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CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

A key analytical tool in assessing the potential and effectiveness of the Makuleke CBNRM initiative is the testing of the Makuleke initiative against a defined set of critical elements for success derived from literature on other similar initiatives. This chapter reviews literature on the unfolding field of CBNRM, paying particular attention to the key issues and critical elements that have emerged from case studies of CBNRM initiatives elsewhere. The conceptual framework is then synthesised from these issues and elelments. Initially, however, attempt is made to define some of the key concepts pertinent to the study and to explore the origins and conceptual foundations of CBNRM, with emphasis on sustainable development as the new high ground. Two strands of origin, namely development practice and conservation practice, are explored. The review of these strands of origin attempts to highlight the implications of the shifting perspectives on natural resource management on issues of control and gender at the community level.

2.1 Definition of Key Concepts

2.1.1 NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

O'Riordan (1971 cited in Mitchell, 1979) defines resource management as *"a process of decision making whereby resources are allocated over space and time according to the needs and desires of man, within the framework of his technological inventiveness, his political and social institutions, and his legal and administrative arrangements"*.

The concept of 'resource' has been subject to debate. Perhaps a useful definition is that put forward by Zimmermann (1971 cited in Mitchell, 1979) that resources '*are* not, they *become*; they are not static but expand and contract in response to human wants and human action'. Zimmermann's philosophical view is that objects become resources when they are considered to be capable of satisfying human needs (Omara-Ojungu, 1992). Hence, amenability to human use rather than mere physical presence appears to be the main criterion governing the definition of a resource.

This study focuses on the natural resources, including the fauna, flora and habitats, which make up the biophysical environment upon which human livelihoods and economies are based. The study considers that natural resource management activities occur within, around and outside protected areas (IIED, 1994).

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2.1.2 PROTECTED AREAS

This study adopts the IUCN (1985 cited in IIED, 1994:10) definition of protected area categories (Table 2.1).

TABLE 2.1: PROTECTED AREA CATEGORIES AND MANAGEMENT OBJECTIVES

Category	Type	Objective
I	Scientific Reserve/ Strict Nature Reserve	Protect nature and maintain natural processes in an undisturbed state. Emphasise scientific study, environmental monitoring and education, and maintenance of genetic resources in a dynamic and evolutionary state.
II	National Park	Protect relatively large natural and scenic areas of national or international significance for scientific, educational and recreational use.
III	National Monument/Natural Landmark	Preserve naturally significant natural features and maintain their unique characteristics.
IV	Managed Nature Reserve/ Wildlife Sanctuary	Protect nationally significant species, groups of species, biotic communities, or physical features of the environment when these require specific human manipulation for their perpetuation.
V	Protected Landscapes	Maintain nationally significant natural landscapes characteristic of the harmonious interaction of people and land while providing opportunities for public recreation and tourism within the normal lifestyle and economic activity of these areas.
VI	Resource Reserve	Protect natural resources for future use and prevent or contain development that could affect resources pending the establishment of managed objectives based on appropriate knowledge and planning.
VII	Natural Biotic Area/ Anthropological Reserve	Allow societies to live in harmony with the environment, undisturbed by modern technology.
VIII	Multiple-use Management Area/Managed Resource	Sustain production of water, timber, wildlife, pasture and outdoor recreation. Conservation of nature oriented to supporting economic activities (although specific zones can also be designed within these areas to achieve specific conservation objectives).
Source: IUCN, 1985 cited in IIED, 1994:10		

2.1.3 PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES

Participatory approaches aim at involving people in the process of natural resource management (IIED, 1994). They include the various types of CBNRM approaches, including Community-Based Conservation (CBC), Local Resource Management (LRM) and Integrated Conservation and

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Development Projects (ICDPs). They are a reversal of the top-down, centre-driven protectionist approaches that have traditionally characterised natural resource management regimes in LDCs (Western & Wright, 1994:6; IIED, 1994; Little, 1994). The traditional approaches have been criticised for failing to address the socio-economic needs of local communities. Hence, participatory approaches are strategies to facilitate the active participation of local communities in environmental governance and the entry by these communities into the benefits stream emanating from natural resource management. With regard to protected area management, the more general need for public participation is narrowed to a focus on communities living within the vicinity of protected areas.

From a developmental point of view, the assumption is that economic development is dependent upon the continued well being of the physical and social environment on which it is based (Hall, 2000). From a conservationist perspective, the assumption is that if local people have proprietorship or a stake in the management of protected areas and derive benefit and security, they value the resources and thus ensure their sustainability (Brandon & Wells, 1992).

2.1.4 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

Local community participation is defined as:

- giving people more opportunities to participate effectively in development activities. It means empowering people to mobilise their own capacities, be social actors, rather than passive subjects, manage resources, make decisions, and control the activities that affect their lives (Cernea, 1985 cited in IIED, 1994);

- a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them (World Bank, 1998a); and

- the process whereby all valid stakeholders are able to pursue their interests with a minimum of mutually subtractive influences (SASUSG, 1997).

Within the context of this study, community participation is therefore a process that seeks to actively involve people in the management of natural resources at their disposal. Community participation is considered to be both a 'goal' that empowers local communities to assume control over their lives, and a 'means' towards achieving their own socio-economic development objectives. The study considers that the participation by local communities is potentially useful if it goes beyond the empowerment ideal and results in meaningful improvements in well being, livelihoods, capacities, equity and sustainability.

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The interpretations of the concept of participation have been varied, ranging from 'passive' participation to 'active' participation (Table 2.2). Some scholars also consider 'representative' participation as yet another category.

TABLE 2.2: A TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

Typology	Components of each Type
Passive Participation	People participate by being told what is going to happen or has happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without any listening to peoples' responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
Participation in information giving	People participate by giving answers to questions posed by extractive researchers and project managers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research or project design are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.
Participation by Consultation	People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to views. These external agents define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share of decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
Participation for material incentives	People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash, or other material incentives. Much *in situ* research falls in this category, as rural people provide the fields but are not involved in the experimentation or process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.
Functional Participation	People participate by forming groups to meet pre-determined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organisation. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external structures, but may become independent in time.
Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local groups or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methods that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, so that people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
Self-mobilisation/ active participation	People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. Such self-initiated mobilisation and collective action may or may not challenge existing distributions of power and wealth.
Source: Pimbert and Pretty 1994 cited in IIED, 1994:19	

This is the involvement of the community through representation by a community-based or external organisation whose legitimacy derives from the extent to which it pursues community interests. Little (1994) identifies two critical elements of participation namely, participation as a 'goal' empowering

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communities to assume control over their lives, and a 'means' towards attaining improved socio-economic objectives. There seem to be varying objectives or motives among those who promote community participation (SASUSG, 1997). These are manifest in the variations in perceptions on the desirable modes of participation (Figure 2.1) in the various CBNRM approaches.

FIGURE 2.1 MODES OF PARTICIPATION

DEGREE OF AGREEMENT	Low (*DEGREE OF COMMITMENT*)	Medium	High
High	*Co-operation*	*Exchange*	*Auto-Co-ordination*
Medium	*Induction*	*Negotiation*	*Conflict*
Low	*Indifference*	*Competition*	*Arbitration*

Source: MacNair, 1976

The definition of 'community', on the other hand, is problematic because the concept has several meanings (Warburton, 1998) and the community is not a homogenous entity, but is diverse (Chambers, 1997). Welbourn (1991, cited in Chambers, 1997) identifies four major axes of difference that can be seen in the community. These are age, gender, ethnic or social group and poverty. Others include differences in capability and disability, education, livelihood strategy and types of assets, among others (Chambers, 1997). The community therefore has power-distributing cleavages involving internal social differentiation, competing political structures and different vested interests in resources (Hasler, 1995) that pose difficulty in defining 'community objectives', 'community needs', 'community perceptions' and indeed 'community participation'. The community is also dynamic both in space and time, and encompasses, in varying degrees under various circumstances, spatial, social, cultural and economic aspects (Warburton, 1998).

This study recognises the diversity and dynamism inherent within the community. The study also considers that, notwithstanding its diversity and dynamism, a shared background of spatial, social, cultural and economic dimensions defines the community. This study therefore adopts Flecknoe & McLellan's (1994:4 in Warburton, 1998:15) definition that community is *"that web of personal relationships, group networks, traditions and patterns of behaviour that develops against the backdrop of the physical neighbourhood and its socio-economic situation"*.

Although history shows that for millennia people have participated in shaping their livelihood strategies within a broad variety of ecological environments, the current growth of interest in community participation in natural resource management can be linked to the emergence of the sustainable development doctrine (O'Riordan, 1998; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997).

2.1.5 CBNRM INITIATIVES

CBNRM initiatives engender local level, stakeholder community based, decentralised, participatory and people-centred natural resource management (Little, 1994). The concept of community based natural resource management has been used to encompass various community approaches that range from passive to active participation (Table 2.2, p.28), according to scholars like Pimbert & Pretty (1994, cited in IIED, 1994). These include initiatives such as CBC, LRM and ICDPs, among others. Although the dominant objectives of CBNRM initiatives vary, a salient feature of the initiatives is that they reverse the top-down centre-driven traditional conservation approach by focusing on the people who live with or in close proximity to the natural resources. As such, CBNRM initiatives constitute one of the participatory approaches.

2.1.6 SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The concept of sustainable development, introduced by the Bruntland Commission's Report *Our Common Future* in 1987 (Hoff, 1998), is defined in the report as development that *"meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs"* (WCED, 1987:43). From the WCED definition, Williams & Houghton (1994 in Hoff, 1998) consider that sustainable development is predicated on three principles for action namely, intergenerational equity, social justice (including intergenerational equity in distribution of resources and participation in planning) and transfrontier responsibility (global environmental stewardship). Hall (2000) states that sustainable development is premised on two basic principles, namely maintaining 'environmental capital' and equity (including intergenerational equity) in terms of 'social capital'. There has been much debate, however, over the definition and articulation of the concept of sustainable development (Hall, 2000; Hoff, 1998:5; O'Riordan, 1998; Chatterjee & Finger, 1994; Seidman & Anang 1992; MacNeill *et al*, 1991).

In part, the debate emanates from the fact that sustainable development couples environmental conservation and human development issues. Robinson (1993, cited in Salafsky, 1994:448) has observed that there have been perceptions that there is a 'fundamental tension' between the two. Jones (1997 cited in SASUSG, 1997:31) asserts that the dichotomy between conservation and development is

a false one, since people have in time developed mechanisms for the sustainable use of natural resources to secure their livelihoods.

The ideological and conceptual bases of the sustainable development doctrine also seem to have some inconsistencies that make them subject to controversy (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994; Ghai & Vivian, 1995; Blaikie, 1985). Chatterjee & Finger (1994) have criticised the underlying view by some of the dominant proponents of sustainable development that the LDCs harbour the ultimate threat to biodiversity. The same proponents do not place the same emphasis on the adverse effects of western consumerism. At the conceptual level there is, for example, uncertainty over the upper limit of biodiversity to assist in the evaluation of levels of sustainable resource utilisation and development (Salafsky, 1994). Criticism has also been made that the definition fails to specify how sustainability should be achieved (Dietz, 1996; Cole, 1994; Chatterjee & Finger, 1994).

A key factor in the whole sustainable development debate, indeed, is the espoused commitment to 'community' involvement in the development process, particularly underscored by Local Agenda 21 (LA21) (Stewart with Collett, 1998:52). There are views expressed by various institutional actors that local communities may not have the capacity (Warburton, 1998; Feldman, 1994) and legitimacy (Stewart & Collett, 1998) to drive the process of sustainable development. It would seem however that Agenda 21 does not propound the devolution of all control to community level, but acknowledges the need for a synergy between various institutions starting from community level (Agenda 21, cited in Warburton, 1998:7).

Despite these problems, community projects that link natural resource conservation and rural development have mushroomed in the redefined buffer zones and multiple-use management areas (Brandon & Wells, 1992; Salafsky, 1994:456). These are collectively termed CBNRM initiatives.

2.2 Origins and Conceptual Foundations of Community Based Natural Resource Management

There is need to link the current widespread interest in community approaches to natural resource management to the broader historical perspective. Community participation has to be viewed in the context of the modern conservationist ideology and the industrial development paradigm that preceded the emergence of the sustainable development doctrine. Most importantly, community participation has to be placed within the context of the on-going sustainable development debate.

The following section traces the development of modern 'protectionist' approaches and the shifts that have occurred during the industrialist era, as well as the social and political change that has precipitated the shifts in the loci of conservation and development practice.

2.2.1 PRELUDE TO COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: INDUSTRIALISM AND THE TOP-DOWN PROTECTIONIST APPROACHES

2.2.1.1 Salient Features of the Classical Protectionist Approaches

The classic top-down approach starts from the premise that many wildlife resources in Africa are unique and are of value to the whole world - they are global resources. Project documents and publications invariably begin with a description of the physical characteristics and highlight the unique nature of certain wildlife species to be found in their zone of operations. The people who inhabit the zone, their social and economic systems and history – even where projects have a specific aim of improving people's livelihoods – are almost always mentioned second. The effect of this, even if unintentional, is to convey the impression that local issues and the provision of local livelihoods are less important than ensuring that the wildlife resources are conserved for future generations, and for the world as a whole (IIED, 1994:55).

Top-down approaches to natural resource management are based on the philosophy of 'protection', and are characterised by activities involving the establishment and expansion of 'protected areas' (Table 2.2, p.28), the formulation and enforcement of resource related policies and legislation, and the development of 'modern' systems of resource tenure (IIED, 1994). The interpretation of protection appears to vary according to the perspectives of the 'preservationist' and the 'conservationist' schools of thought that have largely informed the formulation of protectionist policies and strategies.

The preservationist view of protection emphasises the guarding of natural resources from 'inappropriate' uses, the shielding of resources from exploitation and the preservation of selected species for posterity (Makombe, 1993:5). The conservationist perspective, on the other hand, emphasises the need for people to manage 'biological diversity' as an essential foundation for the future, maintain plant and animal populations for their benefit, and use species sustainably to enhance their quality of life (Makombe, 1993:4). According to Passmore (1974 cited in Makombe, 1993:4,5), the distinction between 'preservation' and 'conservation' is that preservation is primarily the 'saving of natural resources from use' while conservation is the 'saving of natural resources for later consumption'.

On the basis of non-utilitarianism, the preservationist approach is not sympathetic to the needs of communities living in the neighbourhood of protected areas (IIED, 1994). Conservation, by contrast, implies a utilitarian approach to natural resources, embracing the preservation, maintenance, sustainable

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utilisation, restoration and enhancement of the natural environment (Makombe, 1993). Shafer (1990) states that the conventional protected area design incorporates elements of natural resource preservation in the inner core, conservation in the outer core and 'buffer zone', and 'hard edge' margins to protect the core from external influences.

Of the two approaches therefore, the conservationist approach appears to engender greater implications on the development of CBNRM initiatives. In tracing the historical articulation of protectionist approaches, this review therefore focuses more on the modern conservationist approach as a precursor of the community-based approaches than on the preservationist approaches.

2.2.1.2 Conceptual Foundations of the Classical Protectionist Approaches

Scholars like Pepper (1984), Western & Wright (1994) and Makombe (1993) have traced the foundations of modern conservationist approaches to the emergence of modern environmental concerns in countries of the west in the late nineteenth century. While the exact commencement of modern environmentalist concerns is debatable, landmark events like Charles Darwin's 1859 thesis on *The Origins of Species* and George Perkins Marsh's 1864 publication of *Man and Nature* have been cited as possible watersheds. Within the context of African countries however, Grove (1987) contends that many of the conservationist concerns emerged out of local colonial rather than metropolitan conditions. Indeed, some of the protectionist policies and legislation in colonial Africa, such as those articulated in the Cape Colony in 1846 (Grove, 1987) and in the Transvaal in 1858 (Carruthers, 1995) predate the works of Darwin and Marsh.

Studies of the historical development of conservationist approaches in countries like Kenya (Lindsay, 1987) and Zimbabwe (Thomas, 1991) show that in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, approaches to natural resource protection in African colonies were preservationist. Anderson & Grove (1987) assert that the consensus required to initiate a conservation policy in the African colonies tended to be narrower than that in the metropoles, hence the protectionist strategies that had failed in Europe found expression in the colonies.

Preservationist approaches in Africa were largely based on romantic notions of retaining Africa as a 'Garden of Eden'. This was a mythical perception of an Africa consisting of exotic jungles filled with animals that was invented and perpetuated by early explorers (Anderson & Grove, 1987). The shift towards conservationist approaches appears to have been prompted by various practical reasons. These included the need for the state-protected areas to be economically viable (Lindsay, 1987), the need to reduce the pressure exerted by wild animal populations on habitats (Thomas, 1991) and the need to resolve conflicts between conservation practitioners and neighbouring communities (Lindsay, 1987).

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Within the context of South Africa, Carruthers (1995) states that while the earliest protectionist motives in the Transvaal and the Cape Colony were political and utilitarian, towards the end of the nineteenth century the preservationist approach became prominent. Preservationist ideals were behind the establishment and management of reserves such as the Pongola in 1894, the Sabi in 1898 and the Singwitsi in 1903. Following the advent of the Union of South Africa in 1910 there was an increased drive towards economic development that resulted in the transformation towards conservationist approaches. The national park system was considered more economically viable, and the preservationist reserves like the Sabi and the Singwitsi, for example, became merged and evolved to form the Kruger National Park in 1926.

Miller (1994) states that prior to the Second World War, the strategies and policies for protected area conservation were not based on well-defined scientific principles. Rather, the modern scientifically based conservationist strategies emerged following the founding of the school of ecological studies in the 1940s (Barbier *et al*, 1994). Modern conservationist approaches have since tended to emphasise ecological concerns in the design and management of protected areas. Shafer (1990) describes modern conservationist approaches as 'island management' approaches that, from the 1960s, have derived from the Theory of Island Biogeography.

According to Shafer, the Theory of Island Biogeography was developed by American scholars, notably McArthur and Wilson, from studies of ecological communities in island habitats. Elements of this theory have apparently been adopted in the management of mainland protected areas, despite that island communities differ from mainland communities. While the island communities are virtually self-contained or 'insular', the latter are 'sample' communities that necessarily have to interact with the surrounding ecosystems and socio-economic landscapes. Shafer further states that, in attempting to adapt the principles of island biogeography to mainland protected areas, conservation agencies have generally failed to maintain the distinction between the 'insular' island communities and the 'sample' mainland communities within protected areas. As a result, modern conservationist approaches have failed to avert problems of insularisation, the decline in the plant and animal populations and the degradation of habitats.

2.2.1.3 The Historical Development of Protected Areas and Implications on Local Communities in Africa

The establishment of protected areas in the LDCs during the colonial era has generally involved the expropriation of land and resources from local communities by the state (Olthof, 1995), often without the consultation of the affected communities' (IIED, 1994). Anderson & Grove (1987) assert that the conservation strategies adopted by African countries have seldom been based upon the participation or consent of the people whose lives are affected. They further observe that conservation in colonial Africa

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has meant *"the simple exclusion of rural people from protected areas in the interests of the protection of large animal species and the preservation of habitats"*. Conservationist approaches have therefore often resulted in the disruption of traditional resource management systems and negative impacts on the food security and livelihoods of local people (Darkoh, 1996).

Conservation practice has also entailed the transfer of resource-related decision-making from local communities to state-controlled institutions (Little & Brokensha, 1987). These centralised institutions have been more responsive to national and international pressures, party politics and conservation fashions, and have tended to cater to the needs of people from distant locations more than those of the neighbouring communities (Bell, 1987; IIED, 1994). This has resulted in conflicts between conservation agencies and neighbouring communities (Bell, 1987), and the essentially militaristic strategy required to police protected areas has almost always exacerbated conflict (Machlis & Tichnel, 1985 cited in IIED, 1994:11).

Western and Wright (1994) surmise that while conservationist and preservationist approaches have served the environment well, neither approach has proved sufficient, particularly so when faced with the problems of growing population, poverty and commercialism. The inadequacy of the classic protectionist approaches has been most evident in cases where national policies have deprived local people tenure and access rights to resources in their own land.

Although the shortcomings of the classic protectionist approaches were recognised during the colonial era, the transition from colonial to post-colonial governance in many African countries was not accompanied by any major shift in natural resource management practice (Nabane, 1995; Anderson & Grove, 1987). Rather, it seems that there was a perpetuation of the classical protectionist policies, laws and strategies (Thomas, 1991).

2.2.2 TOWARDS COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION: SHIFTING APPROACHES IN CONVENTIONAL DEVELOPMENT AND CONSERVATION PRACTICE

Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, there have been shifts towards the integration of conservation concerns and the socio-economic needs of local people, with growing emphasis on community participation in natural resource management (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994; Little, 1994; Warburton, 1998). These shifts appear to be linked to the more general shifts in development practice.

During the 1960s, concern in development practice was with the financial and physical indicators of development, namely economic growth and degree of industrialisation, without emphasis on human well-being (Moser 1995; Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). Emphasis was on 'top-down', 'centre-driven'

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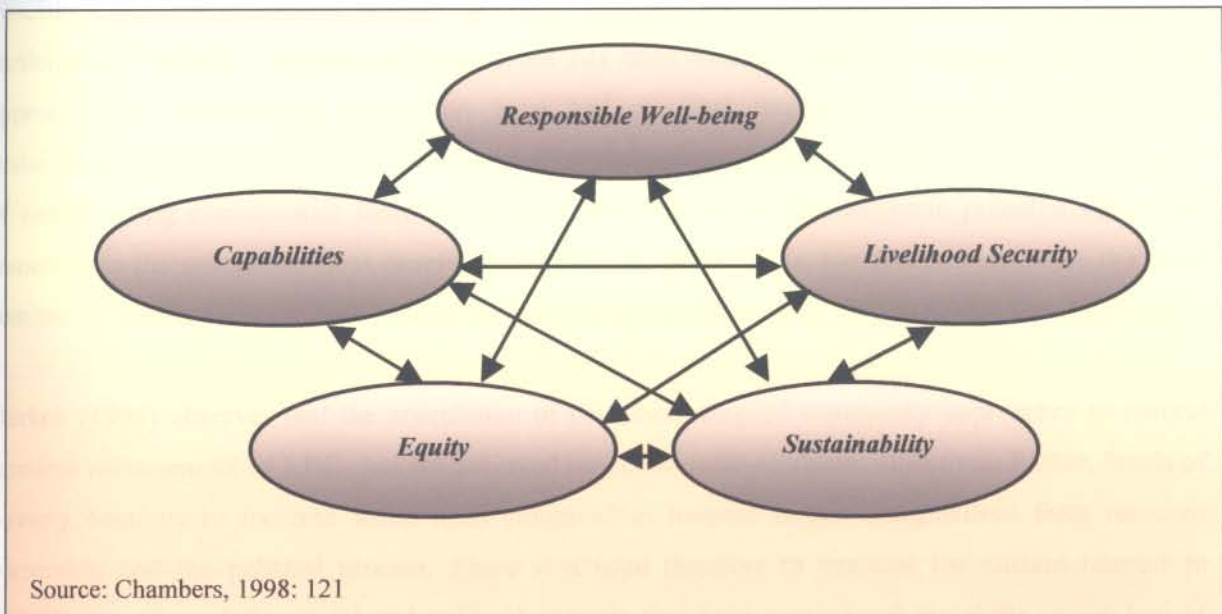
methods of development promotion (Friedmann, 1992). This gave way in the 1970s to a concern with basic needs, and development became centred on people as beneficiaries at household level (Hicks & Streeten, 1979 cited in Moser, 1995:127; Chambers, 1983) (Table 2.3). This was the shift from the traditional centre-down, 'functional development' paradigm towards an alternative doctrine of bottom-up, 'territorial development' described by Friedmann and Weaver (1979) and Stohr (1981).

TABLE 2.3: TWO PARADIGMS: THINGS AND PEOPLE

Point of Departure and Reference	Things	People
Mode	Blueprint	Process
Keyword	Planning	Participation
Goals	Pre-set, closed	Evolving, open
Decision-making	Centralised	Decentralised
Analytical Assumptions	Reductionist	Systems, holistic
Methods, rules	Standardised, universal	Diverse, local
Technology	Fixed package (table d'hotel)	Varied basket (a la carte)
Professionals' interactions with local people	Motivating	Enabling
Local people seen as	Beneficiaries Supply, push	Partners, actors Demand, pull
Force flow	Uniform infrastructure	Diverse capabilities
Planning and Action	Top-down	Bottom-up
Source: Chambers, 1998:129		

The basic concepts underpinning the emerging doctrine are decentralisation, democracy, diversity and dynamism (Healy, 1992; Friedmann, 1992; Chambers, 1998). Hence, multiple local and individual realities are recognised, accepted, enhanced and celebrated (Chambers, 1998). There has also emerged a normative consensus that is collectively captured by five words namely, 'well-being, 'livelihood', 'capability', 'equity' and 'sustainability' (Chambers, 1998) (Figure 2.2). Some key elements of the people-centred development approach are the focus on local 'needs' and 'participation' (Chambers, 1983). Development practice has become increasingly focused on the effectiveness and sustainability of development projects (Moser, 1995), and the participatory approach is considered a particularly important component of development programmes (Friedmann, 1992; Little, 1994). The shifts in development practice have been echoed by shifts in conservation practice.

FIGURE 2.2: THE WEB OF RESPONSIBLE WELL-BEING



Source: Chambers, 1998: 121

Conservation practitioners also seem to have adopted participatory approaches to natural resource management, evident in the proliferation of initiatives such as CBNRM. The adoption of such participatory approaches constitutes a reversal of the top-down, centre-driven protectionist approaches that have traditionally characterised natural resource management regimes in LDCs during the colonial and, until recently, the post-colonial era (Western & Wright, 1994:6; IIED, 1994).

Conservation practitioners appear to have moved away from the 'island management' approach that focuses on protected area ecology towards a perception that the management of natural resources becomes sustainable if it occurs within, around and outside protected areas. Within this perspective, natural resource management is seen as a component of the regional development matrix (Shafer, 1990). Protected area design is modified to incorporate 'biosphere reserves' surrounded by multiple-use management areas (Salafsky, 1994) where the conservation of resources is oriented towards supporting economic activities and livelihoods (IUCN, 1985 in IIED, 1994:10). The involvement of local communities is considered particularly essential in ensuring the successful management of the multiple-use areas (Brandon & Wells, 1992).

The move away from the traditional protectionist approaches to natural resource management has been linked to conservation biology theory, which holds that the isolated protected areas are not enough to avert species extinction and habitat degradation (Salafsky, 1994). The adoption of participatory approaches seems therefore an attempt to broaden natural resource management beyond protected area boundaries.

The re-examination of many tenets of the traditional protectionist model also has followed recognition that top-down methods of policing have placed an ever-increasing burden on central governments

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(WCED, 1987; Poole, 1989 in Brandon & Wells, 1992:564; IIED, 1994:17). The growth of interest in participatory resource management approaches has been further linked to evidence that top-down approaches to development promotion have had marginal impact on poverty alleviation and sustainability (Abugre, 1994). The integration of conservation concerns with the socio-economic needs of neighbouring communities therefore is an attempt to realise the economic potential of natural resources in the context of rural development (Nabane, 1995). Thus, the decentralisation to the local community level appears to be a strategy for increasing the efficiency of natural resource management.

Darkoh (1996) observes that the articulation of the newly adopted community approaches to natural resource management by LDCs has not achieved the stated socio-economic objectives. Rather, levels of poverty continue to increase while rural communities become further marginalised from resource ownership and the political process. There is a need therefore to examine the current interest in CBNRM in view of the social and political changes that have precipitated the shifts in the loci of conservation and development practice, as well as the bases for the shift towards participatory resource management approaches.

2.2.3 HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE SHIFTS TOWARDS PARTICIPATORY APPROACHES

The shifts in development and conservation practice appear to have reflected the broader shifts in world international relations in the aftermath of the Second World War. From the post-war pre-occupation with 'economic interdependence', the premise of world international relations has moved to 'ecological interdependence' and ultimately to an intermeshing of the two (MacNeill *et al*, 1991). The attendant shifts in conservation and development practice have been attributed to a synergy of various factors, principal of which are the various social, environmentalist and poor people's movements. The rallying point for all these movements appears to have been an awareness of the shortcomings of the industrial development paradigm.

According to Chatterjee & Finger (1994), the idea of development is rooted in the Enlightenment Ideal, wherein a developed society is 'a society of free and responsible citizens, therefore a society governed by scientific principles and managed accordingly'. Following the emergence of industrialisation in the nineteenth century, industrial production was rapidly incorporated into the Enlightenment Ideal, and industrial development came to be viewed as a means of realising the vision of a modern, rational society. Chatterjee & Finger further state that instead of industrial development pursuing the Enlightenment Ideal, the means turned to an end and development became a goal in itself. This trend seems to have strengthened in the aftermath of the Second World War, gaining prominence after the ratification of the Bretton Woods Agreement and the attendant process of decolonisation.

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The end of colonialism marked the escalation of tension between the Eastern and Western blocs, and development became a competition for power and loyalty between the east and the west (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). The Cold War became one of the driving forces of industrial development, promoting military-induced industrial production and stimulating scientific and technological innovation. As nation states became the 'agencies of development', industrial development also became a means of enhancing national power and security. The drive towards accelerated economic growth and industrialisation resulted in negative social and environmental impacts, which prompted criticism from socialist, environmentalist and poor people's movements in the 1960s and early 1970s.

2.2.3.1 The Poor People's Critique of Industrial Development

The poor people's movements and governments in the LDCs seem to have criticised the industrial development ideology primarily on the basis of its negative social and economic impacts. The neo-classical development approach, premised on the notion of regional convergence, had tended to assume similar paths of development for both the HDCs and LDCs (Daly, 1996 cited in Hoff, 1998). At independence many LDCs had therefore entered the world economy with the goal of achieving industrial development and economic growth, but their export-based economies and the heavy financial debts soon militated against this aim (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994; Omara-Ojungu, 1992). The centrally planned, capital-intensive aid projects and integrated rural development (IRD) projects failed to alleviate poverty in the LDCs and resulted in environmental degradation and further erosions of rural livelihoods, food security and incomes (Darkoh, 1996; Omara-Ojungu, 1992).

The failure by many African countries to achieve industrial development and economic growth constituted a crisis that forced a re-examination of the mainstream development models in the 1970s and it was then that basic needs approaches came to the fore (Friedmann, 1992). In particular, questions on natural resource allocation, use and conservation became central to the argument for the alleviation of poverty in the LDCs (Ghai & Vivian, 1995). There was also argument for the need to reappraise and promote traditional technologies (Omara-Ojungu, 1992), natural resource management systems and adaptive strategies (Darkoh, 1996).

2.2.3.2 The Socialist Critique of Industrial Development

The 1960s and early 1970s were a time of theoretical stocktaking and revision for social theory (Eckersley, 1992). The socialist movements of the 1960s, the Counter-cultural Movement and the New Left, criticised the increasingly technocratic, exploitative and oppressive tendencies of the industrial development paradigm (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). Works like Herbert Marcuse's *One Dimensional Man* and Jurgen Habermas's *Toward a Rational Society* were particularly instrumental in tracing many of the problems of industrial society and contributed to the widening of the New Left's agenda to include questions of life-style, technology and the exploitation of nature (Eckersley, 1992).

The socialist movements therefore sought to redress the shortcomings of the development paradigm through lobbying for a focus on more humanistic values, more participation, more democracy and greater involvement of citizens in decision making (Eckersley, 1992; Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). In particular, socialist movements of the South advocated an alternative development approach that was more participatory, more human centred and more indigenous, therefore more appropriate to the problems of the LDCs (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994).

2.2.3.3 The Environmentalist Critique of Industrial Development

The 1960s also marked the beginning of a widespread public concern over environmental degradation in the developed countries of the West (Eckersley, 1992). Eckersley further states that there were few major theoretical innovations in social and political thought in the 1960s arising from a specific consideration of the environmental crisis. However, works such as Rachel Carson's 1962 publication of *Silent Spring* constitute important landmarks in the emergence of a new sensibility that celebrated the living world and was deeply critical of the Western attitudes to the natural environment (Hoff, 1998; Western & Wright, 1994; Eckersley, 1992).

Chatterjee & Finger (1994) observe that until the late 1960s, environmentalists hardly questioned the industrial development paradigm. The early wave of environmental activism was generally considered to be a mere facet of the civil rights movement in its concern for grassroots democratic participation in land and resource use related decision making (Eckersley, 1994). The environmental problematic was viewed by policy-makers and political theorists as 'a crisis of participation' (Ibid.). It was only in the late 1960s and early 1970s that environmental problems gained formal national and international recognition, when there occurred a replacement of conservationist ecology with political ecology as environmental problems became politicised and prominent (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). This development followed the 1972 publications of the Club of Rome's of the *Limits to Growth* report and "The Ecologist" magazine's *Blueprint for Survival* (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994; Eckersley, 1992). The environmental problematic came to be viewed as a 'crisis for survival' of humanity, and there emerged a deeper appreciation of the 'global' dimensions of environmental degradation and the 'common fate' of humanity (Eckersley, 1992).

According to Eckersley (1992) critics of the survivalist school responded by extending the political ecology debate beyond the physical limits to growth, to the point of questioning the very notion of material progress. They lamented the social and psychological 'costs' of industrial development namely, alienation, loss of meaning, the coexistence of extreme wealth and extreme poverty, welfare dependence, dislocation of tribal cultures, and the growth of an international urban monoculture with a concomitant reduction in cultural diversity. Thus, the environmental problematic became a crisis for of culture and character and an opportunity for emancipation (or self-determination).

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2.2.4 EMERGENCE OF THE SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT DOCTRINE

The convergence of the three strands of criticism of the industrial development paradigm seems to have crystallised in the 1980s to form the 'new high ground' (according to Chambers, 1997) of people-centred, 'sustainable development'. The concept of sustainable development, introduced by the Bruntland Commission's Report *Our Common Future* in 1987 (Hoff, 1998), is defined in the report as development that "*meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs*" (WCED, 1987:43). Sustainable development itself is a critique of both the earlier forms of development and their social and environmental impacts, and also the way in which development has been articulated in the past (Warburton, 1998).

From the WCED definition, Williams & Houghton (1994 in Hoff, 1998:2) consider that sustainable development is predicated on three principles for action namely, intergenerational equity, social justice (including intergenerational equity in distribution of resources and participation in planning) and transfrontier responsibility (global environmental stewardship).

Seidman & Anang (1992) recognise three approaches to the analysis of sustainable development. These include the 'mainstream' approach, which in the 1980s generally underpinned the policies of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF); the 'basic needs 'or 'structuralist' approach; and the "transforming institutionalist" approach. These different approaches are often examined from different perspectives, namely neo-classical economics, 'deep' ecological positions and Marxist Theory (Radclift, 1989:37 cited in Cole, 1994:230).

The differences in interpretation of the concept of sustainable development seem to have bearing on perceptions on the modes and objectives of community participation. Taken from the basic needs approach, community participation would be viewed as a means of addressing community needs and achieving improved socio-economic conditions. From the transforming institutionalist approach, community participation would be seen as empowering people to gain control over their lives and their natural resource base. The mainstream economic approach, such as Hall's (2000), would view community participation as a means of ensuring sustainable economic development. Communities involved in natural resource management initiatives have therefore been described as 'beneficiaries' or clients (Paul, 1987, in Little, 1994), 'stakeholders' (World Bank, 1994) and 'participants' (Moser, 1995), according to the various perceptions on the role of community participation in sustainable development. The emphasis on community participation within the conception of sustainable development echoes the concepts of 'decentralisation', 'democracy', 'diversity' and 'dynamism' that Healy (1992), Friedmann (1992) and Chambers (1998) describe as being the foundation of the evolving doctrine.

There has been much debate, however, over the definition of the concept of sustainable development (Hall, 2000; Hoff, 1998:5; O'Riordan, 1998; Chatterjee & Finger, 1994; Seidman & Anang 1992; MacNeill *et al*, 1991). Criticism has also been made that the definition fails to specify how sustainability should be achieved (Dietz, 1996; Cole, 1994; Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). A key factor in the whole sustainable development debate, indeed, is the espoused commitment to 'community' involvement in the development process, particularly underscored by Local Agenda 21 (LA21) (Stewart with Collett, 1998:52).

Despite the on-going debate over the meaning of sustainable development, community projects that link natural resource conservation and rural development appear to have mushroomed in the protected area buffer zones and multiple-use management areas. The notion of sustainability has informed much of the on-going strategic action in government policy and planning for rural and urban socio-economic development, particularly since the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. This was when world leaders ratified Agenda 21 as the agenda for the twenty-first century (Hoff, 1998).

Agenda 21 recognises that while the successful implementation of sustainable development is first and foremost the responsibility of governments, sustainable development requires 'community participation' in practice as well as in principle (Warburton, 1998). Agenda 21 also propounds that a specific anti-poverty strategy is one of the basic conditions for ensuring sustainable development. Towards this end, Agenda 21 suggests that an effective strategy for simultaneously tackling the problems of poverty, development and environment should begin by focusing on resources, production and people (Ibid.). Agenda 21 also stresses that the full participation of women is essential towards achieving sustainable development (Nabane, 1995). It is upon this premise therefore that the participatory approach to sustainable development has focused on people in the less developed and poor communities, and particularly on women in these communities.

In accordance with Agenda 21, community participation seeks to enhance the well-being, livelihoods, capability, equity and sustainability of people (Chambers, 1998). The emphasis on community participation in sustainable development appears to derive from the socialist concern for more grassroots democratic participation in societal decision making. Such participation engenders the equity ideal, which includes human rights, intergenerational equity and gender equity, among others. With regard to natural resource management, the equity ideal translates to the empowerment of communities through participation in resource related decision making.

Sustainable development also seems to draw from the environmentalist interpretations of the environmental problematic. The environmentalist perception on the limits to economic growth seems to inform Agenda 21's three-pronged strategy of focusing on people, production and resources as a means

of achieving sustainable development. The survivalist notions of the 'global dimension of environmental degradation' and the 'common fate of humanity' are resonant in the Bruntland Report's title, *Our Common Future*. Global ecology indeed questions the very essence of industrial development and poses a far more serious and unprecedented challenge to industrial development (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994). In particular, the environmentalist critique of the social and psychological costs of industrial development as well as the sentiments on emancipation seems to extend the environmental problematic to embrace the interests of the poor and marginalised people.

Warburton (1998) suggests that without the involvement of environmentalists and the environmentalist movement in debating and promoting sustainable development, it is unlikely that the concept would have retained its centrality to policy. Hoff (1998) however, argues that while the modern environmentalist movement has contributed towards forcing developers, economists, governments and ordinary people to critically examine the mainstream models, values and goals of industrial development, primary credit must go to the poor, minority and indigenous peoples, in both the North and the South. These have played a significant role in fostering the growing recognition that efforts to protect the environment must incorporate the economic and cultural survival of people.

Sustainable development is therefore fundamentally concerned with basic needs of the poor people, and recognises that the limits to development are not absolute but are imposed by the present states of technology and social organisation and their impacts upon the environment (IIED, 1987). Community participation in natural resource management indeed has been of particular concern to the Less Developed Countries (LDCs), whose governments are viewed as lacking the capacity to achieve the goal of sustainable development.

2.3 The Unfolding Field of Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

Following the emergence of the sustainable development doctrine, a variety of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) approaches that engender community participation in natural resource management have since emerged in the LDCs. These have included Community Based Conservation (CBC), Integrated Development and Conservation Projects (ICDPs) and Local Resource Management (LRM) initiatives. These approaches have tended to emphasise either conservation or development, depending on the motives or objectives belonging to the various institutional actors promoting community participation in resource management (SASUSG, 1997). More recently, these approaches have collectively been termed CBNRM initiatives by scholars like Barrow and Murphree (1999), despite that the dominant objectives of the initiatives differ. To a large extent however, the dichotomy between conservation and development in the case of CBNRM is a false one, since rural

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communities have always used natural resources to secure livelihoods and have had mechanisms to regulate the use of resources (Jones, 1997 cited in SASUSG, 1997:31).

Although the field of CBNRM is still evolving, the concept of CBNRM is not new. History shows that for millennia people have actively participated in shaping and securing their livelihoods in a broad range of ecological environments (O'Riordan, 1998; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997; Croll & Parkin, 1992 cited in Western & Wright, 1994:1). What is perhaps novel about the current trend is that CBNRM has become institutionalised.

2.3.1 PURPOSE OF CBNRM

The goal of CBNRM is sustainable community development achieved through active community participation in natural resource management (Griffin, 1999). This goal is linked to the three overarching principles on which CBNRM initiatives are predicated namely, democracy, sustainability and efficiency. The democracy principle considers that local communities, as key stakeholders in natural resource management, should participate in all stages of the CBNRM process. The sustainability principle relates to the mobilisation of natural, financial, institutional and human resources towards the formulation and implementation of best use practices that ensure the endurance of social and economic systems and the natural resource base. The efficiency principle makes provision for the desired ends to be achieved without a waste of resources.

2.3.2 SALIENT FEATURES OF CBNRM

Community-based projects are dynamic and levels of participation and institutional relationships change over time. In the reality of field-based activities, projects do not always start with the level of full community participation desired by theory, but increased participation often develops as the project progresses, provided that outside agencies apply an adaptive management approach which is constantly aiming at promoting the fullest participation possible. Much the same is true in terms of community dynamics. It is part of the nature of many community-based projects that factions and groupings within communities gain temporary dominance of decision making and benefit distribution at a particular time. The test of success of the project lies more in the extent to which accountability and change is possible rather than which grouping is dominant at a particular time (Jones, 1997 cited in SASUSG, 1997:26).

CBNRM initiatives engender local level, stakeholder community-based, decentralised, participatory and people-centred resource management. The initiatives reverse the top-down, centre-driven conservation approach by focusing on the people who live with the resources and therefore bear the costs of resource management. This section outlines some of the main characteristics of CBNRM initiatives.

2.3.2.1 Decentralisation: A Gradual Process

The decentralisation of control to local community level in CBNRM is achieved through tenure, economic policy and institutional reform, supported by the legislative strengthening of community based organisations and authority (Laban, 1995). However, there still persist problems in achieving the balance between community organisations and traditional government in establishing new protocols of accountability and behaviour (Warburton, 1998; Feldman, 1994).

Warburton (1998) observes that there is often resistance by central government to the devolution of decision-making power and accountability over resource management to the community level, due to perceptions that communities lack the capacity to implement sustainable development. There also tends to be 'institutional paralysis' wherein bureaucratic practices remain entrenched when policies change (Feldman, 1994). Consequently, the articulation of CBNRM initiatives is process-based, embodying a gradual shift towards the development of higher levels of control and participation and decreased dependence on external institutions (Griffin *et al*, 1999; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997; Murphree, 1994).

Ideally, the CBNRM process is demand-driven, responsive to initiatives shown and uses existing resources and institutions. As such, an adaptive management approach is considered essential within the programme process (IUCN, 1997; Murphree, 1994; Little, 1994; Brandon & Wells, 1992).

2.3.2.2 Modes of CBNRM Initiation

The modes of CBNRM initiation may vary from the 'design' to the 'discovery' mode (Seymour, 1994:473). The design mode is externally catalysed and its key strategic elements are external human and financial resource elements. CBNRM programme design is often in response to a perceived environmental problem or need for protection and assumes that the existing resource management is faulty. In the discovery mode of initiation, on the other hand, the local communities intervene in response to a perceived threat to community resource management systems. Outsiders who 'discover' such community interventions assume that external resource management regimes already exist, and that the role of external actors is to legitimise them.

2.3.2.3 Archetypal CBNRM Approaches

Three archetypal CBNRM approaches covering a continuum of complementary strategies have been identified (Barrow & Murphree, forthcoming cited in Griffin, 1999). These are the Protected Area Outreach, the Collaborative Management and the Community-Based approaches (Table 2.4).

Levels of community participation in these archetypal approaches vary with time, dominant objective of CBNRM initiative and land or resource tenure. The degrees of community participation range from passive to active participation (according to a typology by Pimbert & Pretty, 1994 cited in IIED, 1994).

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TABLE 2.4: ARCHETYPAL APPROACHES TO CBNRM

COMPONENT	PROTECTED AREA OUTREACH *Conservation for/ with the people*	COLLABORATIVE MANAGEMENT *Conservation with/by the people*	COMMUNITY-BASED MANAGEMENT *Conservation by the people*
Whose agenda	Community neighbours are subsidiary partners to achieve protected area conservation objective	Protected areas and communities gradually moving towards some joint management responsibilities	Local people as legal land entities join protected are authorities as full and equal partners
Who owns process	Protected area, with conditional benefit flow to communities	The state, with concessions toward joint management & multiple use	Community has legal rights of access
Who plans	Joint planning only of outreach activities	Joint planning of multiple use access	Community, often assisted by advisors/ administrators
Who controls	Protected area authority	Joint authority	Community authority (democratic/ traditional)
Ownership of resources, areas	Protected area controls relationship with dependent communities	Protected area oversees unequal partnership	De facto community, but depends on how well bounded/ focused the tenure arrangements are
Dominant objective	Enhanced conservation & integrity of protected areas	Conservation of protected area through managed access to multiple use resources	Rural livelihoods: needs met, but conservation needs integrated
Fate of conservation resource	Protected area core maintained for national heritage & benefit	Protected area core maintained for national heritage. Benefits shared with local community groups & individuals. Use may not be sustainable & species may be affected	Where resource insignificant to rural economics or culture, it may be lost. Resource maintained when culturally/ economically valuable
Adapted from Griffin, 1999:67			

2.4 Key Issues and Critical Elements in the Articulation of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

This section explores the literature on the key issues and critical elements for CBNRM success. Focus is on the lessons drawn from experiences by LDCs in general and the Southern African region in particular. The objective is to derive from these experiences some of the sustainability indicators included in this study's analytical framework.

2.4.1 OUTLINE OF IDENTIFIED KEY ISSUES AND ELEMENTS

On the basis of past experiences derived from CBNRM initiatives elsewhere, there is recognition that certain elements are critical to the success or failure of a CBNRM programme (IUCN, 1997; Little, 1994; Laban, 1994; Brandon & Wells, 1992; World Bank, 1998). An outline of the critical elements of success for CBNRM initiatives is shown in Table 2.5 below. It is also widely recognised that each CBNRM initiative has its own unique set of factors, such that there are no blueprints or replicable models for programme analysis. While there is not much to be gained through testing 'models', the

identified critical elements for success or failure can provide useful insights in assessing the potential or the effectiveness of CBNRM initiatives.

TABLE 2.5: CRITICAL ELEMENTS FOR SUCCESS OF CBNRM: AN OUTLINE

Critical Issues/ Elements	Components
The Policy Environment	- Policy and Politics - Legislative Instruments - Institutional Support
Rights	- Security of Tenure
Political Empowerment	- Decentralisation of Authority - Strengthening of Community Based Organisations (CBOs)
Socio-economic Benefits	- Macro-level economic policies on Investment & Marketing - Devolution of Benefits
Local Capacity	- Nature of Resource Base - Degree of Community Cohesion - Levels of Organisational Development - Local Governance Structures - Technology and Information
Problem Definition	- Outsiders versus Community: Whose definition of the Problem Is used? - Institutional Roles, Resources & Relationships - Accountability
Community level Stakeholder Identification	- Representation of various interests at community level
Community Participation in:	- Programme Design - Programme Implementation - Programme Evaluation/ Adaptive Management
Vertical & Horizontal Linkages	- Links with other similar initiatives
Source: This study's research, 2000	

2.4.2 POLICY AND POLITICS

Little (1994) states that the manner in which a local community participates in development or conservation activities is strongly determined by the broader policy context. Political commitment at governmental level towards establishing an enabling policy environment for promoting broader stakeholder participation and for translating political priorities into national budgets is an important prerequisite for CBNRM (World Bank, 1998; IUCN, 1997; Laban, 1995; Little, 1994). However it has been commonly observed that, in the LDCs in particular, there is often a legacy of resistance by central government to the devolution of decision-making power and accountability over resource management to the community level (Feldmann, 1994; Warburton, 1998; Bell, 2000).

Warburton (1998) attributes this to perceptions by government that communities lack the capacity to implement sustainable development. Feldmann (1994) observes that although many states have adopted the conditions enunciated by Agenda 21, they have often been unable or unwilling to generate, manage or implement the necessary policy reforms to guide and influence the decentralisation of natural

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resource management. Bell (2000) attributes this to stereotype perceptions that communities are ignorant, disorganised and corrupt since they operate on the basis of informal constitutions. The underlying weaknesses in the national political system present a hindrance to CBNRM initiatives.

For CBNRM initiatives to succeed, there is a particular need to strike a balance between communities and traditional government in establishing new protocols of accountability and democracy (Warburton, 1998). According to Feldmann (1994), the goal should be to establish channels for increased community participation in the national political system and guarantees of a transparent process of decision making. He further states that unless the gap between local community initiatives and national policy is bridged, individual community initiatives may succeed, but may never be translated into a wider pattern of behaviour.

Laban (1995) suggests that the decentralisation of authority must be accompanied by the strengthening of local CBOs and authority. According to Bell (2000:8), this can be achieved if these community structures are formally constituted as "Representative and Legally Accountable Entities" (RALEs).

In the Southern African context, the foregoing views are affirmed in several instances but most strikingly in the case of Mozambique (IUCN, 1998). On one hand, some community resource management programmes in Mozambique have remained at planning stage for five years due to operational difficulties posed by centralised planning by government and non-governmental institutions based in Maputo. On the other hand, Tchuma Tchato Programme in the Tete Province of Mozambique (Chonguica, 1997; Wilson, 1997) is cited as one of the best examples in the region of a programme that was initiated at community level and has influenced government policy and planning at national and provincial level.

Feldmann (1994) suggests that there is also need for policy co-ordination between the sectional government agencies, complimented by legislative and institutional frameworks that adequately support decentralisation of authority over resource management.

2.4.3 LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT AND SECURITY OF TENURE

"Local people will feel responsible for their natural resources only when they can exert control over such resources, when they can impose duties and obligations on themselves, and when they have rights, knowledge and means to exert such control and are sufficiently interested in the process" (Gueye & Laban, 1990 in Laban, 1995:196).

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The devolution of natural resource management authority to local communities necessarily has to be supported by an appropriate legislative framework (Feldmann, 1994). Legislative support confers and guarantees claim-making or entitlement rights to communities (Laban, 1995; Dietz, 1996). Strum (1994) defines rights as 'formally encoded values', and states that a variety of legal, cultural and political rights are central to CPNRM. She further states that at the core of legal rights is secure tenure vested at the local community level.

Tenure refers to the extent to which an individual or community has rights of access to a resource and the degree of these rights (IUCN, 1997). Entitlements to land resources encompass the right to own land, the right to use land and the right to intervene in land resource situations (Dietz, 1996). Such classification of tenure rights however tends to oversimplify the complex nature of rights and relationships, since tenure rights embrace not only the legal but also the spatial, temporal, demographic and legal dimensions (Lynch & Alcorn, 1994).

With specific regard to African tenure regimes, Laban (1995) distinguishes between traditional tenure systems and 'modern' legal tenure systems. Laban states that since local customary right systems in many African countries are disintegrating, there is need for the usufruct, access and ownership rights for individuals and communities to be made explicit in formal legislation and regulations. Lynch & Alcorn (1994) state that the codification of existing tenure rights and processes is a common and often well-intentioned attempt to validate traditional rights for incorporation into modern systems. However, such codification tends to disrupt internal community functioning and fails to preserve the traditional flexible system of conflict resolution. They also observe that there is a tension between broad state recognition of traditional rights and codification of its intimate details. Strum (1994) points out that the best options for CPNRM may not be individual ownership or the introduction of exotic tenure systems. Rather, greatest success comes when community-based systems or other traditional systems are used.

Notwithstanding the argument over the adoption or adaptation of traditional, community-based and modern tenure systems, the bottom-line appears to be that there is a need to ensure secure tenure for communities involved in CPNRM initiatives. Security of tenure is an important incentive for communities to invest time and resources in CPNRM programmes since such investments have long gestation periods (World Bank, 1998; Brown & Wyckoff-Baird, 1992).

However, the political will to relinquish control and proprietorship over natural resources is weak in most governments (Murphree, 1994). Murphree further asserts that if community initiatives are to be genuinely participatory, the state has to relinquish considerable authority and delegate proprietorship over natural resources to communities. In the absence of proprietorship or secure tenure, other forms of involvement must be understood for what they are: co-optional, co-operative or collaborative arrangements.

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The resistance to the devolution of natural resource tenure and management has been linked to Garret Hardin's (Hardin, 1977) 'tragedy of the commons' perspective (Lynch & Alcorn, 1994; Metcalfe, 1995; Groot *et al*, 1995). Within this perspective, access to natural resources by rural communities in LDCs is viewed as a potential cause of uncontrolled pillage and loss of species diversity. Contrary to this, the Southern African regional experience in CPNRM, for example, is that tenure enhances sustainability when rights of access are clearly defined and accepted, when the ability to enforce these rights exists, and when the unit of management and accountability is small and functionally efficient (IUCN, 1997). In particular, case studies of the CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe (Metcalfe, 1994; Hawkes, 1992) indicate that access to resources and tenure rights potentially leads to the defence rather than the pillage of the commons, particularly if local communities are key stakeholders in natural resource management.

Since existing regulations frequently restrict access and undermine indigenous claims to resources, tenure reform becomes prerequisite to ensuring security of tenure (Dalal-Clayton, 1997). However, traditional land access rights and the utilisation of resources tend to be gender-based, and tenure reform may not necessarily improve the situation of women in rural communities (Lund, 1996). There seems to be a need therefore for tenure reform to enshrine the ideal of gender equity.

2.4.4 INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

The term 'institution' in this study refers primarily to institutional actors. These are mainly community-based, government and non-governmental organisations, though they may also include individual private sector entrepreneurs.

It has been observed that community participation in conservation or development programmes tends to be a highly institutionalised process (Murphree, 1994; Cernea, 1987 in Manikutty, 1997). The various institutional actors in natural resource management are organised at different levels of vested interest, ranging from individual and household level to international or global level (Uphoff, 1996 in Murphree, 1994). This is termed the 'political ecology' hierarchy (Hasler, 1995). Murphree considers that the community must be institutionalised in a way that allows effective interaction with external institutional actors if it is to serve as a viable principle of social organisation. The general view is that the vertical and horizontal integration of community institutions with other structures enhances local capacities and allows for conflict resolution (IUCN, 1997).

On the basis of findings from experiences in Southern Africa, the IUCN (1997) states that for CPNRM initiatives to be effective, community organisations have to be the principal actors in the design and implementation process while all other institutions, including government and donors, become subordinate. The role of government and non-governmental institutions in CPNRM should be enabling

and supportive (Murphree, 1994). Questions have been raised, however, on the viability and legitimacy of the community entity to drive the natural resource management process.

Stewart (1998) states that community legitimacy derives only from the extent to which community organisations sustain the functions of articulating and pursuing community goals. Since local ecosystems and local political jurisdictions are imbedded within larger natural and political systems, it has been argued that local interests alone may not adequately respond to the common good of the larger whole (McCloskey, 1996 in Hoff, 1998:236). Murphree (1994) argues that while the viability of the community entity is questioned, viability also depends upon the state's capacity to perform the managerial role it has traditionally assumed as proprietor of natural resources. He states that advocacy of CPNRM is driven by several perceptions, including the impotence of state agencies to manage protected areas and cost-effectiveness and benefits of CPNRM particularly in areas outside state protected areas.

2.4.5 LOCAL CAPACITY AND CAPACITY-BUILDING

Local capacity, defined as the ability of the community to manage and derive benefit from natural resources in a sustainable manner, is central to the success of a CPNRM initiative (IUCN, 1997). Local capacity appears to include aspects of both environmental and social capital. The nature of the resource base and the abundance of resources in relation to human population are important contributing factors to local capacity (IUCN, 1997). Other critical variables are the possession or access to knowledge, technology and means to manage resources (Laban, 1995) as well as the level of communal cohesion and how local governance structures (IUCN, 1997) and local organisations (Little, 1994) are representative of community interests and capable of resolving conflicts.

Murphree (1994) states that CPNRM makes the implicit assumption that communities have the capacity to contain their on-going dynamic conflicts by collective agreement and compliance, and assume a leading role in local resource management initiatives. He argues that whereas communities have historically been able to do so, their capacity deal with power-distributing cleavages in contemporary contexts is problematic.

Since the decentralisation of natural resource management to local community level implies changes in organisational culture to facilitate CPNRM, a common view is that participatory capacity and confidence must be built for all the relevant institutional actors, particularly the poorly represented groups (Wright, 1994; Warburton, 1998; Dalal-Clayton, 1997). The objective of capacity building is to institutionalise participatory approaches through transformation of government agencies, NGOs and community based organisations (CBOs) (IIED, 1994). Capacity building strategies therefore include

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training and extension, organisational development, technical supports and study tours (World Bank, 1998; IUCN, 1997). Wright (1994) states that capacity building requires sufficient project time for consensus to emerge, access to timely information, an appropriate scale of activities, and funding to strengthen local capabilities. He further states that confidence comes from success built on existing activities that are 'locally tested and culturally calibrated'.

Warburton (1998) comments however that the concept of capacity building carries assumptions about what capacity is, who has it and who can build it. Often, capacity building approaches imply very different relations of power, and the implicit assumption is that 'ordinary people' cannot take action or responsibility unless their capacity is built, presumably by someone else. Chambers (1983; 1987) echoes these sentiments when he states that in many efforts to enhance rural people's capabilities, knowledge flows in one direction only - downwards – from those who are strong, educated and enlightened towards those who are weak, ignorant and in darkness. Brokensha (1986 in Darkoh, 1996) argues that local knowledge can provide useful insights into resources, processes, possibilities and problems in particular areas, and capacity building should therefore entail a blending of both local and outside knowledge.

2.4.6 ECONOMIC BENEFITS AND MARKETS

Economic benefits play a significant role in motivating CPNRM (Little, 1994; Laban, 1995; Murphree, 1994; Bromley, 1994). Laban states that local people will engage in natural resource management activities only when they see clear tangible net benefits in terms of products, income, services and political benefits or in terms of confirmation of their feelings concerning moral, spiritual and ethical values. Little states that CPNRM initiatives that are linked to production and income gains and build on to existing production systems are more likely to elicit participation, and programmes that rely on a valuable natural resource also possess greater potential for generating both local income and community support.

The SASUSG (1997) states that an important component related to economic incentives is the marketing of the product. The general view is that good marketing will realise a higher per capita return at the community level and provide the necessary economic incentive. While natural resource management can indeed generate significant profit, it has been observed that the greater portion of revenues accrues elsewhere while the producer communities receive only trickle down benefits which fall short of expectations (Ngobese, 1994; Koch, 1994).

Bromley (1994) states that the economic dimension of CPNRM centres around the search for new institutional arrangements that will align the interests of local people with the interests of non-local and

often distant individuals and groups seeking sustainable management of particular ecosystems. He further states that the interests of local communities need not be identical to those of the international conservation community, since sustained conservation of local resources only requires that the local stake in conservation becomes somewhat greater than in previous resource use patterns that have been deemed unfavourable to conservation. Bromley asserts that the creation of economic incentives is linked to entitlements to resources.

The granting of land rights and security of tenure, while providing incentives for communities to invest in natural resource use activities, also assigns duties to local communities so that they behave in certain ways with respect to natural resources. When the interests of local communities are not consistent with enhanced conservation of natural resources, then it will be necessary to move beyond facilitative policies to actions that appear more regulatory in nature. It appears therefore that it is for this purpose that the proponents of CBNRM require government political commitment and policy reform to facilitate broader public participation, the embedding of communal organisations and tenure within legislative frameworks, and institutionalisation of local communities within the political ecology hierarchy.

Bromley's assertion raises questions on the motives and objectives of CBNRM. Little (1994) views the concern for environmental conservation and loss of biodiversity as being largely a "Northern" agenda. He comments that the environmental agendas of local institutes and communities and the roles that local governmental and non-governmental institutes and researchers – rather than expatriate groups and individuals - can play in the design, implementation and evaluation of conservation activities needs careful attention.

2.4.7 DEFINITION OF THE CBNRM PROBLEM

Little (1994) states that most community-based conservation programmes are initiated on the basis of a perceived environmental problem while most rural development programmes are initiated on the basis of assumed social or economic constraints. There are often mixed motives or objectives belonging to those who are promoting CBNRM (IUCN, 1997). While it would seem that CBNRM seeks to articulate the goal of sustainable community development, there are some that view it merely as a mechanism for ensuring the integrity of state protected areas (Murphree, 1994).

In CBNRM initiatives, the critical question is therefore: whose definition of the problem is being invoked (Little, 1994). Little asserts that the extent to which the local community shares in problem definition and participates in its identification is a prime factor affecting programme success. He further states that problem identification does not mean merely eliciting dialogue with local villagers but

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includes the extent to which local NGOs or research institutes participate in the definition of the problem.

Community participation in CBNRM problem definition necessarily has to be gender sensitive, and there seems to be a particular need to involve women in the conception of the problem. Dalal-Clayton (1997) observes that women often lack meaningful access to effective participation in political, resource-related decision making and are frequently subject to the negative impact of resource management and use decisions taken by others. Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE experience in the villages of Chikwarakwara and Masoka has shown that the exclusion of women's resource demands from decision making concerning the erection of game fences actually resulted in the restriction of women's traditional usufruct rights over resources and negatively impacted on their livelihood strategies (Child & Peterson, 1991 cited in IIED, 1994; Nabane, 1995).

2.4.8 IDENTIFICATION OF STAKEHOLDERS

"The utilisation of natural resources at a particular place and time is the outcome of conflicting interests between groups of people with different aims. Usually there is no absolute dominance by one group, so there are commonly a number of different ways of using resources at the same place and time" (Abel & Blaikie, 1986:735 in Murphree, 1994:410).

It has been suggested that community initiatives in natural resource management should start by identifying and consulting the major stakeholders in order to ensure that all the important issues are addressed and to strengthen commitment to implementing the necessary reforms (World Bank, 1998). Murphree (1994) proposes that, since natural resource management is highly institutionalised, an actor-orientated approach is necessary for the analysis of the institutional actors in the political ecology hierarchy. The rationale is that the roles, resources and relationships of the various institutional actors involved in CPNRM are important in determining the success or failure of an initiative. However, there seem to be problems with regard to the analysis of stakeholders at community level (Murphree, 1994; Little, 1994).

Little and Murphree observe the community is often treated as an indeterminate, homogenous group. However, the community is not a homogenous entity, but is diverse and dynamic, and the existence of power-distributing cleavages within communities necessitates the use of a notion of community that acknowledges the different interests, competing groups, and negotiated consensus. Little suggests that CPNRM programs should start by identifying the major interest groups, their current resource-use motives, conflicts of interest, their behaviour and its effects on resource use and conservation, and the

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potential winners and losers as a result of the natural resource management initiative. Murphree states that the community necessarily has to be structured so that collective interest subsumes and reconciles internal and sectional division. The instrument for achieving this is generally the local government authority or the traditional authority structure or both.

With regard to equity in community initiatives, it has been argued that although axes of difference such as age, social class, poverty, capability and disability have bearing on community participation, the issue of gender warrants particular attention in the design, implementation and evaluation of natural resource management and development programmes. Little (1994) asserts that if community initiatives wish to address both the environmental and development concerns, then they need to look more carefully at gender issues and learn from the experiences of rural development programmes.

According to Nabane (1995), the theory of spatial gender differentiation, with the public domain being regarded as a male sphere and women relegated to the private domain [the home], is a recurrent theme in rural development literature. Friedmann (1992) states that development programmes are never gender neutral, and the structure of opportunities available to women discriminates against them such that they have substantially less access to bases of social power and productive wealth. A critical element in articulating community participation therefore is a clear, gender-sensitive definition of the participants in the natural resource management initiative at the initial stages of the programme process (Little, 1994).

2.4.9 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN PROGRAMME DESIGN, IMPLEMENTATION AND EVALUATION

It has been suggested that the most critical factor in the success of a development scheme is the degree of political participation in decision making by local 'beneficiaries' (Lees, 1980:375 cited in Derman & Whiteford, 1985) or 'stakeholders' (Murphree, 1994; Little, 1994). However, there seem to be different views on the importance of community participation in the successive stages of the programme process.

Little (1994) states that local communities generally are more likely to be involved in project implementation than in design activities, and local involvement in the design phase does not necessarily ensure a successful project. In a similar vein, studies of various case studies by Finsterbusch & van Wicklin (1987 in Manikutty, 1997) indicate that the importance of participation increases at successive stages of initiatives, with the operation (or implementation) and monitoring phases showing the highest degree.

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The same studies show that the adequacy of communication and stakeholder commitment to the initiative may therefore be the major significant factors rather than community participation *per se*. The adequacy of communication appears to be linked to the level of organisational development and the accountability of local organisations to the rest of the community. Stakeholder commitment on the other hand seems to be related to benefits and incentives such as livelihood security and security of tenure.

2.5 Conceptual Framework

This section attempts to conceptualise the research problem and to delimit the parameters of the investigation through a synthesis of the critical elements identified in the foregoing literature review.

2.5.1 COMMUNITY CONTROL IN CBNRM

The first objective of the study is to assess the relative degrees to which the Makuleke community has had control in the processes of CBNRM programme formulation and implementation.

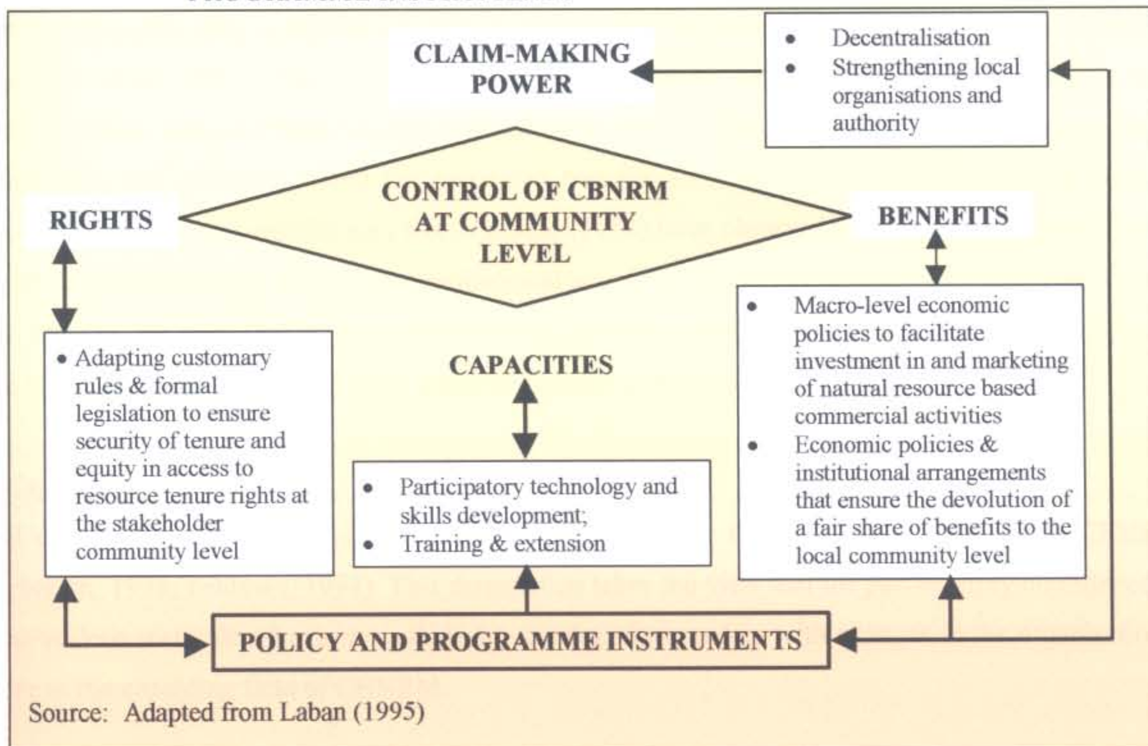
Literature suggests that an incremental degree of political participation by the local community in the successive stages of a CBNRM initiative is essential in enhancing the potential for success of the initiative. A prime factor in this regard is the extent to which a community actively participates in the definition of the CBNRM problem at the initial stages of the CBNRM process. Scholars like Pimbert & Pretty (1994) have asserted that active participation becomes possible when the local community has full control over the CBNRM initiative. This study upholds the view by Hasler (1995) that, because of the multiple jurisdictions in CBNRM, it is unrealistic to assume that any one level can alone exert control over natural resource management.

This study considers that there is need to devolve certain controls to the community level to facilitate active local participation in environmental governance and entry into the benefits stream emanating from natural resource management. The assumption is that, if a community has enough power and control, it can set the terms for its own participation and it can influence the direction of a particular project generated from outside.

The study also considers that the commitment of proponents of CBNRM particularly at the global level to the enhancement of local community livelihoods and wellbeing may prove to be an important reckoning factor. However, political will at national governmental level is prerequisite for the promotion of community participation, translating political priorities into national budgets and offsetting an enabling policy environment.

In addition to the effect of other stakeholder interests at higher levels of the political ecology hierarchy therefore, community control in a CBNRM programme principally rests on four factors. These are the claim making power of communities, the security of resource tenure rights, the devolution of a fair share of benefits from resource management and the capacity within the local community to manage and derive benefit from resources (Figure 2.3).

FIGURE 2.3: LINKING COMMUNITY LEVEL CONTROL IN CBNRM TO POLICY AND PROGRAMME INSTRUMENTS



Source: Adapted from Laban (1995)

- ***Claim making power***

Since CBNRM is a highly institutionalised process (Murphree, 1994), communities require a considerable degree of claim making power in order to maintain their stake in environmental governance and the benefits stream. Such claim making power is secured at governmental level through the implementation of decentralisation policy, supported by the strengthening of appropriate community authorities through legislation and appropriate institutional protocol.

At the community level, the claim making power of communities becomes more effective when the interests of individual community members are supported by strong CBOs (Laban, 1995). The CBOs necessarily have to have sufficient legitimacy within their local constituencies and committed authority to relate with external institutional actors. The CBOs maintain their control in the CBNRM process by limiting unnecessary dependence on external institutions and externally driven processes. The claim making power of communities is also secured if CBNRM initiatives operate on the basis of the principles of fair representation of the targeted interests and accountability by the institutional actors to the community level constituency.

- ***Rights***

Gueye & Laban (1990, cited in Laban, 1995) state that local people will feel responsible for natural resources at their disposal only when they can exert control over such resources and have the rights, means and interest to exercise such control. The view in this dissertation is that secure rights of natural resource tenure are prerequisite to the promotion of community control in CBNRM.

- ***Benefits***

Economic benefits play a significant role in motivating the community to participate in CBNRM initiatives (Laban, 1995; Little, 1994; Bromley, 1994; Murphree, 1994). Since CBNRM initiatives tend to rely on natural resource-based commercial activities, such as tourism, to generate tangible benefits to communities, the extent to which the generated benefits are devolved to local community level is important. Scholars and practitioners like Ngobese (1994) have observed that the greater share of such benefits tends to accrue to higher level institutional actors while local communities receive only trickle-down benefits. In light of the observed tendency, there is a need for policy mechanisms to be put in place to ensure the devolution of a fair share of benefits to the local community level.

- ***Capacities***

Local communities are often viewed as lacking the capacity to participate effectively in CBNRM (Warburton, 1998; Feldman, 1994). This dissertation takes the view that the participatory confidence of all the various institutional actors needs to be developed in tandem with changes in the organisational culture in the unfolding field of CBNRM.

Local capacity also depends on the nature of the resource base. The distribution, density and diversity of natural resources affect the morphology and the aesthetic attractiveness of the biophysical environment. The availability of resources in relation to human population requirements (or the human demand-resource ratio) affects the intensity of use and the range of use options. Both the biophysical characteristics of the environment and the human demand-resource ratio affect the capacity to generate income from natural resource management. If local communities are to derive meaningful benefits from natural resource management therefore, it is requisite that they have security of ownership or access rights to natural resource bases that sufficiently enable the generation of the required income.

The study considers that CBNRM programmes require clearly defined linkages between these basic factors and the national policy and CBNRM programme instruments. However, as Hasler (1995) points out, the ultimate outcome of the CBNRM initiative is not solely dependent on identifying empowering and training the lowest accountable unit. Furthermore, land access and ownership rights are only one mechanism in the benefits stream. The structuring of macro-economic policy to ensure favourable marketing conditions and the devolution of a fair share of benefits to the local community level is also another mechanism. There is a need for a broader synergy of political commitment as well as policy,

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statutory, institutional and fiscal support at all levels of the political ecology hierarchy if the goal of sustainable development of rural communities particularly in LDCs is to be achieved.

The two themes framing the enquiry into the degree of community control in CBNRM are:

- The implications of the broader policy environment on the decentralisation of natural resource governance to stakeholder community level; and
- The nature of community participation in the CBNRM programme initiation, formulation and implementation processes.

2.5.2 GENDER ISSUES IN CBNRM

The second objective of the study is to determine the extent to which the CBNRM initiative has been responsive to gender roles, relations, needs and access to political decision making. In addressing this objective, the basic premise for this study is that the success of CBNRM is enhanced if the programme has specifically targeted segments of the community population and in particular gender issues are addressed in such targeting. A livelihood approach and the Gender Analysis method are adopted in the enquiry into gender issues.

This study's Gender Analysis is concerned with the similarities and differences between women and men at the community level in access to political decision-making, land rights, benefits and capacity building within the CBNRM programme. The analysis goes beyond issues of gender equity and attempts to make explicit the opportunities and constraints that affect the ability of women and men to respond to the CBNRM initiative. The analysis also examines the different ways in which women and men perceive the usefulness of desired and alternative natural resources.

The view in this study is that differences between women and men in perceptions and in access to political decision-making, land rights, economic benefits and capacity building are 'social constructs' (according to Stamp, 1989 & Nabane, 1995) that are potentially responsive to change. The main theme for this study's Gender Analysis is gender access to political decision making in the Makuleke CBNRM initiative.