

CHAPTER 3: CASE STUDY OF THE MAKULEKE COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT INITIATIVE

The Makuleke Conservation and Tourism Programme (MCTP) is a CBNRM initiative based in the Makuleke community of South Africa. This chapter gives a descriptive account of the MCTP setting; historical background; formulation and objectives; organisational structure; projects, facilitators and funding; links with other natural resource management or development initiatives; and major planned activities at the time of the study. Particular attention is given to the relative degrees to which the Makuleke community has had control in the CBNRM formulation and implementation processes, and to the extent to which the community resource management programme has been gender-responsive.

3.1 LOCATION

3.1.1 SITUATION

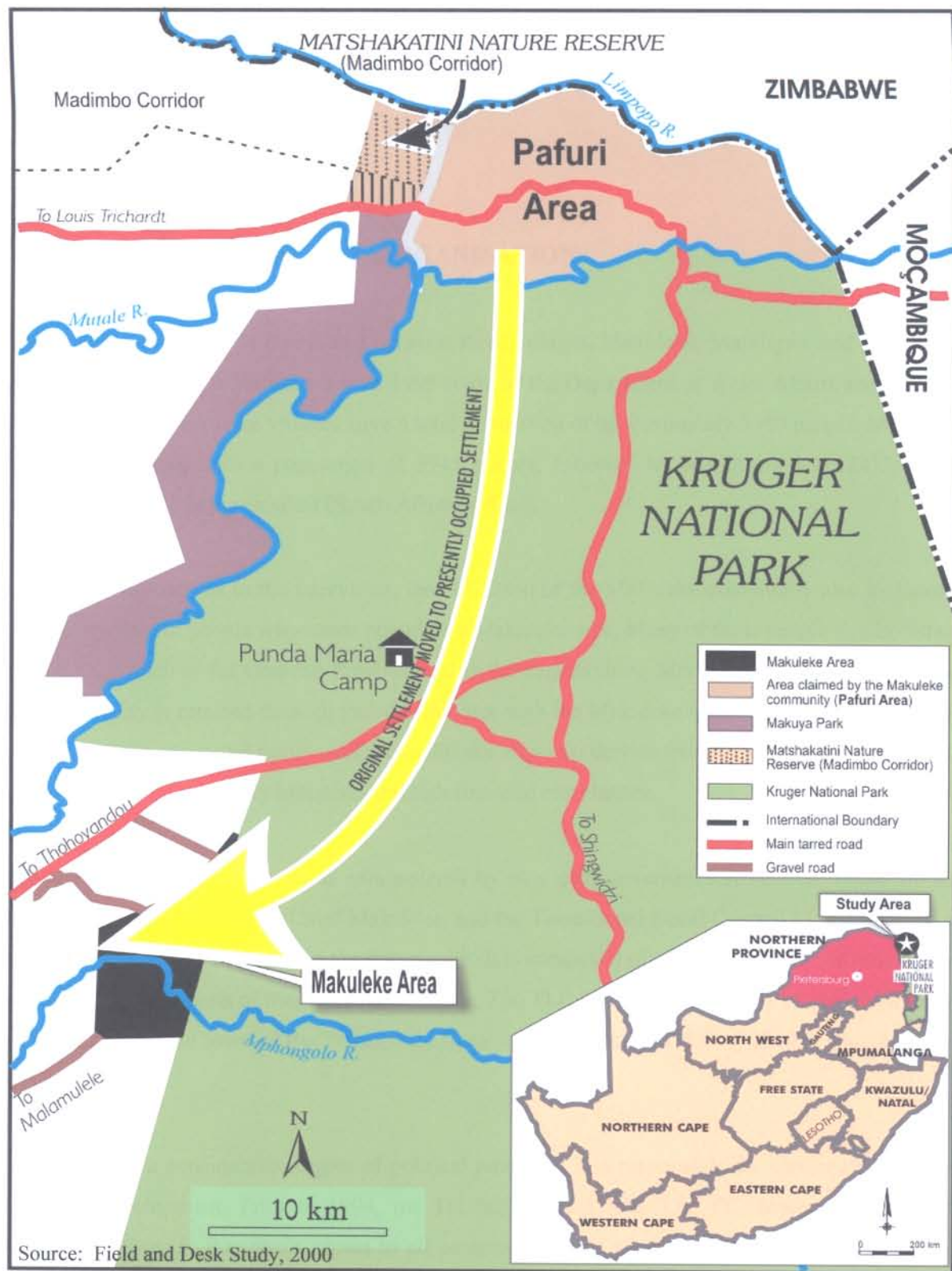
The Makuleke community is situated within the Nthlaveni 2 MU Communal Area along the western boundary of the Kruger National Park (KNP) in the Northern Province of South Africa (Figure 3.1). The specific area occupied by the Makuleke people is referred to as the 'Makuleke area'. This area extends from three to sixteen kilometres to the south west of the KNP's Punda Maria gate. The Makuleke area is approximately 5 000 hectares in extent (Carruthers, 1995).

In addition to the Makuleke area, the community owns land in the Pafuri area, historically known as the 'Crooks' Corner' (Harries, 1984). Since 1998, the area has also been referred to as the Makuleke Region. The Pafuri area is situated at the confluence of the Limpopo and the Luvuvhu Rivers along the northern boundary of the KNP. This is the point where the boundaries of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Mozambique intersect (Figure 3.1). This area, which is 21 887 hectares in extent (South Africa, 1998), is not occupied by the community but has been set aside as a resource that will be used to offset community development.

3.1.2 SITE

The area occupied by the Makuleke is sited on very gently undulating terrain, which is slightly dissected by the Mphongolo River and its tributaries (Figure 3.2). The altitude of the area ranges from 386m in the south east to 500m in the northernmost part (South Africa, 1988), which places the area within the 'low veld' region (ie. below the 600m altitude). The only major dam in the area is the Makuleke Dam on the Mphongolo River.

FIGURE 3.1: MAKULEKE AREA: SITUATION



The Pafuri Area on the other hand, is comprised of a diversity of landscapes ranging from 232m altitude in the east to 393m towards the west (South Africa, 1988). The area is deeply dissected by the Luvuvhu River and its tributaries, and largely consists of low-lying flood plains that are broken by high ridges

and sandstone inselbergs (Robinson, 1996). The two major drainage systems within the region are the Limpopo and the Luvuvhu Rivers. These form, respectively, the northern and southern borders of the Pafuri area.

3.2 Socio-economic Setting

3.2.1 SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

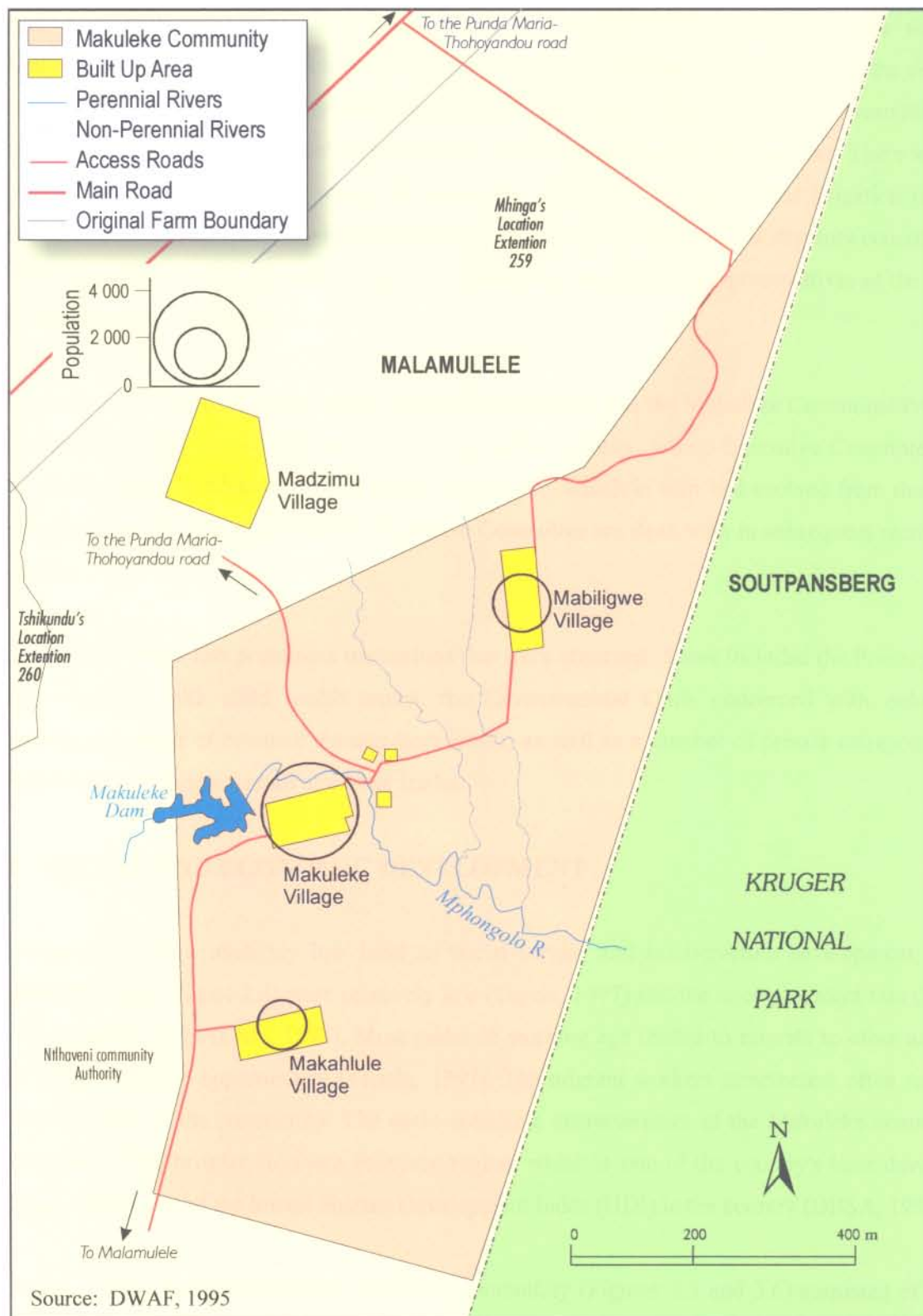
The Makuleke community is distributed between three villages, Makuleke, Mabiligwe and Makahlule (Figure 3.2). According to statistics from a 1995 study by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), the three Makuleke villages have a total population of approximately 8560 people. Makuleke village is the largest, with a population of 3945 people, followed by Mabiligwe with 2473, while Makahlule with 2142 is the smallest (South Africa, 1998c).

According to respondents to the interviews, the definition of the Makuleke community also includes a significant number of people who reside outside the Makuleke area. Many of these people live in distant industrial areas such as the Gauteng Province and in the neighbouring Mhinga area. Their membership of the community is retained through their kinship ties with the Makuleke area. For many of those who live in industrial centres, the nexus with the Makuleke area also derives from their continued support of relatives as well as community initiatives through financial remittances.

At the local level, the community is administered by two local governance structures. These are the Tribal Council (TC), headed by Chief Makuleke, and the Transitional Local Council (TLC). The TC is the traditional tribal authority within the community. It is composed of village headmen and elders, who advise the chief on aspects of traditional governance. The TLC is the democratically elected third tier of government, elected in terms of the Transitional Local Government Act (TLGA) of 1995 (South Africa, 1995).

The TLC wields a considerable degree of political power, as it is responsible for service delivery and community development. Prior to 1994, the TC fulfilled this role. The TC, however, still wields considerable power as it controls access to all communally held land within the Makuleke area. The political clout of the TC is also based upon a historical legacy of established authority derived from kinship and descent.

FIGURE 3.2: MAKULEKE AREA: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1995



Personal observations revealed that the balance of power between the two structures was strategically maintained through a blending of the traditional and the newer structures. There seemed to be a concerted view that community cohesion should be strengthened and maintained particularly so in the face of the on-going changes brought about by the CBNRM initiative within the community.

Other structures that were identified within the community include CBOs such as civic structures, local political party structures, self-interest organisations and blended CBO structures. There was the Makuleke Civic Organisation, which has historically acted as a pressure group urging for the delivery of services denied to the community under the previous government. There were the African National Congress (ANC) Youth and Women's organisations, which are political party structures. There was the Makuleke Farmers' Co-operative, which promoted the interests of farmers in the irrigation project. There was also the Tribal Authority Executive (TAE), which was a blended CBO structure consisting of the Makuleke chief, the TC, the local councillor representing the TLC and representatives of the Civic, Youth and Women's organisations.

With respect to the CBNRM initiative, the responsible authority was the Makuleke Communal Property Association (MCPA). The MCPA was a legally constituted entity, whose Executive Committee was largely drawn from the Makuleke Land Claim Committee, which in turn had evolved from the TAE. Further details on the role of the MCPA Executive Committee are dealt with in subsequent sections of this chapter.

There were also a few less prominent institutions that were observed. These included the Primary Care Group, concerned with child health issues; the Environmental Club, concerned with enhancing community awareness of resource management issues; as well as a number of private entrepreneurial actors involved in transport, retail and other trades.

3.2.2 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The community had a relatively low level of social service and infrastructure development, mean household incomes (Figure 3.3) were relatively low (Tapela, 1997) and the unemployment rate (Figure 3.4) was relatively high (LRG, 1995). Most males of working age tended to migrate to other areas in search of employment opportunities (Tapela, 1997). The migrant workers nonetheless often retained their membership of the community. The socio-economic characteristics of the Makuleke community echoed those of the broader Northern Province region, which is one of the country's least developed provinces, having one of the lowest Human Development Index (HDI) in the country (DBSA, 1995).

The social services and infrastructure within the community (Figures 3.5 and 3.6) consisted of a few schools, a primary health clinic, administrative offices, a telecommunications office, general dealer's shops, market stalls, some electrification, piped water supply, pit latrines, dust and gravel roads, a few telephone lines and an irrigation scheme. Some of these however were often inadequate or in a poor state of repair. The roads to the community tended to deteriorate during the rainy season, thus restricting access in and out of the community.

FIGURE 3.3: MAKULEKE COMMUNITY: DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYED HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD BY MEAN MONTHLY INCOME, 1997

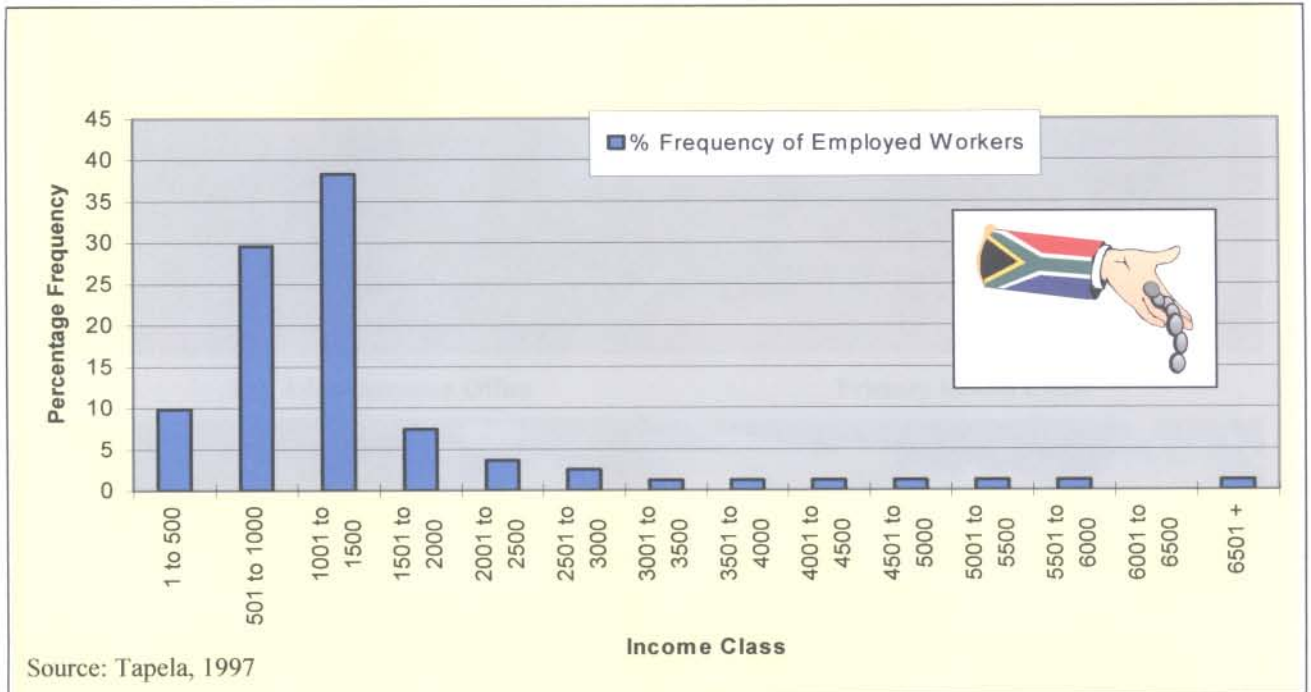


FIGURE 3.4: MAKULEKE COMMUNITY: OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF PRODUCTIVE POPULATION BY GENDER, 1995

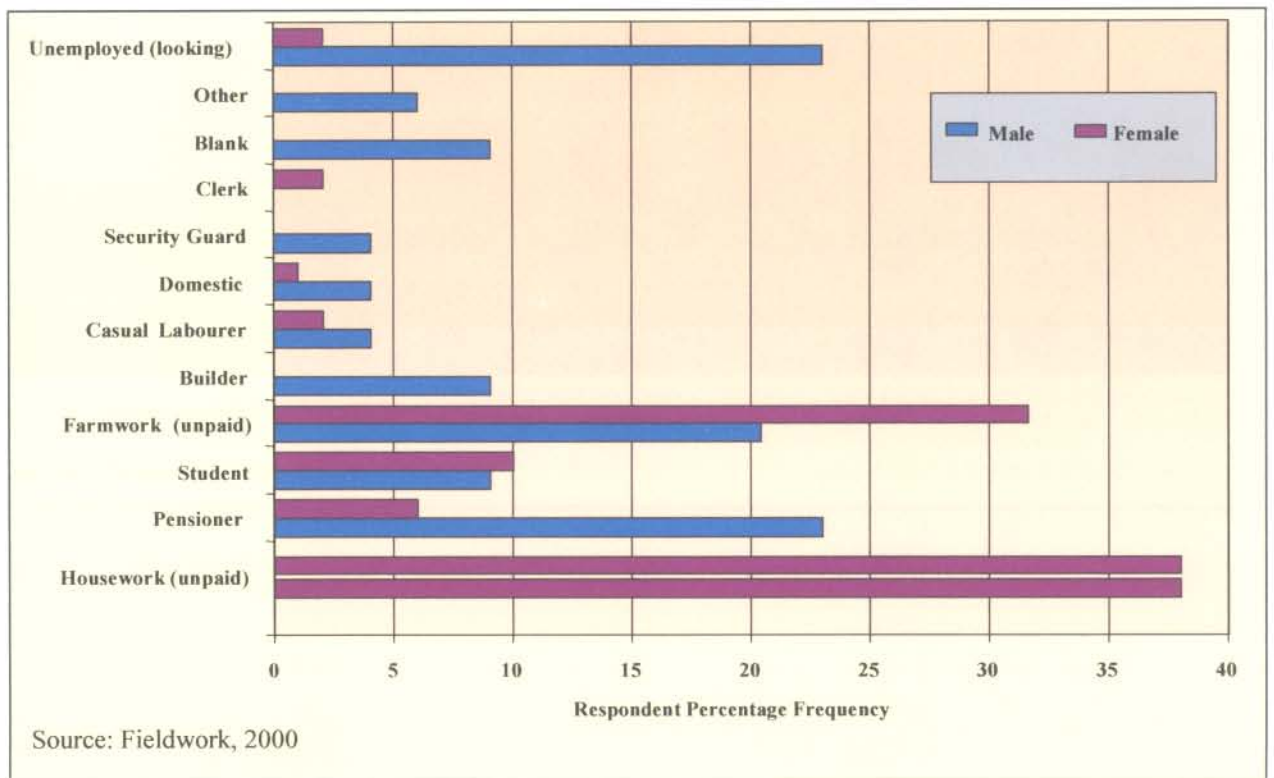


FIGURE 3.5: MAKULEKE AREA: SOCIAL SERVICES, 2000



The Administration Office



Primary Health Clinic



Primary School



General Dealer's Shop



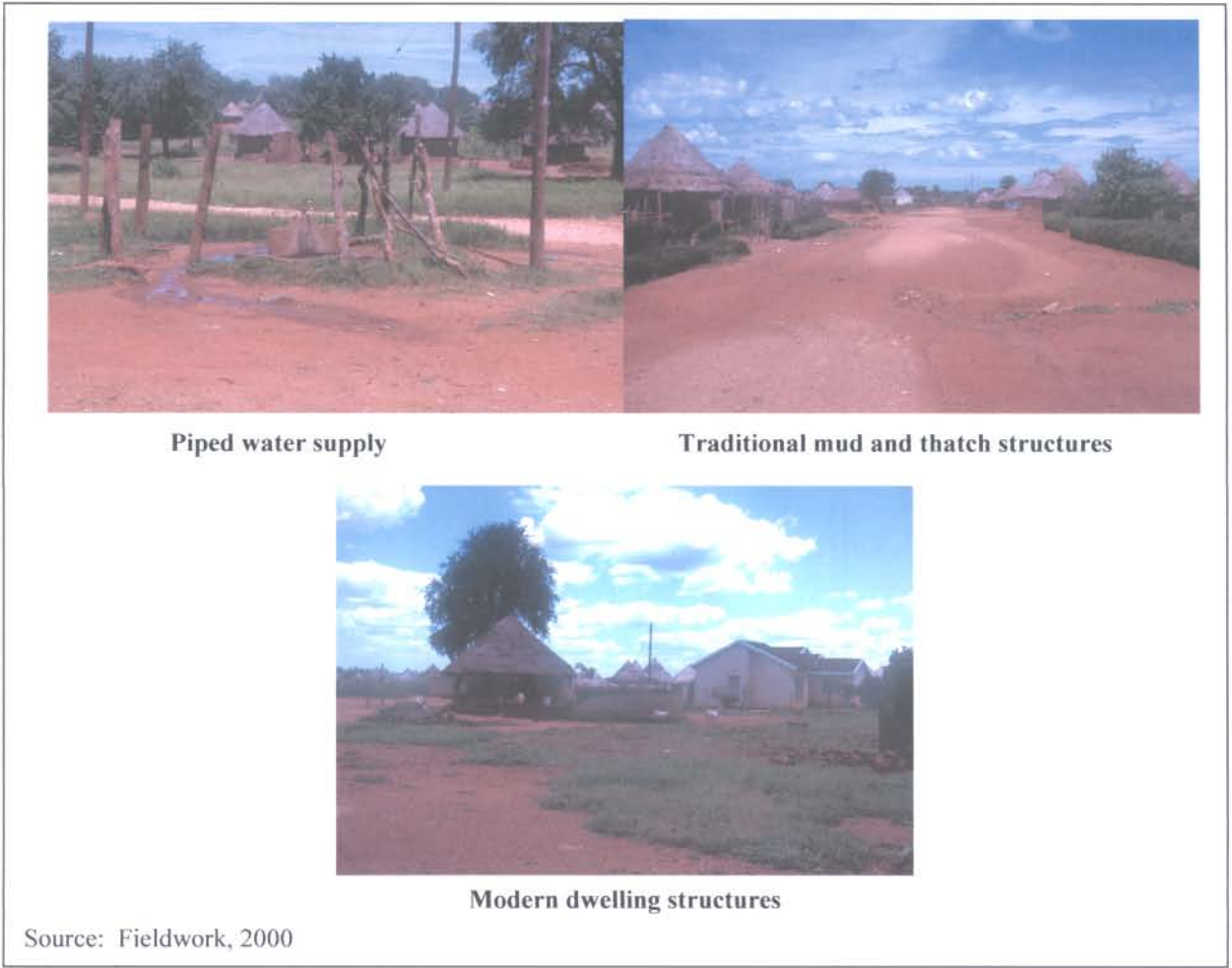
Telecommunications Office



Market Stall

Source: Fieldwork, 2000

FIGURE 3.6: MAKULEKE AREA: INFRASTRUCTURE AND DWELLING UNITS, 2000



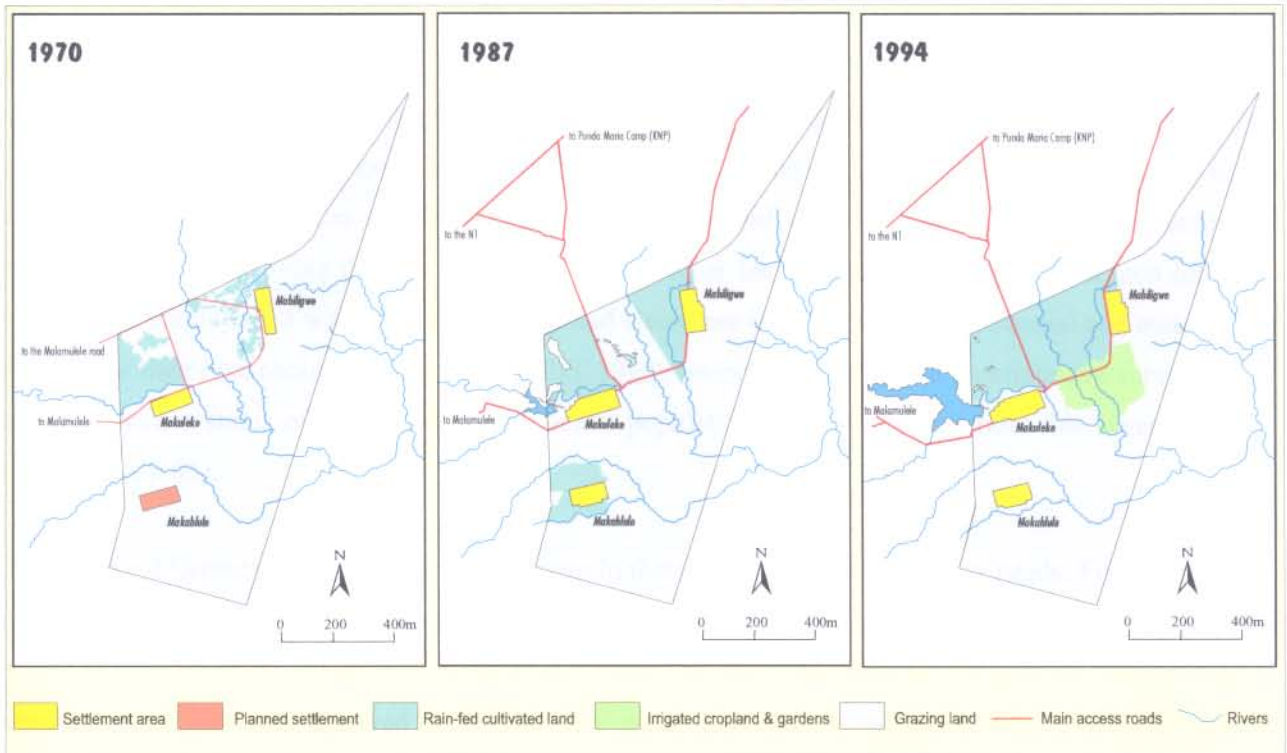
Part of the road network within the villages was threatened by gully erosion. The communal water taps ('stand pipes') were often in need of repair and the ever-present long queues of both people and water containers bore testimony to the inconsistent water supply. Members of the community therefore tended to supplement their domestic water needs with unpurified water from the dam or the irrigation canals. The only recreation facility observed was a crudely developed football field.

The homesteads (Figure 3.6) comprised a mixture of both the traditional mud and thatch structures as well as the modern brick and iron or tile dwelling units. A previous study revealed that the households living in the mud and thatch structures comprised 77.2% of the population (Tapela, 1997). The same study also showed that although the predominance of mud and thatch structures was mainly linked to the relatively low income earned by many Makuleke households, the trend was to a lesser degree also a matter of preference for some of the more affluent members of the community. While electricity was provided in the Makuleke area, 74.3% of the households used firewood as the main source of domestic energy (Tapela, 1997). Respondents to the interviews explained that many households could not afford the electricity tariffs.

3.2.3 LAND USE AND TENURE

Land use in the Makuleke area was mainly agricultural, and the major development project in the area was the Makuleke Irrigation Scheme (Tapela, 1997). The main types of land use in the Makuleke area were arable and pastoral farming, as well as settlement (Figure 3.7). Women made up almost all the labour used on arable land within the Makuleke area (LRG, 1995).

FIGURE 3.7: MAKULEKE AREA: LAND USE - 1970, 1987 & 1994



Source: Derived from South Africa 1970; South Africa 1987; South Africa 1994 (Aerial Photographs)

There were two types of tenure systems operating within the Makuleke area. The first was the traditional communal system in which the chief allocated land. The communal tenure system applied to village settlement areas, rain-fed croplands and grazing lands. After allocation by the chief, the rain-fed crop fields were passed down family genealogies. Prior to 1998, land under communal tenure was classified as state land and although farmers had usufruct rights they had neither title deeds nor security of tenure.

The second tenure system was the modern leasehold system in which land allocation was done by a state institution, the Provincial Department of Lands and Agriculture, through consultation with the Tribal Authority. This applied to the land in the Makuleke Irrigation Scheme. The irrigated land, consisting of fields, food plots (gardens) and orchards, were considered state land, and farmers therefore had no title deeds to it. The land in the irrigation scheme was allocated to fifty-two individual tenants

who paid an annual rental of R100.00 (LRG Report, 1995). The tenants were not exclusively drawn from the Makuleke community, but included people from other neighbouring communities.

The Makuleke were accorded security of tenure for the land area they occupy in Nthlaveni 2 MU in 1998 in terms of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997 (South Africa, 1997c).

3.2.4 GENDER PERCEPTIONS ON COMMUNITY NEEDS

The in-depth interviews revealed that the community need that was perceived by both the male and female respondents to be the most important related to the provision of water (Figure 3.8). For male respondents, need for jobs (employment opportunities) ranked second, while for the female respondents, improved livelihoods ranked second (Table 3.1). This observation appears to be linked to the observed sexual division of labour. Women were observed as playing principal roles in primary production and care giving (Figure 3.4, p 65). On the other hand, most of the able-bodied men often sought paid employment within the community and elsewhere in order to provide financial and material support for their households (Tapela, 1997; LRG, 1995). Secondary data from a questionnaire survey on the employment status of the Makuleke productive population (LRG, 1995) reiterates this observation (Figure 3.4, p 65).

There were differences between women and men in their perceptions of secondary needs. For the men, electricity and food supply featured most strongly, while for the women, employment opportunities were felt most strongly (Figure 3.9). Women also perceived needs that men did not mention, such as the need for water, land and improved livelihoods. It is probably worth noting that for women, the needs for electricity, food, infrastructure and services, and other needs were all felt with equal intensity.

Differences in the perception of some secondary needs may be related to the observed sexual division of labour. However, the prominence of needs such as electricity, food supply and jobs may also be linked to the relatively low mean monthly incomes for heads of households (63% earned below R1 500 according to Figure 3.3, p 65). They may also be related to the high unemployment rate for the male productive population (23% according to Figure 3.4, p 65). The prominence of the need for infrastructure may be related to the observed poor condition of roads, recreation facilities and public buildings within the community. The desire for involvement in community leadership probably relates to a need for greater involvement in political decision-making, though there may be other factors that this study was not able to identify.

FIGURE 3.8: MAKULEKE COMMUNITY: GENDER PERCEPTIONS ON THE MOST IMPORTANT COMMUNITY NEEDS, 1998

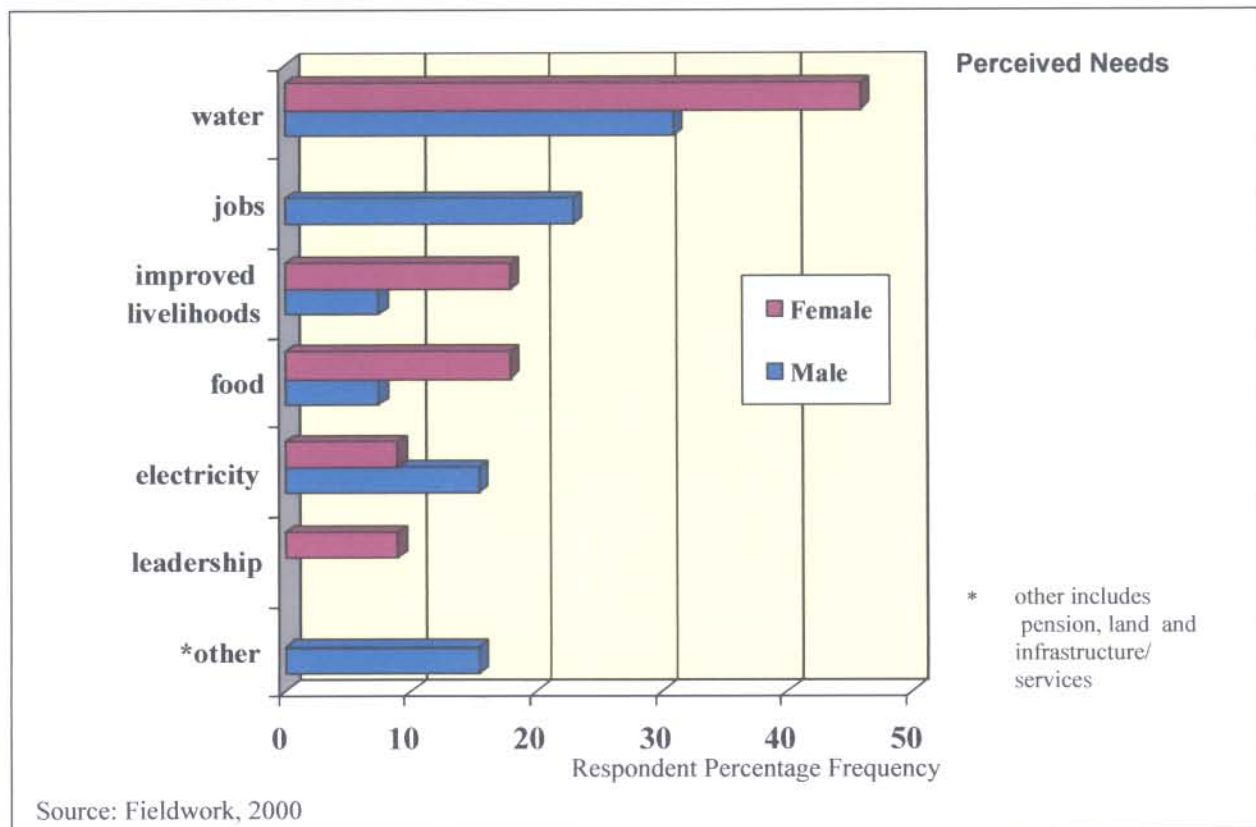
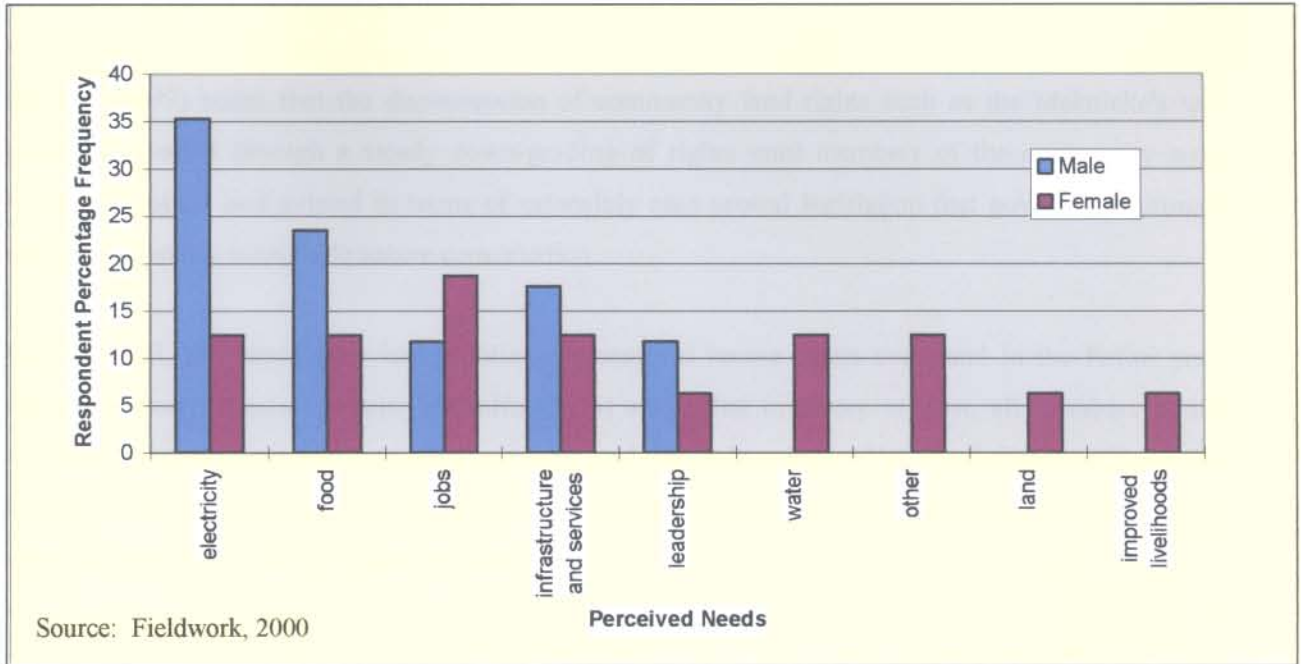


TABLE 3.1: MAKULEKE COMMUNITY: PAIRWISE RANKING BY GENDER OF THE COMMUNITY NEEDS PERCEIVED AS MOST IMPORTANT, 1998

Male	Female
1. water	1. water
2. jobs	2. improved livelihoods
3. electricity	3. food
4. other (pension)	4. electricity
5. improved livelihoods	5. leadership
6. food	6. infrastructure and services
7. land	7. jobs
8. infrastructure and services	8. land
9. leadership	9. other (pensions)

Another need that was revealed by the in-depth conversational interviews was the need for construction raw materials and other natural resources that were not available within the area presently occupied by the Makuleke community. The female respondents particularly seemed to view the restituted Pafuri area as a potential source of thatching grass. To cite one respondent: *“What I would like most is to be able to harvest “deke” grass in the Pafuri area. The “makenya” grass that is available locally in the Makuleke area is not as durable or as attractive as “deke”, therefore it creates problems for us in that we have to keep replacing the roof thatch frequently. This takes a lot of our time and is expensive.”*

FIGURE 3.9: MAKULEKE COMMUNITY: GENDER PERCEPTIONS ON SECONDARY COMMUNITY NEEDS, 1998



Another resource that featured in many respondents' answers was the mopane worm. Both the male and female respondents indicated aspirations of harvesting mopane worms in the restituted Pafuri area. While there was not much difference in the proportion of male and female respondents who expressed a need to harvest mopane worms for retail purposes, the proportion of female respondents who required the mopane worms for subsistence was much higher. Among these, the elderly women aged above 45 years were in the majority.

3.3 Historical Background: Forced Removal

"In the 'forgotten' corner of the Transvaal made famous by T. V. Bulpin as the romantic 'Crook's Corner', there lived a group of people who, named after their founding ancestor, were called the Makulekes. They were a branch of the Makuleke clan, and for about 140 years until their removal in 1969, occupied the triangle of land that separates the Limpopo from the Levubu River" (Harries, 1984:1).

The Makuleke belong to the Tsonga group of people who occupied much of the eastern Transvaal prior to the proclamation of the KNP in 1926. The Makuleke people originally lived in the portion of land at the confluence of the Limpopo and Luvuvhu Rivers that is also known as the Pafuri Area or 'Crook's Corner' in the northern section of the KNP (Figure 3.1, p.61). They were forcibly removed from the area in 1969 (Harries, 1984; Carruthers, 1995; Gilfillan, 1997) to make way for the northward extension of the KNP. Their dispossession was formalised in 1975 under the Development and Trust Land Act of

1936. The removal of the Makuleke marked the culmination of a protracted effort by the conservation agencies to evict them from the Pafuri Area against their will.

Gilfillan (1997) states that the dispossession of community land rights such as the Makuleke's was gradually effected through a steady down-grading of rights until members of the community were declared squatters and evicted in terms of ostensibly race neutral legislation that governed legitimate and internationally acceptable nature conservation.

Prior to 1913, the community had traditional communal tenure rights over land in the Pafuri area. Under traditional tenure systems, Metcalfe (1995) states that in theory at least, all members of the community had usufruct and access rights to the land for various needs. Yet, the finiteness of land was recognised and rationed through an allocation procedure based on kinship and local conventions. This seems to have applied to the Makuleke case.

At the promulgation of the Native Land Act 27 of 1913, there was a downgrading of traditional rights and the Makuleke held the land at Pafuri in terms of crown tenancy (Gilfillan, 1997). In 1933, the Limpopo-Luvuvhu confluence area was proclaimed the Pafuri Game Reserve by the Transvaal administration (Harries, 1984; Carruthers, 1995). The exception to this proclamation was a small portion called the Makuleke Reserve, which was occupied by some members of the Makuleke community. While the Makuleke living within their small reserve had legal tenure to their land, the government regarded those living outside the reserve on Crown land that became Pafuri Game Reserve as 'squatters'. The Makuleke living within the Makuleke Reserve were subsequently dispossessed of their crown tenancy rights in terms of the Native Trust and Land Act 18 of 1936, and declared squatters on the land (Gilfillan, 1997).

When the National Parks Board initiated the first attempts to move the Makuleke squatters from Pafuri Game Reserve, the lack of personnel to control poaching in the isolated area was cited as the main reason for their eviction (Carruthers, 1995). Harries (1984) and Carruthers (1995) however have proved that the harvesting of natural resources through hunting, fishing and collection by the Makuleke tended to be at subsistence level and was never characterised by the ravages of commercial exploitation.

The Makuleke were resettled in the Ntlhaveni 2 MU communal area, on an 'equal' portion of compensatory land that was excised from the western part of the park (Harries, 1984; Carruthers, 1995). The resettlement land was scheduled for occupation by blacks in terms of the Native Trust and Land Act 18 of 1936 (Gilfillan, 1997), which meant that although the community could use the land they had no security of tenure or title to the land.

The forced removal of the Makuleke coincided with the nation-wide tide of forced removals sanctioned by the apartheid government's Bantu Promotion of Self-government Act of 1959. The implications of this coincidence were that other Tsonga people from elsewhere were resettled in the Ntlhaveni area between 1972 and 1973, such that instead of the promised 20 000 hectares of land, the Makuleke retained a mere 5 000 hectares (Harries, 1984). This seems to have constituted a major grievance, particularly as the community shifted towards commercial agriculture following the development of an irrigation scheme within the Makuleke area (LRG, 1995).

Following the institution of the land reform policy by the post-apartheid state, the Makuleke lodged a land claim for the restitution of their rights to the Pafuri area. The land claim has had significant bearing on the Makuleke CBNRM. There is a need however to link the land claim with the broader national policy shifts relating to the articulation of CBNRM initiatives such as the Makuleke's. The next section explores the policy context within which the Makuleke CBNRM initiative has taken place.

3.4 Broader Policy and Political Context

The Makuleke CBNRM initiative has taken place within the context of various policy and political changes at both global and national level. At a global level, the emergence of the sustainable development doctrine has been attended by the ratification of various conventions by most member governments of the United Nations Organisation. In this regard South Africa, is a signatory of the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development: Agenda 21 (South Africa, 1997d). South Africa is therefore bound through the government's 1995 ratification of the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) to conserve biological diversity, promote the sustainable use of natural resources and to facilitate the equitable sharing of benefits deriving from natural resource use. South Africa is also a signatory to conventions such as the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species (CITES) and Convention of Wetlands of International Importance (RAMSAR). These international undertakings have resulted in a constitutional reform process that acknowledges the importance of both natural resource conservation and local community participation in environmental governance and entry into the benefits stream deriving from natural resource management.

At the national level therefore, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, provides the primary, overarching framework within which CBNRM must be contextualised. The post-apartheid policy shifts have led to a realignment of statutory and institutional frameworks as well as policy changes within conservation agencies.

With regard to land rights, Section 25 (7) of the Constitution's Bill of Rights provides for the restitution of land lost as a result of racial discrimination by previous governments (Fig, 1997). The specific legal

instrument on land restitution is the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 (South Africa, 1997e). This piece of legislation applied to the Pafuri area from where the Makuleke were evicted in 1969. Furthermore, Section 25 (6) of the Constitution provides for security of tenure for persons whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices. The legal instrument for this is the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997. This law applied to the Makuleke area presently occupied by the Makuleke community.

Following the promulgation of the statutory instruments relating to land rights, there have been some complimentary shifts in the Environmental Management policy (South Africa, 1997) as well as the formulation of the SANP Policy on Land Claims in National Parks (SANP, 1998). These have provided for broader public participation in conservation and the integration of conservation and development objectives. They also provide for the formation of partnerships with local communities to facilitate an interactive process of capacity building (South Africa, 1997; NPB, 1996).

With regard to the strengthening of community governance structures, the Constitution establishes local government as the third tier of government. The statutory instrument for this is the Transitional Local Government Act (TLGA) 98 of 1995. This implies that the Makuleke community governance structures are legal government entities. There has also been the passing of the Communal Property Associations Act 28 of 1996 (South Africa, 1996), which has allowed the formation of strong CBO structures to act as legal entities in cases such as land restitution and environmental governance. The MCPA was formed in terms of this statute and has acted as the appropriate authority in the land claim settlement process and the CBNRM initiative.

With regard to community development, both the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy have implications on the Makuleke community's development needs that the CBNRM initiative is attempting to address. While the RDP emphasises the developmental role of local government, GEAR places greater emphasis on an export-orientated economy. Experiences in CBNRM articulation elsewhere have shown that the generation of economic benefits for offsetting community development tends to be influenced by macro-economic policy that promotes investment in and marketing of resource based activities such as tourism (Bromley, 1994).

3.5 Toward Active Community Participation: The Makuleke Land Claim

The Makuleke community lodged a land claim against the National Parks Board (NPB), the responsible authority for the KNP, in December 1995. The lodging of the land claim was a watershed event that marked the shift toward active community participation in natural resource management through an

institutionalised CBNRM process. This section explores the key factors leading to the lodging of the land claim, the delineation of the claim area, the process towards the land claim settlement, and finally the settlement agreement.

3.5.1 FACTORS LEADING TO THE LODGING OF THE LAND CLAIM

Historical accounts by Harries (1984) and Carruthers (1995) show that prior to their forced removal, the Makuleke people had a considerable degree of access to resources within the Pafuri area. From the proclamation of the Pafuri Game Reserve in 1933 to their forced removal in 1969, the Makuleke people were progressively dispossessed of their control over the land and the natural resource base for their social and political economy. Their loss was acutely felt immediately following the removal. Harries (1984) documents the hardships and psychological trauma endured by the Makuleke due to their removal.

Resettlement at Nthlaveni was soon followed by a severe drought that led to famine. There was also loss of lives that have been directly linked to the psychological trauma. The community became fragmented, with some of the people migrating across the Limpopo into present-day Zimbabwe. There was also an increase in the incidence of malnutrition-related diseases that has been ascribed to the loss of food security at the time of the removal. Although the hardships and trauma appear to have been keenest around the time of the removal, the memory of the forced removal seems to have persisted to the present date.

In the aftermath of the removal and resettlement at Nthlaveni 2 MU communal area, the ecological differences between the Pafuri and Nthlaveni areas appear to have reinforced the negative consequences of the removal. The climatic conditions of the Nthlaveni area were drier and required adaptation through acquisition of new farming techniques and alternative livelihood strategies. Such adaptation apparently took some time, which compounded the negative impacts on livelihoods and food security.

An important factor leading to the lodging of the land claim was the loss of tenure rights and security without adequate compensation (Harries, 1984). Whereas the Makuleke who had resided in the Makuleke Reserve had had crown tenancy rights, in the state controlled Nthlaveni communal area the whole community had no title and therefore no security of tenure. The loss of land rights was keenly felt in 1972 and 1973 when other people of Tsonga origin were resettled within the Nthlaveni area. This was because the forced removal of the Makuleke appeared to coincide with the nationwide tide of forced removals sanctioned by the apartheid government's Bantu Promotion of Self-government Act of 1959 (Platzky & Walker, 1985). Thus, instead of the promised 20 000 hectares of land, the Makuleke retained a mere 5 000 hectares (Harries, 1984; Carruthers, 1995). This effectively curtailed the

Makuleke resource base and increased the human demand-resource ratio. It also seems to have constituted a major grievance, particularly as the community began to shift towards commercial agriculture following the development of an irrigation scheme within the Makuleke area at Nthlaveni (LRG, 1995).

The further loss of the community's resource base appears to have brought about changes in the political ecology of resource use. Since the drier and relatively smaller available land space in the Makuleke area offered less food and raw material options, competition for resources increased. With the introduction of newer tenure arrangements, the more powerful or affluent members of the community appear to have gained greater control over access to resources, while the poor have become further marginalised. This is illustrated by the distribution of plots in the Makuleke Irrigation Scheme that was established in the early 1990s. The 1995 Land Reform Group (LRG) Report states that despite the fact that access to the plots was open to all the Makuleke people living within the vicinity of the scheme, a substantial number of plots were awarded mostly to people who were already employed and had the monetary resources. Some of these people resided in the more distant neighbourhood of Mhinga. Many unemployed people in the Makuleke area had not applied for the plots because they had had *"the mistaken impression that land would only be given to those who already had some capital"* (LRG, 1995).

The inability of the resource base in the Makuleke area of Nthlaveni to sustain livelihoods resulted in the migration of many Makuleke men and fewer women of the productive age group to seek alternative livelihoods elsewhere. This was largely through employment within the neighbouring KNP and migrant labour in the more distant industrial locations (Harries, 1984; Tapela & Omara-Ojunga, 1999). Platzky & Walker (1985) state that the alienation of rural community resource bases and the introduction of village taxation were some of the mechanisms by which rural people were integrated into the apartheid state economy as cheap labour. The anticipated restitution of land rights was therefore viewed, particularly by the elderly members of the community, as a means of extending the resource base and thereby ensuring the sustainability of livelihoods of future Makuleke generations.

Another major factor that led to the lodging of the land claim appears to have been the Makuleke's loss of political power. Their removal had been executed as part of the apartheid policy of consolidating the Gazankulu homeland in terms of the Bantu Promotion of Self-government Act of 1959 (Tapela, 1997). The Makuleke, who had been an independent chiefdom prior to their removal, were brought under the control of Chief Mhinga, a paramount Tsonga chief within the neighbourhood (Harries, 1984). This offended the Makuleke's sense of pride and was a particularly sore point. The community therefore anticipated that the restitution of their land rights would provide an opportunity for the affirmation of their pride, political status and economic clout.

The alienation of resources seems to have affected the Makuleke women more intensely than the men. Harries (1984) states that the Makuleke women lost a degree of the independence that they had hitherto exercised when they cultivated their own private and family residential-cum-agricultural plots. The state controlled communal tenure system at Nthlaveni allocated plots almost exclusively to men. The smaller size of the plots at Nthlaveni, relative to the size of plots at Pafuri, undermined land as an asset of production and, therefore, the role of women in rural livelihood sustenance through agricultural activity. In order to reassert their economic role within their households and to maintain a degree of independence, many women had had to seek employment in commercial farms in the distant Mooketsi area (Harries, 1984). Those women who were employed by tenant farmers in the Makuleke Irrigation Scheme were very poorly paid (LRG, 1995).

Although the Makuleke were dispossessed of rights over their resource base at Pafuri, and although they suffered physical and psychological trauma as a result of their forced removal, they seem to have retained an intimate cultural and psychological attachment to the Pafuri area. This is demonstrated by their continued ceremonial trips to their ancestral gravesites, among other things (Tapela & Omara-Ojungu, 1999). This connection was probably one of the critical factors that precipitated the lodging of the land claim.

3.5.2 DELINEATION OF THE CLAIM AREA

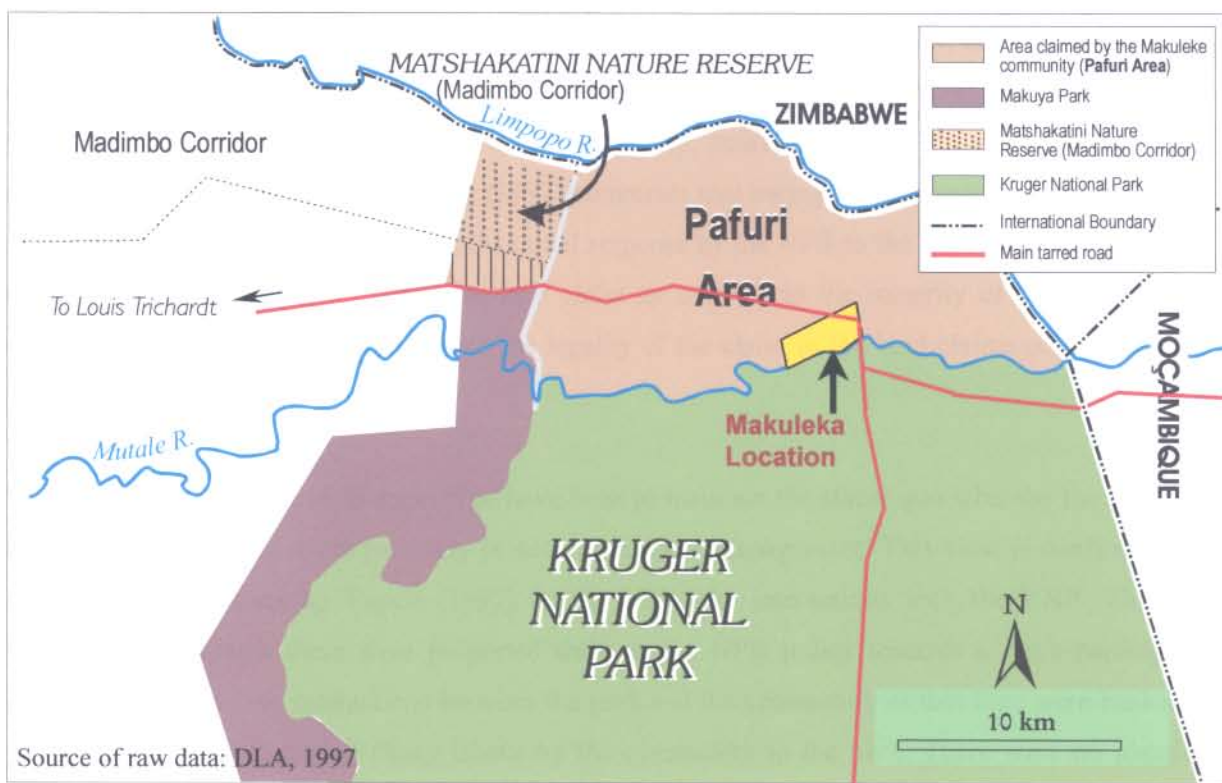
In terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994, the community was entitled to claim only the land they had occupied from 1913 to the time of their removal in 1969. The Makuleke community therefore claimed the whole of the area they had occupied at Pafuri prior to their removal, which was approximately 22017 hectares in extent. This area, however, had since been fragmented under four different jurisdictions (Figure 3.10). The largest portion of the claim (19176 hectares) was within the KNP, under jurisdiction of the South African National Parks (SANP) Board. The second portion (1876 hectares) was in the Matshakatini Nature Reserve, under jurisdiction of the South African National Defence Force (SANDF). The third (835 hectares) was within the Makuya Park, under the control of the Northern Province MEC for Agriculture, Land and Environment. The smallest portion of the claim (130 hectares) was part of the Mutele communal area, controlled by the Mutele Traditional Authority.

3.5.3 LAND CLAIM SETTLEMENT PROCESS

After the Makuleke community lodged their land claim, there followed a lengthy settlement process leading toward the decentralisation of natural resource management responsibility. The process of settling the land claim involved consultation and negotiation among various stakeholders, as well as amendments of certain statutes through parliamentary resolution. Although initially there were other

claimants contesting the Makuleke land claim, the Makuleke were finally declared the legitimate claimants to the Pafuri area.

FIGURE 3.10: MAKULEKE LAND CLAIM: DELINEATION OF THE CLAIM AREA, 1997



It is beyond the scope of this dissertation to give a detailed account of the whole negotiation process. However, certain aspects of the dialogue have bearing on the framework of the CBNRM initiative in this study. This section highlights those aspects, focusing mainly on the dialogue between the Makuleke and the SANP, who were among the principal stakeholders. In tracing the dialogue between these two stakeholders, it is necessary to start by clarifying the constitutional transformation of the responsible authority of the KNP. This transformation had significant implications for the unfolding of the CBNRM process.

When the Makuleke lodged their land claim in December 1995, the responsible authority for the KNP was the NPB. The NPB had been constituted in terms of the National Parks Act 57 of 1976 (Fig, 1997) and therefore had inherited a preservationist philosophy that was expressed in the NPB's mission statement (Tapela, 1997). There occurred a policy shift towards a participatory approach in 1996 when the KNP's new board came into office, constituted in terms of the National Parks Amendment Act of 1995 (Fig, 1997). The former and latter NPBs in this section are therefore respectively referred to as the earlier and latter NPBs.

3.5.3.1 Prelude to the Lodging of the Land Claim: Seeking Consensus through Negotiation

Prior to lodging their land claim, the Makuleke and the earlier NPB met, with mediation from governmental and non-governmental institutional actors, to try and negotiate the way forward concerning the claim. The National Parks Board (NPB) representatives felt that an arrangement could be worked out to allow the community to garner benefits from the Pafuri area of the KNP, while the NPB retained authority over the said area. The Makuleke, however, wanted ownership of the land in order to secure their resource rights. Fig (1997) comments that owing to the preservationist philosophy underlying the earlier NPB's approach, the initial response by the NPB to the Makuleke land claim was one of resistance. The NPB viewed the land claim as 'a threat to the integrity of the national park system' and therefore resolved to contest the legality of the claim in the land claims court (Robinson, 1996; Fig, 1997).

The motive of the earlier NPB appears to have been to maintain the status quo whereby the Makuleke would continue to participate passively in natural resource management. This view is confirmed by a contemporaneous study by Tapela (1997) on the Makuleke interactions with the KNP. The study revealed that although there were purported shifts in the NPB policy towards a more participatory approach, the economic interactions between the park and the community at that time were basically a perpetuation of the supply of cheap labour by the community to the park. There were no identified formal flows of conservation-related information either way. The policy reform process therefore had yet to deliver on the policy objectives.

3.5.3.2 Early Phase of the Land Claim Process: Active Consultation

"I want to reiterate our willingness to co-operate with neighbouring communities in local and regional development projects...We believe the Makuleke and the NPB have valid shared interests even if we may question certain aspects of the land claim. These interests require that we continue negotiations with them and other communities regarding interaction and co-operation" (Robinson, 1996).

The latter NPB initiated a review process of the KNP's management policy (GEM, 1996a) and, through consultation, formulated a new mission statement that embodied the socio-economic concerns of neighbouring communities (NPB, 1996). The name of the latter NPB was subsequently changed to 'SANP', probably in emphasis of the board's shift from the traditional preservationist to the participatory approach. An offshoot of the policy review process was a sub-process to evolve an SANP Policy on Land Claims in National Parks (SANP, 1997). This was an attempt by the SANP to incorporate the national policy on land rights into protected area management policy.

Concomitant with the SANP's policy shift was a Community Relations Programme initiated by the KNP and a People and Parks Programme co-ordinated by an NGO called the Group for Environmental Monitoring (GEM) (Tapela, 1997). The role of GEM was to facilitate consultations between the park and its neighbouring communities. Under these efforts, KNP Neighbours forums involving rural communities along the western border of the KNP were initiated. The other communities along the eastern and the northern borders were excluded since they fell under the different national jurisdictions of Mozambique and Zimbabwe respectively. The Makuleke community became a member of the Hlanganani Forum.

Fig (1997) links the policy shifts by the latter NPB (later called the SANP) directly to the accession of the latter board. He states that *"for the first time [the board] contained members who were very mindful of the need to consider social questions in all aspects of park management, and the need to redress apartheid's injustices, especially towards rural people"*. This probably accounts for the change of tone from opposition to co-operation by some of the preservationist members of the board, expressed in the quotation from Robinson (1996).

Despite the attempts by the SANP towards a participatory approach, there seemed to be some resistance from within certain quarters of the board that caused a deceleration of the pace towards decentralisation (Fig, 1997). Hence, although there was an attempt to promote active consultation between the park authorities and the community on one hand, some aspects of the consultative process did not concede any share of the decision making to the community. An illustration of this was the proposed Buffer Zone Plan conceived by the KNP agencies (Tapela, 1997). Neighbouring communities were consulted after formulation of the proposed plan. Their consultation appeared to be mainly because the proposal entailed joint contributions of land by the KNP and the communities towards a buffer zone where the interests of the park and the communities would converge. The Makuleke perceived the proposal as entrenching both the further alienation of their resource base and the covert motive of diverting their interest from the Pafuri area. The community therefore resolved to keep the buffer zone and the land claim issues separate.

3.5.3.3 Intermediary Phase: Seeking Consensus through Negotiation and Functional Partnership

Following the consultative process, negotiations between the KNP and the Makuleke community were resumed. Apart from the inclusion of board members who were committed to the decentralisation ethic embodied in the SANP's new policy (Fig, 1997), the certainty of the restitution of Makuleke rights to the Pafuri area appears to have been an important compelling factor to the resumption of the negotiation process.

Negotiation was largely through mediation, involving various stakeholders (Table 3.2) and facilitative NGOs such as GEM, GTZ and WESSA. The negotiation process was aimed at reaching a consensus on the management framework for the Pafuri area following the restitution of Makuleke land rights.

TABLE 3.2: STAKEHOLDERS INVOLVED IN THE MAKULEKE LAND CLAIM, 1998

Stakeholder	Interest in the Land Claim
1. The Makuleke Community	The Claimants and beneficiaries of the CPA.
2. SANP	Authority over the KNP portion of the claim, charged with the conservation of the portion in terms of the National Parks Act 57 of 1976. According to the Act, the portion is listed as a Schedule I area of the KNP, and is therefore accorded the highest conservation status in protected area management.
3. South African National Defence Force (SANDF)	Authority over the portion of the Pafuri area that was incorporated into the Madimbo Corridor later proclaimed as the Matshakatini Nature Reserve.
4. MEC for Agriculture, Land and Environment, Northern Province	Authority over the portion of the Pafuri area that was incorporated into the territory of the former Venda state and is presently part of the Makuya Park that is managed by the MEC for purposes of nature conservation.
5. Department of Public Works	Holds the ownership rights to the Pafuri area on behalf of the State. Responsible for the expropriation and transfer of ownership rights to the claimants.
6. Department of Land Affairs	Formal respondent in land claims where the State is the owner of the land. Responsible for the compensation of parties whose land rights are expropriated.
7. Department of Mineral and Energy Affairs	Subject to provisions in the National Parks Act, this institution is vested with certain powers and duties concerning mineral rights in the Pafuri area.
8. Department of Agriculture	Responsibility for the removal and erection of veterinary fences required in the consolidation of the portions of the Pafuri area granted to the Makuleke CPA.
9. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism	Responsible for declaration of a national park, known as the 'Makuleke Region', in the restituted Pafuri area.
Source: South Africa, 1998a	

The Makuleke on one hand viewed the Pafuri area as an extension of the community's resource base. They therefore envisaged that, in the event of restitution, they would engage in diamond mining in

partnership with private institutions. This would then generate the sorely needed income for community development and employment opportunities.

The SANP on the other hand viewed the Pafuri area as zone of high ecological value, and were therefore interested in a retention of the 'Schedule One' conservation status of the area. Secondly, when the Makuleke lodged the land claim in December 1995, a plan was already in place for regional countries to establish a Trans-border Conservation Area (TBCA) linking the KNP to natural resource management areas in Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Robinson, 1996). This was to be done in terms of resolutions of the Global Biodiversity Forum (ART South Africa, 1997b) and the SADC Policy and Strategy for Environment and Sustainable Development (Griffin et al, 1999). The Pafuri area was therefore located at a strategic intersection of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa. Furthermore, the land use of the Pafuri area was restricted by international conventions such as RAMSAR, CITES and the CBD of which South Africa was signatory. The pressure from international conservation protocol, the SANP and other conservation lobbyists compelled the Makuleke to capitulate.

After a series of discussions and mediation sessions to define the common ground between the key stakeholders, consensus was reached in the earlier part of 1997 (South Africa, 1997a). From then on the land claim settlement process focused on working towards a formal Settlement Agreement.

While the negotiations regarding the land claim proceeded, there began a parallel process of establishing transparent structures which would enable effective participatory management of issues affecting the KNP and its neighbours, including the Makuleke (ART South Africa, 1997). The focus was on the 'frontline' communities along the western boundary of the park, including the existing forums that had been formed earlier through the efforts of GEM and the NPB. The result of this effort was the establishment of a Community Representative Committee that was empowered to represent the community liaison structures or forums at both policy and operational levels (NPB, 1997).

An implication of the establishment of the Community Representative Committee through this parallel process was that the participation of the Makuleke in institutionalised CBNRM was set to become a two-pronged activity. The first was that the community would participate in CBNRM wherein the community had considerable control over the resource base through land ownership and security of tenure. The second was that the community would also participate in protected area management in which emphasis was on bureaucratic control. Both activities seem to have been an attempt to achieve an interactive form of participation between the community and conservation agencies, albeit with different points of emphasis.

3.5.3.4 Final Phase of the Land Claim Process: Settlement Agreement and Sharing of Authority

The final phase of the land claim process involved the preparation of draft frameworks for the Settlement Agreement. This included the drafting of legal, institutional and operational frameworks for the shared management of the Pafuri area by the Makuleke community and the SANP (South Africa, 1997b). Before the Makuleke could be restituted the land rights, a number of requirements had to be met. These conditions had direct and far-reaching effects on the community's participation in the CBNRM initiative.

Firstly, the Makuleke were required to form a Communal Property Association (CPA), in terms of the Communal Property Associations Act 28 of 1996, in order to facilitate the transfer of ownership of the Pafuri area to the community. The Makuleke CPA (MCPA) was constituted during the course of 1998 as a representative and accountable legal entity. The formation of the MCPA was enacted in order to meet objectives that were predetermined by the CPA statute and therefore represented a functional mode of community participation.

Secondly, there were the technicalities of excluding the portions of the land claim area from the KNP, Matshakatini Nature Reserve and the Makuya Park by the relevant authorities (South Africa, 1998a). The Makuleke had conceded their claim to the portion of land in the Mutale communal area as a gesture of goodwill.

Thirdly, a precondition that was made prior to the granting of ownership rights to the Makuleke was that the Pafuri area would be used as a protected area with appropriate conservation-based tourism development to generate income and employment. The protected area, known as the 'Makuleke Region', would be co-managed by the JMB consisting of representatives of the SANP and the MCPA

Lastly, the Minister of Land Affairs was required to procure the transfer of excluded land to the MCPA in terms of the Deed of Grant by the Minister of Public Works, as holder of the ownership rights to the Pafuri area on behalf of the state (South Africa, 1998a). The terms of the Deed of Grant allowed for the granting of title or ownership to the MCPA.

These requirements having been met, the Makuleke community, through the MCPA, was granted ownership rights to the Pafuri area on 30 May 1998 in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994. The Minister of Land Affairs then declared the Pafuri Area a national park, in terms of the National Parks Amendment Act of 1995.

Figure 3.11 shows the parties to the settlement agreement to the land claim and their interests in the Makuleke land claim.

FIGURE 3.11: SUMMARY OF THE KEY TERMS OF THE SETTLEMENT AGREEMENT THAT HAVE IMPLICATIONS ON THE MCTP, 1998

Land rights

- The Makuleke CPA was granted *ownership* rights to the restituted Pafuri area by Deed of Grant.
- The Makuleke community was accorded *security of tenure* in the Ntlhaveni area in terms of the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act and the Extension of Security of Tenure Act.

Natural Resource Management in the Pafuri Area ('Makuleke Region')

- The restituted Pafuri area was proclaimed a Contractual Park, the 'Makuleke Region'.
- The Makuleke Region was to be *co-managed* by Joint Management Board (JMB) consisting of 3 Makuleke community members and 3 SANP members.
- The Makuleke Region would form part of the KNP & be managed as an *open ecological system* with neighbouring conservation areas in order to allow the free movement of wild animals, provided that the management practices of the adjoining areas are acceptable to each other and reasonable conditions are met by all.
- For so long as the Makuleke Region formed part of a national park, the SANP would retain residual powers over the conservation of the region in terms of the provisions of the National Parks Act, which is applicable to the KNP. Until agreed otherwise, the SANP would control access to the region at the Pafuri gate.
- The Makuleke Region would endure for 50 years from the date of declaration, provided that after 20 years the Makuleke CPA or the SANP may request the Minister of Land Affairs to exclude the Makuleke Region from the KNP. Both parties would also reserve the right to jointly request an extension of the duration of the Makuleke Region within 2 years of the expiry of the existing declaration.

The Co-management Regime

- The JMB would be the final decision making authority for the Makuleke Region (Pafuri area), vested with power regarding conservation policy formulation and implementation, the drafting of the region's Master Plan and the day to day management and operations.
- The Makuleke CPA would retain the full authority in respect of all commercial activities undertaken within the Makuleke Region, provided that any proposal for commercial development shall be submitted to the SANP for joint discussion, prior to the CPA decision thereon.
- The SANP would be responsible for implementing the policies formulated by the JMB, ensuring that the Deed of Grant and the Master Plan are complied with. The SANP would also carry out the day to day conservation functions and provide advice and services necessary to the proper conduct and day to day business and affairs of the Makuleke Region.

Utilisation Rights

The MCPA was accorded the following utilisation rights in the Makuleke Region:

- The right to carry out conservation and associated commercial activities;
- Access rights to the Makuleke Region as determined by the JMB from time to time;
- The right to establish a research facility, provided that all research proposals to be conducted in the Makuleke region are to be submitted to the JMB for approval;
- The right to establish a museum about the Makuleke people and a royal kraal for future tourist, religious and cultural activities as determined by the JMB;
- The right to use the natural resources of the land (excluding minerals but including sand, stone, rock, gravel, clay and soil for the purposes of building and other activities in the Makuleke Region) as determined by the JMB in terms of the Master Plan.

Employment of Staff and Capacity Building

- The JMB would draft the employment policy in terms of the Master Plan, and implement the transfer of skills to the MCPA and to members of the community employed by the JMB.

Income and Costs

- All income received from permissible commercial activities will accrue to the CPA and all gate fees charged shall accrue to the SANP.
- The actual costs incurred in the operational management of the Makuleke Region shall be borne by the SANP for the first 5 years, and thereafter shared equally between the SANP and the MCPA.

Source: South Africa 1998a

Following the restitution of land rights in the Pafuri area, the key question for the Makuleke became how to translate their gain into tangible community benefits without compromising the natural resource base for the local economy. The Makuleke consider the Pafuri area an extension of the community's natural resource base and an engine for community development. In attempting to harness the tourism potential of the Pafuri area towards community development, the Makuleke have initiated a natural resource management programme called the Makuleke Conservation and Tourism Programme.

3.6 Makuleke Conservation and Tourism Programme (MCTP)

The Makuleke Conservation and Tourism Programme (MCTP) was formally initiated in January 1997 in anticipation of the negotiated settlement between the Makuleke community and the South African National Parks (SANP) for the restitution of land in the northern part of KNP. The MCTP was initiated as a pre-emptive attempt to develop the resource management capacity of the Makuleke so that the community could participate fully in the conservation and development of resources both within the Makuleke area and in the Pafuri area. Given the relatively low level of socio-economic development, the high rates of unemployment, the low levels of income and the shortage of agricultural land in the Makuleke area, the MCTP aims to achieve community development objectives in an environmentally, socially and economically sustainable manner.

3.6.1 PROGRAMME AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The MCTP aimed to achieve community development within the Makuleke area using the community resource base in an environmentally, socially and economically sustainable manner.

The objectives of the MCTP were:

- To provide a source of income and employment opportunities for the community through tourism and tourism-related commercial development in the Makuleke Region in the Pafuri area;
- To ensure the on-going protection of natural resources in the Makuleke Region in terms of the Settlement Agreement of 1998, and in the process generate economic benefits in all spheres of natural resource management;
- To facilitate the social and economic development of the Makuleke community within the Makuleke area of Nthlaveni.

3.6.2 PROGRAMME PRINCIPLES

The underlying philosophy of the MCTP was that there should ultimately be active community participation in the CBNRM initiative. The Programme was therefore predicated on two key principles. The first was that the community should maintain control over the development process through the

reduction of dependence on external structures. The second principle was that there should be transparency and accountability to the appropriate authority, the MCPA, through effective communication and avoidance of duality of institutional actor roles.

This study found that the MCTP derived some of its key principles from the MCPA Constitution. The MCPA Constitution makes provision for gender equity in the make up of the Executive Committee (MCPA, 1997:9; South Africa, 1996:5). Thus, while the MCTP was intended to impact on the following priority targets: inequality, poverty, unemployment and the natural resource base, the programme placed particular emphasis on the active participation by Makuleke women in the CBNRM initiative.

3.6.3 NATURE OF THE RESOURCE BASE

The 'nature of the resource base' in this study refers to the spatial and temporal distribution of natural resources within a given political unit and the availability of these resources in relation to human requirements. The latter, termed the human demand-resource ratio, affects the intensity of use, the range of use options and the potential income from resource management. The importance placed by a community on committing their resource base is related to how the community perceives the economic viability of such activity against that of competing uses.

3.6.3.1 Spatial Distribution of the Resource Base

The resource base for the Makuleke community is located at two spatially separate sites. One site is the Makuleke area situated in the Nthlaveni communal area along the western border of the KNP. This site has a spatial area of approximately 5 000 hectares and is occupied by the community. The other site is the Makuleke Region situated in the Pafuri area along the northern boundary of the KNP. The Makuleke Region is a proclaimed national park and has a spatial extent of 21 887 hectares.

The total spatial coverage of the Makuleke resource base is therefore 26 887 hectares. The two sites are located approximately 36km apart via the KNP's Punda Maria gate. Although in terms of the 1998 Settlement Agreement the Makuleke community has traversing rights through the KNP, the mechanics of integrating the two sites in terms of programme implementation still had to be worked out at the time of the study.

3.6.3.2 Human Population Demand-Resource Ratio

The Makuleke Region has been described by Tinley (1979 cited in Robinson, 1996) as 'a zone of convergence between nine different ecosystems' and therefore an area of high diversity in geomorphology, soils and vegetation. In terms of the Settlement Agreement, the MCTP has envisaged

that when commercial activity commences, the region will retain the relatively low population density and resource demand.

“The most spectacular scenery in the KNP occurs here [in the Makuleke Region] where vast floodplains are contrasted by high ridges and inselbergs of sandstone deeply dissected into dramatic gorges by the Luvuvhu River and its tributaries. Big timber riverine woodlands line the riverbanks where they are dwarfed by high cliffs. The diversity of landscape is matched by a great variety of soils which support an exceptional vegetation diversity and an unusually rich number of habitats and wildlife” (Robinson, 1996).

This study found that with regard to the MCTP objective of continued protection of the Makuleke Region, there were two different views among community members. The prevailing view, expressed mainly by members of the MCPA Executive Committee and some respondents to interviews, was that such protection would sustain the capacity of the Makuleke Region to generate benefits to the community. There also subsisted another view that community interests would best have been served if the MCPA executive committee had insisted on maximum resource utilisation rights, particularly for the purposes of mining. This study was not able to disassemble the political intricacies of these different views. However, it is possible that these differences may have been related to power distributing cleavages within the community, involving internal social differentiation, differences in vested interests in resources and competition between political structures.

The Makuleke area in the Nthlaveni area, by contrast, had a higher population density and lower morphological diversity. Using the human population statistics by the 1995 DWAf study (South Africa, 1998b) the population density in the Makuleke area in 1995 was approximately 1.2 people per hectare of land. According to the LRG (1995) and Tapela & Omara-Ojungu (1999), the demand for agricultural land was high in between 1995 and 1997. A study of the utilisation of some natural resources by households in the Makuleke community showed that between 1996 and 1997, 73.4% of the households relied on fuel wood as the main energy source while 77.2% of the households used thatching grass in the construction or repair of dwelling structures (Tapela & Omara-Ojungu, 1999). This study's analysis of a series of aerial photographs of the Makuleke area (Refer to Figure 3.7, p.68) showed that usage of land for agriculture had increased significantly between 1970 and 1994. Over the same twenty-five year period, there had also been some increases in settlement land use.

It is evident therefore that the human population-resource demand within the Makuleke communal area is higher than that in the Makuleke Region. However, it would be over-simplistic to assume therefore that the attainment of the goal of sustainable community development will depend upon the continued protection of the Makuleke Region. The attainment of the goal would seem to be dependent on a more complex interplay of factors.

3.6.4 MCTP ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

In order to realise the programme objectives a two-tier organisational structure has been devised. The two levels of organisation for the programme were the planning process and the project implementation levels.

The planning process level related to political decision-making, responsibility for programme policy formulation and facilitation of the whole programme process. In other words, the process level was the driving force behind the MCTP and the seat of political power within the programme. This level was almost exclusively the domain of the MCPA Executive Committee, with assistance from the Friends of Makuleke (FoM) trust organisation. Accountability was ensured through the Executive Committee's reporting to the community at annual general meetings of the MCPA and other meetings deemed necessary.

The programme implementation level, on the other hand, dealt with the facilitation of various projects involving both the community-based and external stakeholders. The implementation level therefore related to the devolution of benefits to community stakeholders through access to capacity building, employment and business opportunities, social services and infrastructure. Involvement in the projects was open to community based and outsider stakeholders subject to approval by the Executive Committee and the JMB for the Makuleke Region where appropriate. Programme implementation was the responsibility of the Programme Office.

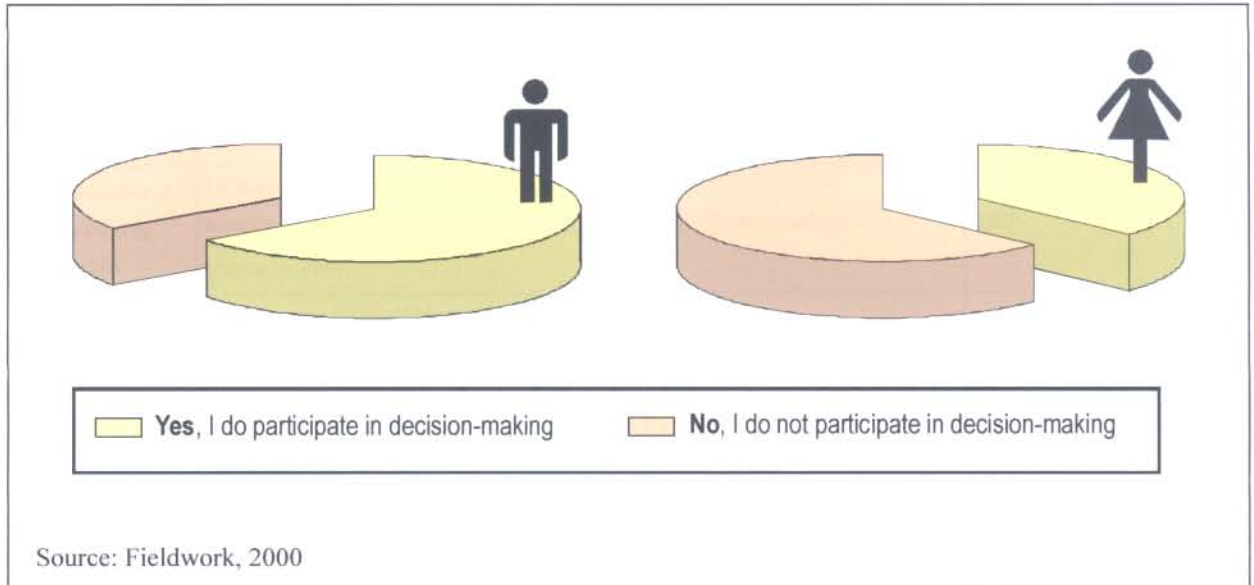
The Programme Office also managed the day to day affairs of the MCPA Executive and co-ordinated the implementation of projects within the programme. The Programme Office employed a few workers, including a Programme Co-ordinator drawn from the community and a Programme Facilitator drawn from the FoM. The Programme office devolved implementation responsibility to three sub-structures whose functions were Community Development, Conservation Management and Business Development.

3.6.5 INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS AT THE PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION LEVEL

At the time of the study, there were a number of projects being implemented within the programme. These involved both the community-based and outsider institutional actors (Figure 3.12). The projects involving community-based institutional actors mainly focused on capacity building, technology development and the provision of community services, infrastructure and commercial development.

Projects involving outsider institutional actors were mostly research-orientated. The facilitators and funding agencies in almost all the funded projects were drawn from outside the community.

FIGURE 3.12: MAKULEKE COMMUNITY: DEGREE OF PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING BY GENDER, 1998



3.6.6 GENDER PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

Interviews with key resource persons involved in the MCTP revealed that the programme policy on community participation in programme planning and implementation processes emphasized the importance of equitable representation of both men and women. At the same time, the policy emphasized that the need to incorporate both the traditional leadership and the newer democratically elected governance structures was essential as a base for the political sustainability of the programme. While it has often been difficult to achieve effective integration of these governance structures, the Makuleke seemed to consider that pursuing the ultimate goal of sustainable community development required the two structures to work in harmony. This was confirmed by this study's participant observation during committee meetings, focus group discussions and workshops.

Observation of members of the Executive Committee of the MCTP as well as the various sub-committees of the programme functions, however, showed that the majority of the participants were male. While the members of these committees were democratically elected, the inequitable representation of women and men reflects the persistence of social attitudes that favour male dominance in community development.

TABLE 3.3: PROJECTS WITHIN THE MCTP FRAMEWORK, 1997 TO 1998

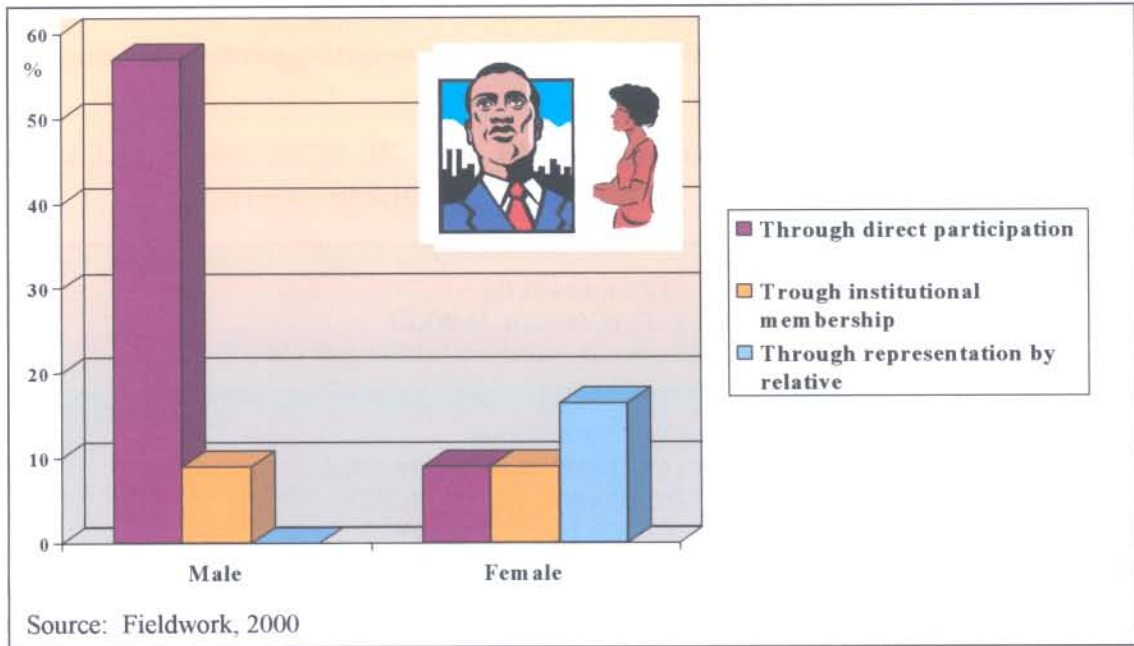
Project Name	Objective(s)	Source of Funding	Project Facilitation
The Ecotourism Pre-Feasibility Project: 1998	To develop a commercial plan for the Pafuri area & to select private partners for joint ventures in the development of lodges. <i>(Duration: 1996-8)</i>	DFID (UK) provide funding through DBSA to Maputo Corridor Company	Facilitator: Friends of Makuleke Project Manager: Mafisa Planning & Research End Client: Makuleke Community
The Conservation & Tourism Training Project	To develop skills in nature conservation, business management & administration through training. <i>(Duration: 1996 to 1998)</i>	1996: Gesellschaft fuer technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ) 1997: GTZ & Endangered Wildlife Trust (EWT) 1998: EWT	1996: GTZ 1997: GTZ & EWT 1998: EWT
The Conservation & Tourism Training Centre Project	To convert the original Tribal Authority office into an environmental education centre. <i>(Duration: 1997)</i>	Gold Fields Foundation	EWT
The Community Development Initiative	To prepare for the establishment of the Community Development function, through organisational development seminars & workshops with community interest groups. <i>(Duration: 1997-8)</i>	None	MCTP
The Farmers' Project	To enhance development of the Makuleke irrigation farming scheme. <i>(Duration: 1998)</i>	GTZ	GTZ
The Women's Project	To help various women's groups to initiate SMMEs. <i>(Duration: 1997-8)</i>	GTZ	GTZ
The Women's Facilitation Project	To promote the role of women in programme decision-making & in community development projects. <i>(Duration: 1998)</i>	Southern Life Foundation	A facilitator appointed by the MCTP
The Catering Project	To develop the catering skills of a women's group so that they can provide a professional service to formal visitors to the community. <i>(Duration: 1997-8)</i>	Self-funded through money generated from commercial catering to community guests	MCTP
The Community Theatre Project	To develop the theatrical skills of interested community members. Community Theatre will be used as an instrument for community development. <i>(Duration: 1997-8)</i>	EWT	A facilitator appointed by the MCTP
The Water Project	To install a water reticulation system (watering points) throughout the 3 Makuleke villages	Mvula Trust	Mvula Trust
The Transfrontier Conservation Initiative	To establish a Trans-frontier conservation node & to integrate Trans-frontier tourism development between the Makuleke & communities in Zimbabwe & Mozambique. <i>(Duration: 1998)</i>	Peace Parks Foundation	EWT & Group for Environmental Monitoring (GEM)
The Bird Project	Sustainable Utilisation of second Ground Hornbill chicks (Post-doctoral research, Transvaal Museum, Dept. of Birds). <i>(Duration: 1997-8)</i>	Foundation for Research & Development (FRD)	Community Based Research Initiative (CBRI)
The Medicinal Plants Project	To document local knowledge about medicinal plants (PhD research, University of the Witwatersrand, Botany Dept.). <i>(Duration: 1997-8)</i>	FRD & EWT	CBRI

The History Project	To document the oral history of the 1969 forced removal of the Makuleke & the micro-politics surrounding the land claim. (PhD research, University of the Witwatersrand, Dept. of Social Anthropology). (<i>Duration: 1996-98</i>)	FRD	CBRI
The KNP-Makuleke Interactions Research Project	To examine the interactions between the Makuleke community & the Kruger National Park as a basis for understanding the context of the land claim and the MCTP (Honours research, University of Venda, Geography Dept.). (<i>Duration: 1996-7</i>)	Self-funded	Makuleke community & Student Researcher
The Community Participation Research Project	To analyse the participation by the Makuleke people in the MCTP (Masters research, University of Pretoria, Geography Dept.). (<i>Duration: 1998-2000</i>).	Self-funded	MCTP & Student Researcher
Source: Fieldwork, 2000			

The in-depth interviews showed that more of the female than male respondents considered that they did not participate in decision-making (Figure 3.13). Most of the female respondents to the in-depth interviews indicated that it was largely the male members of households who participated in decision-making on behalf of their families (Figure 3.13). This appeared to be related to the cultural norm, and the respondents viewed such representation as being appropriate. Some of the younger female respondents to the in-depth interviews, however, also stated that they indirectly participated in decision-making through representation by leaders of either political or project structures of which they were members (Figure 3.13). The study also found that 9.1% of the female and 16.7% of the male respondents to the in-depth interviews expressed their need for greater and more direct participation in leadership roles, and therefore in decision-making.

The nature of involvement of women and men in the MCTP planning process indicates the degree of gender participation in political decision-making. On the other hand, the nature of involvement of women and men at the project implementation level indicates the degree of gender participation in the accessing of benefits such as capacity development, financial resources and business opportunities within the project framework.

The observed characteristics of gender participation appear to relate to the programme model adopted by the Makuleke. Policy formulation and decision-making has been undertaken within a community governance framework that merges both the older traditional leadership and the newer democratically elected political structures. Thus, despite efforts by the community leadership to actively involve both women and men in decision-making, access to political decision-making has been greater for men than for women within this framework.

FIGURE 3.13: MAKULEKE COMMUNITY: MODE OF PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING BY GENDER, 1998

3.6.7 GENDER ACCESS TO CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

Within the context of the MCTP, capacity development entailed participatory technology development as well as training and extension in business and natural resources management. Both the women and the men were involved in capacity development. However, more women were involved in training in small-and-medium enterprise (SMME) management and technology development than in the more specialised tourism business and natural resources management.

The study found that of the ten community development projects that had been initiated, three were gender-specific. These focussed on women's needs and aimed at promoting the role of women in community development. These projects included the Women's project, the Women's Facilitation Project and the Catering Project. Six small and medium enterprise (SMME) women's groups were involved in the three women's projects. These were the poultry, juice-making, sewing, bread baking, brick-making and fence-making groups. There were no gender-specific projects for men.

3.6.8 LINKS WITH OTHER SIMILAR INITIATIVES

This study found that the MCTP had vertical and horizontal links with other community resource management initiatives that articulate the resolutions of the Global Biodiversity Forum and the various international conventions such as the CBD, CITES, RAMSAR and the Convention to Combat Desertification. Although the various resource management initiatives, particularly at the local level and regional level, had varying dominant objectives, they were nested within a political ecology hierarchy

ranging from community to global level (Figure 3.14). The specific nexus between these various initiatives and the MCTP appeared to be related to the Makuleke Region's strategic location at the convergence of the envisaged region-wide TBCAs and TBNRM areas.

FIGURE 3.14: THE MCTP IN THE HIERARCHICAL NESTING OF INSTITUTIONALISED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT



At the local level, the MCTP was part of the KNP/Neighbours Community Representative Committee that represents all the forums for frontline rural communities along the western boundary of the KNP (ART South Africa, 1997; NPB, 1997).

At the provincial level, the MCTP, through the KNP/Neighbours Community Representative Forum, had links with the Provincial Biodiversity Forum. This was composed of local forums for communities, protected area agencies and NGOs involved in institutionalised CBNRM initiatives (Makuleke 1997; 1998). The provincial forums of all the provinces of the country together comprised the National Biodiversity Forum (ART South Africa, 1997b).

The South African National Biodiversity Forum in turn was a part of the Southern African Biodiversity Forum and ultimately the Global Biodiversity Forum (Griffin et al, 1999). The Regional and Global Forums recognised that the major ecological systems and components are often distributed across two or more political boundaries, thus necessitating the implementation of Trans-boundary Natural Resource Management and Conservation Area management regimes (TBNRMs and TBCAs respectively) (Griffin et al, 1999).

The MCTP was also linked to the Northern Province Integrated Environmental Management Framework (IEMF) for the Maputo Sub-corridor (South Africa, 1998d) (Appendix 1). The IEMF aims at integrating environmental management and economic development activities along the sub-corridor. The IEMF is a framework for articulating the sustainability principle of the government's GEAR Strategy. In spatial terms however, the Maputo Sub-corridor and the MCTP are situated some distance apart. The Makuleke community is nonetheless considered a stakeholder in the IEMF because the MCTP is linked to the Northern Province Ivory Route Tourism Development Programme, which is part of the Maputo Sub-corridor.

The Ivory Route Tourism Development initiative (Appendix 2) aims at creating an environment that is conducive for local communities to develop and manage sustainable tourism operations in the province (South Africa, 1998b). The Ivory Route concept embodies the formation of strategic partnerships with protected areas and other institutional actors within the Northern Province and the neighbouring countries in order to facilitate the flow of tourism benefits to local communities. The Makuleke Region at Pafuri is strategically located at the convergence of the local, provincial and some of the envisaged Trans-border resource management areas.

3.6.9 MAJOR PLANNED ACTIVITIES

The study found that the MCTP was involved in a plan to establish a Transfrontier conservation node in the Makuleke Region and to integrate Transfrontier tourism development between the Makuleke and other communities in Zimbabwe and Mozambique. At the time of the study, a formal agreement had been reached between the appropriate authorities in the three countries, and consultations and negotiations were underway to work out the mechanisms of implementing the Transfrontier programme.

The Makuleke were also planning to establish tourism-related commercial development in the Makuleke Region. A pre-feasibility study had been initiated to assess the viability of options. It was generally envisaged that the main tourist facilities in the Makuleke Region would be a hotel, developed

and operated on a lease contract by a private entrepreneur, and three lodges that would be run by the MCPA. The contract between community and the private entrepreneur would include an agreement for the operator to train and employ members of the community and for a determined share of profits to accrue to the community. The initial capital for lodge development had also been raised through the commercial hunting of a number of elephants, as determined by the JMB.

3.7 Emerging Issues in the Makuleke CBNRM Initiative

This chapter has presented a descriptive account of the MCTP. Particular attention has been given to issues of community control and gender in the CBNRM initiative as these constitute the problems for this study. The socio-economic setting reveals that the Makuleke community, like many communities living in the neighbourhoods of national parks, has social security problems such as poverty, unemployment and lack of adequate social services and infrastructure. Some of these problems can be linked to the historical background of forced removals to make way for the extension of the KNP and the traditional protectionist approach that focused on the conservation of natural resources to the exclusion of the socio-economic needs of rural communities. This background has effectively resulted in the loss of control over natural resources by the community and has had negative impacts on the livelihood and food security of the Makuleke people.

With regard to the issue of community control in CBNRM, the broader policy and political context shows, however, that there have been institutional changes at the national and international levels. These have resulted in the vesting of legal rights and responsibilities upon the Makuleke community and paved the way for community ownership and security of tenure of the natural resource base. This has placed the Makuleke community in a stronger position with regard to control of resources within their areas of jurisdiction. This is shown by the active involvement of members of the community in land claim settlement process. However, such control is not absolute, as there remain some claims over the same resources by other institutional actors. The next chapter (Chapter Four) presents an analysis of the issue of community control in the CBNRM initiative.

With regard to the gender issue, the MCTP places particular emphasis on participation by women in the CBNRM initiative as a matter of principle. The gender composition of the MCPA Executive Committee and the various projects indeed indicate that the programme formulation and implementation process has attempted a fair representation of the gender groups. In-depth interviews and direct observation, however, reveal that fewer women than men actually actively participate in political decision making. There seems to be a greater degree of active participation by women in the implemented projects. Chapter Four therefore presents an analysis of gender participation in political decision-making in the MCTP.