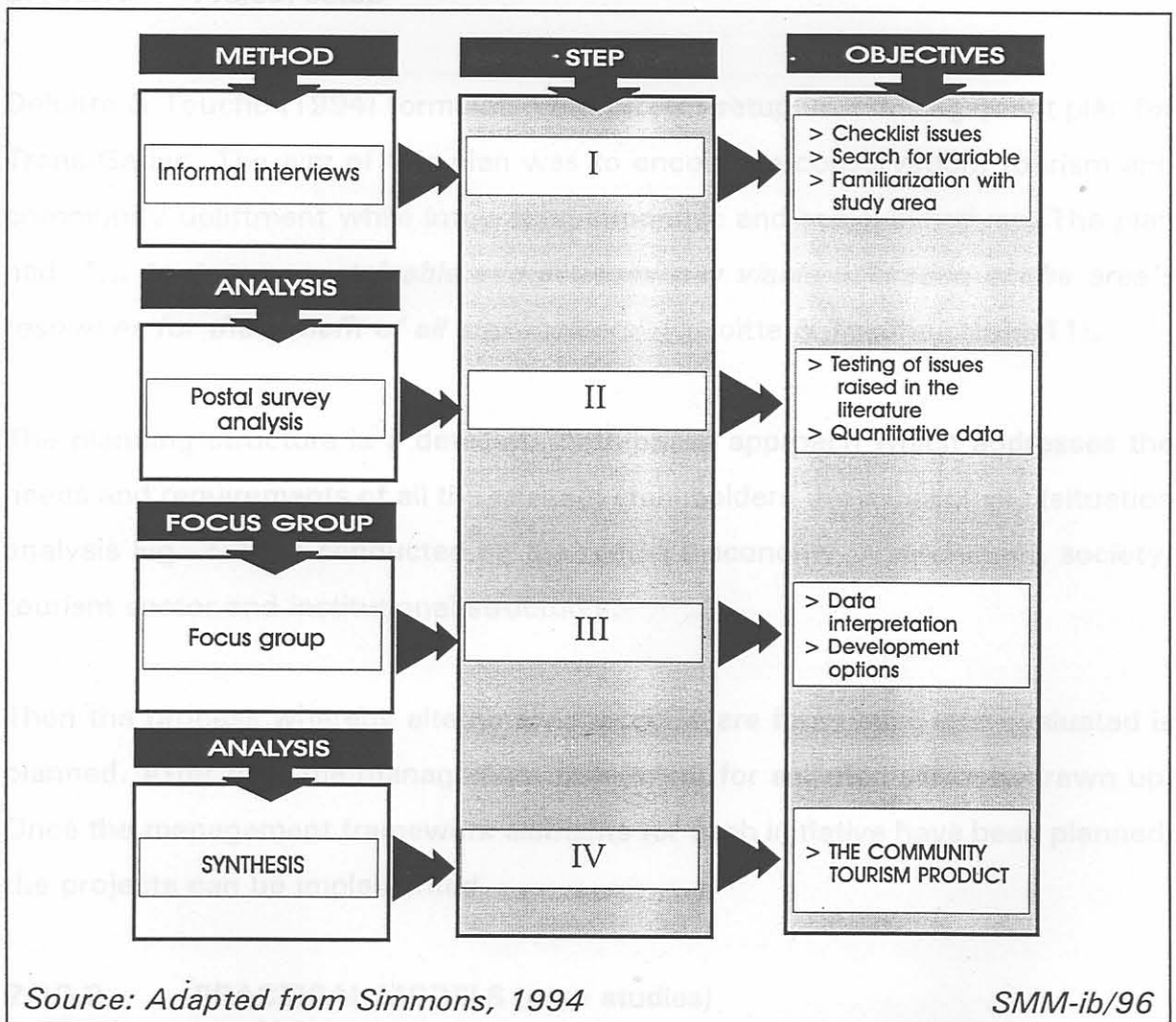
a strategy as a problem-solving process, but also on the problems of implementation and control (Pine, 1984; Haywood, 1988; Jamal & Getz, 1995).

The model indicates that for the participative planning process to be successful, no one institution should be allowed to believe that its input and policies are more important than the community participation process.

2.10.1.2 Schedule of methods model

The Schedule of methods model was introduced in order to develop and evaluate initial community participation in tourism planning (Simmons, 1994). This model integrates the field and the survey methods, which increases understanding of research problems and the validity of the data. The three participation methods (Fig. 2.1) (steps I, II & III) and the analysis of resultant data (step IV) have made it possible to sequentially refine the focus.

FIGURE 2.1: SCHEDULE METHOD



The method recommends that exploratory and informal interviews be held with a range of opinion leaders who might be distinguished for their well-articulated views, both in favour of and against tourism development. The goal is to establish the relevance of general issues expressed in the literature on the perception and

status of tourism development in the area under study.

Thereafter, a postal survey is conducted to establish the quantitative foundation of the research. This is followed by a focus group, which convening small groups of residents who have completed the previous survey and indicated interest in further involvement in the study, to work on the data gathered earlier. In the end, one must come up with an accepted response, which then constitutes the community tourism product.

2.10.1.3 *Project setup*

Deloitte & Touche (1994) formulated the project setup as a management plan for Trans-Gariep. The aim of this plan was to encourage conservation, tourism and community upliftment while integrating economic and social initiatives. The plan had "... to ensure sustainable and economically viable utilisation of the area's resources for the benefit of all stakeholders" (Deloitte & Touche, 1994:11).

The planning structure is a detailed, three-phase approach which addresses the needs and requirements of all the relevant stakeholders. An initial phase (situation analysis Fig. 2.2), is conducted on the region's economy, environment, society, tourism sector and institutional structures.

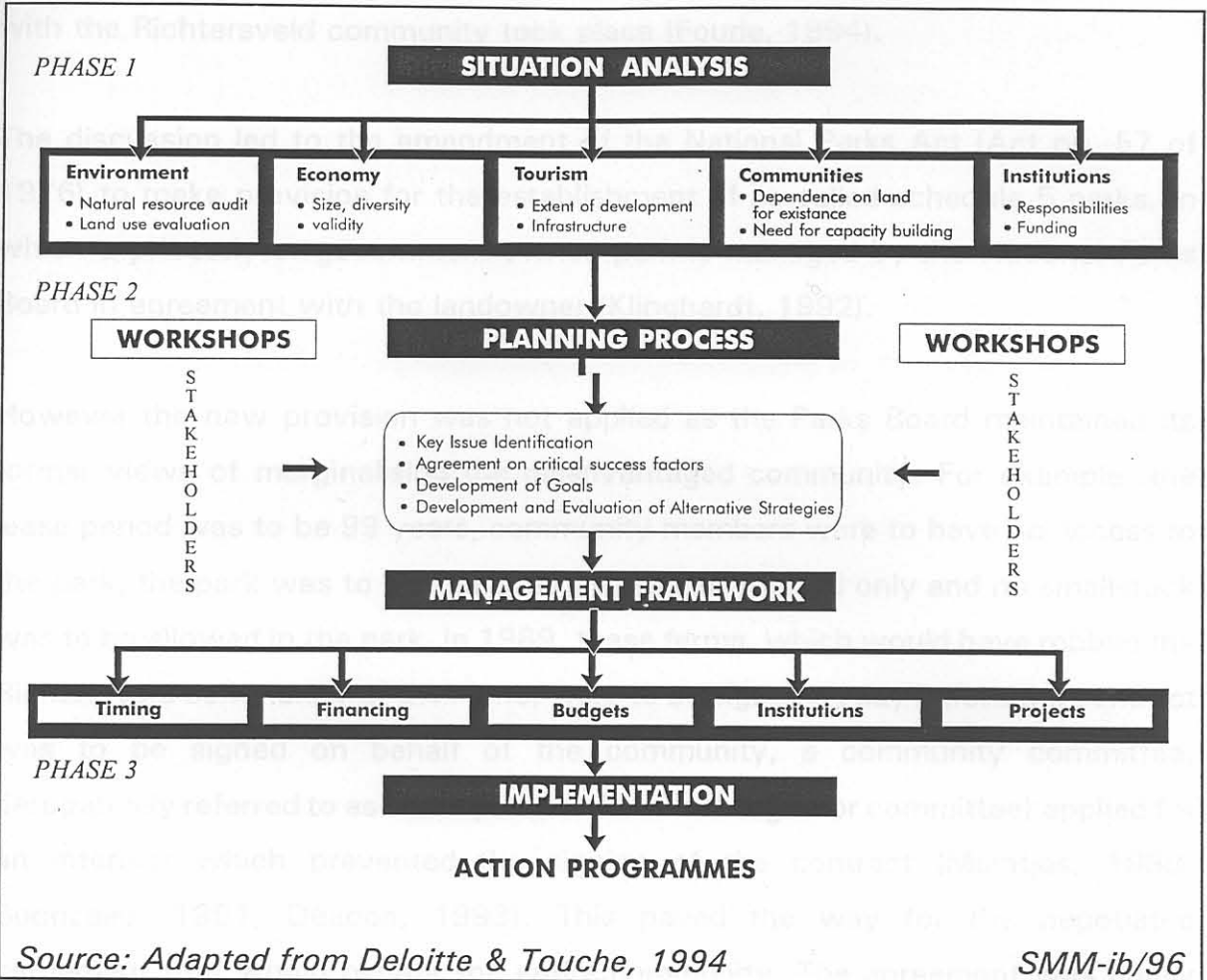
Then the process whereby alternative strategies are formulated and evaluated is planned. After this, the management framework for selected projects drawn up. Once the management framework elements for each initiative have been planned, the projects can be implemented.

2.10.2 PRACTICAL MODELS (case studies)

2.10.2.1 *Richtersveld National Park*

The Richtersveld National Park, was the first national park to have been proclaimed

FIGURE 2.2: PROJECT SETUP



in South Africa with the participation of the local rural community (Financial Mail, 1994b). The planning process took 18 years (Deacon, 1993; Financial Mail, 1994b; Fourie, 1994) for ten years of which local residents were less aware that the future of their area was being negotiated (Boonzaier, 1991). The outside world and environmentalists were kept informed about developments through journals and magazines (Boonzaier, 1991; Fourie, 1994). Negotiations were mainly conducted with the unpopular and unrepresentative House of Representatives, which ignored the opinions and sentiments of the people who would be affected (Fourie, 1994).

The recommendation for the proclamation of the area came from the International Biological Programme in 1973 and was accepted in principle by the Park in 1975

(Steffens, 1990; Klinghardt, 1992). It was only in 1986 that minuted discussions with the Richtersveld community took place (Fourie, 1994).

The discussion led to the amendment of the National Parks Act (Act no. 57 of 1976) to make provision for the establishment of so-called schedule 5 parks, in which a privately or government-owned park is managed by the National Parks Board in agreement with the landowner (Klinghardt, 1992).

However the new provision was not applied as the Parks Board maintained its former views of marginalising the disadvantaged community. For example, the lease period was to be 99 years, community members were to have no access to the park, the park was to be managed by the Parks Board only and no smallstock was to be allowed in the park. In 1989, these terms, which would have robbed the Richtersveld community of their land, were to be signed. A day before the contract was to be signed on behalf of the community, a community committee, derogatively referred to as the "opstokerskomitee" (agitator committee) applied for an interdict which prevented the signing of the contract (Meintjes, 1989; Boonzaier, 1991; Deacon, 1993). This paved the way for the negotiated settlement that would benefit the entire community. The agreement was finally signed in 1991.

2.10.2.2 Zimbabwe's "CAMPFIRE"

These are the terms of agreement as adapted from Meintjes (1989), Boonzaier (1991), Klinghardt (1992) and **Financial Mail** (1994b):

- * 162 455 hectares were put aside for conservation for a 30-year lease period;
- * the community was given the right to cancel the lease;
- * the management committee was to comprise of four board officials and five local community members;
- * access to the Park and rights, such as to collect wood and gather honey were guaranteed;

- * the Park would pay R80 000 (50 cents per hectare) to the community trust fund for the right to use the land as a Park and a portion of the income generated, would furthermore be paid into the trust fund;
- * the local community would receive preferential treatment with regard to employment opportunities;
- * existing mining and prospecting operations could be continued;
- * a total of 6 600 heads of smallstock would be allowed to graze in the Park (subject to prevention of environmental damage); and
- * additional state-owned land (not specified) would be made available to the community.

This lengthy process could have been considerably shortened, had the correct procedures been followed from the start (Fourie, 1994). Nevertheless, the settlement that was reached, benefited the local community together with the environment.

2.10.2.2 Zimbabwe's "CAMPFIRE"

The competition for land between people and wildlife represented the greatest threat to conservation in Zimbabwe for a long time. The local community regarded and saw wildlife as a danger and a pest, a threat to life and livelihood and a source of income through poaching (Pinchin, 1993). Wildlife was owned by the state and no interference tolerated. This created conflict which resulted in an increase poaching and was detrimental to wildlife.

Shortly after independence, in 1982, the Park and Wildlife Act of 1975, was amended. The 1975 Act prohibited people who were living in communal areas (former homelands during colonial rule) from exploiting wildlife in the areas for their benefits, whereas those who were living on private-owned lands (landholders), could do so. The amended act made provision for district councils (who are elected

by the government) to become landholders. This resulted in the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) (Pinchin, 1993; Chalker, 1994). People then became part of the solution rather than being part of the problem.

CAMPFIRE is a type of conservation strategy or initiative "... which is socially, economically and environmentally sustainable ... It has shown that rural people can improve their quality of life without degrading the natural ecosystem on which survival ultimately depends" (Pinchin, 1993:29). It also helps rural communities to develop their capacity to manage wildlife and natural resources on a sustainable basis in order to benefit the entire community (Chalker, 1994).

CAMPFIRE aimed at providing proprietary rights over local natural resources to the local community; encouraging the sustainable use of resources; putting revenue obtained to use for community needs; and increasing employment and economic self-reliance (Chalker, 1994).

The CAMPFIRE project is supported by the Zimbabwe Trust, which receives support from the Overseas Development Administration (ODA) and other NGOs, for example the Wildlife Management Trust and the World Wildlife Fund (Zimbabwe, 1989; Zimbabwe Trust, 1990; Pinchin, 1993; Chalker, 1994).

2.10.3 IDEAL PARTICIPATION SEQUENCE

The CAMPFIRE concept was first launched in the Nyaminyami district - a total area of 3 000 km² supporting 30 000 people - and in the Guvure district, in January 1989, as part of the ODA five-year programme (Pinchin, 1993). In these districts, the land is rich in biodiversity and animal life, while the soil is barren and people struggle to make ends meet (Pinchin, 1993; Chalker, 1994). To date, ten more districts have joined the CAMPFIRE programme.

From 1989 to 1992, there was an increase in earnings from sustainable activities, from 300 000 to 1,4 million Zimbabwe dollars, and from 335 000 to 1 million Zimbabwe dollars, in the Nyaminyami and Guvure districts respectively (Pinchin, 1993). Much of the revenue was retained by the Zimbabwe Wildlife Trust and district councils for reinvestment in wildlife management (Chalker, 1994). In 1992

the Nyaminyami district received an allocation of Zim \$ 500 000, which was invested in community projects, such as the provision of clean water. The Guvure district was allocated Zim \$ 603 000, which was also invested in projects like schools, health facilities and income-generating projects and households were also given cash payments. In addition, both districts received some of the meat derived from culling.

It is important to note that the CAMPFIRE project is not as representative or as participative as it is perceived to be. Production and management of wildlife resources are undertaken by local communities, "... *yet the statutory authority to do so is given to the District Councils*" (Pinchin, 1993:33). District councils are granted the appropriate authority over wildlife only when they indicate a willingness to assume such responsibility. The district council will, in turn devolve the responsibility, to smaller units such as wards and villagers. Therefore, the approach followed is from the top downwards.

In conclusion, the banning on the ivory trade in the international market will in the long term have an impact on these communities unless they are uplifted. The CAMPFIRE programme, unlike the Richtersveld case study, can rather be described as an anti-poaching or conservation project since it lacks commitment to the empowerment and participation of the local communities.

2.10.3 IDEAL PARTICIPATION SEQUENCE

The preceding models, methods and case studies depict and address various facets of community participation. A common element in regard to the initiation of discussion, is that the idea of conservation always comes from the authorities and is then passed to the local community. Table 2.4 gives an explanation of these models, method and the case studies. It depicts various issues which should be considered when formulating a model for community participation. These key issues form the base for the rural community participation model discussed in 4.6.3.

The key issues identified here, have a similar format as those identified by Haywood (1988), but the procedures and interpretation of the sequence of procedures differ. The idea still originates with the authorities and is then

communicated to local communities, who, together with the Parks Board, form a joint committee for participative involvement.

TABLE 2.4: KEY ISSUES IN A PARTICIPATION MODEL

1. Information	Idea communicated to the community.
2. Involvement	Community encouraged to participate.
3. Participation Strategy	Leaders of community and government form a task group.
4. Advice	Expertise called in to give the task group advice on the project.
5. Information gathering	Collection of detailed information from the community through postal surveys, interviews and open-ended meetings.
6. Analysis	Sifting of information from the community by the task group.
7. Synthesis	Joint decision-making by both the community and the authority.
8. Implementation	Decisions taken are implemented.
9. Review	The entire process is reviewed to close any gaps that might exist.

Thus, the authority and local community are equal partners in negotiation and any decision taken, is a joint agreement between the community and the government.

2.11 CONCLUSION

The community participation process is a lengthy one which, in some instances, is also tiring and expensive. But it is a necessary process which facilitates unity among all involved. Furthermore, community participation involves more than just ensuring benefits for the local people; it entails empowering communities in the decision-making process and in the implementation of a project, as equal partners.

Since not all people can be involved at all times, community representatives must always report back to their constituencies so that any decisions taken will reflect the community's preferences, possibilities and probabilities.

The model of community participation discussed above (Table 2.4), will be used as a basis for the formulation of a model (4.6) for the empowerment of the rural community. This is discussed in detail in chapter 4. Furthermore, it is tested against the situation in Madikwe Game Park and its environs in chapter 3.

(Arnstein, 1969)

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the main objective of 3.1, namely to determine the reasons and problems of communities living in and around Madikwe Game Park. The key issues of community participation in this chapter, together with the relationship between the Game Park and the Parks Board will not be examined.

Madikwe Game Park (henceforth referred to as "the Park") was the last and largest game park proclaimed by the former Bophuthatawena Government, on 12 March 1991, a year after the establishment of the Richtersveld National Park. It is South Africa's fourth largest game reserve and it covers an area of 26 000 ha, of which 32 km borders on Botswana in the north. The Park borders on the Marib River in the east, on the Zuurvat-Gaborone road in the west, and on the Ooraberg Mountains in the south (Fig. 3.1). These quartzite mountains run from east to west. To the north lies a broken plateau of bushveld which gives at Tweedepont a development to a low-lying flat plain covered in savanna grassland.

Unlike its predecessors (Pretoriusburg, Dotselano, Borakelato and Maria Moroka), which were created mainly for purposes of conservation, the Park was proclaimed as an ecotourism destination (Davies & Triloff, 1992). It was intended to be a more efficient form of land utilisation which had to be both ecologically sustainable and socially acceptable (Davies & Triloff, 1992). This was to be achieved with the Bophuthatawena Parks Board (henceforth referred to as the "Parks Board")