

3

NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF THE PEOPLE LIVING IN MADIKWE GAME PARK AND ENVIRONS

*I participate; you participate;
he participates; we participate;
you participate ... They profit
(Arnstein, 1969)*

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter addresses the second objective (1.3.2), namely to determine the needs and problems of communities living in and around Madikwe Game Park against the key issues of community participation. In this chapter, background information on the Game Park and the Parks Board will first be examined.

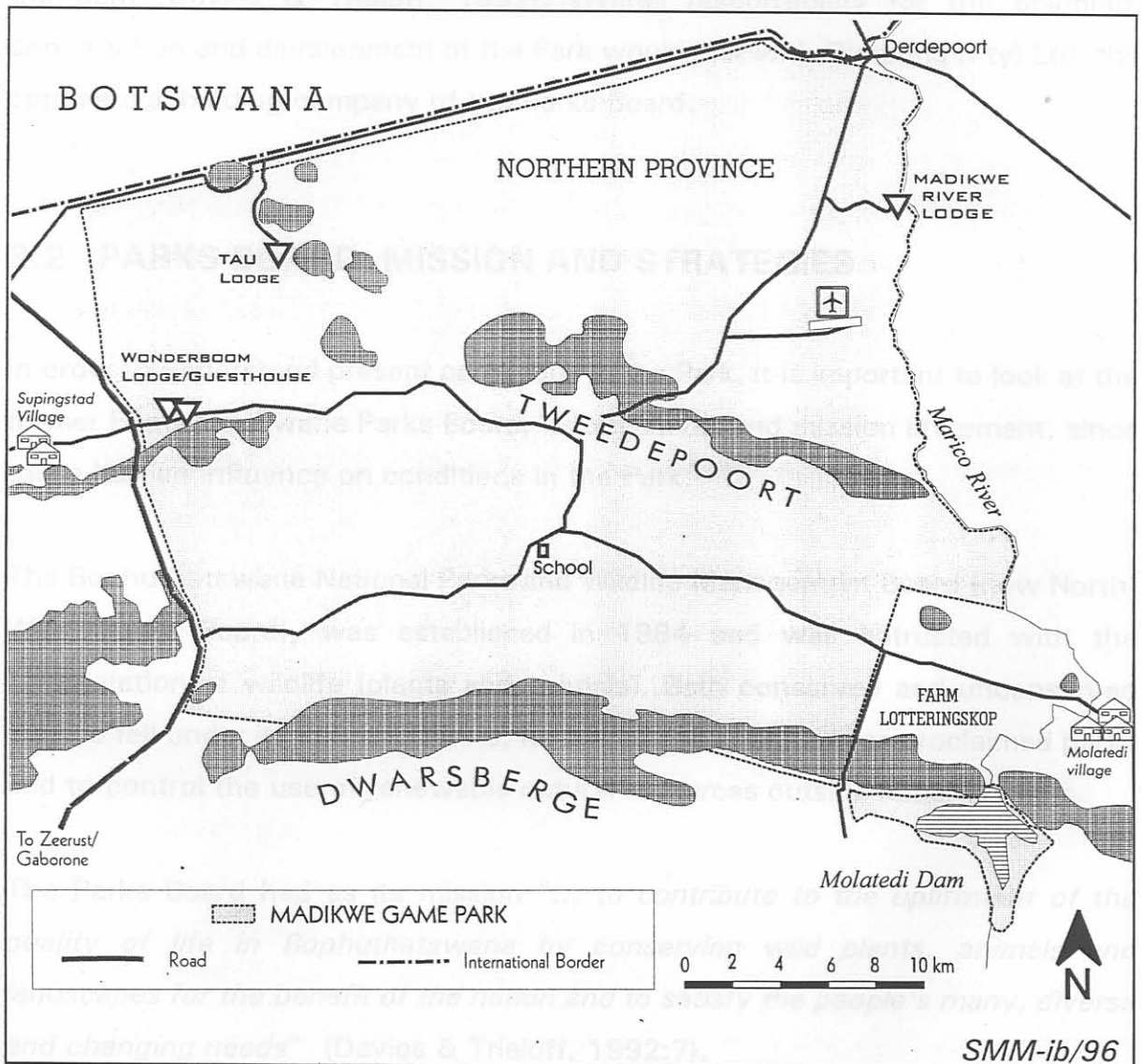
Madikwe Game Park (henceforth referred to as "the Park") was the last and largest game park proclaimed by the former Bophuthatswana Government, on 12 March 1992 (a year after the establishment of the Richtersveld National Park). It is South Africa's fourth largest game reserve and it covers an area of 75 000 ha, of which 32 km borders on Botswana in the north. The Park borders on the Marico River in the east, on the Zeerust-Gaborone road in the west, and on the Dwarsberg 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 drops at Tweedepoort Escarpment to a low-lying flat plain covered in savanna grassland.

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

managing conservation and private enterprise running lodges in line with Parks Board criteria and policies.²

Consideration was to be given to job creation, to maximising land yield, economic and social benefits to local and peripheral communities, and to attracting of private sector funding, management expertise and foreign currency through regional and international tourism (Davies & Trieloff, 1992). This was meant to improve the quality of life of rural communities and provide a stable local economy, thereby reducing the degenerative impact on the environment that often accompanies and results from poverty.

FIGURE 3.1: MADIKWE GAME PARK



2. Davies, R.J., Regional Manager, North-West Park Board, personal interview, 20/2/95, at Tlhabane .

The Park was therefore to operate differently from other parks in that it would offer specialist services to the exclusive end of the market. The private sector was given the opportunity to be involved in the establishment of safari camps and lodges while the Parks Board would manage the land and game.

The Park would be divided into two main areas: the area north of Molatedi Dam would be fenced and stocked with most of the historically indigenous wild animals including the "Big Five" (elephant, rhino, leopard, lion and buffalo). The dam area would be fenced separately and stocked with smaller non-threatening animals which would allow tourists to move around freely and also maximum utilisation of the dam (Davies & Trieloff, 1992). Overall responsibility for the planning, construction and development of the Park would rest with Dirapeng (Pty) Ltd, the commercial holding company of the Parks Board.

3.2 PARKS BOARD: MISSION AND STRATEGIES

In order to understand present conditions in the Park, it is important to look at the former Bophuthatswana Parks Board, its objectives and mission statement, since these had an influence on conditions in the Park.

The Bophuthatswana National Parks and Wildlife Management Board (now North-West Parks Board), was established in 1984 and was entrusted with the conservation of wildlife (plants and animals). Both conserved and unconserved wildlife fell under its control, that is, its purpose was to manage proclaimed parks and to control the use of renewable natural resources outside national parks.

The Parks Board had as its mission "... to contribute to the upliftment of the quality of life in Bophuthatswana by conserving wild plants, animals and landscapes for the benefit of the nation and to satisfy the people's many, diverse and changing needs" (Davies & Trieloff, 1992:7).

This mission was to be accomplished by means of the following six strategies:

* obtaining the support, appreciation and commitment of the nation for the conservation of wildlife resources and for the role and activities of the Parks Board;

Kgama Wildlife Operation (Pty) Ltd

* facilitating the development of tourism, hunting and other wildlife-related industries, for the social and economic benefit of the people;

* participating pro-actively in the planning, monitoring and controlling of land and wildlife utilisation and where appropriate, establishing and managing protected areas, for the benefit of the nation;

* initiating, developing and maintaining legislation appropriate to the status and potential of the natural resources, needs, culture and traditions of the people of Bophuthatswana and the strategies of the Board;

* procuring and generating financial and land resources and utilising these in line with the Board's strategies and priorities in the most sustainable, cost-effective and beneficial way; and

* recruiting, managing and developing human resources, for the mutual benefit of the Board and its staff and also for the sake of wildlife conservation.

Thus the Parks Board's philosophy integrated conservation practices with the community development process.

Each region of the North-West Province, has a nature conservation station which. Although the name of the Parks Board has changed to North-West Conservation, the principles and mission statement given above, still stand. The Park therefore operates accordingly.

3.2.1 THE PARKS BOARD'S COMMERCIAL STRUCTURE

Prospective hunters obtain hunting licences and pay for the animals they wish to. The Parks Board distinguishes between commercial issues, such as operational responsibility, functions and activities, and conservation. The reason offered is the lack of business and entrepreneurial skills of the Parks Board and the maximisation

3. Personal interview with Mr J. Maroon, Senior Camp Scout, Mafikeng Regional Office, 22/2/96.

of commercial opportunities. Dirapeng (Pty) Ltd, an investment holding company, is responsible for the commercial aspects. It has the following subsidiaries:

Kgama Wildlife Operation (Pty) Ltd

This is a commercial trophy hunting, culling and capturing operation owned by the Parks Board.

Pilanesberg Resorts (Pty) Ltd

This is the holding company for Kwa-Maritane and Bakubung Lodge, with a partnership with Stocks and Stock Building Construction.

Gametrackers (Pty) Ltd

Its managing director has a minority shareholding, trading as Pilanesberg Safaris. Gametrackers operate photographic safaris in the Pilanesberg and Maria Moroka Parks.

Golden Leopard Resorts (Pty) Ltd

This company manages and markets all tourist activities in the parks.

Therefore, all development in North-West parks (mainly those of the former Bophuthatswana) is managed and developed by Dirapeng.

3.2.2 HUNTING ON COMMUNITY LANDS

Each region of the North-West Province, has a nature conservation station which monitors wildlife in the region. The game scouts at the station guard the tribal areas against poaching, with the cooperation of the tribal police.³ Furthermore, the game scouts help to keep a count of the wildlife in each tribal camp. This helps the Parks Board to allocate hunting quotas to each tribal office.

3.3 THE PARKS BOARD AND THE COMMUNITY

Prospective hunters obtain hunting licences and pay for the animals they wish to hunt at Pilanesberg Game Reserve (only fishing licences can be obtained at the

3. Personal interview with Mr J. Mokowe, Senior Game Scout, Madikwe Regional Office, 30/8/95.

regional office). The hunting licence is then taken to the regional office where a hunting permit is issued and the licence endorsed in the register. The hunter is given four days to hunt and kill the animals he paid for. In case of a mistaken kill, the hunter will pay for the species killed according to stipulated prices (Appendix 3).

In addition to the price of the animal, the hunter has to pay R50,00 per day as subsistence allowance to those who accompany him usually a game scout and tribal police, on night hunts. It must be pointed out that due to staff shortages (the Madikwe Regional Office has only four members of staff and the tribal office has only two tribal policemen) some hunters are left to hunt on their own, especially those who are regulars and thought to be trustworthy.

Table 3.1 indicates the allocation of the money paid to hunt a kudu (valued at R1 200).

TABLE: 3.1 ALLOCATION OF FUNDS DERIVED FROM THE KILLING OF A KUDU

Allocation to tribe	Allocation to Parks Board	VAT	Price	Subsistence allowance	Total amount
R688	R344	R168	R1 200	R50	R1250

This table shows that value-added tax is first deducted, then the Parks Board retains a third of the amount while the tribe receives two-thirds.

It would seem that this allocation of funds has not been communicated to the communities, as no one (including chiefs, tribal clerks and CDO's) could explain how the funds they had received from the Parks Board had been calculated.

3.3 THE PARKS BOARD AND THE COMMUNITY

According to Davies & Trieloff (1992), the community represents the third corner of the Park's triangle (to be discussed in 3.4.2) and it needs the most input from the Parks Board. The role of the Park entails identifying the needs of the

community and trying to develop them so that the private sector can address them in a way that is beneficial to all involved.

3.4.1 HISTORICAL INFORMATION

Thus, the ultimate objective is to assist in community empowerment through the sustained maximisation of economic benefits from all natural resources so that long-term community development programmes can be initiated and implemented by the community.

The Conservation Division, contains a section concerned with community development. It has the following purposes:

- * to link the various conservation areas and to generate of sustainable benefits for the people living adjacent to them;
- * to assist communities in identifying and prioritising their most pressing socio-economic needs; and
- * to help communities to meet those needs.

These objectives were to be met by the creation of representative and sustainable community-based structures known as Community Development Organisations (CDO's)

which are designed to empower the community so that they can ultimately manage the process themselves.⁴

These are the structures, policy framework and objectives of the Parks Boards aimed at community upliftment. The question arises whether this goal is realised in reality. This will be examined in the next section (3.4).

4. Personal interview with R.J. Davies, Project Manager, on 4/4/95, and B. Marobe, Community Liaison Officer (with whom I had numerous interviews and consultations during the course of this study).

3.4 MADIKWE GAME PARK

3.4.1 HISTORICAL INFORMATION

The area where the Park is situated has both a farming and educational history. It originally comprised 23 white-owned cattle farms. These farms were transferred to the former Republic of Bophuthatswana by the Republic of South Africa as an ongoing land repatriation scheme. The farms were made available for leasing to interested farmers. Lease-holders had to be full time farmers and underwent extensive interviews and selection.⁵ Most of these farmers had loans with the Agriculture Development Corporation (Agricor), which enabled them to buy livestock and pay their leases.

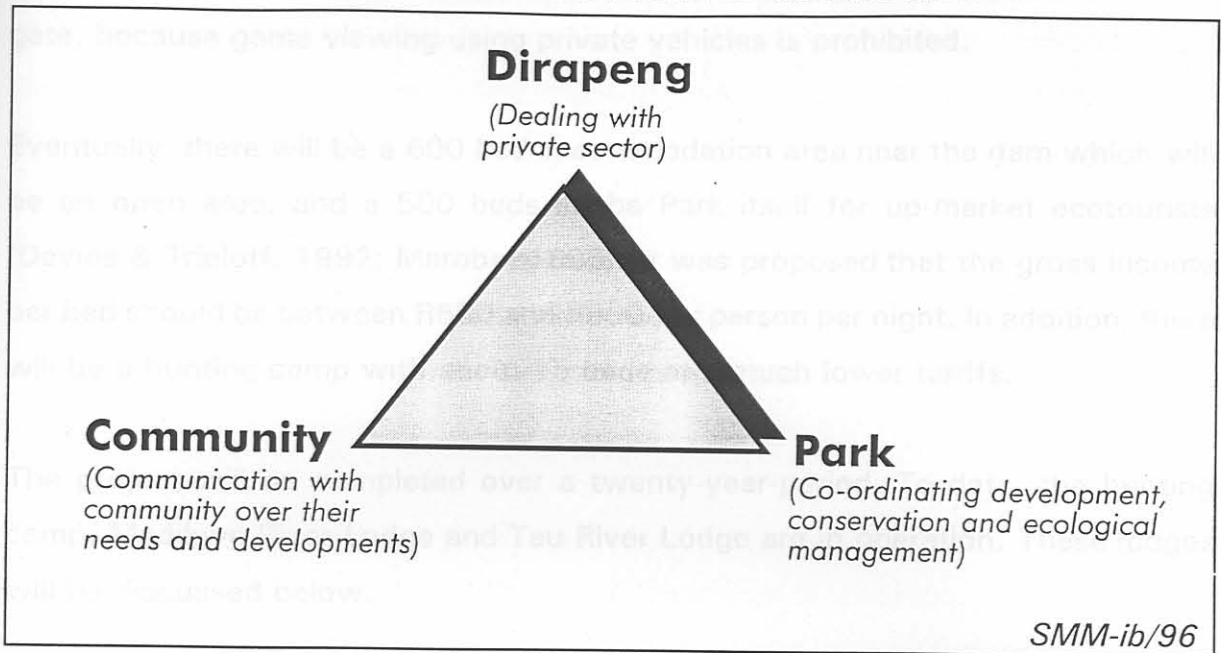
On one of these farms there was a missionary boarding school which had been in existence since 1884. Over the years it repeatedly changed hands until in 1968 it was bought, by the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer, its last owners. The school offered boarding facilities and day schooling to the surrounding villages and farms. It was however closed with the proclamation of the Park in 1992 and was not relocated.

3.4.2 MANAGEMENT OF THE PARK

Based on the above discussion on the Park, the following triangle depicted in Figure 3.2 illustrates the management of the Park.

The contractual relationship between the Parks Board and private developers was not established since the original contract, offered by the Parks Board had been reviewed because it contained loopholes that allowed private developers to expropriate funds. The basis of the contract allowed the ownership of the land to be retained by the government and all movable and fixed assets to be owned on a fifty-fifty basis by the Parks Board and private developers. This was applicable

5. Personal interview with Mr B.R. York, Lease-owner of Lotteringskop farm, the only farmer left when the Park was proclaimed; and with Mr. F. Bogatsu, a teacher at a local secondary school and one of the farmers who had been evicted during the construction of the Park.

FIGURE 3.2: TRIANGULAR STRUCTURE OF MANAGEMENT

only to Madikwe River Lodge, the first of the lodges builded). The entire layout of the infrastructure was borne by the Parks Board.

There are three land use zones in the park:

- * exclusive zones, where lodges are situated fall under the rules and regulations of that particular developer;
- * communal zones, which are open to all stakeholders and where none of the developers besides the Parks Board have any authority; and
- * the management zone, where the following activities are conducted: culling, capturing and hunting of animals.

3.4.3 PRIVATE DEVELOPERS: LODGES

The lodges are located so as to be subjected to an environmental impact assessment. Large lodges are builded nearer the edge of the Park, for financial and logistic reasons as some staff members will be commuting daily and transporting them over long distances will diminish their profits. Furthermore, situating large

lodges close to the edge of the Park will minimise the distance travelled from the gate, because game viewing using private vehicles is prohibited.

Eventually, there will be a 600 bed accommodation area near the dam which will be an open area, and a 500 beds in the Park itself for up-market ecotourists (Davies & Trieloff, 1992; Marobe, 1995). It was proposed that the gross income per bed should be between R550 and R900 per person per night. In addition, there will be a hunting camp with about 15 beds at a much lower tariffs.

The project will be completed over a twenty-year-period. To date, the hunting camp, Madikwe River Lodge and Tau River Lodge are in operation. These lodges will be discussed below.

3.4.3.1 Wonderboom Guest House

Originally a farmhouse, the facilities were first converted into an overnight accommodation and meeting area for Parks Board staff during the construction of the Park. It is situated nearer to the Gaborone-Zeerust road. In June 1994 it was converted into a hunting camp and guest house. Although other guests are accommodated, preference is given to hunters. It costs R250 per person per night (Bed and breakfast inclusive).

3.4.3.2 Madikwe River Lodge

This is the first of the luxury lodges to be built and run in the Park. It is situated in the north-east of the Park (Fig. 3.1), and entrance is gained through Derdepoort Gate. It was built using a labour-intensive method, with the local population given preference. It opened its doors to the public in October 1994. The area comprises 16 luxury lodges which can accommodate 32 guests.⁶ In accordance with Law (1993) who said that people in the tourism industry are unwilling to disclose information on statistics on the grounds of commercial confidentiality, the management at Madikwe River Lodge, were unwilling to disclose statistical

6. Personal interview with Mr J. van Veteren and Ms R. van Zyl, Managing Director and Manager respectively, of Madikwe River Lodge. The information in 3.4.3.2 is based on this interview.

information. The only information that they were willing to disclose was that 40 % of their guests came from Botswana, the balance coming from Gauteng and a limited number from abroad. The lodge is always full over weekends and its occupation rate has been about 40 % since it first opened.

In order to attract possible investors to unknown areas, the Parks Board has agreed with the present owner of the lodge on a fifty-fifty percent ownership of the movable and unmovable assets. The investor has been given a period of a year or two to operate the lodge without sharing profits with the Park management.

The daily tariff is R695 per person per night (fully catered), for game drives or guided hiking trails, it costs R250 for a minimum of five visitors per game drive. The limited accommodation at this lodge supports the concept of "*small is beautiful*", as individual guests receive personal attention, in accordance with the high-value low-impact principle.

There is a total of 20 employees, which includes cleaners, drivers, waiters and bar attendants, the latter being the highest occupational level that people from the local communities can occupy. Senior staff and management come from outside the local community. The average salary for the members of local community employed by the lodge is R600 per month. Negotiations on salary increase for employees from the local community have been unsuccessful as they are not allowed to join a trade union.

3.4.3.3 The Tau Lodge

Tau (Setswana for "Lion") Lodge was the second lodge built in the Park, using a labour-intensive method with the local community being given preference according to an agreement with the Parks Board. It is situated towards the north west corner of the Park along the Botswana border. The lodge opened in October 1995.

Tau lodge was developed by Mopono Holdings after contractual agreement with the Parks Board to lease the area for the construction of the corporate lodges and the Tau Lodge. The corporate lodges were to be sold to prospective ecotourists,

but until now nothing has been done to that effect since they have not been built.⁷

Mopono Holdings had contracted Southern Sun for 15 years to manage Tau Lodge because of Southern Sun's expertise in the marketing and running of such facilities. Mopono Holdings' is restricted to development of such facilities.⁸

The lodge could accommodate a maximum of 60 people at a time in 22 luxury thatched chalets and two suites that are spread out in U-shaped formation around a huge waterhole. The chalets were designed to show up the natural surroundings and were built using local natural material wherever possible.

A total of 55 people will be employed once the lodge is in full operation. An initial staff of 42 (35 of which are from local villages), have been employed. All 35 from the local community were sent to Bongani Mountain Lodge, one of the Sun lodges in Mpumalanga Province used for training employees in running a lodge. The remaining seven staff members will be transferred from other lodges to Tau Lodge.

In keeping with the principles of high-value low-impact, and catering for top bracket of ecotourists, the daily tariff is R750,00 per person per night (fully catered).

Southern Sun is prepared to support any community project and tries to invest in the local economy to the greatest possible extent.

3.5 THE PARK AND THE COMMUNITY

Although much has been said about the participation of the community in the Park, local communities were only involved from around 1993, several months after the

7. Personal interview with Mervyn van Standen, Director, Mopono Holding Ltd, 27/9/95, Albury Park.

8. Personal interview with Mr Michel Girardin, General Manager, Sun Game Lodges (Sector of Southern Sun), Sandton City, 6/9/95.

Park had been proclaimed (this contradiction with stage one of the Key issues in participation model given in Table 2.4). Involvement only came when farmers who leased farms in the Park were told to give way for the construction of the Park. At the same time, labour was needed to remove the fences among the different farms and to erect an electric fence round the Park.

The chiefs living around the Park were informed about the Park and how it would minimise unemployment in the area. The villages involved were Molatedi and Supingstad. Employment creation was thus used by the Parks Board to exploit the communities living adjacent to the Park for Parks Board's own benefits.

3.5.1 EMPLOYMENT

During September 1994, Community Development Organisations (CDO) were established by the Parks Board community liaison officer in Molatedi, Supingstad, Lekgopung and Sesobe villagers.

The CDO consisted of the following members:

- * ten members elected by the community; and
- * one member elected by the tribal council.

Members had to elect their own executive committee and had to meet once or twice a month. Furthermore, they were given the following tasks:

- * to organise labour, that is, draw up a list of all unemployed people and tasks they could perform. The list was to be kept by the secretary and the community liaison officer could then, after consulting with developers or contractors, draw labourers from the list, in equal numbers from each village; and
- * to contact the tribal council and the community on the problems, needs and projects which the community experienced or envisaged. In this respect, the community was to receive support from the Parks Board.

These functions of the CDOs, too, contradict the stages of participation and tasks

of the community representative (Table 2.4). (The last-mentioned had to be an equal partner the conveyor of Parks Board decisions to the local communities.)

As it will be indicated later, in some communities, people who were elected to the CDO, put themselves at the top of the employment list while others were hoping to receive a salary. When this did not happen, the CDO disintegrated.

Furthermore, it must be noted that the means of communication between the Park and the community was and still is through the community liaison officer.

3.5.1 EMPLOYMENT

This was to have been the major aspect of community participation. An agreement was reached between the Parks Board and private developers and contractors, which stipulated that only those skilled workers who could not be drawn from any nearby village, could be drawn from companies' labour forces. All unskilled employees had to be drawn from the surrounding communities, thus making the project labour intensive.

The various parties further agreed on a flat remuneration rate for all employees. The wage was to be R20 per day, and the working day would start at 06:00 and end at 18:00. Overtime was to be negotiated between employees and the employers. This resulted in problems as overtime was not paid in most cases and those who complained were dismissed since there was a whole pool of available labour from which to draw.⁹ People started complaining about poor wages. The employers agreed to be an increase of R2,00 but demanded an additional hour's work per day.

Workers from the communities were employed in all kinds of labour, including, brick-making, building, and fence-making. The only employees who received better benefits were the builders who were sub-contracted to the main contractors. They

9. Personal interview with Mrs Tshepe, a victim of this situation whose case was with both the CDO and the community liaison officer. Employees who were still working at the building site, expressed similar sentiments.

too, had to employ local people and pay them the flat remuneration rate.

The majority of employees are mainly casual workers (as was the case with the main building contractor in the Park); at Tau Lodge building site, only five from seventy employed people have been offered permanent positions by the company.¹⁰

The Park itself has 48 casual employees who do various tasks around the park. Sixteen are permanent staff, of whom eight are wardens and eight are game scouts who were transferred from Pilanesberg Park. It is envisaged that casual workers will be absorbed into the permanent staff and trained to do various tasks.

3.5.2 PROJECTS

Several community upliftment projects were proposed by the Parks Board to the communities, such as the building of clinics and schools. The community had to initiate the project and could then come to the Park for assistance. Aspects of such projects, especially in Molatedi, will be discussed in 3.7. CDOs have not received funds from the Park to help in the proposed projects off the ground.

During the reintroduction of various species of animal into the Park (referred to as Operation Phoenix - the largest of its kind in South Africa), the CDOs and councillors were invited as guests, perhaps to indicate community participation to the world media, as Arnstein (1969) indicated in his citizen participation ladder.

3.6 SUPINGSTAD VILLAGE

Supingstad Village is situated to the north west of the Zeerust-Gaborone road and borders on Botswana in the north. It is nearer to Gaborone, Botswana, which is 30 km away, than to its service town of Zeerust, which is 120 km from the away.

10. Personal interview with Mr Selegi, a foreman who came with the main contractor, on 30/8/95 at Tau Lodge site.

The population of the village is 3 873 and constitutes 594 households.¹¹

TABLE 3.2: POPULATION DEMOGRAPHY: SUPINGSTAD

YEARS	MALE	FEMALE
UNDER 1	27	28
1-5	185	176
6-14	348	403
15-44	941	1 047
45 AND OVER	295	423
TOTAL	1 796	2 077

3.6.1 EMPLOYMENT FACILITIES

Employment facilities in the village are few with only 613 people employed, that is 15,8% of the whole population or 22,65% of those older than 15 years (based on data in Table 3.2). Unemployment is therefore very high. It is attributed to the area's proximity to the urban centres. Recent retrenchments by the mines and industry have increased the number of unemployed.

Table 3.3 indicates that the leading employer, is the government, especially the Education Department. The majority of those who are employed are based in the following towns: Zeerust, Rustenburg mines and throughout the Gauteng Province.

The number of people employed as casual workers in the Park could not be established since no records were kept.

11. The statistics on the demographics of Supingstad, are based on the census conducted by the Department of Wealth and Social Welfare, at Lehurutshe Hospital from 11/11/93 to 3/5/93.

TABLE 3.3: EMPLOYMENT AT SUPINGSTAD

EMPLOYER	NUMBER
Pre-school	3
Primary school	16
Secondary school	17
Clinic	7
Other government departments	5
Local shop & other businesses	10

3.6.2 THE NEEDS OF THE SUPINGSTAD COMMUNITY

Through the community participative approach (interviews were held with members of the RDP forum, local branches of political parties, teachers, nurses, the business community, pensioners, youth groups and the tribal council, and all meetings concerned with the Park were attended between February and October 1995), the following needs were identified by the community: employment, education facilities, health facilities, road and transport, water and fuel.

3.6.2.1 *Employment*

As indicated in 3.6.1 above, a large section of the population is unemployed and those interviewed, whether employed or unemployed, voiced the same major concern, namely unemployment. Unemployment has a multiplier effect on the other sectors of society and affects development in the village. For example, most pupils were and are unable to pay school fees, which means that more classrooms cannot be built.

The introduction of CDO's raised the hope of employment for those who were elected since they were either school dropouts or had passed matric, but could not proceed with their studies due to financial problems. When they were refused

preferential treatment by the community liaison officer, they resigned from the CDO, thereby causing its eventual collapse in their village.

On the other hand, those who were retrenched in mines and had worked for higher wages, complain of poor remuneration in the Park. One such person said, "*I cannot work for R100*", meaning R20 per day for five days a week.

3.6.2.2 Education

The present education system in the village caters for pupils from pre-school to matric (before 1991, schooling was up to standard eight only). The classroom-pupil ratio at the secondary school is 1:67 (534 pupils in eight classrooms). The teacher-pupil ratio of 1:31 lies within the government parameters, but the fact that pupils from standard five to standard ten, attend the same school, teachers complained of many subjects they had to teach.

The villages stretch out for about seven kilometres, with both the primary and the pre-school situated in one part of the village. This means that children from the other part have to walk about 12 km to and from school every day. This has an effect on attendance and effective learning.

The lack of employment among the local population not only causes a delay in the payment of school fees, but young children are left alone or in the care of grandparents, while their parents stay and work in the cities.¹² This has a detrimental effect on children's performance at school as no one monitors their progress, and contributes to juvenile delinquency.

The closing-down of the mission school, which provided cheap, reliable boarding facilities for pupils before, increased the problem.

Literacy is very low, especially among the older section of the community this was

12. Personal interview with Messrs M. Motang, S.Z. Suping and V.S. Ratsikane, the principal and deputy-principal at Matthew Mangope Secondary School and the principal at Suping Primary School respectively, between February and August 1995.

evident when the majority of pensioners could not sign upon receipt of their pensions.

3.6.2.3 Transport and roads

The type of roads and their condition influence the mode of transport in an area. The main road entering the village is in a poor condition. Public transport to the area is very poor, with one bus to town in the morning which returns in the evening, which is used mainly for shopping (there are no daily commuters to work due to the village's distance from nearby towns). Furthermore, there is a weekly bus on Fridays to the referral hospital at Derdepoort. The clinic does not have an ambulance and in cases of emergency, an ambulance is called from the hospital (if it is available and the telephones are in working condition). Otherwise the patient has to hire transport to the hospital at an average cost of R300 to the hospital (the hospital is 60 km away on a gravel road).

3.6.2.4 Electricity

Electricity is being brought to the village and it is hoped that each household in the village will have electricity in the not distance future. However, some residents were impatient with the pace at which work was progressing.

3.6.2.5 Water

One of the problems that was raised by all residents was the shortage of water. A couple of boreholes have to supply water to the entire village and, furthermore, diesel for the engine pumps is hard to come by. Some residents have organised themselves in small groups and pay for their own diesel. This works adequately.

3.6.2.7 Hunting

The water problem will be aggravated because the government of North-West Province is no longer prepared to supply communities with fuel. Communities will have to start buying fuel for themselves towards the middle of 1996. In view of the socio-economic condition and the legacy of dependency in this community, this is going to cause more problems.

The present price of water from the water vendors is five rand (R5) for 200 litres (a drum) and fifty cents (R0,50) for a 20-litre container.

3.6.2.6 Wood

To monitor and minimise the destruction of vegetation, the community has agreed on basic charges for natural resources such as wood and sand. Those who had a means of transport were conducting business without paying anything. Table 3.4 indicates the prices of wood and sand charged for different modes of transport and the levy paid at the tribal office.

TABLE 3.4: LEVY AND PRICE OF WOOD AT SUPINGSTAD

Mode of transport	Tribal levy	Selling price
Wheelbarrow/head	nil	varies between R2- R5
Two-wheel donkey cart	R3	R40
Four-wheel donkey cart	R10	R80
Tractor and trailer	R20	R120-R150

The rules stipulate that only dry wood may be gathered, those who transgress the rules can be punished by the tribal court (kgotla). Although there are some transgressors, the rules are still maintained as there are entries in the tribal register of funds collected for the gathering of wood and sand. Everybody acts as everybody's police in this respect and the tribal police demand a permit from anyone they meet carrying a load of such wood or sand.

3.6.2.7 Hunting

All wildlife falls under the custody of the Parks Board, who controls all hunting. Hunting on the tribal land takes place in winter. Park officials issue permits to hunters who are accompanied by tribal police on their hunting expeditions. Controlled hunting has benefited the tribe: the funds accrued from hunting

permits amounted to R15 000 in 1993 and R25 000 in 1994. Poaching is minimal as the community sees the value and benefits of conserving wildlife (Marobe, 1995).

3.6.2.8 Health facilities

Primary health care in the area has made good progress with the community heeding basic tenets such as family planning. However, the major problems are basic facilities and medicines. The clinic refers its patients to Derdepoort Hospital, which is not easily assessable because of lack of regular transport.

According to the local nursing staff¹³, the birth rate is normal. The majority of women go to the clinic for family planning and to give birth. The statistics in Table 3.5 indicate the birth rate per month recorded at the clinic in 1994 and 1995. (Babies born at Derdepoort Hospital after referrals are excluded.)

TABLE 3.5: NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN 1994 AND 1995: SUPINGSTAD

Month	J	F	M	A	M	J	J	A	S	O	N	D	TOTAL
No. of births, 1994	5	5	3	3	2	4	1	1	5	3	1	7	40
No. of births, 1995	8	3	5	7	5	5	7	9	4	2	2	3	60

3.6.4 SUPINGSTAD COMMUNITIES' PERCEPTION OF THE PARK

3.6.3 SUPINGSTAD COMMUNITY AND THE PARK

The majority of the communities of Supingstad perceive the Park as a source of Communities in the village were only informed about the Park after it had been proclaimed. They were not involved in its planning or development¹⁴. Many only saw the reality of its existence with the removal of those who had leased farms

13. Personal interview and discussion forum with the nursing staff at Supingstad clinic on the 19/6/95.

14. This view was expressed by the community during interviews and the monthly RDP forums between February and August. It was confirmed by tribal clerks and the secretary of the RDP forum, who happens to be the Chief's younger brother.

and the taking down of fences in the area. Thus, the majority of the residents are unfamiliar with the mission, aims and objectives of the Park; all they know is that the Park might provide them with employment.

A CDO was elected at Supingstad. The majority of those elected were young people who had hoped to benefit from their election. The CDO was chaired by Mr J.M. Tlhowe, a local businessman and a member of the tribal council. He subsequently remained as the only member of the CDO after all the others members had left, when they were told to put the interests of the tribe first. They viewed the Park merely as a source of employment and nothing else. When the Park could not "deliver", they left.

The community has since lost touch with developments in the Park. Whenever the Park requires people to employ, the liaison officer contacts teachers or nurses in the community, which means that those who have ties with teachers and nurses are favoured. This has alienated the liaison officer from the community. In the case of celebrations (functions) in the Park, the liaison officer rounded up teachers and nurses as they were easily reached at their places of employment. In this way the quota required by the Park for its publicity drive during Operation Phoenix could be met.

Since the RDP forum has now taken over the task of the CDO,¹⁵ the situation may as well change.

3.6.4 SUPINGSTAD COMMUNITIES' PERCEPTION OF THE PARK

The majority of the communities of Supingstad perceive the Park as a source of employment. Even those who are not prepared to do manual labour are waiting for the completion of lodges and better employment. Teachers, students and other professionals see it as a source of environmental education, preservation of the flora and fauna, and provision of much needed recreational facilities in the area.

15. This occurred during the RDP forum meeting held on 26/7/95 and attended by Mr B. Marobe, community liaison officer. It was recommended that the RDP forum constitute a subcommittee to deal with the Park, the motion was accepted.

Others see it as a source of funds for the tribe. The hunting fees paid to the tribe at present, have fired people's imagination and they hope that the grant will increase once the Park is in full operation.

3.7 MOLATEDI VILLAGE

The village is situated next to the south eastern part of the Park, 127 km from Sun City. A dam supplies the village with water for both domestic use and irrigation.

TABLE 3.6: POPULATION DEMOGRAPHY: MOLATEDI VILLAGE

AGE	MALE	FEMALE
65 and above	66	74
45-64	84	132
30-44	105	111
15-29	128	155
0-14	195	197
TOTAL	578	669

Table 3.6 is based on the national census of 1991. The population numbered 1 247 in total and, as in the case of Supingstad, unemployment is rife. This was evident from the number of active people who attended tribal meetings during weekdays and interviews with the local chief.

3.7.1 THE COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ORGANISATION (CDO)

Unlike other villages, the CDO of this village is vibrant and people participate actively. The reason for this is probably that it is constituted by mature, employed, professional people who are dedicated to the upliftment of the community and the development of the village.

The first committee was elected on the 2 March 1994 and it comprised teachers,

nurses, clerks and businessmen and -women.¹⁶ It consisted of the following members:

- * ten members elected at the general tribal meeting. At the first meeting of the CDO, these members elected an executive committee comprising five members; and
- * additional members (seven at present) representing different social and political organisations.

The committee meet every month and an executive meeting is held prior to this monthly meeting, and also anytime whenever the need arises. The CDO report to the tribal council and to the whole tribe every quarter or as need arises, depending on the urgency of the issue.

3.7.1.1 Aims and objectives of the CDO

Since its inception, the CDO has been the link between the tribe and the Park. Furthermore, it has the following tasks:

- * to determine the needs and problems of the tribe;
- * to prioritise development needs of the tribe;
- * to be involved in the construction of schools and clinics, and other projects;
- * to raise funds for such projects;
- * to help manage hunting revenue; and
- * to help with environmental education.

16. These and subsequent data, are based on a personal interview and collaboration with Mr Letshwiti, chairman of the CDO and Principal of the primary school, Mrs R.B. Dinake, secretary of the CDO, a teacher and chairperson of Zone 4 Lengau Conservation Club, the tribal council and other members of the CDO, between 5/6/95 and 21/6/95.

3.7.2 THE ROLE OF THE PARK

The role of the Park has only been to act as a facilitator in whatever projects the community initiate. For example, the CDO was engaged in all fund-raising for completion of the school. The Park offered transport and helped schedule appointments.

The Park has suggested projects that could benefit the tribe, such as the provision of toilets, advice to the tribe on hunting, and recommended and transported the tribe to NGOs who could help with fund-raising.

3.7.3 THE NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY

3.7.3.1 *Employment opportunities*

Unemployment is rife and retrenchments from industries and mines have increased the level of poverty in the village. The majority of people are employed in Rustenburg and by the surrounding mines, while the rest are working in Gauteng Province. Locally, the government is the major employer, as indicated in Table 3.7.

3.7.3.2 *Experimental farm*

This experimental farm, a government project, started to operate in 1987, after completion of the dam.¹⁷ Numerous vegetable and citrus trees are planted and sold weekly at Mmabatho, 170 km away. The casual staff members are paid R13 per day. The project does not compete with that of the community (discussed in 3.7.3.3), but gives local farmers practical information on issues such as markets and which seeds to grow.

Furthermore, local farmers can hire farming equipment, such as tractors, from the farm to use on their own vegetable plots.

17. The data is based on a personal interview with Messrs Ramokgadi and Motlhabane, extension officers and managers of the project, on 22/6/95, at the farm.

TABLE 3.7: EMPLOYMENT IN MOLATEDI

PLACE OF EMPLOYMENT	PERMANENT STAFF	CASUAL STAFF
Primary school	10	0
Secondary school	11	0
Clinic	10	0
Experimental farm	15	9
Vegetable plots	10	0
Park	8	65
Shops and others	8	4
Dam	8	0
Total	80	78

3.7.3.3 *Vegetable garden*

This project was also started in 1987. The government cleared an area of twelve hectares and converted it into 104 plots of 63 x 14 m² each. The gardens are situated next to the experimental farm. Water was provided from the dam and volunteers from the village were invited to take part. Forty-two locals volunteered and started farming. Production was very high until 1990, but there was no market for the produce. Since most of the farmers did not have transport, they could only sell their produce locally. That which could not be sold, was left to rot. Additional problems were posed by monkeys and a lack of security during the night. These factors demotivated many farmers.

Today, only ten farmers are left and they do not co-operate with one another. The government provided material to fence in the fields, but only one farmer has obliged. The farmers have been advised to cultivate cash crops and 2,4 ha plots have since been allocated for that purpose. However, some of the original

volunteers are still refusing to give up their plots even though they are not being used¹⁸. The local chief will probably respond with forceful removal¹⁹. Those farmers still involved with the project all cultivate the same vegetables (for example, if one plants carrots and cabbage, the rest do the same). This saturates their market.

3.7.3.4 *Education facilities*

The village has education facilities that could provide education from pre-school up to standard eight, but the buildings are dilapidated (especially the primary school). A block of five classrooms which has been under construction for six years but no funds are available to complete it. It has now become a priority of the CDO to raise funds for its completion. The number of children attending school and the dangerous state of the old buildings have forced the principal to use the new block although it has not been completed.

The fact that the secondary school only caters for pupils up to standard eight forces those who need further schooling to commute \pm 90 km to another high school or attend boarding schools. The majority of parents cannot afford the transport and school fees, which includes a building fee. Therefore many pupils drop out of school at an early stage, which increases the already high rate of illiteracy and unemployment. Education up to standard eight was only introduced at the beginning of 1995 in order to minimise the plight of many parents.

Through the efforts of the CDO, PMR Mines in Kroondal near Rustenburg have committed themselves to the completion of the primary school classrooms. The mines have since paid a tribal debt of R32 970 for the building material of these classrooms.

18. Personal interview with Mr Mosiane, extension officer, Molatedi Village, on 25/7/95.

19. Personal interview with Mrs Matlapeng regional secretary of the ANC, member of the CDO and

19. Personal interview with Chief Matlapeng and, later on, with him and his tribal council on the issue of the vegetable garden, on 30/8/95.

3.7.3.5 *Transport and roads*

The main road that passes the village into the Park is a gravel road and it is in poor condition. On rainy days it is a "nightmare" to reach the village. The community is disadvantaged because the road is now closed as it became part of the Park. The bypass road has almost doubled the distance to the other side of the Park.

There is only one bus that travels early in the morning to Rustenburg, the local town. It also transports commuting students and those who need to shop in town. It returns to Molatedi in the evening.

The community had hoped that with the Park on its doorstep a road would be built right next to the village. In fact, they were promised that this would happen, but things have since changed. The road will be passing several villages and will join the Zeerust-Gaborone Road as the Trans-Kalahari Highway.

3.7.3.6 *Communication*

The village has a single party telephone-line, which it shares with a number of villages. On the other hand, the Park has automatic lines. The entire communication system (which includes radio, television and mail) is inadequate.

3.7.3.7 *Electricity*

Electricity is available only to a few residents who "clubbed in" and paid a sum of R2 400²⁰ each several years ago. Those who need electricity, have to pay those who originally paid to obtain it a connection fee. Thus the majority of people in the community need an "RDP" type of electricity (one in which the entire village will be connected free of charge or at a nominal fee of R40,00, as has been the case in other villages).

20. Personal interview with Mrs Matlapeng regional secretary of the ANC, member of the CDO and the tribal council and one of those who brought electricity; and with Mr Mekgwe, a member of the team which paid for the installation of electricity.

3.7.3.8 *Water*

People in the village mention water as a problem. They complain that there is a dam, but that water is not brought to each household. Water was installed in the village after consultation with the community, during which the community had decided on five points for the placement of taps, as part of the first phase of bringing water to the village. Now the community members complain of overcrowding at the taps and about the distance of the taps from their homes. When asked about their former sources of water, they said the boreholes have salty water, whereas those who had been drawing water from the river, it is now dammed and water is not regularly available.

Although the community sees water as a problem, they receive purified water free of charge.

3.7.3.9 *Grazing*

All those who were evicted from farms when the Park was proclaimed, and the majority of the elderly people name lack of grazing as a problem. Their livestock are said to be congested on communal farms where there is overcrowding. Most people see Lotteringskop Farm (discussed in 3.7.5) as a possible solution to their problem.

3.7.3.10 *Health facilities*

The present clinic is very small and has only two rooms. Like the one at Supingstad, it refers patients to Derdepoort Hospital when necessary and experiences similar problems.

3.7.3.11 *Hunting*

Hunting in the area is controlled by the Parks Board. The Board indicates how many animals of each species should be killed during the winter hunting season. At the end of 1993, R5 348 was received from the Park as a hunting grant; R3 000 was received in 1994. There has been a drop in the number of killed animals because

hunting is not properly controlled. Signs of poaching still exist with animal traps found in camps, and livestock are also caught in traps from time to time. The fact that some hunters are not accompanied on their trips by local tribal police or game scouts causes concern as they might be shooting more than their due.

3.7.3.12 Wood gathering

Table 3.8 indicates the amount that should be paid to the tribal office for wood gathering. It also indicates the price at which wood is sold to the village. Those involved in the business refuse to pay the tribal fee and even chop down living trees. When asked about this, they responded; "We used to pay a levy during the past, oppressive Bop government. Now that we are independent, we cannot pay for our resources." Asked to comment on this, Mr Mpele²¹ reported that since 10 May 1994 people have destroyed natural resources at will. The problem, he said, lay with the local chief who is too compassionate.

TABLE 3.8 TRIBAL LEVY AND WOOD PRICE

MODE OF TRANSPORT	TRIBAL LEVY	SELLING PRICE
Wheelbarrow	nil	R3-R5
Two-wheel cart	R2	R30-R40
Four-wheel cart	R4	R60-R80
Tractor and trailer	R6	R120

3.7.4 MOLATEDI DAM

The dam was completed in 1986 and provides water for irrigation and household purposes. The dam has become a source of income for the local CDO. On its banks, there is a picnic spot that is maintained by the Department of Water Affairs. The CDO has since started to charge visitors over long weekends and the festive

21. Mr Mpele is an executive member of the ANC in the village and is its representative in the tribal council.

season. "Why should they charge people, when they do not plough anything in return?" asked Mr Maletswe.²² After the festive season and long weekends the area is left littered and some facilities have broken down. It is envisaged that the CDO will only come again during the next festive season. The toilet, braai stands and lawn have been destroyed and the benches used as fire wood.

The CDO has collected a sum of more than R3 000 in the area, but have not ploughed anything back into the area. It is anticipated that the number of visitors will diminish in future if conditions do not improve.

3.7.5 LOTTERINGSKOP FARM²³

This is the only farm left which does not form part of the Park. It borders on both the Park and Molatedi Village and part of the dam is on the farm. It covers an area of 4 000 ha. The road to the dam and into the Park passes through it, thus dividing it into three parts.

The farm houses about 200 heads of cattle and game. Some of the wild animals were originally there, others were reintroduced in the area by the farmer²⁴. The area operates York Safaris, which has chalets that could accommodate twelve people; these are mainly used for hunting. Twenty-four people are employed and there are craftsmen who use dead wood for their craftwork.

The farmer objects to leaving the area for the extension of the Park, as he maintains that he was conserving the environment even before the Park was established.

22. Personal interview with Mr Maletswe, manager of Molatedi Dam and water reticulation in the area, on 22/2/95 and 22/6/95, at the dam.

23. The farm is a topic of dispute among the Park, Molatedi Community and the owner-leaser, Mr B.R. York. The farmer leased it in 1986 according to same procedures as the other 23 farmers. In 1992 he was given the option of buying it, which he did. He was since refused a deed of grant. He fought with the Bophuthatswana Government (Parks Board) and the tussle is continuing with the North-West Government.

24. Personal interview with Mr B.R. York, on farm on the 25/7/95. He kindly showed me all correspondence between the government and himself, all permits and certificates for the number of species he introduced to the farm.

3.8 CONCLUSION

The discussion in this chapter substantiates the well-intended policy framework of the Parks Board, its mission statement, aims and objectives which, if followed and realized, could embody true community participation. But the present structure of communication shows that even if the community is said to be participating, they benefit little and are less empowered than those who do profit. The main benefit from the Park is employment, but salaries are poor. The community still depends largely on the exploitation of natural resources.

The key issues for a participation model as explained and proposed in the previous chapter, are not applicable in the case of the Madikwe Game Park and its environs. The next chapter will focus on the empowerment and participation of local communities.

In order to keep up with new developments in conservation as prescribed by institutions such as the Natal Parks Board and the Richtersveld National Park, the Parks Board initiated consultations (stage four of Arnstein (1969) and stage five of Heywood (1988)). It invited surrounding communities' opinions on its developments, which is a legitimate step towards full participation. "But if consulting them is not combined with other modes of participation, this rung of the ladder is still a sham since it offers no assurance that citizen concerns and ideas will be taken into account" (Arnstein, 1969: 219).

The CDOs always have their meetings with the community liaison officers who, in turn, relate their concerns to the Park management, which refers the matter to the Parks Board for decision-making. In all higher tiers, the community is not represented. This is what Pierce (1991) argued against, namely that the tier system