COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT: THE CASE OF THE MAKULEKE COMMUNITY BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT INITIATIVE

Barbara Nompumelelo Tapela
9830815

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the Degree MA in the Faculty of Humanities,
University of Pretoria, Pretoria

Department of Geography & Geoinformatics
October 2001

CONTENTS

CHAPTER THREE: CASE STUDY OF THE MAKULEKE COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT INITIATIVE 60

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

During the preparation of this dissertation, various individuals and institutions gave me considerable assistance and encouragement. Only a few are mentioned herein. I express my sincere gratitude to the Makuleke people, Chief Makuleke, the MCPA Executive Committee and the MCTP staff allowing and helping me to carry out research within their community. I am particularly grateful to Lamson Maluleke, the Programme Implementation Officer and Community Co-ordinator for the Northern Province Biodiversity Forum, for giving me as much assistance as I required in this study. My thanks also go to Anthony Hlongwane, Edward Maluleke and Enos Mgomezulu for assisting in the carrying out of the in-depth interviews.

The Centre for Science Development (CSD) provided funds for my research capacity development and collection of field data on gender issues through a collaborative project between the University of Pretoria and the University of Venda. This assistance is greatly valued particularly as I had no other secure source of funding for the study.

I also thank Conrad Steenkamp, the MCTP Facilitation Officer, for sharing views and concerns about the Makuleke CBNRM process. My appreciation also goes to Hector Magome, the SANP General Manager for Park Planning and Development, and to Dr. James Murombedzi, the Programme Officer for the Ford Foundation, for their considerable assistance during the research.

I am particularly indebted to my study leader, Professor Deon Wilson, for his tireless guidance throughout the preparation of this dissertation and for his contribution to my scholarly growth. I also thank the Head of the Geography Department, Professor Keith Beavon; the ex-Head of Department, Professor Flip Hattingh; members of staff and my fellow students for their generous assistance. My sincere thanks are also due to Ingrid Booysen for assisting with the cartographic, graphic and technical editing of the dissertation.

Last but not least, I am grateful to my husband, Tjeni, for believing in me and making it possible for me to carry out and complete this study. I also thank my son, Mbongeni, for trying his best to understand my need for undisturbed time to prepare this dissertation. These two have been a very important support crew throughout this study.

ABSTRACT

TITLE OF DISSERTATION : **Community Participation in Natural Resource Management: The case of the Makuluke Community Based Natural Resource Management Initiative**

By

Barbara N. Tapela

STUDY LEADER : **Prof. G. D. H. Wilson**

DEPARTMENT : **Geography & Geoinformatics**

DEGREE : **Magister Artium in Geography**

Rural communities living in the neighbourhoods of protected areas are among the least developed communities in the LDCs. In the global quest for sustainable development and democracy, participation in natural resource management by these communities has become an important component in rural development and biodiversity conservation programmes. The proliferation of CBNRM initiatives in the LDCs, however, has so far not yielded any fundamental reductions in poverty and insecurity in the targeted communities. This has raised questions about the viability of CBNRM as a strategy for articulating the development objectives of local communities. Questions have also been raised about the ideological bases of CBNRM.

This dissertation presents an analysis of participation in a CBNRM initiative by the Makuleke community of South Africa. Focus is on the issues of community control and gender in the CBNRM process. Findings by the study show that the preconditions for community-level control have largely been met and the Makuleke CBO structure has been constituted as a representative and legally accountable entity. However, there apparently subsists a view that indigenous rural communities like the Makuleke cannot be fully entrusted with leadership roles in CBNRM. The study also finds that despite the securing of gender rights of access to bases of social power and productive wealth through legislative instruments, some social structures and attitudes that favour male dominance remain entrenched in the Makuleke community. These militate against the strategic participation by women in environmental governance and in the benefits stream emanating from CBNRM.

The dissertation argues that the success of the CBNRM initiatives such as the Makuleke's will depend on a more complex interplay of variables than solely on the empowerment of the community through strengthening of CBO structures, securing resource rights, entry into the benefits stream and developing of capacities. Success will largely depend on the ability of CBNRM programmes to achieve fundamental reductions in poverty and insecurity. Since there are multiple jurisdictions in CBNRM, LDC states will have to strike a difficult balance or make a critical choice between promoting the interests of Northern agencies in order to secure conditions of production and defending the interests of local communities in order to secure social integration. The responses by LDC states will have significant implications on the success of CBNRM initiatives.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ART South Africa	Africa Resources Trust, South Africa
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBC	Community Based Conservation
CBD	Convention on Biodiversity Conservation
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CBO	Community Based Organization
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species
CPA	Communal Property Association
DBSA	Development Bank for Southern Africa
DFID	Department for International Development (United Kingdom)
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
EWT	Endangered Wildlife Trust
FoM	Friends of Makuleke
FRD	Foundation for Research and Development
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
GEM	Group for Environmental Monitoring
GTZ	Geselschaft Technische Zusammmenarbeit
HDI	Human Development Index
ICDPs	Integrated Conservation and Development Projects
IDRC	International Development and Research Council (Ottawa)
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
IEMF	Integrated Environmental Management Framework
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Natural Resources
JMB	Joint Management Board
KNP	Kruger National Park
LA21	Local Agenda 21
LDC	Less Developed Country
LRG	Land Reform Group
LRM	Local Resource Management
MEC	Member of the Executive Council (of the Provincial Legislature)
MCPA	Makuleke Communal Property Association
MCTP	Makuleke Conservation and Tourism Programme
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPB	National Parks Board
RALES	Responsible and Accountable Legal Entities

RAMSAR	Convention on Wetlands of International Importance
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SANDF	South African National Defence Force
SANP	South African National Parks
SASUSG	Southern African Sustainable Use Support Group
SMMEs	Small and Medium and Micro-Enterprises
TAE	Tribal Authority Executive
TBCAs	Trans-Border Conservation Areas
TBNRMs	Trans-Boundary Natural Resource Management Areas
TC	Tribal Council
TLC	Transitional Local Council
TLGA	Transitional Local Government Act
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
WCED	World Commission on Environment and Development
WESSA	Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

Rural communities living in areas surrounding protected areas are among the least developed communities of the world. The top-down, centre-driven protectionist approaches that have traditionally characterised natural resource management regimes in the less developed countries (LDCs) during the industrialist era have often had critical impacts on the food security and livelihoods of local people (Darkoh, 1996; IIED, 1994). This has detracted from the successes gained by well-supported initiatives in ensuring the survival of certain species and habitats, and resulted in conflicts between conservation agencies and neighbouring communities (IIED, 1994; Bell, 1987). The costs of policing the protected areas have also become increasingly untenable (WCED, 1987; Poole, 1989 cited in Brandon & Wells, 1992:564). In many cases, the protectionist approach has failed to avert problems of insularisation and the decline in plant and animal populations and in habitat integrity (Shafer, 1990).

More recently, there has been a shift from the classical protectionist approaches towards participatory approaches that integrate ecological concerns with the needs of 'communities' living both within the neighbourhoods of protected areas (Western & Wright, 1994:6) and elsewhere. Participatory approaches aim at involving people in the process of natural 'resource management' (IIED, 1994). Resource management is defined by O'Riordan (1971:19 cited in Mitchell, 1979) 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 participation has been defined and interpreted in various ways by scholars like Paul (1987 cited in Little, 1994:349), Arnstein (1969), MacNair (1976), and Pimbert & Pretty (1994 cited in IIED, 1994:19). In this study, the definition found useful is that by Cernea (1985) that participation is "*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*". The definitions of the concept of community have also been varied. This study considers that community encompasses spatial, social, cultural and economic aspects, and therefore adopts Flecknoe & McLellan's (1994: 8 cited 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*".

Community participation in natural resource management encompasses a variety of community approaches that range from passive to active participation (according to a typology by Pimbert & Pretty, 1994 cited in IIED, 1994:19). These include Community Based Conservation (CBC), Integrated

Development and Conservation Projects (ICDPs), Local Resource Management (LRM) and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) initiatives. This study focuses on CBNRM initiatives.

CBNRM initiatives engender local level, stakeholder community-based, decentralised, participatory and people-centred resource management. The goal of CBNRM initiatives 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.

CBNRM is not a new phenomenon, as history shows that for millennia people have actively participated in shaping their livelihood strategies within a broad variety 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. CBNRM reverses 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.

The Third World Parks Congress of 1982, considered an important turning point in the environment-development discourse, showed how protected areas could *"contribute to human welfare and increase security in the process"* (McNeely & Miller, 1984 cited in Western & Wright, 1994:6). Subsequently, there has been a growth of interest in the participatory approach particularly following the emergence of the sustainable development doctrine (O'Riordan, 1998; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1997; Western & Wright, 1994). Interest in CBNRM has grown remarkably in the aftermath of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992, when world leaders ratified Agenda 21 thus confirming that sustainable development requires community participation in practice and in principle (Warburton, 1998). 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.

The international discourse on sustainable development has tended to focus largely on the LDCs, which are perceived as harbouring the ultimate threat to biodiversity (Chatterjee & Finger, 1994) and where most of the world's poor people live. From a socio-economic development perspective, CBNRM seems a plausible means towards enhancing well being, livelihoods, capabilities, equity, sustainability and democracy, and has therefore become an important component in rural development programmes in the

LDCs. However, Darkoh (1996) observes that despite the articulation of community approaches to natural resource management by LDCs, the conditions that are enunciated by Agenda 21 remain unchanged and levels of poverty continue to increase while rural communities become further marginalised from resource ownership and the political process.

With specific regard to Africa, Walker (2000) states that the assumption in Agenda 21 that accountable democratic governments are more likely to pursue sustainable development has run aground, partly because accountability in many 'democratised' states remains incomplete. Thus, active participation by communities in natural resource management is often untenable. He further states that even where relatively successful democratic transitions have taken place, the newly enfranchised people may demand less rather than more environmental protection as they grapple with problems of poverty and unemployment. According to Warburton (1998:5): *"The rhetoric of community participation has been rehearsed many times, but it remains the exception rather than the norm on the ground. Realism about current and past achievements is vital if progress is to be made in ensuring that community approaches are accepted as an essential element of sustainable development"*.

An important consideration is perhaps the ideological bases of CBNRM. Kasparson (1977:189 cited in Lund, 1987:8) notes: *"Beneath every participation programme lurks a particular social theory, paradigm, or at least a set of assumptions concerning the need for intervention and the connection of participation to the operation of the political system and the creation of social change"*.

In examining the challenges faced by CBNRM in LDCs, it is perhaps worth noting that such initiatives tend to be highly institutionalised (Murphree, 1994), with the various institutional actors organised at different levels of a political ecology hierarchy that ranges from local community to global level. There are often mixed motives or objectives belonging to the various institutional actors promoting community participation in resource management (SASUSG, 1997). This is because CBNRM programmes bring together issues of conservation and development, between which there is a 'fundamental tension' (according to Robinson, 1993 cited in Salafsky, 1994:448). To a large extent however, the dichotomy between conservation and development in the case of CBNRM is a false one, since rural communities have always used natural resources to contribute to secure livelihoods and have had mechanisms to regulate the use of resources (Jones, 1997 cited in SASUSG, 1997:31).

With particular regard to communities living adjacent to protected areas, 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). Little (1994) states that a key issue that is not often addressed in formulations of community resource management programmes is: whose definition of the problem is being invoked and who shares in its meanings? There is a particular need to determine the nature of local community involvement in

CBNRM problem definition and the extent to which the members of the local community share in the definition of the problem.

The difference in the amount of control over the basic factors of CBNRM programme formulation and implementation between the various institutional actors would seem to constitute one of the most critical performance factors of CBNRM initiatives. There is therefore a need to assess the degree of community control over the natural resource base and the CBNRM programme processes. In this regard, an analysis of the roles, resources and relationships of the various institutions involved in resource management as well as the broader political and economic factors affecting community participation is perhaps requisite.

At local community level, the shortcomings of many CBNRM initiatives have been attributed to, among other factors, the existence of power-distributing cleavages within rural communities. These are due to internal social differentiation, differences in vested interests in resources and competing political structures (Hasler, 1995). While the role of factors such as age, social class and ethnicity are acknowledged, this dissertation focuses on the role of gender in CBNRM initiatives.

Gender and gender roles are deeply imbedded in a cultural matrix and development programmes are never gender neutral (Friedmann, 1992). Because of this, the structure of opportunities available to women discriminates against them, and women have substantially less access to bases of social power and productive wealth than men do. As a result women often lack meaningful access to effective participation in political, resource-related decision making and are frequently subject to the negative impacts of resource management decisions taken by others (Dalal-Clayton, 1997). There is a need for analyses of CBNRM initiatives to examine the gender responsiveness of the programmes.

This dissertation adopts a case study approach to empirically examine the problem of community participation in natural resource management. The study presents an analysis of participation in a CBNRM initiative by the Makuleke rural community that lives in the neighbourhood of a state protected area in South Africa.

1.2 CBNRM in the South African Context

At this point in the history of post-apartheid South Africa, there is concern both in official government circles and in academic discourses to meaningfully restructure the present polarisation of spatial development in order to achieve development that is equitable and sustainable (IDRC, 1995; South Africa, 1997d). The post-apartheid policy reform process has focused on giving the impoverished and underdeveloped communities of the country access to bases of social power and the control of

productive resources such as land and natural resources. There has been a particular emphasis on rural communities living in the neighbourhoods of protected areas (South Africa, 1996a: 1997d:32). For these communities, CBNRM has been viewed as presenting a potentially effective means towards articulating the goal of equitable and sustainable development espoused in the government's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). This study focuses on the case of the Makuleke community, wherein a CBNRM programme has been initiated.

The historical development of protected areas in South Africa has involved a process of forced removals of local communities to make way for the establishment of protected areas (Carruthers, 1995). The exclusion of these communities from resource-related decision making, resource utilisation and the appropriation of benefits from tourism (Carruthers, 1995) has left a legacy of impoverishment that represents a challenge for the present state. The land question particularly seems to occupy a central position in the community development dialogue. The prevailing mien of democratisation has unleashed the claim-making power of these communities that is manifest in the proliferation of land claims against protected area management agencies. Such claims can be viewed as an attempt by local communities to regain control over the natural resource base so that they can achieve both the tangible social and economic development objectives and the intangible goals such as affirmation of social and political power.

There is concern by the state, conservation authorities and private enterprise, however, over the impact of land claims on the ecological integrity and the revenue generating capacity of protected areas (South Africa, 1997a:30). There is also concern over the implications of such claims on the unfolding regional integration of natural resource management through trans-frontier parks and multiple use management areas (Pinnock, 1996). Despite these concerns, there has been some groundbreaking progress towards the devolution of natural resource management responsibility to rural communities living in the neighbourhoods of protected areas (Koch, 1994).

In this case study, the Makuleke community was forcibly removed to make way for the northward extension of the Kruger National Park (KNP) (Figure 1.1). With the advent of the post-apartheid state and the attendant land reform process, the community lodged a land claim against the South African National Parks (SANP) Board and other state institutions. The Makuleke were restituted portions of land within the KNP and two smaller neighbouring protected areas. The restituted land is strategically located at the intersection of the boundaries of Mozambique, Zimbabwe and South Africa and therefore provides an important linkage for South Africa's involvement in a proposed trans-frontier park for the three countries. Having waged a prolonged struggle for the restitution of their land rights, a key question facing the Makuleke is how to translate this gain into tangible community development benefits without compromising the sustainability of the natural resource base. Towards this end the

Makuleke have initiated a CBNRM programme, muted as the Makuleke Conservation and Tourism Programme (MCTP).

FIGURE 1.1: LOCATION MAP OF STUDY AREA

1.3 The Research Problem

This study addresses two problems relating to community participation in the CBNRM initiative.

1.3.1 THE QUESTION OF POWER AND CONTROL

Given the institutionalisation of CBNRM within a hierarchical political ecology, the study is concerned with the issue of power and control in natural resource management. Differences in relative degrees of institutional actor control in environmental governance constitute probably one of the most critical factors to the success of CBNRM initiatives. The first problem can be captured in the following question:

- What have been the relative degrees of community control in the CBNRM initiative?

The assumptions here are that:

- If the goal of a CBNRM initiative is to enhance wellbeing, livelihoods, capabilities, equity and sustainability through community participation, then the community should be divested with a certain degree of control in environmental governance as well as in the CBNRM programme formulation and implementation processes.
- If a community has enough power in a CBNRM initiative, it can set the terms for its own participation and it can influence the direction of or even stop a particular project that is generated from outside.

1.3.2 A QUESTION OF GENDER

Sustainable livelihoods are secured through ownership or access to resources (Chambers & Conway, 1992 cited in Mtshali, 1998) and through access to bases of social power and productive wealth (Friedman, 1992). However, research on 'women in development' suggests that development programmes often do not take into account the gender nature of work and access to resources (Nabane, 1995). In view of this, this dissertation is concerned with the differences and similarities in access to political decision-making between women and men at the community level.

The second problem for this study's investigation is:

- Is the unfolding CBNRM process perpetuating the traditional power relations between gender groups or is there an attempt to bring about real empowerment of both the women and men of the Makuleke community?

The assumption is that:

- If a particular CBNRM programme is designed to improve the position of a segment of the population (in this case, the 'disadvantaged' members of the community and women in particular), the programme must give this population increased access to control of resources.

1.4 The Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of the study is to assess the potential and effectiveness of the Makuleke CBNRM initiative in enhancing the well being, livelihoods, capabilities, equity and the sustainability of the community.

The objectives of the study are:

- To assess the relative degrees to which the Makuleke community has had control in the CBNRM formulation and implementation processes;

- To determine the extent to which the community resource management programme has been responsive to gender roles, relations, needs and access to political decision making.

1.5 The Methodology of the Study

1.5.1 THE RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

The research framework (Figure 1.2) is centred on two axes of enquiry: the degree of community control in the CBNRM initiative and the gender-responsiveness of the programme. The gender question is linked to the first objective in that it includes assessments of gender access to factors of community-level control in the CBNRM initiative.

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

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

The theme of Gender Analysis in the investigation is:

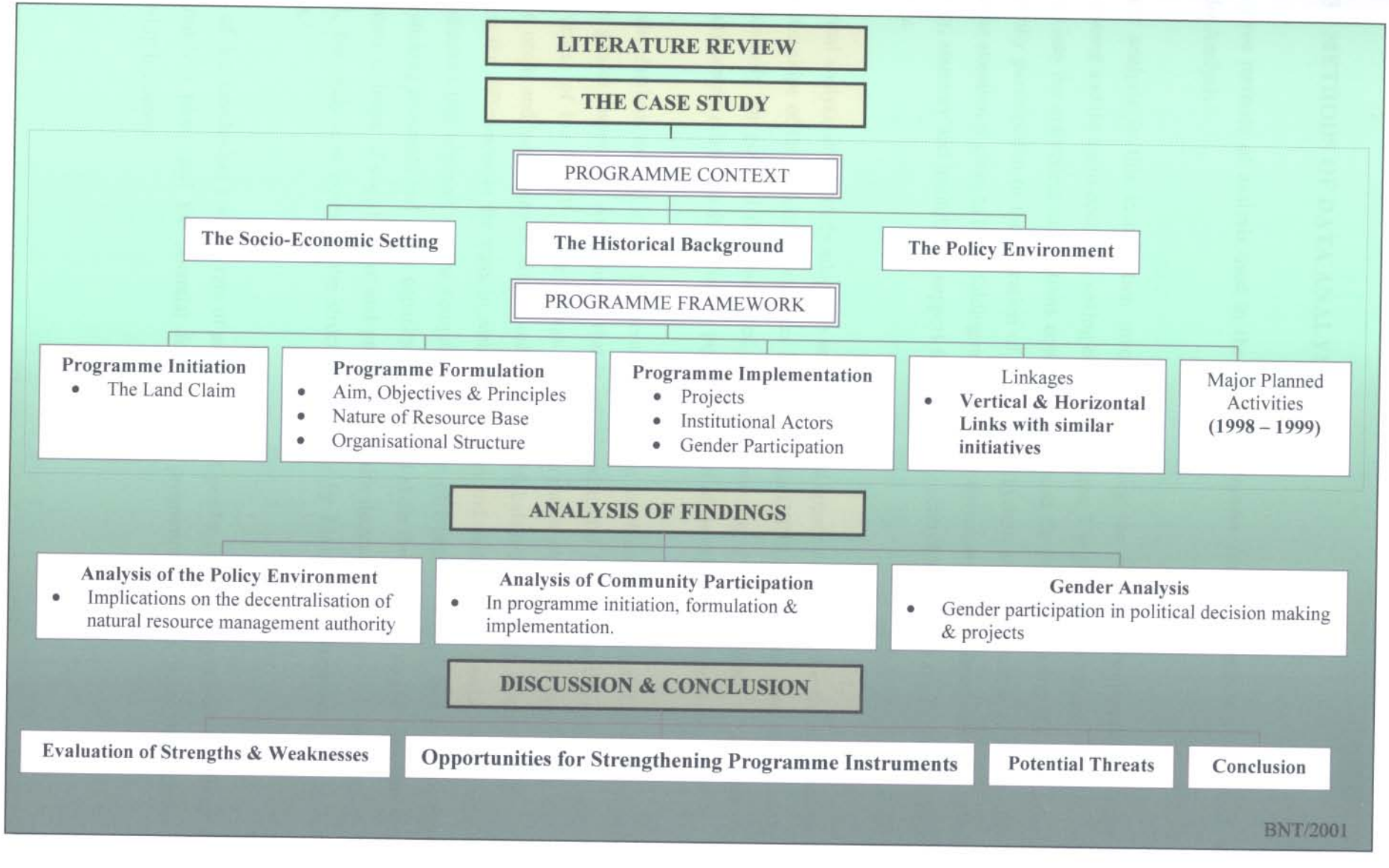
- Gender access to political decision-making in the CBNRM initiative.

A key analytical tool within the research framework is the testing of the Makuleke CBNRM initiative against a defined set of critical elements for success derived from literature on other similar initiatives. The study acknowledges that each CBNRM initiative has its own unique set of factors, such that there are no blueprints or replicable models for programme formulation and implementation. Therefore the critical elements are used as indicators rather than the blueprint or ideal model for success. The elements are also viewed as providing useful insights in the assessment of the potential for success and the effectiveness of the Makuleke CBNRM initiative.

1.5.2 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The study relied on both primary and secondary data. The primary data sources included participant observation, semi-structured interviews with key resource persons, in-depth interviews with members of the Makuleke community, workshops and focus group discussions. Secondary data sources such as maps, community records, published texts, statistical survey reports, and documents compiled by government and non-governmental institutions, academics and other researchers were used.

FIGURE 1.2: RESEARCH FRAMEWORK



The data collected is presented in diagrams, tables, maps, textboxes and graphs.

1.5.3 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS

The three methods of analysis used in the study are Context Analysis, Institutional Analysis and Gender Analysis.

Context analysis in this investigation involves examining the historical background, the policy environment and the socio-economic setting of the programme. The programme context provides useful insights into the antecedent assumptions concerning the need for intervention and the connection of community participation to the operation of the political system and the creation of social change. Particular attention is given to the unfolding national policy environment as it demonstrates the strength of policy, statutory and institutional support for community control and gender equity in the CBNRM initiative.

Institutional analysis in this study adopts an actor-orientated approach to determine the roles, resources and relationships of the various stakeholders involved in the CBNRM initiative. Institutional analysis helps to clarify the political dimensions of the programme and gives indication of the degree of community control relative to the influence, power or control of the other institutional actors.

The Gender Analysis method is used to determine the extent to which the unfolding CBNRM initiative has been gender responsive. An indicator that is considered useful for gauging the degree of gender responsiveness of the MCTP is the linkage of the programme objectives and instruments to the perceived needs and aspirations of women and men in the Makuleke community. Attention is given to examining the differences in the ways in which the women and men perceive needs and aspirations. Other indicators that are used are the comparative degrees of representation of men and women in decision-making processes and in the capacity building and skills development projects implemented. Since access to bases of social power and productive wealth determine the level of participation in CBNRM, the study also examines the structure of access by Makuleke women and men to land resources.

Analysis of data emphasises both the rate of achievement of gender specific targets both in qualitative and quantitative terms and the potential for CBNRM programme success using the specified sustainability indicators.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Chapter Two presents a review of relevant literature in order to set the context for the study. Although the study is concerned with the application of community approaches in LDCs in general, particular attention is given to the African experience as it shares greater common background with the case study. Firstly, the key concepts of the study are defined. Then the conceptual and ideological bases for community approaches are examined in order to define the underlying assumptions of CBNRM. Then the critical elements of successful CBNRM, derived from studies done elsewhere, are surveyed as a basis for developing case study-specific indicators. The critical elements are incorporated into the conceptual framework. Lastly, the detailed methodology for the study is presented.

In Chapter Three, the case study is initially cast within context through accounts of the historical background and the broader policy and political environments affecting the Makuleke initiative, as well as the socio-economic conditions prevailing within the community. Following this, the findings of the study are presented, with due cognisance of the indicators developed in the conceptual framework in Chapter Two.

Analysis of the findings is made in Chapter Four. The analysis relies heavily on the indicators developed in Chapter Two. The three main themes of analysis are:

- the implications of the policy environment on the decentralisation of authority over natural resource management and community;
- community participation in the CBNRM programme initiation, formulation and implementation processes; and
- gender access to political decision making.

Chapter Five presents a discussion of findings and an assessment of the potential and the effectiveness of the Makuleke CBNRM initiative. On the basis of concrete empirical findings, suggestions are made for the Makuleke case. While these are not intended as blueprints or rigid guidelines for success, it is hoped that the Makuleke and other similar initiatives elsewhere will find some of the insights gained useful.

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).

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

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.

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.

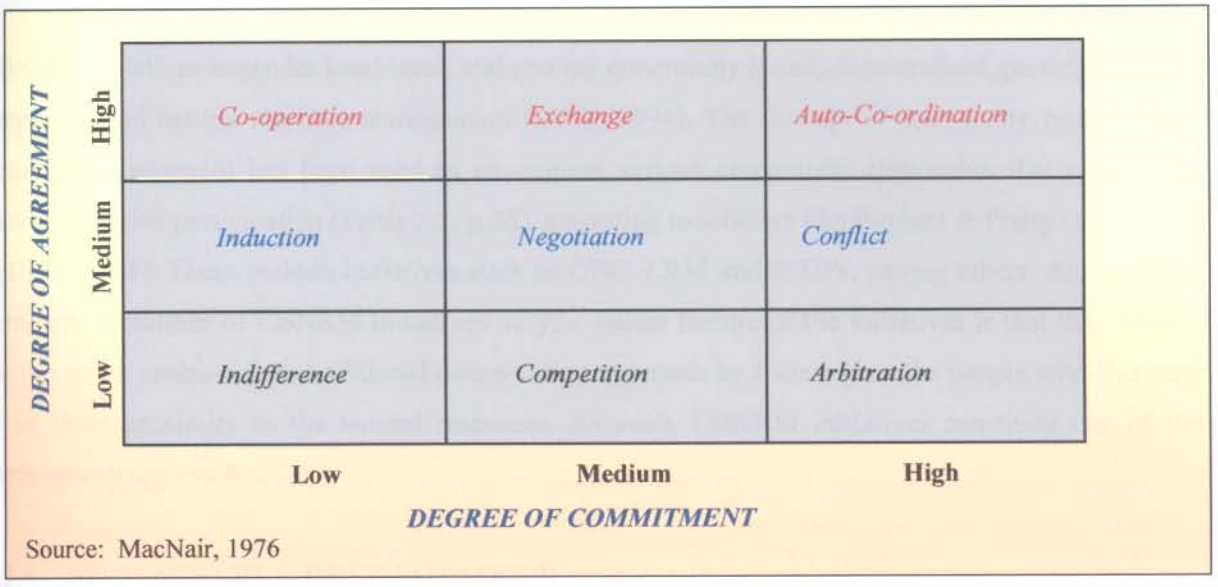
TABLE 2.2: A TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

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

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



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

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).

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

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'

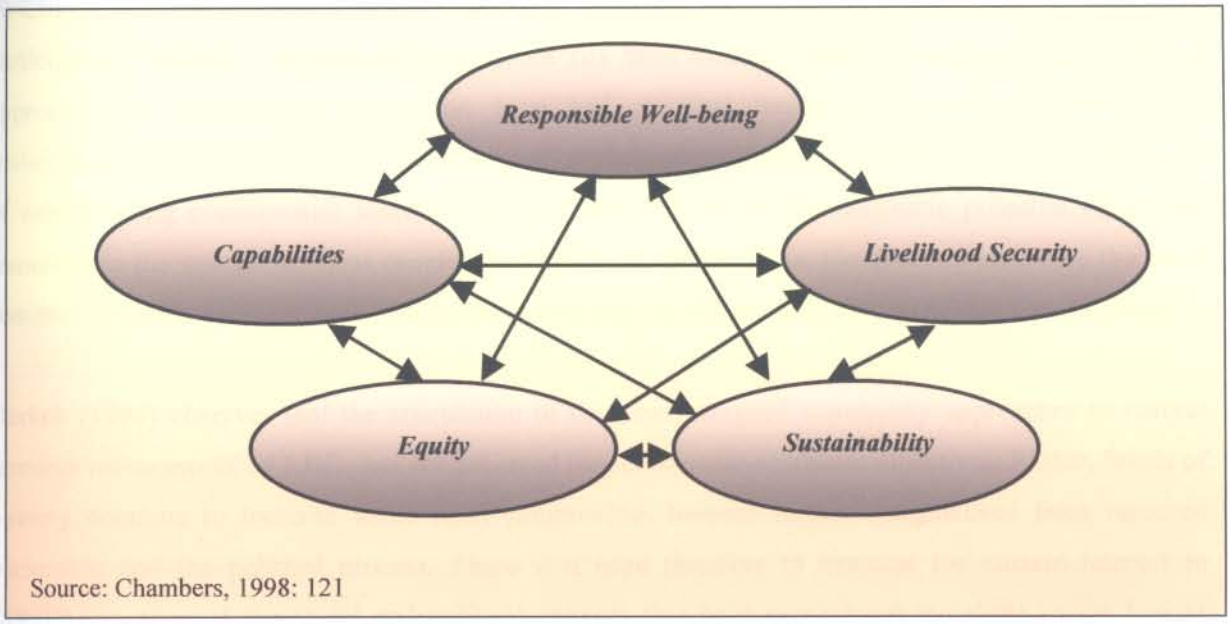
methods of development promotion (Friedmann, 1992). This gave way in the 1970s to a concern with basic needs, and development became centred on people as beneficiaries at household level (Hicks & Streeten, 1979 cited in Moser, 1995:127; Chambers, 1983) (Table 2.3). This was the shift from the traditional 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

(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.

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).

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

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).

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

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).

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.

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

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

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; Nabanc, 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

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.

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.

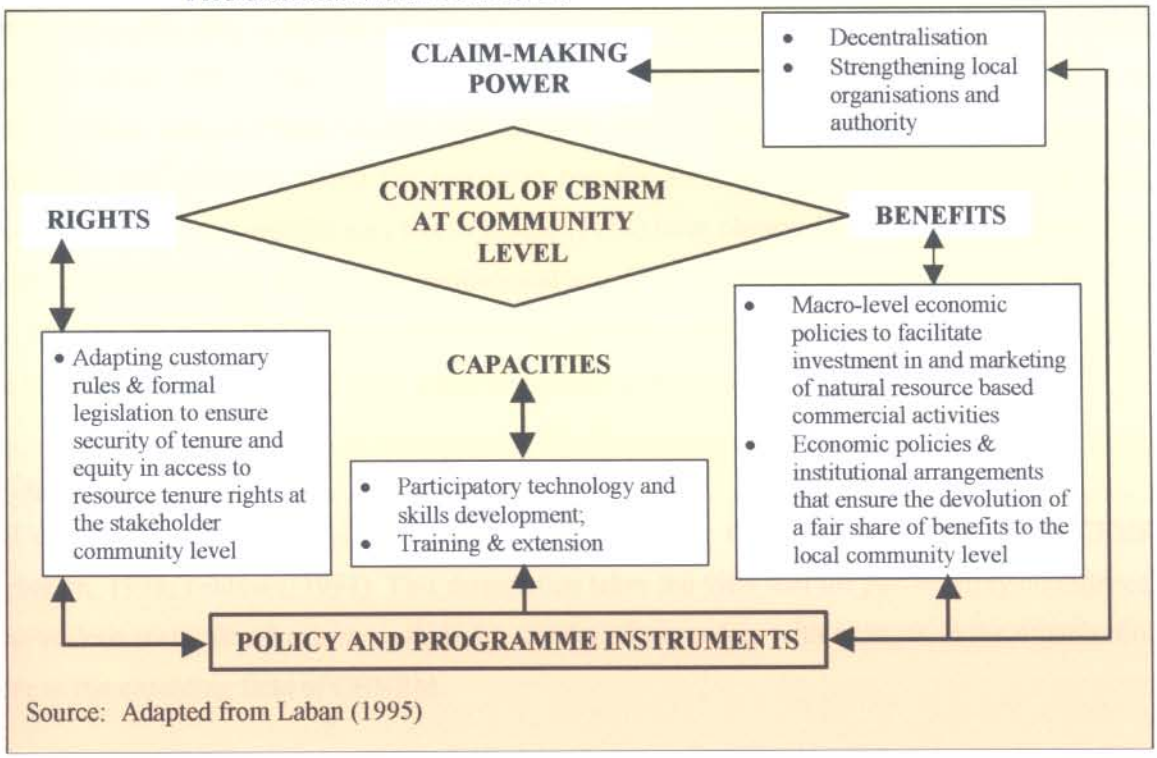
Literature suggests that an incremental degree of political participation by the local community in the successive stages of a CBNRM initiative is essential in enhancing the potential for success of the initiative. A prime factor in this regard is the extent to which a community actively participates 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,

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.

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

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

3.1 LOCATION

3.1.1 SITUATION

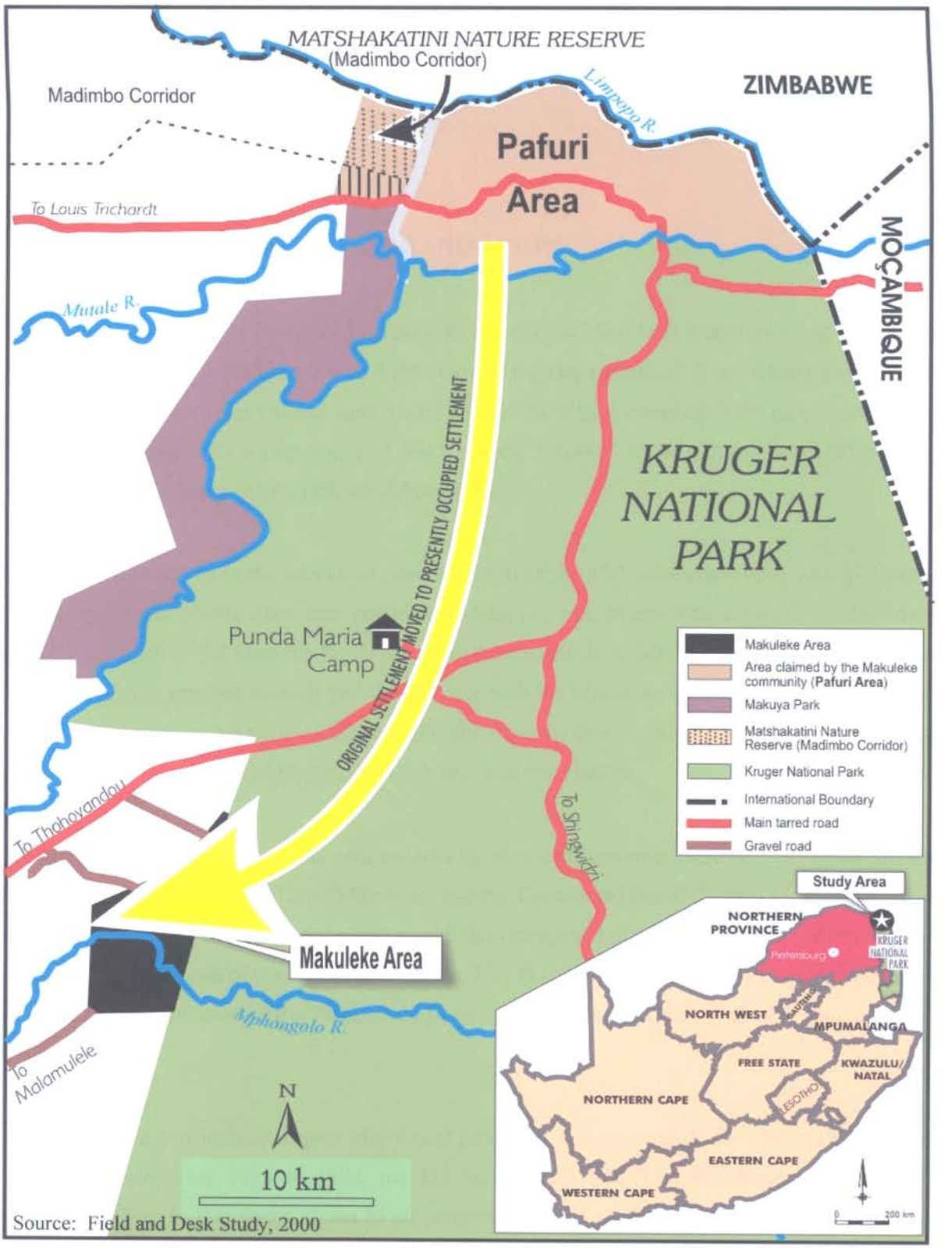
The Makuleke community is situated within the Nthlaveni 2 MU Communal Area along the western boundary of the Kruger National Park (KNP) in the Northern Province of South Africa (Figure 3.1). The specific area occupied by the Makuleke people is referred to as the 'Makuleke area'. This area extends from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

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

3.1.2 SITE

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

FIGURE 3.1: MAKULEKE AREA: SITUATION



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

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

3.2 Socio-economic Setting

3.2.1 SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANISATION

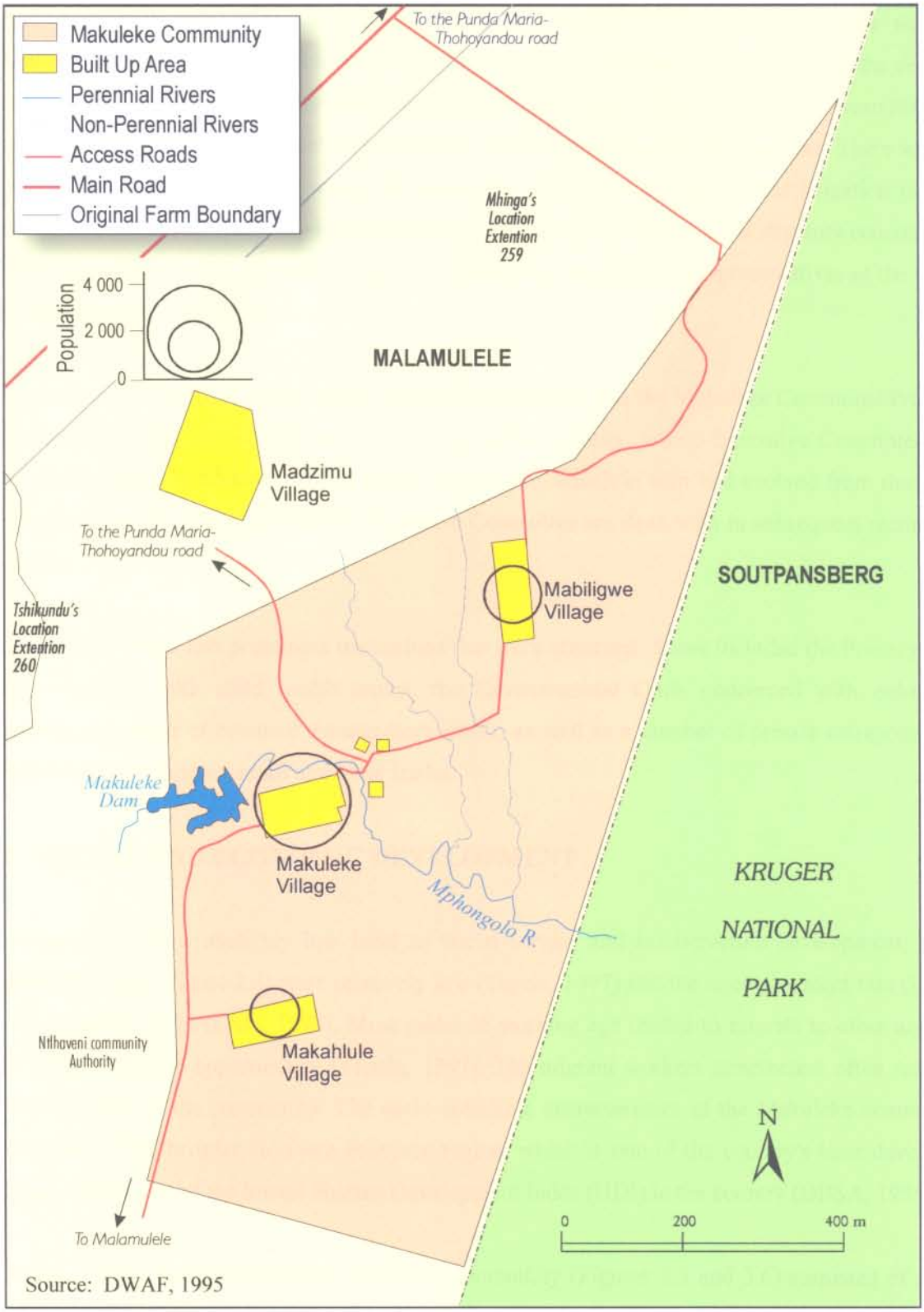
The Makuleke community is distributed between three villages, Makuleke, Mabiligwe and Makahlule (Figure 3.2). According to statistics from a 1995 study by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), the three Makuleke villages have a total population of approximately 8560 people. Makuleke village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

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

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

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

FIGURE 3.2: MAKULEKE AREA: POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1995



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

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

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

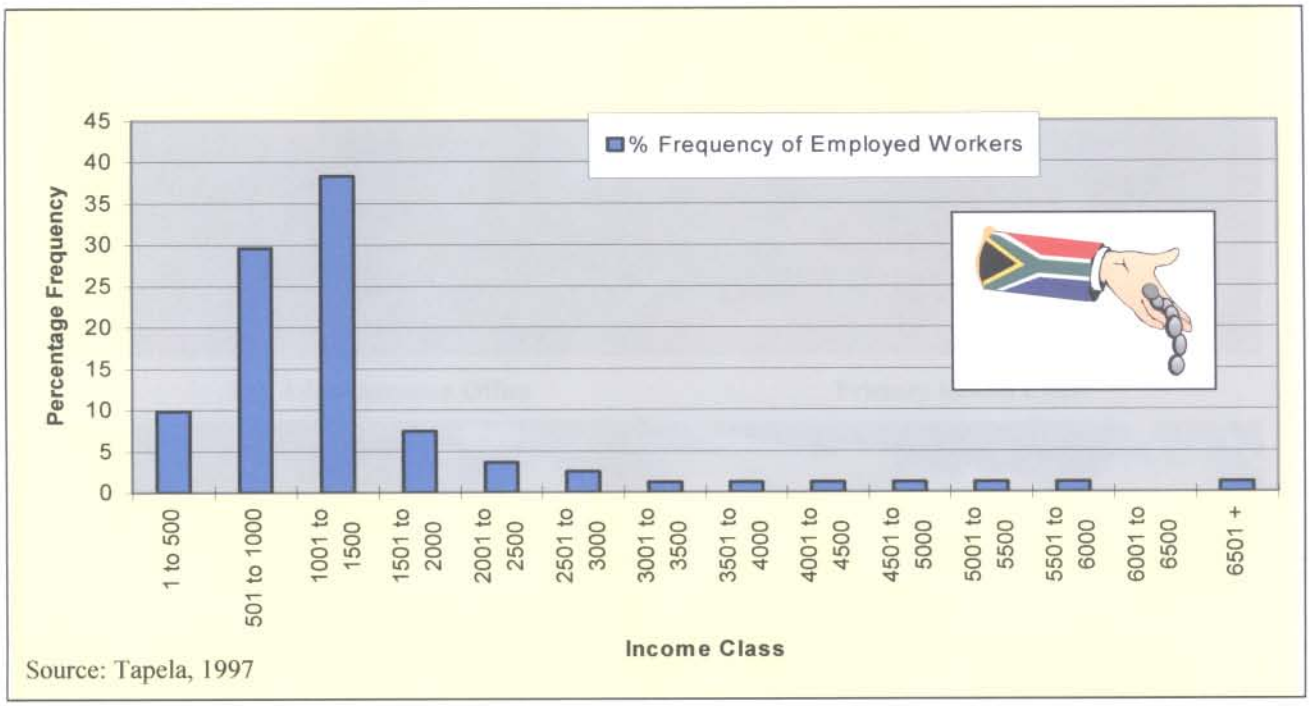
There were also a few less prominent institutions that were observed. These included the Primary Care Group, concerned with child health issues; the Environmental Club, concerned with enhancing community awareness of resource management issues; as well as a number of private entrepreneurial actors involved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

3.2.2 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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

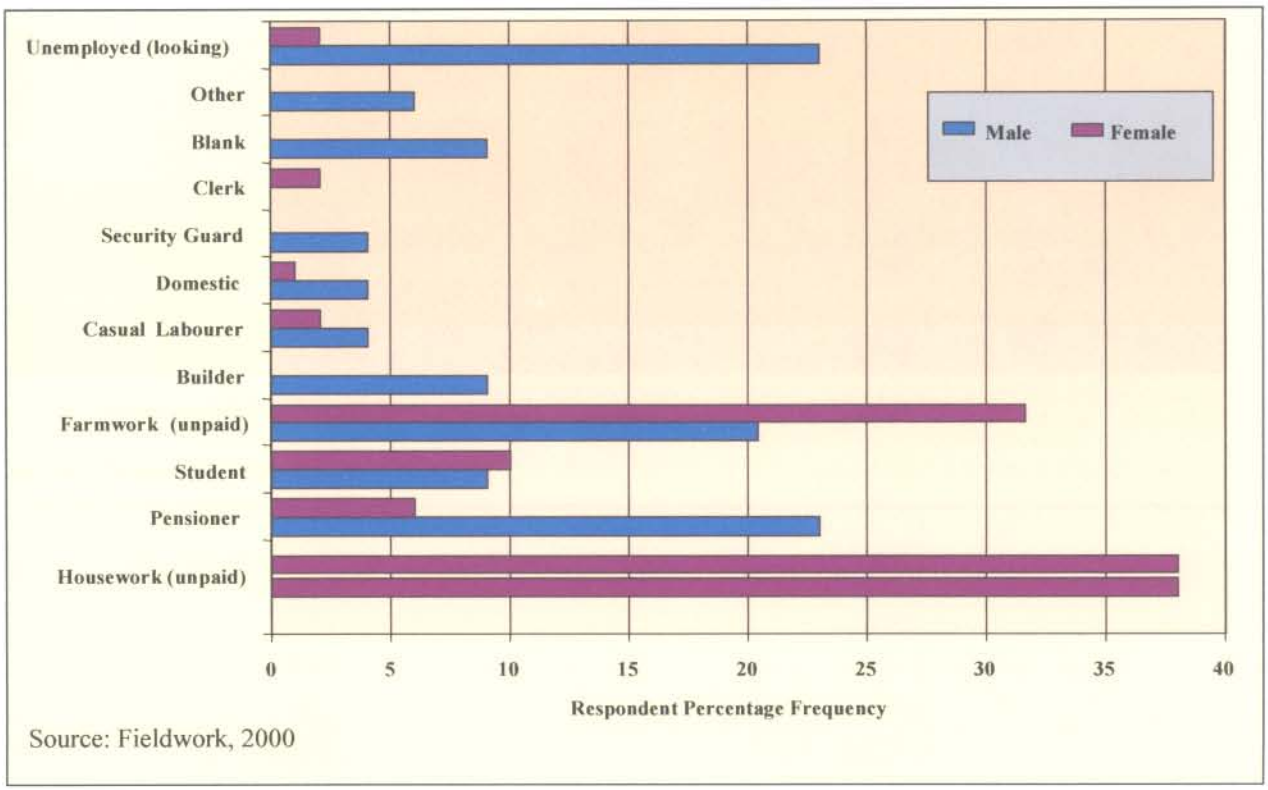
The social services and infrastructure within the community (Figures 3.5 and 3.6) consisted of a few schools, a primary health clinic, administrative offices, a telecommunications office, general dealer's shops, market stalls, some electrification, piped water supply, pit latrines, dust and gravel roads,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

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



Source: Tapela, 1997

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



Source: Fieldwork, 2000

FIGURE 3.5: MAKULEKE AREA: SOCIAL SERVICES, 2000

The Administration Office

Primary Health Clinic

Primary School

General Dealer's Shop

Telecommunications Office

Market Stall

Source: Fieldwork, 2000

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

Piped water supply

Traditional mud and thatch structures

Modern dwelling structures

Source: Fieldwork, 2000

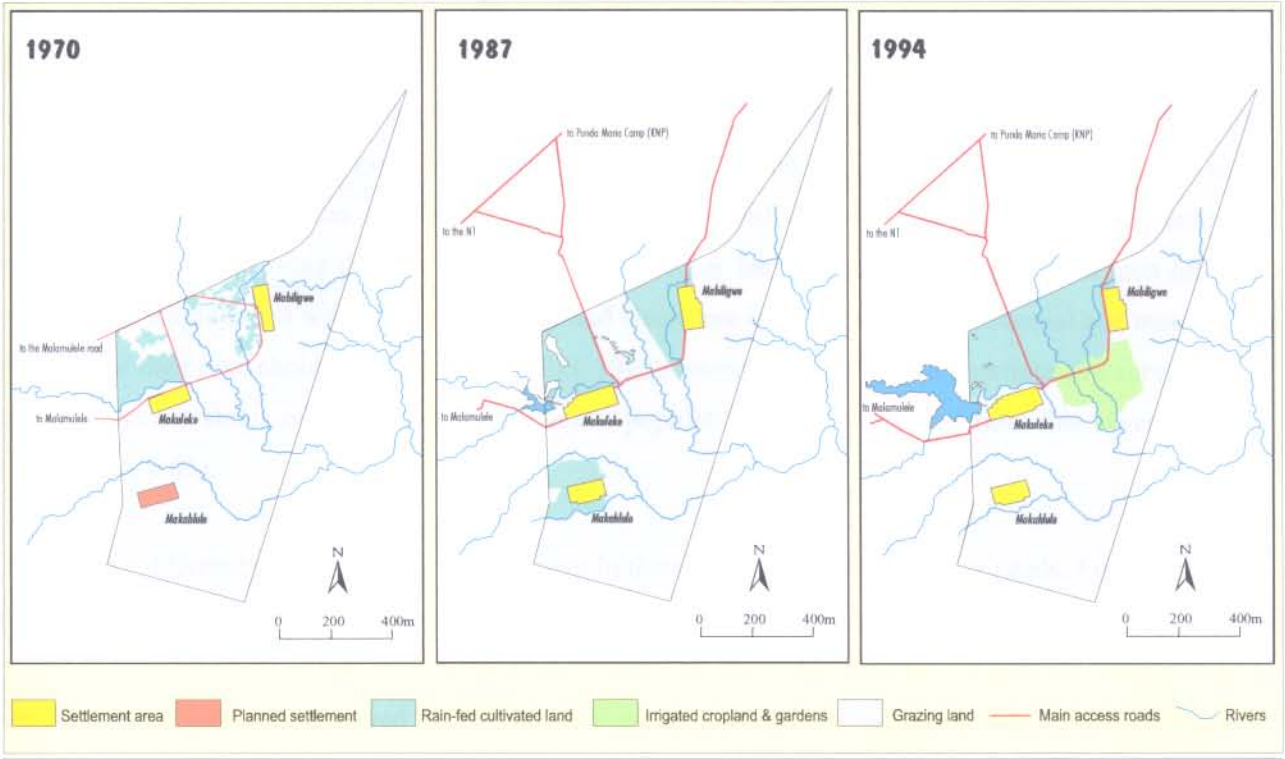
Part of the road network within the villages was threatened by gully erosion. The communal water taps ('stand pipes') were often in need of repair and the ever-present long queues of both people and water containers bore testimony to the inconsistent water supply. Members of the community therefore tended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

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

3.2.3 LAND USE AND TENURE

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

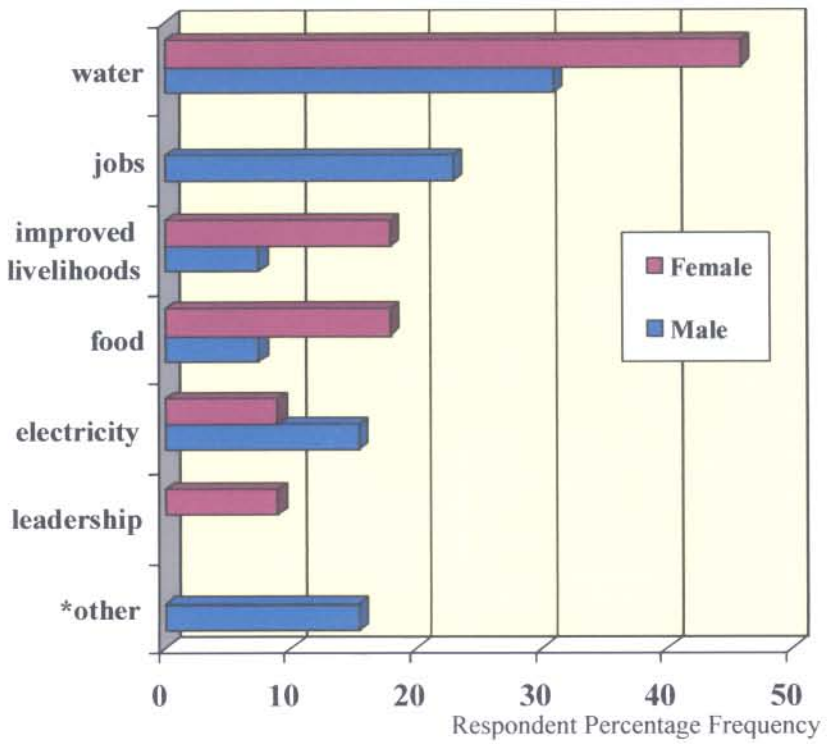
3.2.4 GENDER PERCEPTIONS ON COMMUNITY NEEDS

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

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

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

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



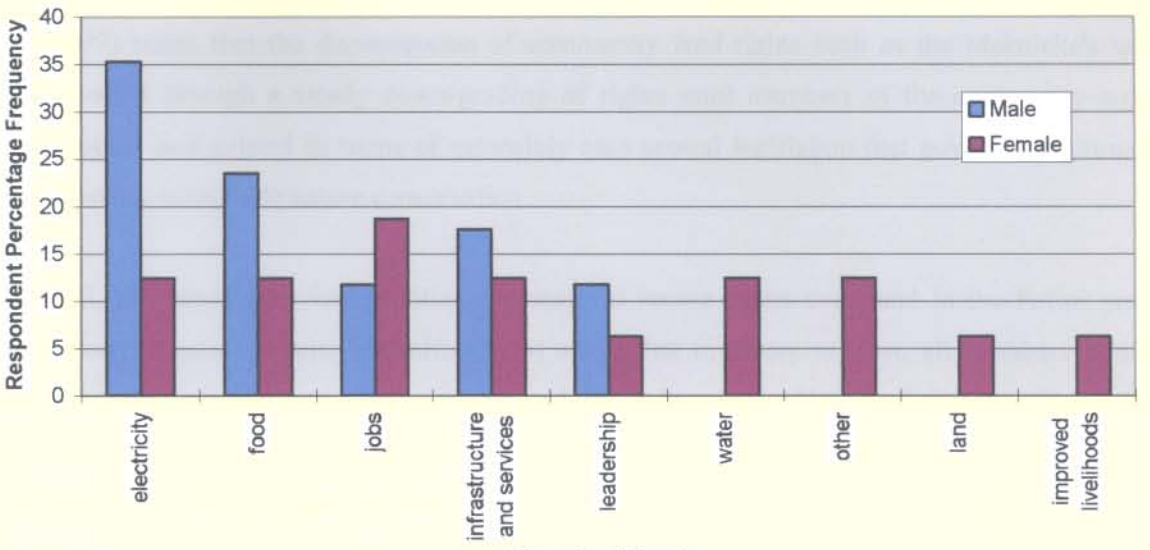
Source: Fieldwork, 2000

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

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

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

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



Source: Fieldwork, 2000

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

3.3 Historical Background: Forced Removal

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.4 Broader Policy and Political Context

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5 Toward Active Community Participation: The Makuleke Land Claim

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

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

3.5.1 FACTORS LEADING TO THE LODGING OF THE LAND CLAIM

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.5.2 DELINEATION OF THE CLAIM AREA

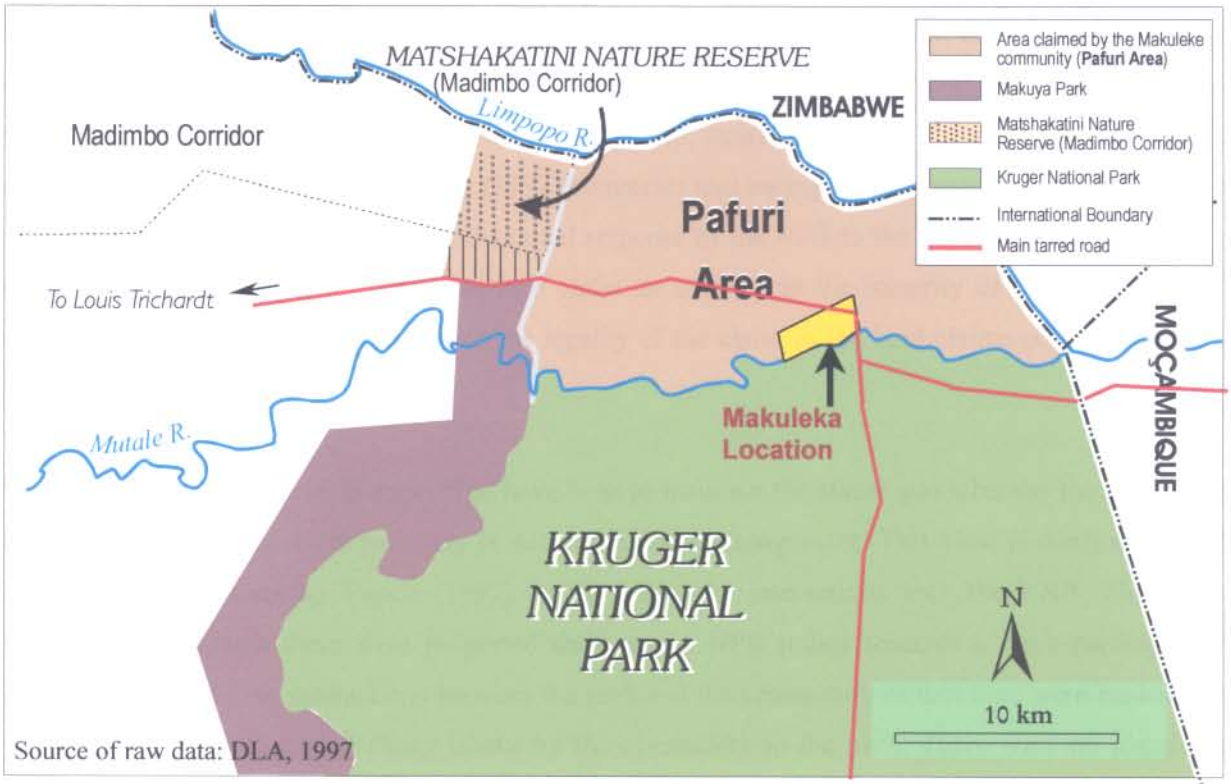
In terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act of 1994, the community was entitled to claim only the land they had occupied from 1913 to the time of their removal in 1969. The Makuleke community therefore claimed the whole of the area they had occupied at Pafuri prior to their removal, which was approximately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

3.5.3 LAND CLAIM SETTLEMENT PROCESS

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

3.5.3.2 Early Phase of the Land Claim Process: Active Consultation

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

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

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

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

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

3.5.3.3 Intermediary Phase: Seeking Consensus through Negotiation and Functional Partnership

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Land rights

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

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

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

The Co-management Regime

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

Utilisation Rights

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

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

Employment of Staff and Capacity Building

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

Income and Costs

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

Source: South Africa 1998a

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

3.6 Makuleke Conservation and Tourism Programme (MCTP)

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

3.6.1 PROGRAMME AIM AND OBJECTIVES

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

The objectives of the MCTP were:

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

3.6.2 PROGRAMME PRINCIPLES

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

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

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

3.6.3 NATURE OF THE RESOURCE BASE

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

3.6.3.1 Spatial Distribution of the Resource Base

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

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

3.6.3.2 Human Population Demand-Resource Ratio

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

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

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

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

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

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

3.6.4 MCTP ORGANISATIONAL STRUCTURE

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

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

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

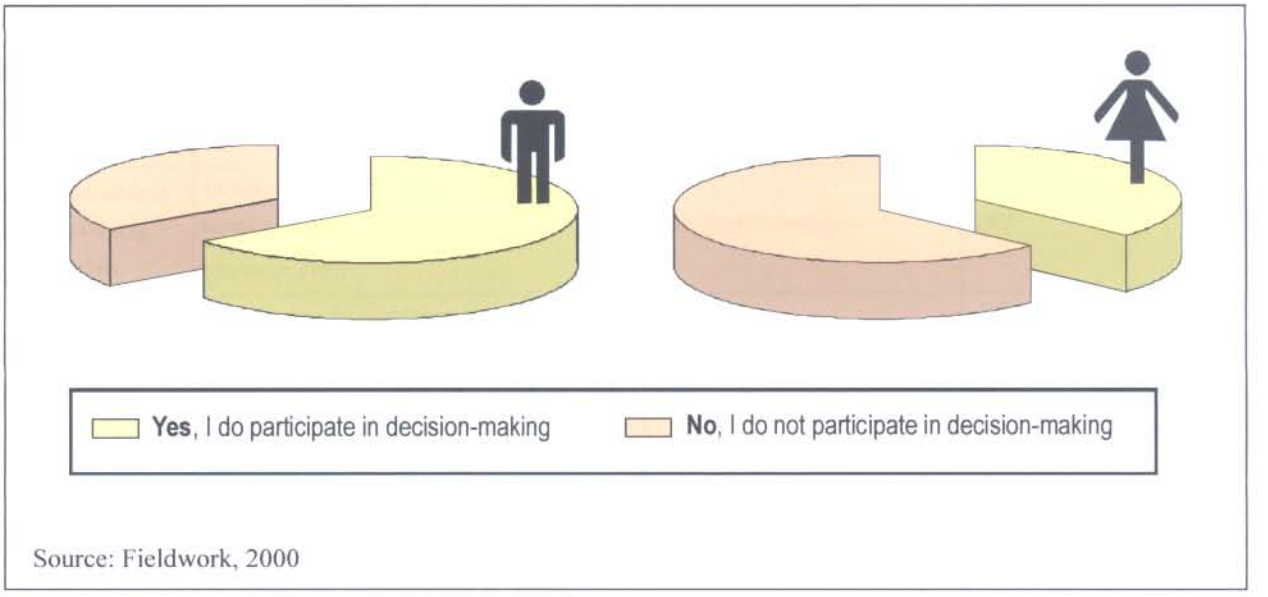
The Programme Office also managed the day to day affairs of the MCPA Executive and co-ordinated the implementation of projects within the programme. The Programme Office employed a few workers, including a Programme Co-ordinator drawn from the community and a Programme Facilitator drawn from the FoM.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

3.6.5 INSTITUTIONAL ACTORS AT THE PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION LEVEL

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

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

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



Source: Fieldwork, 2000

3.6.6 GENDER PARTICIPATION IN POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

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

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

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

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

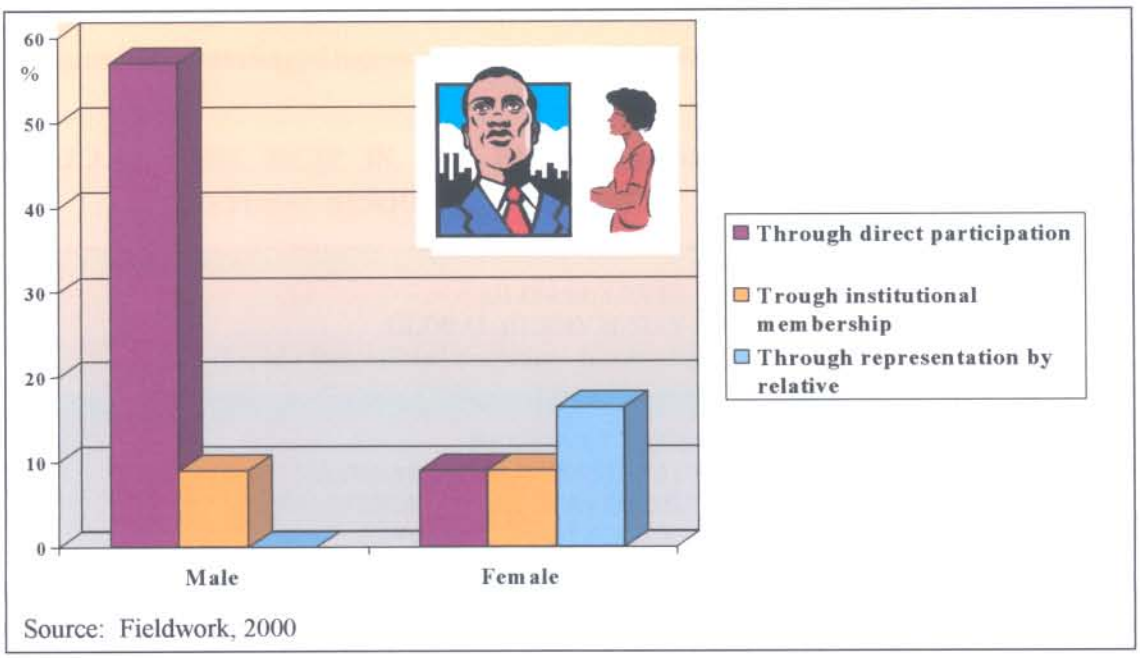
The History Project	To document the oral history of the 1969 forced removal of the Makuleke & the micro-politics surrounding the land claim. (PhD research, University of the Witwatersrand, Dept. of Social Anthropology). *(Duration: 1996-98)*	FRD	CBRI
The KNP-Makuleke Interactions Research Project	To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

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

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

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

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



Source: Fieldwork, 2000

3.6.7 GENDER ACCESS TO CAPACITY DEVELOPMENT

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

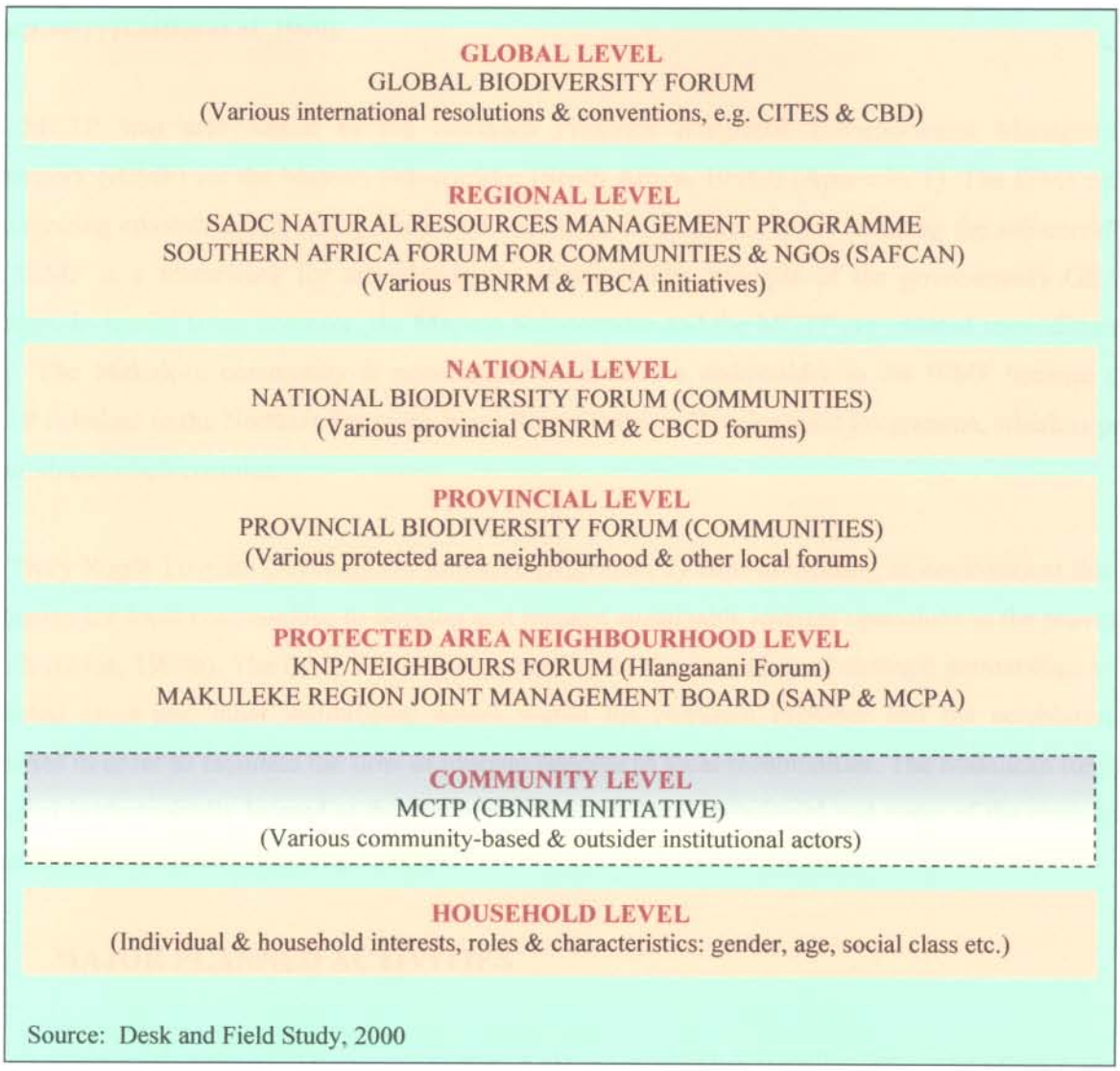
The study found that of the ten community development projects that had been initiated, three were gender-specific. These focussed on women's needs and aimed at promoting the role of women in community development. These projects included the Women's project, the Women's Facilitation Project and the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

3.6.8 LINKS WITH OTHER SIMILAR INITIATIVES

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

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

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



Source: Desk and Field Study, 2000

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

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

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

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

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

3.6.9 MAJOR PLANNED ACTIVITIES

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

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

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

3.7 Emerging Issues in the Makuleke CBNRM Initiative

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

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

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

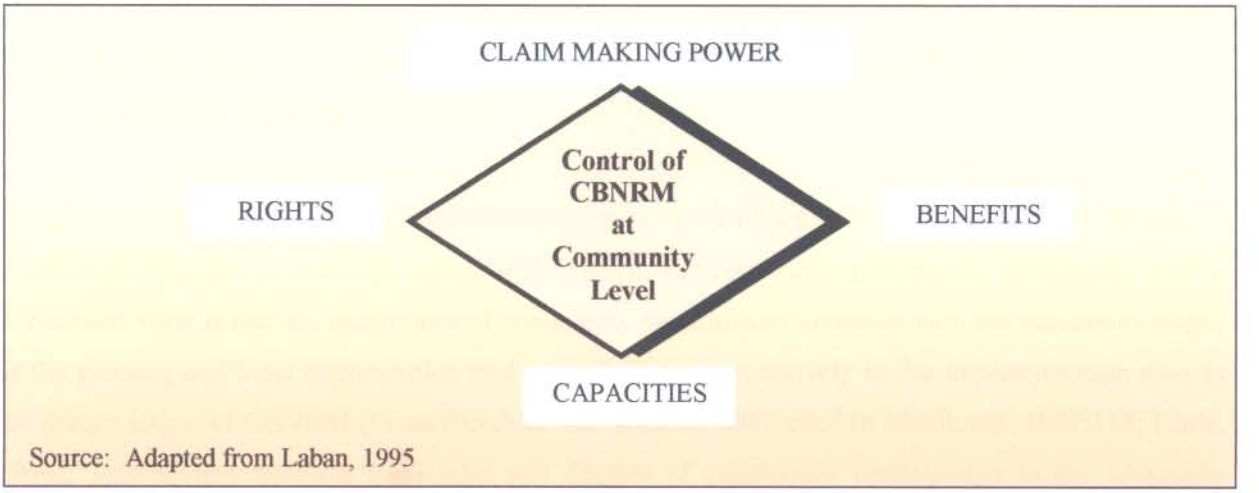
CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

4.1 Community Control in the Makuleke CBNRM Initiative

4.1.1 ANALYSIS OF IMPLICATIONS OF THE NATIONAL POLICY ENVIRONMENT ON THE DECENTRALISATION OF AUTHORITY OVER NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

The pre-conditions for community level control over CBNRM include the political empowerment of the community, secure tenure rights, the devolution of benefits from resource management to community level and the capacity of the community to manage the resource base (Figure 4.1).

FIGURE 4.1: PRECONDITIONS FOR COMMUNITY LEVEL CONTROL IN THE CBNRM: A SUMMARY



Source: Adapted from Laban, 1995

At governmental level, it would seem that there has been political will to promote active community participation in natural resource management. In the Makuleke case, the shift towards active participation appears to have started after 1994 after the promulgation of the Restitution of Land Rights Act. This statutory instrument appears to have provided the necessary impetus for the convergence of community roles in environmental governance, land ownership and entry into the benefits-stream emanating from natural resource management.

Following the promulgation of the Restitution of Land Rights Act, there were some complimentary shifts in the Environmental Management policy (South Africa, 1997d) as well as the formulation of the SANP Policy on Land Claims in National Parks (SANP, 1998). These have provided for broader public participation in conservation and the integration of conservation and development objectives. There was

also the passing of the Communal Property Associations Act (South Africa, 1996b), which allowed the formation of community CBOs that are representative and legally accountable entities. The Makuleke CBO formed in terms of this statute has therefore been strengthened by legislation in its role as the appropriate authority in the land claim settlement and the CBNRM initiative.

At the CBNRM programme level, there has been attempt to enhance the conservation and business management skill and organisational capacity within the Makuleke community. The programme instruments compliment the government's effort at strengthening local governance and CBO structures, as well as the SANP's purported commitment to institutional capacity building for effective participation in environmental governance and management.

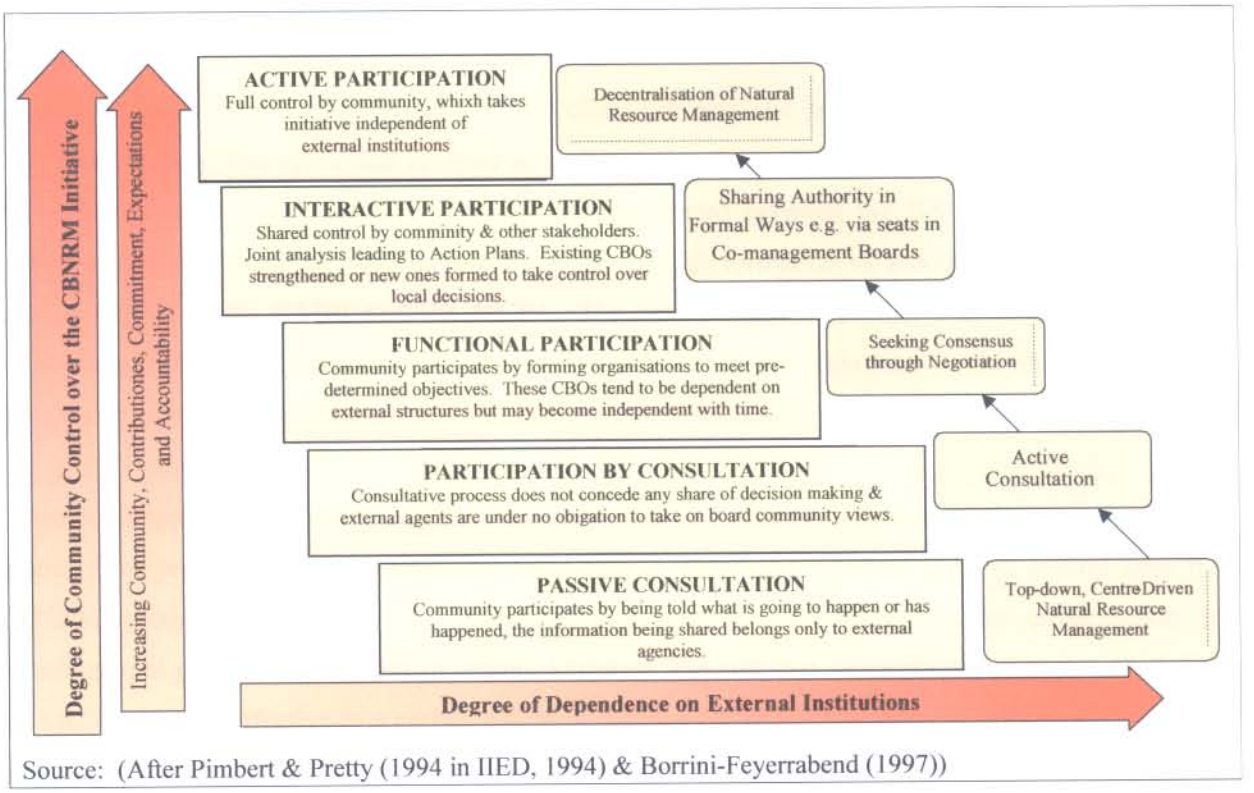
The various policies and instruments appear to have been set to enable the pre-conditions for community level control over CBNRM to be met. What remains to be seen is the extent to which this will actually lead to enhanced community control over CBNRM and, ultimately, active community participation in resource management.

4.1.2 ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE MCTP FORMULATION PROCESS

It has been suggested the most critical factor in the success of a CBNRM initiative is the degree of political participation in decision making by the stakeholder community (Murphree, 1994; Little, 1994). A common view is that the importance of community participation increases with the successive stages of the process, and local communities tend to participate more actively in the implementation than in the design stages of CBNRM (Finsterbusch & van Wicklin, 1987 cited in Manikutty, 1997:118; Little, 1994). This section analyses the modes and degrees of community participation in the Makuleke CBNRM process (Figure 4.2).

The Makuleke CBNRM process appears to have been set in motion by the promulgation of the Restitution of Land Rights Act in 1994. Stage 1 of the diagram represents the period from the passing of this statute to the initial part of the Early Phase of the land claim process in 1996. The salient features of this period stretch back from the 1969 forced removal of the Makuleke from the Pafuri area. The passive mode of participation at this stage was largely due to the top-down centre-driven conservationist approach that has traditionally characterised state protected area management in South Africa. The legacy of this approach appear to have persisted into the early part of the post-apartheid policy reform process, despite the purported shifts in approach by the NPB. This has been attributed to perceptions by some individual NPB members that the Makuleke land claim was a threat to the integrity of the KNP, rather than a lack of political will within the NPB as a whole (Fig, 1997).

FIGURE 4.2: A CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE PROCESS OF DECENTRALISATION OF THE RESOURCE MANAGEMENT RESPONSIBILITY TO THE MAKULEKE COMMUNITY



Source: (After Pimbert & Pretty (1994 in IIED, 1994) & Borrini-Feyerrabend (1997))

Stage 2 of Figure 4.2 marks the commencement of the shift towards active community participation in institutionalised CBNRM. This period corresponds to the later part of the Early Phase of the land claim settlement process. This development was characterised by active consultation, mainly between the SANP and KNP officials on one hand and the Makuleke community and its advisors on the other. The consultative process included issues such as the Buffer Zone proposal by park officials, the SANP/KNP policy review and the KNP Neighbours' forums. Such consultations, however, did not concede any share of decision making, and the SANP and KNP agencies were under no obligation to take on board the views by the community. The Makuleke therefore opted to keep this consultative process separate from the land claim issue. By pressing further with their demand for ownership of the Pafuri area, they took their role in environmental governance to a higher level of participation.

Stage 3 represents the Intermediary Phase of the land claim settlement process. The period was characterised by consensus seeking through negotiation between various stakeholders, principal of which were the SANP and the Makuleke community. The community was required in terms of the Communal Property Associations Act of 1996 to form a CPA, which would be the appropriate authority in the land claim settlement. With the formation of the MCPA, the mode of community participation became functional. The implications of the formation of the MCPA, a legally constituted CBO structure, were that the other stakeholders were legally obliged to take the community views into

account. The Makuleke had to rely heavily on external assistance at this stage since the process involved highly specialised negotiation.

Stage 4 represents the Final Phase of the land claim process. The settlement agreement was reached during this period. The agreement resulted in an interactive form of community participation, whereby the authority vested over the Makuleke Region was shared between the SANP and the Makuleke community. The sharing of control was structured through formation of a Joint Management Board representing both the SANP and the MCPA. The co-management regime that emerged from the negotiation process meant that the control over the CBNRM by the Makuleke would remain shared for at least fifty years.

Through compromise, the Makuleke had conceded a significant share of their control, and it would take at least fifty years before the community could exert a significantly higher level of control over the CBNRM process (Stage 5). The implications of delaying active community participation in environmental governance had yet to unfold. However, the adaptive management strategy adopted in the MCTP may be effective to a certain extent in catering for changes in community demands as they arise. In this regard, one issue that seems important is the way in which the Makuleke people shared in the definition of the CBNRM initiative during the initial stages of the programme formulation process.

4.1.3 ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE INITIATION OF THE MCTP

The MCTP may seem from the outside as being a potentially successful CBNRM initiative owing to the implementation to near perfection of the universal principles of CBNRM. The potential for success of the MCTP may also seem to be a result of a popular peasant movement to gain rights over their natural resources, in interaction with a global movement for new participatory arrangements that involve local communities in natural resource management. A closer examination of the mode of initiation of the MCTP, however, reveals that the Makuleke initiative did not initially evolve in tandem with the global movement. Rather, the initial impetus for the Makuleke land claim is strongly linked to the historical political and social changes that have occurred within South Africa.

The findings of this study show that the Makuleke lodged their land claim of the Pafuri area on the basis of their grievances over the forced removal. It appears that during the negotiation process, the land claim issue was captured to become an integral part of a broader global process of decentralisation of environmental governance to local community level. The MCTP was then included in a region-wide plan to establish Trans-border natural resource management and conservation areas (TBNRMs &

TBCAs) within Southern Africa. This plan was already at proposal stage when the Makuleke lodged their land claim (Robinson, 1996:11; Pinnock, 1996).

The Makuleke had viewed the Pafuri area as an extension of the community's resource base. They had therefore envisaged that, in the event of restitution, they would engage in diamond mining in partnership with private institutions. This would then generate the sorely needed income for community development and employment opportunities. However, a pre-condition that was made prior to the granting of ownership rights to the Makuleke was that the Pafuri area would continue to be used as a protected area, with allowances for appropriate conservation-based tourism development in order to generate income and employment. The protected area, known as the Makuleke Region, was to be co-managed by the JMB consisting of representatives of the SANP and the MCPA.

This shows that the Makuleke community at that point did not have enough power to set the terms for its own participation. Their pressing need for income for community development and employment opportunities were therefore aligned with the broader interest by conservation agencies, environmentalists and tourism agencies at national and international level to create TBNRMs and TBCAs. However, there do not seem to be strong guarantees that the tourism option will generate the required income or employment, as past experience has shown that economic benefits to communities tend to trickle down as the greater proportion of revenue accrues to tourism agencies at higher levels of the hierarchy.

The study found that there were two different views on the issue of continued protection of the Makuleke Region. The prevailing view was optimistic that the continued protection of the Makuleke Region at Pafuri would generate the required employment opportunities and revenue from tourism. Another view that subsisted was that community interest would best have been served if the MCPA Executive Committee had insisted on maximum resource control rights, particularly for the purposes of mineral exploitation.

Little (1994) has iterated the importance of a shared definition of the CBNRM problem. Except for the initial impetus of the land claim, the conception of the MCTP appears to have originated almost entirely from a small group within government and NGOs. These have enabled the initiation of an innovative CBNRM programme, and then required of it a series of compromises on CBNRM principles. More obviously, the restrictions have been imposed by global conservation interests and conventions to which the state is signatory. However, there also seem to lurk in the background some interests by private tourism entrepreneurs who have a stake in the proposed TBCAs and TBNRMs. Thus, while the convergence of the community and the broader interests appears to have been achieved, what will determine the success of the MCTP is probably the capacity of the initiative to effect meaningful improvement in the livelihoods and wellbeing of the community.

4.1.4 ANALYSIS OF COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN THE PROGRAMME IMPLEMENTATION PROCESS

At the time of this study, the MCTP structure was such that political decision making remained the prerogative of the MCPA Executive Committee, with assistance from the FoM, an outsider trust organisation. The larger population of the Makuleke community seemed to be making effort towards active participation in the implementation of CBNRM projects. It seems important therefore that the MCPA Executive Committee should be viewed as a legitimate structure by the community.

The legitimacy of the executive seems to derive more strongly from the extent to which it pursues community interests than from their democratic accession into office. The question of accountability is therefore critical. The extent to which the MCPA Executive acts accountably towards their constituency will contribute to whether or not the community considers the executive legitimate. In turn, the extent to which the FoM acts accountably to the MCPA Executive Committee will determine whether or not the committee views the trust organisation as a legitimate advisor. Perhaps an important consideration is that there should be transparency and no unjustified duality of function by the institutional actors at programme governance level.

With regard to projects implemented within the MTCP framework, an important factor seems to be the extent to which there is transparency and fairness in the selection of individuals or interest groups targeted by the programme. At the time of the study, the programme instruments included the development of the organisational skills of the Executive Committee. The extent to which the executive will use skills such as effective communication, ethical conduct and conflict resolution to strike an acceptable balance between the different social classes, competing political structures and different vested interests may determine the success of the programme within the term of the particular Executive Committee.

The question of transparency and fairness is probably a key decisive factor where the sharing of economic benefits is concerned. Following the restitution of land rights and the initiation of the CBNRM programme, expectations of improved livelihoods, employment opportunities and community development were raised. However, two issues may be problematic.

The first issue relates to the dialectics of cost and benefit sharing. In this instance, the members of the Executive Committee may feel justified in arguing that they should get some measure of individual benefit or reward for shouldering the community costs of the CBNRM initiative. Indeed two questions that were asked by members of the executive were:

- Should members of the MCPA Executive Committee who are involved in project planning be given incentives, or should they suffer individual costs for the larger community benefit?
- Where participation by Executive Committee members is required in research and consultancy work, why should the outsider consultants, researchers and facilitators derive individual benefit while the community-based committee members do not?

However, it is possible that the community constituency that elects individuals into office may misconstrue the rewards to committee members as a form of self-interest. On the other hand, it seems fair that individual cost should be balanced with individual benefit. At the time of the study the resolution of this problem had yet to be made. It is perhaps reasonable to surmise that while the community members themselves are best placed to settle problems of community dynamics, there is a need for outsiders to demonstrate that they do not take advantage of the community while accumulating their own benefits.

The second issue on economic benefits concerns the ability of the CBNRM initiative to deliver meaningful rather than trickle down benefits to the Makuleke community. Historical experience prior to the MCTP shows that the disadvantaged members community have generally not benefited much from development initiatives such as the Makuleke Irrigation Scheme (LRG, 1995). Historical experience with CBNRM initiative elsewhere has also shown that conservation-based commercial activities such as tourism have not yielded meaningful benefit particularly at household level (Ngobese, 1994; Koch, 1994). This reiterates the view by this study that the potential for success of the MCTP will probably depend largely upon the capacity of the programme to effect meaningful improvement in the livelihoods and wellbeing of the community.

4.2 Gender Issues in the Makuleke CBNRM Initiative

4.2.1 ANALYSIS OF GENDER ACCESS TO POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING IN THE MCTP

This study found that the MCTP derived some of its key principles from the MCPA Constitution. The MCPA Constitution makes provision for gender equity in the make up of the Executive Committee (MCPA, 1997:9; South Africa, 1996:5). The ideal gender representation in the MCPA committee is therefore fifty percent for both the women and the men.

An examination of the programme instruments revealed that attempt had been made to incorporate gender concerns into the design and implementation framework of the MCTP. The Stakeholder Analysis that was done at the beginning of the programme identified the various interests, roles,

resources and relationships of stakeholders ranging from community to international level. At community level, the different interests were also identified and specific interest groups targeted. Particular emphasis was placed on the role of women within the programme.

The findings of the study revealed however that the percentage of women members of the Executive Committee was below the target. Furthermore, the study found that more women than men considered that they did not participate in political decision-making (Figure 3.14 in Chapter Three).

The observed characteristics of gender participation in decision making probably relate to the programme model adopted by the Makuleke. Policy formulation and decision making has been undertaken within a community governance framework that merges the older traditional leadership and the newer, democratically elected political structures. Thus despite efforts by the MCPA Executive Committee to actively involve both women and men in decision making, access to programme governance has been greater for men than women. This seems to confirm the observation by scholars like Friedmann (1992) that gender roles are deeply imbedded within the cultural matrix. It would appear that the social structures and attitudes that favour male dominance remain entrenched within the community, militating against the strategic participation of women in the CBNRM governance.

Due to the persistence of social structures and attitudes that discriminate against women, it would seem that the MCTP has adopted a 'project approach' as a means of facilitating participation by women. While there are merits in the project approach, there is a potential danger that the approach that was observed at the time of the study may fail to significantly improve the lives of the Makuleke women and may probably further marginalise them from mainstream economic production. Part of the problem with the observed project approach relates to its emphasis on consumption rather than production, with many of the women's projects reinforcing the 'home economics' stereotype of appropriate women's activities.

For so long as the social and cultural restrictions on the participation by women lag behind efforts to promote women's access to political decision making, there is a danger that the women's interests may persist in being marginalised. Indeed, there were observations that although the needs for income and employment opportunities have been addressed, the livelihood needs strongly expressed by the Makuleke women do not seem to have been given sufficient attention. Rather, the formulation of the CBNRM initiative appears to have emphasised the community needs perceived by men. Given that women constitute a significant proportion of the productive population at Makuleke (LRG, 1995), there seems to be a need for a more equitable emphasis on gender needs. There is also a need to balance the promotion of women's participation in both the basic and strategic components of CBNRM.

CHAPTER 5: POTENTIAL AND EFFECTIVENESS OF THE MAKULEKE INITIATIVE: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presents a discussion of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats identified in the case study and summarised in Table 5.1. The discussion proceeds to link the substantive evaluation of the case study to the broader issues in the field of CBNRM.

TABLE 5.1: A SUMMARY OF THE MCTP STRENGTHS, WEAKNESSES, OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS, 1998 TO 2000

STRENGTHS	WEAKNESSES
• Enabling policy & political environment • Legislative support • Institutional strength • Diverse nature of the resource base • MCTP principles of equity and accountability • Adaptive management approach • Community cohesion • Vertical & horizontal integration	• Negative perceptions about community-led CBNRM • Persistence of certain restrictive legislation • Institutional weaknesses • Disjunct spatial distribution of natural resource base • Persistence of negative customary gender roles • Insufficient attention to certain livelihood needs • Vertical integration however may result in community interests subsuming to those of the more powerful higher level institutional actors • Lack of adequate community funds to offset the commercial activities in the Makuleke Region • Language often a barrier to effective communication
OPPORTUNITIES	**THREATS**
• A balanced focus on both the development needs & livelihoods may enhance the efficiency of the MCTP in reducing poverty & inequality; • A balanced focus on the sustainable use of resources both in the Makuleke Region & in the Makuleke area may avert excessive demands in the former as the latter becomes further depleted. • A balanced focus on both the basic & strategic needs may promote real improvements in well being, livelihoods, equity, capacities & sustainability. • The controlled harvesting of resources such as elephants may generate the required income to offset commercial activities in the Makuleke Region.	If the CBNRM initiative fails to transform the existing poverty & inequality within a tolerable time span: • The democratisation of environmental governance may result in greater demands by community for the exploitation of resources; • The strong influence of donors, NGOs & state agencies that has resulted in the launching of a programme whose objectives are not universally shared by the community members may be questioned & the concept of CBNRM rejected by some. • The existing weaknesses in policy co-ordination between the neighbouring states adjacent to the Makuleke Region in the harvesting of fugitive resources such as elephants, whose ruminating ranges traverse national boundaries, may result in threats to regional environmental security and peace.
Source: Fieldwork, 2000	

5.1 Evaluation of the Strengths and Weaknesses of the MCTP

5.1.1 ENABLING POLICY AND POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT

A critical factor strengthening the MCTP is the prevailing enabling policy and political environment at national, regional and global levels.

At the global level, the emergence of the sustainable development doctrine and the attendant shifts in international relations towards an enmeshing of economic and ecological concerns (MacNeill et al, 1991) has paved the way for the flow of funding and technical assistance towards institutionalised CBNRM initiatives.

At the regional level, the articulation of global sustainable development imperatives as well as the regional integration objectives of the Southern African Development Council (SADC) has given rise to a synergy in the bubbling up of CBNRM initiatives.

At the national level, the post-apartheid policy reform process has responded primarily to the internal popular movement for the formal acknowledgement of democratic rights of people such as the Makuleke who have been disadvantaged by past government policies. The South African policy reform process has been linked to national restructuring, the resolution of land disputes and political reform. The post-apartheid government has also ratified the global and regional resolutions on the articulation of principles of sustainable development and in particular the enunciation by Agenda 21 of the key role of local communities in the conservation of natural resources.

It is worth noting however that policy shifts are an initial step towards the decentralisation of authority over natural resource management. Policy alone, however, is not enough to confer secure rights to communities and to strengthen the position of communities as institutional actors in environmental governance. In view of observations elsewhere that there tend to persist certain pieces of legislation, policy statements and documents that restrict the strength of local communities in CBNRM, there is a need for the policy development process to be complimented by legislative and institutional reform. Such complimentary reform, as well as policy co-ordination between the sectional government agencies, enables the establishment of frameworks that adequately support the decentralisation of authority over natural resource management.

5.1.2 LEGISLATIVE SUPPORT

The most important strength of the MCTP probably relates to the legislative context within which the CBNRM initiative has been cast.

Firstly, the Makuleke community has been accorded legal rights and security of tenure to their natural resource base in the Makuleke Region at Pafuri and in the Makuleke area in Nthlaveni respectively. According to the co-management regime stipulated in the Settlement Agreement (South Africa, 1998), the MCPA and the SANP as members of the Joint Management Board (JMB) share the responsibility of the management of natural resources in the Makuleke Region. This has effectively placed the community in a position of greater strength than before in environmental governance.

Secondly, the constitution of the MCPA as a representative and legally accountable entity has provided for the community to act as a resource-based company and for the natural resources in the Makuleke Region to be viewed as tourism commodities. According to the Settlement Agreement, the MCPA has the prerogative to carry out or commission tourism-related commercial development in consultation with the SANP through the JMB. This has strengthened the position of the Makuleke in the distribution of economic benefits generated from resource management.

Although there has been a significant strengthening of the community's position through legislative reform, there also persist certain legal restrictions on community rights of resource use. In terms of the Settlement Agreement, the mineral rights in the Makuleke Region have been reserved in favour of the state, in accordance with the Minerals Act of 1991 (South Africa, 1998a:7). With regard to the rest of the resources, use has been restricted to abstraction or harvesting for purposes related to tourism development in the Makuleke Region. There has been no provision for the use of resources to cater for direct livelihood needs, such as food security, of the Makuleke people.

The existing legal arrangements surrounding the MCTP therefore mean that the benefits to the Makuleke will basically be derived from income generated by conservation-based commercial activities and employment generated from all aspects of resource management. It seems therefore that there has been a perpetuation of a *status quo* in which the Makuleke are precluded from direct livelihood benefits such as the harvesting of resources such as thatching grass, mopane worms and fruit. The same resources however have been put at the disposal of people from more distant locations.

5.1.3 INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

An important source of strength for the Makuleke community derives from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) that establishes local government as the third tier of government. Effectively therefore, the state formally recognises local governance structures as institutional actors in their own right. Thus, apart from the establishment of the MCPA as a representative and accountable legal entity in environmental governance, the Makuleke are represented in political governance through the TLC and the TC. Such representation potentially accords the community a degree of influence in political decision making, particularly as it relates to the CBNRM initiative. The full strength of local government structures, however, has yet to be realised in actual terms due to the persistence of a number of problems. These include a lack of clarity of roles and responsibilities of the different tiers of government that share responsibility for the implementation of the rural development policy, administrative incapacity, lack of economic viability and community suspicion of government due to past experiences of apartheid structures (LRU, 1997; May, 1998).

5.1.4 DIVERSE NATURE OF THE RESOURCE BASE

The Makuleke commanded a locally and regionally significant natural resource base, with a total spatial coverage of 26 887 hectares. Although the Makuleke area occupied by the community was smaller (approximately 5 000 hectares) and had a high human demand-resource ratio, the area was rich in actual and potential human cultural, labour, management, entrepreneural and leadership resources. The Makuleke Region by contrast was 'a zone of convergence between nine different ecosystems' and therefore an area of high diversity in geomorphology, soils and vegetation (Tinley, 1979 cited in Robinson, 1996:6) and had a relatively low human population density. The diversity of the Makuleke Region afforded a broader range of use options and a greater potential income from conservation based tourism activities than the Makuleke area. Taken together, the human resources in the Makuleke area and the natural resources in the Makuleke Region presented a potentially viable engine for the sustainable development of the Makuleke community.

A possible constraint in the integration development and conservation objectives was that the two sites are located approximately 36km apart via the KNP's Punda Maria gate. Although in terms of the 1998 Settlement Agreement the Makuleke community has been accorded traversing rights through the KNP, the mechanics of integrating the two sites in terms of programme implementation still had to be worked out at the time of the study.

A weakness that was identified by the study was that elements of community-based natural resource management observed within the Makuleke area occupied by the community were not given sufficient

attention within the programme framework. A possible reason for this may be that the political mood in various circles involved in the drive towards redressing the poverty and inequality bequeathed by the past governments, particularly the land question, required that primary focus be on the Makuleke Region rather than the Makuleke area. Now that the land question has been resolved, the reason behind the continued neglect of the resource management regime that exists in the Makuleke area seems to be related to the fact that this regime has basically been community-led, low profile and has operated on the less visible community rules. It nonetheless constitutes an important aspect of CBNRM. There is a need for the programme framework to be adjusted so that there is a comprehensive focus on the whole natural resource base of the Makuleke.

5.1.5 MCTP PRINCIPLES OF EQUITY AND ACCOUNTABILITY

The constitution of the MCPA has been predicated on the principles of equity and accountability. The constitution therefore has made provision for the safeguarding of the democratic rights of all members of the MCPA, particularly those who have traditionally been disadvantaged such as the less affluent and the women. This provision has ensured that the CBNRM initiative has the popular support of the MCPA members, who perceive that their stake in the process is backed by legal guarantees.

There were observations by the study that while a conscious effort had been made to promote the active participation by women in the MCTP, there still persisted some negative elements of traditional gender roles that militated against the strategic participation by women. Due to the persistence of social structures and attitudes that discriminate against women, it would seem that the MCTP has adopted a 'project approach' as a means of facilitating participation by women. While there are merits in the project approach, there is a potential danger that the approach that was observed at the time of the study may fail to significantly improve the lives of the Makuleke women and may probably further marginalise them from mainstream economic production. Part of the problem with the observed project approach relates to its emphasis on consumption rather than production, with many of the women's projects reinforcing the 'home economics' stereotype of appropriate women's activities.

For so long as the social and cultural restrictions on the participation by women lag behind efforts to promote women's access to political decision making, there is a danger that the women's interests may persist in being marginalised. Indeed, there were observations that although the needs for income and employment opportunities have been addressed, the livelihood needs strongly expressed by the Makuleke women do not seem to have been given sufficient attention. Rather, the formulation of the CBNRM initiative appears to have emphasised the community needs perceived by men. Given that women constitute a significant proportion of the productive population at Makuleke (LRG, 1995), there

seems to be a need for a more equitable emphasis on gender needs. There is also a need to balance the promotion of women's participation in both the basic and strategic components of CBNRM.

5.1.6 ADAPTIVE MANAGEMENT APPROACH

A key test of the potential for success of a CBNRM project derives more from the extent to which change is possible rather than which grouping is dominant at any given time (SASUSG, 1997). The adaptive management approach adopted by the MCTP Executive Committee has been an important source of strength for the Makuleke initiative. This approach is in effect a trial and error process that allows for progress to be made in the management of the complex and unpredictable mixture of natural and human systems within the context of the power distributing cleavages of the community. Thus, there has been no prescriptive blueprint model to restrict the innovation of case specific strategies.

5.1.7 COMMUNITY COHESION

The observed conscious effort by the Makuleke people to foster the cohesion of the community, particularly through the integration of the traditional and newer governance and civic structures, counts as a factor in the strengthening of the MCTP. Thus, although there persist differences in vested interest in resources, competing political structures and differences in social class within the community, these have been subsumed in favour of the broader community interests. It is worth noting though that community cohesion is not dependent on maintaining a certain group of people in dominant roles in decision-making and benefits distribution. Rather, it depends on the consistency of focus on the broader community goals and objectives despite the inevitable changes in leadership that may occur through time. Community cohesion also depends on accountability and the ability of the leadership within the MCPA to resolve conflicts in a manner that is acceptable to the constituency. The MCTP's principle of accountability and adaptive management approach have therefore also provided useful conflict resolution mechanisms.

5.1.8 VERTICAL AND HORIZONTAL INTEGRATION

The relationship that the MCTP has had with other institutional actors within the political ecology hierarchy of natural resource management is a possible source of strength for the community. The formalisation of the vertical and horizontal linkages has allowed for political, financial and technical support to be given to the MCTP by global, regional and state level institutional actors within the hierarchy.

However, the vertical and horizontal integration of the MCTP has also carried potential negative effects in that community interests might end up subsuming to the interests of the more powerful higher level institutional actors. The influence of donor funding and the intermediary NGOs playing nurturing roles might promote the interests of non-local individuals and groups in the conservation of the Makuleke Region at the expense of the livelihoods of the Makuleke people. In this regard, the weakness of the MCTP lies mainly in that the MCPA has lacked sufficient capital and expertise to enable it to reduce reliance on external agencies and thereby maintain greater control of the community's stake in natural resource management.

There has also been a problem of language, wherein the facilitation of the CBNRM process by external NGOs has required that communication in meetings should include the translation of proceedings into both the English and XiTsonga languages. Apart from the cumbersome nature of such communication, many Makuleke respondents to in-depth interviews expressed concern that their lack of proficiency in using the English language tended to undermine their confidence in meetings. It is therefore possible that a significant degree of community contributions to CBNRM may have been lost in the facilitative process, thus reinforcing the possibility of the marginalisation of community interests in the resource management initiative.

5.2 Opportunities for Strengthening the MCTP Instruments

The foregoing evaluation of the MCTP shows that although the foundations of the programme framework have generally accorded an impressive degree of strengths that enhance the potential for success, there have also been some instrumental weaknesses that might detract from the success of the CBNRM initiative. This section explores some opportunities that may be exploited towards the further strengthening of programme instruments.

5.2.1 BALANCING DEVELOPMENT OBJECTIVES AND INCOME REQUIREMENTS WITH LIVELIHOOD NEEDS

The programme instruments identified by the study showed that the Makuleke were committed to breaking the poverty traps set by the colonial and apartheid governments and to promoting equity in access to bases of social power and productive wealth within their community. The formulation of the MCTP, however, did not seem to have clearly resolved the question of how to achieve this in actual terms. The focus was on community development objectives, employment opportunities and women's projects emphasising consumption. There was less regard to taking full advantage of the few assets that the women and the poor have. There was also scant attention to livelihood needs such as food security.

The strength of the MCTP may be enhanced if the programme instruments place a balanced emphasis on the development, employment and livelihood needs.

In addressing the livelihood needs of women, the programme instruments may need to be restructured such that there is a balance of emphasis between projects based on consumption and those that emphasise production. This may be an initial step towards enabling women to realise their full potential and become a viable part of mainstream economic production.

There may also be a need for the programme instruments to incorporate preventative measures that try to avert deprivation of the vulnerable members of the community such as the aged and the poor. A possible safety net against threats to food security, for example, may be an allowance for the controlled harvesting of certain resources from the Makuleke Region for distribution to the aged and the poor when the need arises.

5.2.2 BALANCING NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT FOCUS ON THE MAKULEKE REGION AND THE MAKULEKE AREA

The sustainability of the socio-economic development objectives of the Makuleke seems to depend on the sustainability of use of natural resources in both the Makuleke Region and the Makuleke area. Although the resource management regime that was observed in the Makuleke area has basically been community-led, low profile and has operated on the less visible community rules, it nonetheless constitutes an important aspect of CBNRM. There is a need for the programme framework to be adjusted so that there is a comprehensive focus on the whole natural resource base of the Makuleke.

The community-based management regime observed in the Makuleke area indeed presents a useful opportunity within the CBNRM framework because the regime was built upon some of the traditional resource management practices and the adaptive strategies adopted by the Makuleke following their resettlement in the Nthlaveni area. The existing adaptive management approaches, which have included the rationing of resources such as firewood, thatching grass, rain-fed croplands and communal pasture among resources users, may provide the necessary springboard for the enhanced management of both the Makuleke area and the Makuleke Region. On the other hand, since the older Makuleke people have had a longer and more intimate relationship with the Pafuri area than the modern protected area conservation agencies, their traditional resource management knowledge may be of significant value as a basis for the ecological management of the Makuleke Region.

It may be argued however that in the light of evidence of land degradation that was observed in the Makuleke area where community-led approaches have been dominant, the existing land use practices of

the Makuleke have tended to be unfavourable to conservation. This study cautions against such simplistic notions, and considers that the degradation of resource in the Makuleke area is more a product of the apartheid political economy than the lack of management ability or concern by the community. The apartheid political economy was based upon the setting of poverty traps such as the deprivation of productive assets and social services within black rural communities (May, 1998; Platzky & Walker, 1985) in order to ensure the supply of cheap migrant labour to the commercial and industrial centres. Thus, despite the implementation of adaptive strategies by displaced communities like the Makuleke, environmental degradation ensued as a result of increasing pressure on resources by the growing human population and the lack of adequate government support for remedial measures.

5.2.3 SHARING KNOWLEGDE AND CONTROL THROUGH HORIZONTAL INTEGRATION

In spite of the potential problems posed by the vertical integration of the MCTP, there are real opportunities for positive growth and enhanced control to be gained from the horizontal integration of the CBNRM initiative.

Horizontal linkages provide opportunities for the sharing of knowledge and experiences in CBNRM. Taken individually, local communities may have difficulty in competing against the established tourism agencies, maintaining their stake in natural resource conservation, bargaining for a fairer distribution of benefits generated from natural resource management and in seeing the broader picture of the CBNRM problem. However, communities can improve their reckoning position through collective purpose and action. The Makuleke initiative seems to have forged useful horizontal linkages at local, provincial, national and regional level. There may still be scope for an even greater emphasis on the horizontal integration MCTP initiative to further enhance the growth and strength of the programme.

5.3 Potential Threats to the Makuleke CBNRM Initiative

5.3.1 QUESTION OF THE POTENTIAL OF THE MCTP TO ACHIEVE REDUCTIONS IN POVERTY AND INSECURITY

The greatest threat to the MCTP perhaps relates to the potential of the programme to achieve fundamental reductions in poverty and insecurity. The CBNRM initiative has provided a greater potential for the realisation of aspirations by the Makuleke people than the top-down conservation approach. However it is possible that with the passage of time, no amount of participation will convince the Makuleke people to continue investing in conservation activities when they remain faced with problems of poverty and insecurity.

As Walker (2000) observes, the democratisation of environmental governance may result in the newly enfranchised communities such as the Makuleke demanding less rather than more protection of the environment as they try to grapple with problems of poverty and unemployment. This potential threat is particularly pertinent in view of the fact that the launching of the Makuleke CBNRM initiative was strongly influenced by external agencies such as donor organisations, governmental, non-governmental and conservationist institutional actors, and the definition of the problem was not universally shared by all the Makuleke people.

It is imperative therefore that the MCTP should generate and devolve benefits to the community within a tolerable time span. This requirement appears to have been recognised within the MCTP framework, and the MCPA Executive Committee has indeed successfully generated income from limited harvesting of elephant resources in order to offset the establishment of MCPA-operated tourist facilities within the Makuleke Region. Generally, however, this may not always be easy in the face of contrary views by some proponents of conventions such as the CITES, and since CBNRM initiatives tend to have lengthy gestation periods (World Bank, 1998).

Apart from this problem, there have been observations in South Africa that late entrants into tourism tend to have problems in breaking into the mainstream industry that is dominated by established agencies (Ngobese, 1994). Thus the resource-based companies operated by local communities such as the Makuleke may find themselves relegated to the fringe, where benefits tend to be trickle-down in character. The generation of trickle-down benefits may be reinforced by the fact that tourism ventures by local communities tend to be dependent on external input and technical assistance (Ngobese, 1994), since communities often lack adequate reserves of such resources. The dependence may result in leakage of generated income (Koch, 1994) and may undermine community control in the CBNRM initiative.

Added to these problems, the reliance by local communities on conservation-based commercial activities such as tourism has been observed to harbour possible hindrances to community livelihoods and security as the tourism ventures increasingly become externally orientated at the expense of local needs (Ngobese, 1994).

While solutions to these problems may not be easy to find, there is perhaps a need for the adoption of an approach that tempers elements of aggressive marketing with the cautionary handling of the social and livelihood impacts of tourism.

5.3.2 LEGITIMACY OF THE MCPA EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The foregoing threat to the MCTP is closely linked to the question of legitimacy of the MCPA Executive Committee. From the local community perspective, this legitimacy seems to derive more from the extent to which the MCPA Executive Committee sustains the functions of articulating and pursuing community goals than from the democratic accession into office by the committee members *per se*. Local ecosystems and local political jurisdictions, however, are imbedded within larger natural and political systems. Hence 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). Thus, within the hierarchical framework of CBNRM, community-based institutional actors like the MCPA have been vested with obligations to both their constituent communities and to the broader political ecology of resource management. The challenge for the MCPA Executive Committee therefore is to find mechanisms for striking a balance between their accountability to the community and that to the rest of the institutional actors within the hierarchy.

The achievement of such balance may not be easy however, since the integration of interests between stronger and weaker actors has tended to result in the interests of the weaker subsuming to those of the stronger actors. The possibility of such a development occurring raises concern on its potential implications on the development objectives of the MCTP. This concern emanates from views expressed by scholars like Bromley (1994).

Bromley states that the economic dimension of CBNRM initiatives 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 the sustainable management of particular ecosystems. Such ecosystems represent benefit streams for both the people in the industrialised North who seek to preserve biodiversity and those in the South who must make a living amid this biodiversity resource. The interests of local people, however, are often discounted relative to the interests of those who care for the ecosystem but not for its inhabitants.

Bromley further asserts that proponents of CBNRM initially tend to adopt facilitative policies to nurture community participation. Donor agencies and intermediary NGOs are the outsider institutional actors used to play the nurturing role. However, when the interests of local communities are not consistent with enhanced conservation of resources, it becomes necessary for the institutional actors of the North to move beyond facilitative policies to actions that appear more regulatory in nature.

In view of the possibility of such motives as expressed by Bromley (1994), the securing of community rights to natural resources through legislative reform and the constitution of the MCPA as a

representative and legally accountable entity seem to be mechanisms for controlling local communities. In pursuing community interests, community-based actors such as the MCPA Executive Committee therefore face the daunting task of grappling with a situation where local interests are effectively reined in while external interests are promoted. Since the integration of conservation and development objectives is often perceived and articulated as a dichotomous rather than complimentary process, it may indeed seem that the Executive Committee is bound to be caught up in the dialectics surrounding CBNRM. Thus, regardless of which community members assume office, each successive MCPA Executive Committee is bound to lose legitimacy in the view of either the community or the external agencies and in due course be replaced by another that enjoys the popular support of the moment. The adaptive management strategy adopted in CBNRM also seems a useful mechanism for dealing with institutional actor demands and ensuring that local community frustration does not build up beyond critical levels when CBNRM initiatives fail to deliver on their development objectives.

5.4 Conclusion

This study set out to assess the potential and effectiveness of the Makuleke CBNRM initiative in enhancing the well-being, livelihoods, capabilities, equity and sustainability of the community. The first research objective was to assess the relative degrees to which the Makuleke community has had control in the CBNRM formulation and implementation processes. The second research objective was to determine the extent to which the community resource management programme has been responsive to gender roles, relations, needs and access to political decision-making. A key analytical tool was the testing of the Makuleke CBNRM initiative against a defined set of critical elements for success derived from literature on other similar initiatives. These critical elements were used as indicators rather than the blueprint for success, and were viewed as providing useful insights in the assessment of the potential for success and the effectiveness of the Makuleke initiative.

The aim and objectives of the study have been addressed. The strengths and weaknesses of the MCTP have been evaluated, and opportunities for strengthening the MCTP and potential threats to the programme have been identified. The issues of control and gender in CBNRM indeed emerge as two of the key issues in the Makuleke initiative. The analysis and evaluative discussion of findings by this study, however, raises a number of questions concerning methodological aspects and ideological bases of the unfolding field of CBNRM. While this section attempts to present some conclusions on a few of these issues that are deemed critical to the success of CBNRM initiatives, the dissertation recognises that there are no simple answers to the questions raised.

One key question relating to the methodological aspects of CBNRM articulation is:

- To what extent does the meeting of the preconditions for community level control actually lead to enhanced community control over CBNRM?

A second related question in the articulation of CBNRM by communities such as the Makuleke is:

- What happens beyond the process of facilitation?

Will the communities be allowed to claim full control of the CBNRM process envisaged by Pimbert & Pretty (1994 in IIED, 1994) and Borrini-Feyerabend (1997) or will they have to resort to *de facto* means of gaining full control? In other words, will the decentralisation of authority over natural resources ultimately result in a complete shift of control to the local community level? Can the dependence of communities on external institutional actors really be reduced to a level where the community assumes full power and control over CBNRM?

The view in this study is that the ultimate outcome of CBNRM initiatives is dependent on a more complex interplay of a number of variables than solely on empowering local communities through strengthening CBOs, securing resource rights, devolving economic benefits and developing capacities. While the power play between local communities and external, higher level institutional actors may see communities gaining increasing control in environmental governance, the extent to which the communities can strengthen their power would remain subject to certain externally imposed strictures. Hasler (1995; 1996) succinctly captures the import of this situation when he states that there exist "multiple levels of jurisdictions", "bundles of rights" and "bundles of powers" in natural resource management. These militate against the exertion of ownership and control by any one level or institution within the political ecology hierarchy. This study adopts Hasler's (1995) summation that it may be hoped that, at best, certain defined controls and benefits are devolved to the local community level. If the devolution of such controls and benefits can enable the achievement of fundamental reductions in poverty and insecurity as well as the realisation of the economic development objectives of local communities, then a part of the problems facing the people and governments living in the LDCs may have been resolved.

This study cautions, however, against simplistic notions that CBNRM initiatives may be the panacea for the development problems that are faced by LDCs. Indeed, evidence from CBNRM approaches elsewhere reveals that progress in the breaking of the vicious cycle of poverty, insecurity and environmental degradation has been disappointingly slow (Walker, 2000), and conditions enunciated by Agenda 21 have largely remained unchanged (Darkoh, 1996).

The CBNRM problematic is perhaps best explained through an examination of the ideological bases of the unfolding field. Although the concept of CBNRM is predicated on the noble, albeit debatable, principles of sustainability, democracy and efficiency, there also subsist certain ideological perceptions that militate against the promotion and success of community-led CBNRM initiatives. For instance, there is the assumption by some proponents of CBNRM that local indigenous communities in the LDCs characteristically tend to degrade natural resources and therefore certain ecosystems have to be protected from them. This assumption, which is reminiscent of Garret Hardin's (Hardin, 1975) 'tragedy of the commons' perspective, seems to have persisted despite evidence to the contrary.

Seymour (1994) attempts a distinction between two dominant assumptions in CBNRM initiation. She identifies 'designers' as being CBNRM proponents who assume that existing resource use patterns are not favourable to conservation, therefore the need to design CBNRM initiatives that ensure the sustainability of local ecosystems and global socio-economic systems. Seymour further identifies 'discoverers' as being CBNRM proponents who assume that appropriate local resource management regimes exist, therefore they need to be discovered and legitimised with the assistance of external actors.

This study argues however that while the assumptions of the designers and the discoverers may differ, the ideological viewpoints of both classes of CBNRM proponents are convergent. Both classes approach CBNRM from the view that local indigenous communities cannot be fully entrusted with the leadership of CBNRM initiatives. The view of both classes of proponents is that the CBNRM initiatives gain legitimacy when external institutional actors facilitate them. Such ideological viewpoints and assumptions pose critical problems in the conceptualisation of CBNRM. They perpetuate the stereotype centrist notions that have characterised the global political economy of resource management since the era of European imperialism. Indeed, in view of the dominance of such ideologies, scholars like Little (1994:356,357) and Chatterjee & Finger (1994) have considered the bubbling up of CBNRM initiatives in LDCs as being largely a Northern agenda. For so long as the eurocentrist ideological bases persist in dominating CBNRM articulation, the unfolding field of CBNRM may continue to be viewed as just another form of imperialism.

Despite the fundamental problems with the articulation CBNRM approaches in LDCs, the view in this study is that there is potential for a few real gains to be made by communities from such initiatives. The success of CBNRM initiatives may ultimately be sanctioned by the degree of real commitment to local community interests by the stronger northern institutional actors. However, it may be necessary for LDC institutional actors to adopt certain precautionary measures to safeguard the stake of local communities in natural resource management.

At the community level, the involvement of local facilitative institutional actors in the CBNRM process may help keep in check the adverse motives of similar institutional actors whose accountability leans more towards their clientele in the North than toward local communities. At government level, there is a need to balance the state roles of securing the conditions of production with those of securing social integration.

In many cases however, LDC states have tended to collude with external interests in order to secure conditions of production at the expense of social integration. Hence, part of the failure by CBNRM initiative to achieve fundamental reductions in poverty and insecurity has been due to the fact that these initiatives have often been promoted as mere palliatives to indigenous rural people. These people have posed potential threats to the political interests of governments and the conservation interests of Northern agencies through their *de jure* and *de facto* claims on resources within the ecosystems in which they live. In the face of requirements by LDC states for foreign investments and technical aid and the need to defend local community interest in CBNRM, even the more democratic and committed LDC governments have had to make certain critical choices. These will have significant implications on the success of CBNRM initiatives like the Makuleke Conservation and Tourism Programme.

Thus, while the issues of control and gender are important in determining success of CBNRM initiatives, such success depends on a more complex interplay of variables than that at the community level. A particularly critical factor is the role of the state with regard to governmental, non-governmental and private sector stakeholders ranging from the community to the international level. Ultimately, the role played by the state seems to be the critical factor determining the success or failure of CBNRM initiatives such as that of the Makuleke.

REFERENCES CITED

Abugre, C. 1994. NGOs, Institutional Development and Sustainable Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa. In: Cole, K. (Ed.), **Sustainable Development for a Democratic South Africa**, 121 – 134. London: Earthscan.

Anderson, D. & Grove, R. 1987. The Scramble for Eden: Past, Present and Future in African Conservation. In: Anderson, D. & Grove, R. (Ed.), **Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Politics,** 1 - 12. Harlow: Longman Group.

Arnstein, S. R. 1969. A Ladder of Citizen Participation. **Journal of the American Institute of Planners**, 35: 216 – 224.

ART South Africa. 1997a. A Report on a Human Benefits Workshop held at Skukuza on 17 to 18 April. (Report prepared by Sturgeon, J.)

ART South Africa. 1997b. A Report on the Proceedings of a CITES/Community Workshop held at the Gauteng Provincial Department of Nature Conservation, Pretoria, on 10 to 11 September.

Barbier, E. B. et al. (Burgess, J. C. & Folke, C.). 1994. **Paradise Lost? The Ecological Economics of Biodiversity**. London: Earthscan.

Bell, R. H. V. 1987. Conservation with a Human Face: Conflict and Reconciliation in African Land Use Planning. In: Anderson, D. & Grove, R. (Ed.), **Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Politics,** 79 - 102. Harlow: Longman Group.

Bell, R. H. V. 2000. Building Constitutions for Community Based Organisations. **Commons Southern Africa**, 2 (1): 7 – 9.

Berkes, F. & Grima, A. P. L. 1989. Natural Resources: Access, Rights-to-use and Management. In: Berkes, F. (Ed.), Common Property Resources: Ecology and Community-Based Sustainable Development, 33 – 54. London: Bellhaven Press.

Borrini-Feyerabend, G. (Ed.). 1997. **Beyond Fences: Seeking Social Sustainability in Conservation**. Gland (Switzerland): IUCN.

Brandon, K. & Wells, M. 1992. Planning for People and Parks: Design Dilemmas. **World Development**, 20 (4): 557 – 570.

Bromley, D. W. 1994. Economic Dimensions of Community-Based Conservation. In: Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**, 428 - 447. Washington DC: Island Press.

Brown, M. & Wyckoff-Baird, B. 1992. Designing Integrated Conservation and Development Projects. **The Biodiversity Support Programme**. Washington DC: WWF/ Nature Conservancy/ World Resources Institute.

Carruthers, J. 1995. **The Kruger National Park: A Social and Political History**. Scotsville: Natal University Press.

Chambers, R. 1983. **Rural Development: Putting the Last First**. New York: Longman Inc.

Chambers, R. 1997. **Whose Reality Counts? Putting the First Last**. London: Intermediate Technology Publications.

Chambers, R. 1998. Us and Them: Finding a New Paradigm for Professionals in Sustainable Development. In: Warburton, D. (Ed.), **Community and Sustainable Development: Participation in the Future**, 117 - 147. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Chatterjee, P. & Finger, M.1994. **The Earth Brokers: Power, Politics and World Development**. London: Routledge.

Chonguica, E. 1997. Community Based Natural Resource Management Initiatives in Mozambique. A Report to the SASUSG Conservation and Development Forum, November 1997.

Cole, K. 1994. Ideologies of Sustainable Development. In: Cole, K. (Ed.), **Sustainable Development for a Democratic South Africa**, 227 - 237. London: Earthscan.

Dalal-Clayton, B.1997. **Southern Africa Beyond the Millenium: Environmental Trends and Scenarios to 2015**. Environmental Planning Issues No. 13. London:IIED.

Darkoh, M. B. K. 1996. Towards an Adaptive and Community-based Approach to the Management of Natural Resources in the Drylands of Sub-Saharan Africa. In Hjort-af-Ornas, A. (Ed.), **Approaching Nature from Local Communities: Security Perceived and Achieved**, 73 – 99. EPOS Institute of Tema Research, Motala (Sweden), University of Linkoping.

DBSA. 1995. **Northern Province Statistical Macroeconomic Review**. DBSA: Halfway House.

Dietz, T. 1996. **Entitlements to Natural Resources: Contours of Political Environment Geography**. Utrecht: International Books.

Eckersley, R. 1992. **Environmentalism and Political Theory: Toward an Ecocentric Approach**. New York: UCL Press.

Feldmann, F. 1994. Community Environmental Action: National Policy Context. In: Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**, 393 - 402. Washington DC: Island Press.

Friedmann, J. & Weaver, C. 1979. **Territory and Function: The Evolution of Regional Planning**. Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Fig, D. 1997. Land Claims in National Parks. A Preliminary Discussion Report submitted to the TRANSFORM Project, September 1997.

Friedmann, J. 1992. **Empowerment: The Politics of Alternative Development**. Cambridge (Massachusetts): Blackwell Publishers.

GEM. 1996a. Summary of the National Parks Board's Policy Review Process for the Kruger National Park. (Unpublished document).

GEM. 1996b. GEM Facilitates Talks with Kruger Communities. **People and Parks**, 7: summer 1996.

Gilfillan, D. 1997. The Right to Restitution and the Right to the Promotion of Conservation. Submission by the Regional Land Claims Commissioner for the Northern Province and Mpumalanga to the National Land Reform Mediation Panel, Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria.

Griffin, J. 1999. Study on the Development and Management of Trans-boundary Conservation Areas in Southern Africa. Final Draft Report to The Biodiversity Support Programme, 17 March, Lilongwe.

de Groot, W. T., et al. (Wetten, C. J., van & Drjver, C. A.). 1995. Drawing the Boundary: An Explorative Model of the Defence of the Commons. In: Breemer, J. P. M., van den et al. (Drjver, C. A. & Venema, L. B.) (Ed.), **Local Resource Management in Africa**, 211 – 228. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Grove, R. 1987. Early Themes in African Conservation: The Cape in the Nineteenth Century. In: Anderson, D. & Grove, R. (Ed.), **Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Politics,** 21 - 40. Harlow: Longman Group.

Hall, M. C. 2000. **Tourism Planning: Policies, Processes and Relationships**. Harlow: Prentice Hall.

Hardin, G. 1977. The Tragedy of the Commons. In: Hardin, G. & Baden, J. (Ed.), **Managing the Commons**, 16 – 31. San Francisco: W. H. Freeman & Co.

Harries, P. 1984. A Forgotten Corner of the Transvaal: Reconstructing the History of a Relocated Community through Oral Testimony and Song. Paper presented in the History Workshop on Class, Community and Conflict: Local Perspectives, held at the University of the Witwatersrand from 31 January to 4 February.

Hasler, R. 1995. Political Ecologies of Scale: The Multi-tiered Co-management of Zimbabwean Wildlife Resources. **IIED Wildlife and Development Series**, 7: 1 - 16.

Hawkes, R. K. 1992. Thatching Grass: Sources, Adequacy and Potential for Local Management in the [CAMPFIRE's] Bulilimangwe Natural Resource Management Area. Occasional Paper, CASS, University of Zimbabwe, 6 February.

Healy, P. 1992. Planning Through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory. In **Town Planning Review**, Vol. 63 (2). 143 – 162.

Hoff, M. D. 1998. Sustainable Community Development: Origins and Essential Elements of a New Approach. In Hoff, M. D. (Ed.), **Sustainable Community Development: Studies in Economic, Environmental and Cultural Revitalisation**, 1 - . Boca Raton (Florida): Lewis Publishers.

IDRC. 1995. Environment, Reconstruction and Development in the New South Africa: The Summary. Report of the IDRC/ANC/COSATU/SACP/SANCO Mission on Environmental Policy.

IIED. 1987. **Our Common Future: The Bruntland Report Explained**. London: Earthscan Books Ltd.

IIED. 1994. **Whose Eden?: An Overview of Community Approaches in Wildlife Management**. London: IIED

Koch, E. 1994. Lions in the Heartland. **Leadership South Africa**, 13 (3): 100 – 104.

Laban, P. 1995. Accountability in Integrated Village Land Management. In: Breemer, J. P. M., van den et al (Drjver, C. A. & Venema, L. B.) (Ed.), **Local Resource Management in Africa**, 211 – 228. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Land Reform Group (LRG). 1995. Report on the Makuleke Community submitted to the Land Reform Research Programme, March 1995.

Land Research Unit (LRU). 1997. Rural Local Government in the Northern Province. Report prepared for Land and Agriculture Policy Centre (LAPC), August 1997.

Lindsay, W. A. 1987. Integrating Parks and Pastoralists. In: Anderson, D. & Grove, R. (Ed.), **Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Politics,** 149 - 168. Harlow: Longman Group.

Little, P. D. 1994. The Link between Local Participation and Improved Conservation:A Review of Issues and Experiences. In Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**, 347 - 372. Washington DC: Island Press.

Little, P. D. & Brokensha, D. W. 1987. Local Institutions, Tenure and Resource Management in East Africa. In: Anderson, D. & Grove, R. (Ed.), **Conservation in Africa: People, Policies and Politics,** 193 - 210. Harlow: Longman Group.

Lund, F. J. 1987. The Community Based Approach to Development: A Description and Analysis of Three Rural Community Health Projects. Unpublished MSc. Dissertation, CASS, University of Natal, Durban.

Lynch, O. J. & Alcorn, J. B. 1994. Tenurial Rights and Community-Base Conservation. In: Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**, 373 - 392. Washington DC: Island Press.

MacNair, M. 1976. Processes of Co-ordination. **Ekistics**, 42 (251): 245 – 247.

MacNeill, J. et al. (Winsemius, P. & Yakushiji, T.). 1991. **Beyond Interdependence: The Meshing of the World's Economy and the Earth's Ecology**. New York: Oxford University Press.

Makombe, K. 1993. Sharing the Land: Wildlife, People and Development in Africa. **IUCN/ROSA Environmental Issues**, 1: 1 – 36.

Maluleke, L. 1997. Background to the Formation of the National Biodiversity Forum (Communities). Information Document prepared by the Community Mobiliser for the Northern Province.

Maluleke, L. 1998. Report on Work Done towards the Formation of the National Biodiversity Forum (Communities), submitted to ART South Africa by the Co-ordinator of the Northern Province Biodiversity Forum, 29 March.

Manikutty, S. 1997. Community Participation: So What? Evidence from a Comparative Study of Two Rural Water Supply and Sanitation Projects in India. **Development Policy Review**, 15 (2): 115 –140.

May, J. (Ed.). Poverty and Inequality in South Africa. Report prepared for the Office of the Executive Deputy President and the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality, Durban, 13 May.
Metcalfe, S. 1994. The Zimbabwe Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE). In: Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**, 161 - 192. Washington DC: Island Press.

Miller, G. T., Jnr. 1994. **Environmental Problems and Solutions**. Belmont: Wordsworth Publishers.

Mitchell, B. 1979. **Geography and Resource Analysis**. New York: Longman Inc.

Moser, C. O. N. 1995. Evaluating Gender Impacts. **Evaluation and Development: Proceedings of the 1994 World Bank Conference**, 125 – 135.

Mtshali, S. 1998. Honing Technologies that Build Women's Economic Base. **Agenda**, 38: 23 - 35.

Murphree, M. W. 1994. The Role of Institutions in Community-Based Conservation. In: Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**, 403 - 427. Washington DC: Island Press.

Murphree, M. W. 1995. Livestock, Wildlife and the Forage Commons: Prospects for Rangelands Reform in a Semi-Arid Communal Area of Zimbabwe. Occasional Paper, CASS, University of Zimbabwe, May 1995.

Nabane, N. 1995. Lacking Confidence: A Gender-Sensitive Analysis of CAMPFIRE in Masoka Village. **IIED Wildlife and Development Series**, 3: 1 - 12.

Ngobese, P. 1994. What is it about Ecotourism that is a Cause for Concern: A Comment on Eddie Koch's Paper on Ecotourism. **GEM Monitor**, 1: 44 – 49.

NPB. 1987. Mission Statement of the National Parks Board, [in terms of the National Parks Act 57 of 1976]. Pretoria: NPB.

NPB. 1996. Mission Statement of the National Parks Board, [in terms of the amended National Parks Act of 1995]. Pretoria: NPB.

NPB. 1997. Proceedings of a Workshop to Discuss Relations between the KNP and its Neighbours, held at Skukuza on 17 to 18 April. (Proceedings compiled by Braak, L., Manager of KNP Scientific Services).

Olthof, W. 1995. Wildlife Resources and Local Development: Experiences from Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE Programme. In: Breemer, J. P. M., van den et al (Drjver, C. A. & Venema, L. B.) (Ed.), **Local Resource Management in Africa**, 111 - 128. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Omara-Ojungu, P. H. 1992. **Resource Management in Developing Countries**. Harlow: Longman Group UK Ltd.

O'Riordan, T. 1998. Civic Science and the Sustainability Transition. In: Warburton, D. (Ed.), **Community and Sustainable Development: Participation in the Future**, 96 – 116. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Pepper, D. 1986. **The Roots of Modern Environmentalism**. 2nd Edition. London: Routledg3e.

Pinnock, D. 1996. Super Parks: An Impossible Dream? **Getaway**, 8 (8): 88 – 97, 161.

Platzky, L. & Walker, C, 1985. **The Surplus People: Forced Removals in South Africa**. Johannesburg: Ravan Press.

Regional Land Claims Commision, Northern Province and Mpumalanga. 1997. The Right to Restitution and the Right to the Promotion of Conservation. Draft Discussion Document by the Regional Land Claims Commisioner. (Unpublished).

Robinson, G. A. 1996. The Makuleke Community Land Claim to the Pafuri Triangle. Submission to the Land Claims Commission by the Chief Executive of the National Parks Board, 28 November.

Salafsky, N. 1994. Ecological Limits and Opportunities for Community-based Conservation. In: Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation,** 448 - 471. Washington DC: Island Press.

SANP. 1998. Policy on Land Claims in National Parks. Policy Document of the South African National Parks Board, prepared by the SANP Land Claims Committee, Pretoria.

SASUSG. 1997. Evaluating Eden: A Review of Community Wildlife Management in Southern Africa. Report to the British Government's Overseas Development Administration, July 1994, London.

Seidman, A. & Anang, F. (Ed.). 1992. **21st Century Africa: Towards a New Vision of Self-Sustainable Development**. Trenton (New Jersey): Africa World Press.

Seymour, F. J. 1994. Are Successful Community-Based Conservation Projects Designed or Discovered? In: Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation,** 472 - 498. Washington DC: Island Press.

Shafer, C. L. 1990. **Nature Reserves: Island Theory and Conservation Practice**. Washington: Smithsonian Institute Press.

South Africa. 1970. Aerial Photographs, Scale 1:30 000. Flight Number 645, Strip 14 (4561, 4563, 4565 & 4567), Strip 15 (4309, 4311. 4313 & 4315) & Strip 16 (4268, 4270, 4272 & 4274). Department of Surveys and Land Information, Mowbray.

South Africa. 1987. Aerial Photographs, Scale 1:50 000. Flight Number 908, Strip 10 (171 &173) & Strip 11 (380 & 382). Department of Surveys and Land Information, Mowbray.

South Africa. 1988. 1: 250 000 Topographic Survey Sheet 2230 Messina. Mowbray, Cape Town.

South Africa. 1994. Aerial Photographs, Scale 1:150 000. Flight Number 975, Strip 3 (290). Department of Surveys and Land Information, Mowbray.

South Africa. 1995. Government Notice No. 69 of 1995. The Transitional Local Government Act, Second Amendment No. 98. Gazette No. 83 of 1995.

South Africa. 1996a. Towards a Policy for the Conservation and Sustainable Use of South Africa's Biological Diversity. A Summary of the Draft Discussion Document. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), March 1996.

South Africa. 1996b. Legislation No. 849, 1996. Communal Property Associations Act No. 28 of 1996. Gazette No. 17205, 22 May.

South Africa. 1996c. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. Act 108 of 1996, adopted on 8 May and amended by the Constitutional Assembly on 11 October.

South Africa. 1997a. Report on the Mediation Session on the Makuleke Land Claim held in Pretoria on 12 May. (Report prepared by the National Land Reform Mediation Panel).

South Africa. 1997b. Framework for the Draft Settlement Agreement on the Land Claim to the Pafuri Area by the Makuleke Community. Second Draft. Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria, 12 December.

South Africa. 1997c. Explanatory Guide to the Extension of Security of Tenure Act 62 of 1997. Department of Land Affairs, Pretoria.

South Africa. 1997d. General Notice No. 1096, 1997. White Paper on Environmental Management Policy for South Africa. Gazette No. 18164, 28 July.

South Africa. 1997e. White Paper on South African Land Policy. April 1997. Department of Land Affairs. Cape Town: CTP Book Printers.

South Africa. 1998a. Settlement Agreement to the Land Claim to the Pafuri Area by the Makuleke Community. Department of Land Affairs, 30 May.

South Africa. 1998b. The Ivory Route. Information Document by the Northern Province Department of Finance, Economic Affairs and Tourism.

South Africa. 1998c. The Northern Province Spatial Rationale: Phase Two Step Four of Scenario Formulation, 26 May. Northern Province Department of Local Government Report. (Prepared by Pieterse, Du Toit & Associates CC).

South Africa. 1998d. Strategic Environmental Assessment (SEA) for the Northern Province Maputo Sub-corridor Development. Letter to the Makuleke Community from the Public Participation Offices, Tzaneen & Waterkloof, 14 January.

Stamp, P. 1989. **Technology, Gender and Power in Africa**. Ottawa:IDRC.

Stewart, M. with Collett, P. 1998. Accountability in Community Contributions to Sustainable Development. In: Warburton, D. (Ed.), **Community and Sustainable Development: Participation in the Future**. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Stohr, W. B. 1981. Development from Below: The Bottom-up and Periphery-inward Development Paradigm. In: Stohr, W. B. & Taylor, D. R. F. (Ed.), **Development from Above or Below: The Dialectics of Regional Planning in Developing Countries**, 39 - 71. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.

Strum, S. 1994. Lessons Learned. In: Western, D. & Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**, 512 - 523 . Washington DC: Island Press.

Tapela, B. N. 1997. Geographical Perspectives on the Interactions between the Kruger National Park and its Neighbouring Rural Communities: A Case Study of the Makuleke Community. Honours Dissertation: University of Venda, Thohoyandou.

Tapela, B. N. & Omara-Ojungu, P. H. 1999. Towards Bridging the Gap between Wildlife Conservation and Rural Development in Post-apartheid South Africa: The Case of the Makuleke Community and the Kruger National Park. **South African Geographical Journal**, 81 (3): 148 – 155.

Vivian, J. M. 1995. Foundations for Sustainable Development: Participation, Empowerment and Local Resource Management. In Vivian, J. M. & Ghai D. (Ed.), **Grassroots Environmental Action: People's Participation in Sustainable Development,** 50 - 80. London: Routledge.

Warburton, D. 1998. A Passionate Dialogue: Community and Sustainable Development. In: Warburton, D. (Ed.), **Community and Sustainable Development: Participation in the Future**, 1 - 39. London: Earthscan Publications Ltd.

Walker, P. A. 2000. Democracy and Environment: Congruence or Contradiction? **Commons Southern Africa**, 2 (1): 4 – 6.

WCED. 1987. **Our Common Future**. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Western, D. 1994. Linking Conservation and Community Aspirations. In: Western, D. and Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**, 499 - 511. Washington DC: Island Press.

Western, D. and R. M. Wright. 1994. The Background to Community-based Conservation. In: Western, D. and Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation** 1 - 12. Washington DC: Island Press.

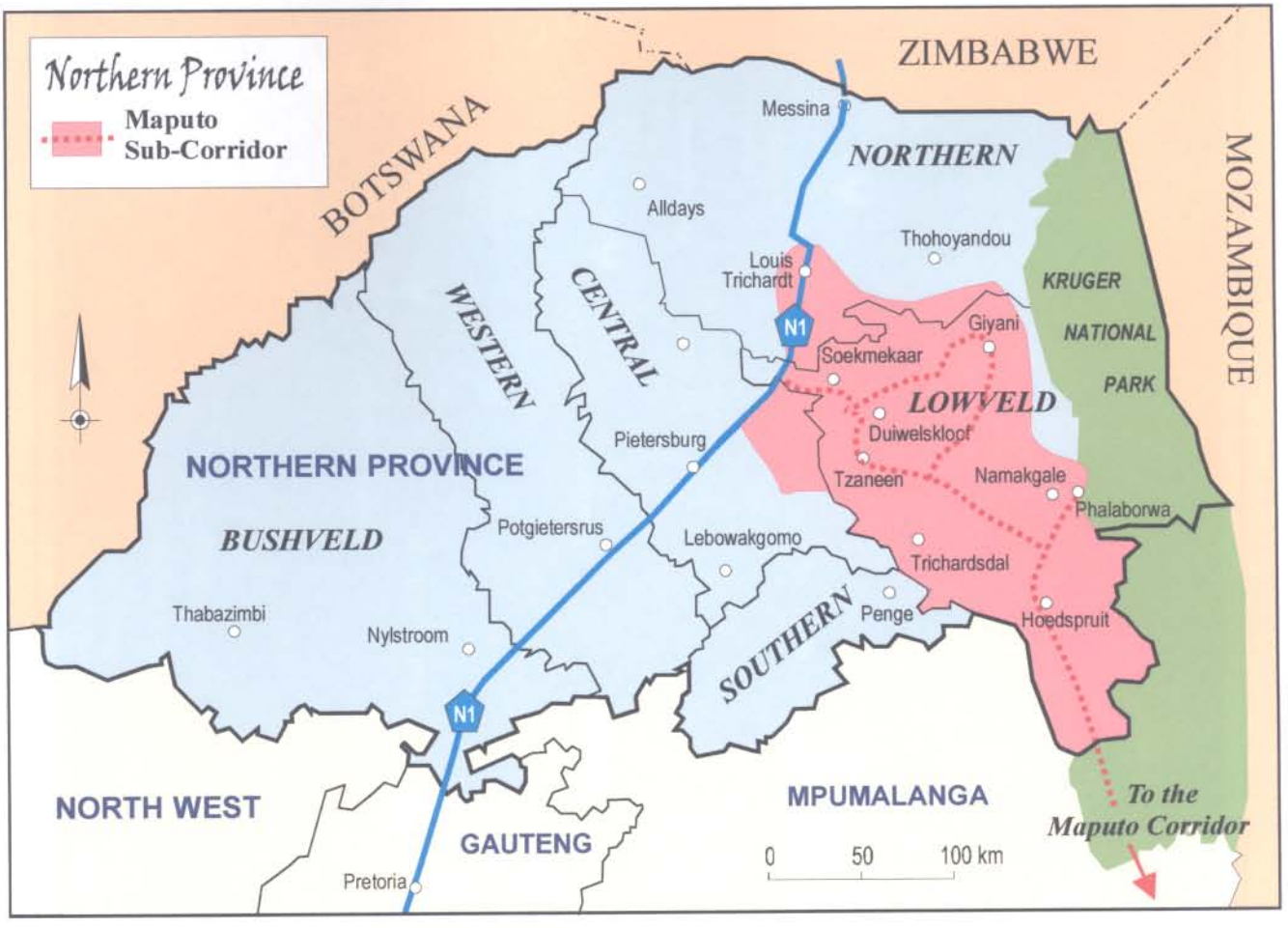
Wilson, K. 1997. Of Diffusion and Context: The Bubbling Up of Community-Based Resource Management in Mozambique. Paper presented at the Conference on Representing Communities: Histories and Politics of Community-Based Resource Management, held at the Unicoi Lodge, Helen, Georgia, USA on 1 to 3 June.

World Bank. 1998a. Reflections: What is Participation? **The World Bank Participation Sourcebook**. Internet (http://www.worldbank.org).

World Bank. 1998b. Participation in Forest and Conservation Management: Conditions for Success. **The World Bank Participation Sourcebook**, Appendix 2: Working Paper Summaries, 1 - 5. Internet (http://www.worldbank.org).

Wright, R. M. 1994. Recommendations. In: Western, D. and Wright, R. M. (Ed.), **Natural Connections: Perspectives in Community-based Conservation**,524 - 535. Washington DC: Island Press.

APPENDIX 1: Map showing the Maputo Sub-corridor IEMF, Northern Province, South Africa



APPENDIX 2:

Map showing the Ivory Route Tourism Development Initiative, Northern Province, South Africa