

**A ROLE FOR PROTECTED AREAS IN COMMUNITY  
INCOME-GENERATION: A STUDY OF THE NORTHERN  
DRAKENSBERG**

by

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## ABSTRACT

Sub-Saharan Africa is becoming increasingly impoverished with ever-increasing gaps between rich and poor, particularly in deep rural areas where access to even the basic infrastructure needed for development is insufficient. Ironically such areas are often encountered on the edges of protected areas where conservation exists in its purest forms, the preservation of wildlife. Wildlife conservation, as a preservationist ideal, is in conflict with the rural poor who share its borders. Often the diminishing natural resource base, upon which the rural inhabitants depend for subsistence, is disappearing either through depletion or inside fences in the name of conservation.

Having been placed on the development continuum, often by Western ideals, rural dwellers are now dependent on income-generation for their survival. This case study examines the opportunities for rural communities to become involved in meaningful income-generation and how local conservation bodies, managers of protected areas, might encourage and facilitate this. Often the challenge for conservation bodies is to accommodate the development needs of neighbours of protected areas within their own goals of preserving wildlife. The cultural basis of conservation is in transition, given the realisations of the depth of poverty and the new social questioning of the moral right to spend so much on what many now consider to be archaic notions of nature.

The desire to integrate conservation with development is by itself insufficient to make a sustainable difference to local communities. Rather, holistic development models are needed to allow conservation to play an effective role in income-generation, from creating the background for successful businesses to helping create markets for produce. Analyses of current conservation techniques to involve communities in conservation suggest the need for a shifting of the conservative, preservationist culture that dominates conservation bodies, towards a more people-centred approach. With this comes a realisation that the goals of development cannot be achieved through conservation but ironically the goals of conservation can be achieved through development of neighbouring communities.

## DECLARATION

The Research for this thesis was carried out through the School of Environment and Development, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, from August 1997 to January 1998, under the supervision of Professor Charles Breen.

The work contained within this thesis is original work by the author and has not been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any university. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.

Michael Donnelly

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## CHAPTER ONE - THE CHANGING FACE OF CONSERVATION

'Sub-Saharan Africa has the highest proportion of people in - and the fastest growth in - human poverty. Some 220 million people in the region are income-poor. Indeed, the Sub-Saharan and other least developed countries are poverty stricken - and it is estimated that by 2000 half the people in Sub-Saharan Africa will be in income poverty.' (UNDP 1997)

The picture painted by the United Nations Development Programme is bleak, a reflection perhaps of foreign ideals and foreign interventions in the African continent. Sub-Saharan Africa is confronted today with the legacy of those foreign interventions in its economies, its social fabric and even in its natural environment (Anderson and Grove 1987, Mc Cracken 1987, Beinart 1987). While for millions the priority may be development and up-liftment, this is not necessarily the goal of those who are able to make a difference. The challenge the continent must face is the reconciliation of its human, social, and natural environments.

Awareness of how past interventionist mistakes by the Colonial powers have been modernised into mistakes by the West as a whole (Anderson and Grove 1987) form an important part of questioning why rural development in South Africa shouldn't start and end in this country. Conservation and its role in the continent of Africa serves as a key example where Western idealism has been imposed to an extent where it has often dominated and distorted real situations on the ground. Anderson and Grove (1987) argue the notion that many of the issues currently arising from conservation originated in an attempt to make Africa fit the image of Europe's notion of Africa. The romanticism of an African "eden" led directly to the creation of islands of protected wildlife where indigenous people were denied the use of resources with which they had coexisted for thousands of years (Anderson and Grove, 1987, Lindsay 1987).

Berkes (1989) argues that the Western view over-emphasises Hardin's (1968) theory, "Tragedy of the Commons", which has led to the promotion of a preservationist approach to wildlife, at the expense of communal property management. One of the results of this is an over-efficiency of the Western system, whereby it becomes very difficult to operate within the defined notions of sustainability, unless one applies Axelrod's (1984) interpretation of game theory's "prisoner dilemma". The complexity of the ecosystem is such that a depletion of resources will cause



extinction not only of the targeted resource, but also those who rely on it. Berkes (1989) suggests that traditional communal systems of management ensured that sufficient resources were maintained for the security and survival of the social grouping, a social order that doesn't exist in Western society. It is more likely that reasons for conservation of a resource will be pursued for economic purposes.

As such, debate on conservation has focussed on the 'preservationist-resourcism' mentality, where the existence of protected areas tends to be justified as being of benefit to future generations of humans. This is generally portrayed as an economic benefit. (Bell 1987) recognised that utilitarian justifications of conservation have long been used to further the aims of preservationists. Areas such as the Drakensberg Mountains of South Africa are recognised as being ecologically sensitive, less for their flora and fauna than for their ability to provide South Africa with scarce clean water and for their aesthetic, tourist-attracting value. It is in such a manner that conservationists are able to avoid having to justify the expense of bio-diversity preservation. While this strategy has produced more than the occasional success, conservation can no longer ignore the pressure for development that is building on its borders.

Davion (1996) argues that modern conservation has tended to place neighbours, former dependants on the natural resources, on a development continuum and therefore into the resourcism-preservationist bracket. The result is a tendency to seek development in the Western tradition as a means of compensating for the recent and accelerating scarcity of natural resources. Essentially, neighbours now want to sell the resources to earn their livelihood. Migratory employment is another indication of rural communities becoming increasingly involved in the paradigm and therefore the search for alternatives must realise that this dramatic rural transformation has already been established in South Africa (Davion 1996).

Conservation is regarded internationally as an apolitical matter, concerning only the environment, a distinction which works to the benefit of the conservator (Anderson & Grove 1987, Boardman 1981). In reality, by the nature of its own interventions and those of the institutions and levels of power both supporting and confronting it, mean that conservation is, in essence, a political movement (Boardman 1981). Conservation is unable to de-politicise itself and instead must seek to institute and accept political solutions to the problems that have grown up around its borders.

“Discussions about the future of the African environment must therefore also comprehend a debate about the future of African rural society. This debate will continue to be destructively one-sided until a time comes when African rural people participate directly in the process of decision-making that affects the environment in which they live.” (Anderson and Grove 1987: 10)

Globally, conservation as a concept is changing to adapt to new social realities. Social concerns linked to conservation are becoming the pre-dominant aspects of the challenges it faces in the light of policy failures to date (Anderson and Grove 1987, Wells 1995, Hanekom 1993, Wells et al. 1992). Therefore a key challenge for conservation is to gain a grip on the new realities where the attitude is altered from entrenched moral attitudes about the existence of conservation:

‘ultimately the behaviour of entire societies towards the biosphere must be transformed if the achievement of conservation objectives is to be achieved’<sup>1</sup>

Increasingly such attitudes are perceived as “social engineering” where the effect on rural indigenous people is of lesser consequence. Ignorance of the social impact of past rural development and conservation projects has caused problems for communities and has ultimately led to the failure of the projects (Anderson and Grove 1987, Bell 1987).

Diverging development theories and practices mean that each developmental challenge has varying circumstances and a variety of possible solutions depending on the social, natural, and human geography of the area. Each community has an uneven distribution of resources upon which it can draw to achieve its development, while there are few rules as to the abundance and nature of the resources and none as to how they will be employed. The direction of development is decided partially by the resources to hand but equally so by the influences of current dominant thinking. One such debate is the role of the individual or the community in the management of

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<sup>1</sup> World Conservation Union’s *World Conservation Strategy* cited in Anderson and Grove 1987.

common resources. Once again Western thinking promotes the individual where traditional societies have tended to operate within communalism (Berkes and Farvar 1989). Finding in its favour, Bekes and Farvor (1989) observed that common property systems, as well as promoting sustainable resource use, encourage popular participation in development decision-making.

Whether or not a rural community is dominated by the presence of a conservation body, the pressure brought to bear on rural livelihoods for survival means that communities wishing to develop must become familiar with those resources upon which they can draw to enable them to develop successfully. The enabling environment, consisting of policies and institutions is what will allow the development to be actualised. In South Africa the policies are primarily the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)(IDRC 1995), the Growth and Development Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal (DPMC 1996), with its Spatial Design Initiatives (SDI's) and locally, the Neighbour Relations Policy (NRP) written by the then Natal Parks Board (NPB 1992), the major conservation body<sup>2</sup>. Institutions and organisations might include Tribal Authority, Regional Council, NGO's, private sector, CBO's and parastatals.

Past work such as that of Lewis (1997), Erskine (1995), GEM (1993/94/95), claims how subsistence-based abuse of the environment will only be reduced where the communities reliance on the natural resource base for survival is lessened. The availability of socio-economic alternatives that allows them to participate in the mainstream economy through income-

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<sup>2</sup> KwaZulu-Natal's two former conservation bodies: The Natal Parks Board and the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation have merged to create the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services. Legislative union is due on 1<sup>st</sup> April 1998. Historical references list the conservation body as the Natal Parks Board.

generation is one such strategy. What are these alternatives and how might the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services (NCS) allow the community to take advantage of them?

Chapter two outlines the study areas and the methods used in carrying out and interpreting the research for this project. The conceptual framework for the research is laid out in chapter three by examining three aspects of conservation and development. The first outlines the role of conservation in development from a global perspective. The second examines further what the development means in the context of the study area through focussing on socio-economic aspects, while the third element concentrates on the role of small, medium and micro enterprise in a rural context, with particular reference to the study area. In order to place the research findings in context, chapter four sets out a model for examination of those business opportunities identified in the area. Chapter five reports on the findings and analyses the needs and requirements to operate successful business in the area. Chapter six discusses the realistic possibilities for conservation, in its context, to play a part in the community efforts to achieve income-generation and for the conservation body to achieve its objectives of furthering the aims of conservation.

## CHAPTER TWO - STUDY METHODS

The study area is adjacent to the Cathedral Peak and Royal Natal sections of the Natal Drakensberg Park, managed by the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services (NCS). The field research sites were selected as a result of discussions with conservation agency staff. Okhahlamba, as part of the former homeland, KwaZulu, was chosen because it is typical of many areas where protected areas are situated, with the presence of both vibrant tourism and deep rural dynamics. The objectives of the research were:

1. to identify opportunities where the (NCS) can be a “market” for locals
2. to examine and assess the local “internal” market
3. to understand and assess the tourist market
4. to examine and assess neighbour relations strategies of the NCS in terms of income generation
5. to establish the necessary capacity of NCS expertise in this field
6. to identify what needs to be put in place to allow progress in income generation to be achieved
7. to define a role for the NCS in fulfilling these needs

Research was conducted within three wards that border the protected areas. The NCS only considers as neighbours those who live on the wards bordering protected areas. Two of the wards are situated in Amazizi on the border with Royal Natal National Park and one ward in Amangwane, on the border of Cathedral Peak. While other wards border Cathedral Peak, time constraints did not permit them to be included in the study.

Discussions with the conservation authorities, NGOs on the ground and the local community, as well as literature reviews directed the focus of the research to three distinct market areas listed in the objectives. Consequentially, field research was separated into categories according to the goals of the research, which were categorised as: market delineation and character; market potentials; and the policy framework for support. The research made use of structured,

semi-structured and unstructured questionnaires to obtain both qualitative and quantitative data sets. Questionnaires were aimed at neighbours of the park, NCS staff, hotels and tourists visiting the hotels and the parks.

50 households were chosen at random to answer questions on consumption patterns and socio-economic characteristics. After 25 questionnaires it was realised that extra, relevant socio-economic information could be usefully obtained so extra questions were added to the questionnaire for the final 25. Representations of both data sets appear in the findings. Of the 50 questionnaires, 4 were spoiled and were unable to be included in the results. The questionnaires were translated into Zulu and conducted on a one-to-one basis by the researcher and a Community Conservation Assistant of the NCS. Questionnaires were limited to twelve questions in an effort to keep them concise and simple. Efforts were made to include households that were set off the road as well as those along the roadside.

Several limitations became apparent, including the fact that respondents were not always able to answer questions accurately and sometimes made estimates. A question on income reflected the source of income that the respondent brought to the household rather than the aggregate income of all household members. It is possible that some people felt threatened by the presence of an NCS official and car during the questionnaires as in the recent past the NCS has been associated with law enforcement.

Seven of the foremost hotels were chosen to answer structured questionnaires on the profiles of tourists including numbers of visitors, occupancy rates and disbursements by the visitors. Of the seven presented to hotel managers, six were returned.

Ladies who produced grass products were interviewed to ascertain the role of crafts in local livelihoods and to assess the effectiveness of commercial techniques and production methods. Semi-structured questions in the interviews were included to gauge what problems were being experienced and what role they believed the conservation body should play.

Semi-structured interviews were also conducted with the Officers-in-Charge (OIC) of the two protected areas in question, with the aim of gauging the attitudes of the staff of the conservation body towards the neighbours and to assess the perceptions of neighbour relations within the organisation. Respondents were encouraged to expand on the ideas and concepts that arose during the discussion. Twelve questions formed the base of the questionnaire.

The accounts of the protected areas in question were analysed to determine if opportunities for small business existed within the budgets. This analysis included searching the ledgers and end of year accounts.

The data was interpreted within a commercial framework where market sizes and potentials were examined on the basis of feasibility studies. The work of people and parks protagonists was consulted and the context of the role of conservation in development was examined. A business approach to the problems allowed the situation to be placed in a broader development context where the background to business success depends on the holistic treatment of the supporting environment. While considering the historical implications of the relationship between conservation and people this aspect was not emphasised in the study, beyond its continuing impact on the market opportunities available to local communities.

Introductions to the communities were made through Mr Richard Molefe who was able to secure audiences with the Amakhosi at the sittings of the Tribal Courts in each of the two Tribal Authorities. Introductions were also formed through attending meetings of the community-based organisations (CBOs) and meetings between communities and the NCS. As far as possible the researcher met with the community during normal functions, whether this be at the homestead for the household interviews or at the curio selling points for the ladies who weave.

These research methods were chosen to allow the researcher as wide as possible access to the players in the communities. It also allowed the researcher the opportunity to experience first hand the situation that the communities are facing and to gain a perspective on the needs and potentials from their point of view.

## CHAPTER THREE - THE ROLE OF CONSERVATION IN DEVELOPMENT

### 3.1 Conservation and Development

Okhahlamba is an area which experiences classical developmental challenges as outlined later in this chapter, but is also an area that has an endowment that sets it apart from other rural areas. It is situated next to the protected areas of the Natal Drakensberg Park and the Royal Natal National Park. These protected areas exist for the preservation of South Africa's main water catchment area and the biodiversity and character of the Drakensberg Mountains. Exclusion and apartheid legacies are at the forefront of issues within the local communities, but opportunities for participation in the benefits of conservation are being examined in relation to access to natural resources, and access to participation in ecotourism.

Conservation in Africa has long been perceived as an elitist, White activity, instigated by colonialists and existing today within the same context. Conservation in its colonial form is still the norm, despite the large number of African states that have achieved national independence during recent decades. Rather than transforming them, the conservation bodies retain the new governments' support, due in part to a lack of specialist conservation skills within the new governments and because of external pressure from Western governments and pressure groups. Furthermore, protected areas are seen as major contributors to the tourist industry and a source of much needed foreign exchange, increasing the reluctance for governments to interfere (IIED 1994).

Alongside the continued support of conservation and protected areas is the phenomenon of rising populations and poverty. Pressure on the natural resource base is characterised by the classic signs of visible degradation of the landscape, such as erosion and by the level of conflict of interests between the local communities and the conservation body. The IIED study (1994) sums up: 'As human populations have grown, demands on the limited resources have increased and the intensity of conflicts between conservation authorities and local people has escalated' (IIED 1994: 14)



This typical scenario has been observed in the Drakensberg and during the past few years the main effort of community relations of the Conservation body has been concentrated on conflict resolution and improved communication between the NCS and the local communities to reduce tensions (NPB 1994b, 1995, 1996).

\* Indications such as IIED guidelines show that the effective lack of local rural participation in the decision-making of protected areas and common resources in the Drakensberg is characteristic of a top-down management style, where solutions and decisions are imposed with minimal consultation with the affected communities. Effectively they have no say in the running of the protected area. Alternative management styles use various levels of participation to engage the community in the conservation effort. Passive participation where the community has limited input into decision-making and control, while being preferable to the top-down approach, is a style which is also viewed negatively by the IIED's 1994 report, "*Whose Eden?*". Preferable is the active participation management, which permits the community extensive input into decision-making and control (IIED 1994). These various management styles are situated along the preservationist continuum and are controlled by the attitudes of individuals within the conservation body, in particular the protected area managers. Typical conservationist attitudes range from: "communities are the threat", through "communities can't be ignored", to "communities control the resource"<sup>3</sup>.

It is worth drawing attention at this point to the notion of community and how the term is applied liberally to situations where it risks becoming a misnomer. The need for careful use of the term is evident as it is often a mis-represented concept where it pre-supposes notions of homogeneity and consensus which do not always exist (Nelson and Wright 1995, Uphoff 1986).

Policy makers and researchers can use the term to depict an idyllic interaction between the outsider and the subjects of the research or the policy (Nelson and Wright 1995). The conservation body refers to community as being those people considered 'neighbours', living in

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<sup>3</sup> See Wells et al. 1992 "*Whose Eden?*" pp18-19 for an explanation of this participation.

the political ward adjacent to the parks'.<sup>4</sup>

The role played in the communities by the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services in the Drakensberg, although difficult to categorise due to its dependence on the individual managing the park, retains the appearance of top-down management. Here, consultation rather than participation is the norm and is taken at a late stage of decision making and where conservation decisions are more likely to be imposed on the communities. Passive participation is increasingly used where the communities have opportunities to meet with the conservation body through Community Development Forums. Policy does not yet delegate management responsibilities to neighbours. The reluctant inclusion of the community in a consultative role is perceived as having the goal of conserving biological diversity 'by reducing local opposition to protected-area management, wildlife legislation and modern tenure arrangements' (IIED 1994: 20). Compensation schemes, income-generating projects and environmental education programmes rest within the same category in an attempt to benefit conservation by reducing the cost of conservation to the conservation authorities, including the cost of law enforcement. To institutions such as the IIED, such ad hoc approaches are short-term and of limited benefit to the communities but non-the-less welcomed as progress from the "top-down" management approach.

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<sup>4</sup> The NPB defined a "neighbour" as being "Any person who serves as head of a family and who:  
(i) is permanently resident on property neighbouring a protected area or  
(ii) is a member of an Induna Area bordering any protected area." (NPB minute 2 (d) 1991)

The responsibilities of modern conservation towards its neighbours are part of a wider debate around people and parks. Conservation bodies becoming involved in the welfare of their neighbours primarily to ensure the survival of their industry, represents a dilemma in attitudes of conservationists towards preservation of natural resources. Involvement in areas new to them such as social welfare, income-generation and economic growth are seen as both positive and negative progressions by community and scholar alike. The KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services as the main conservation body in Okhahlamba is involved in the debate, seeking to realise what it is able to achieve by way of making a strategic, meaningful difference to the neighbouring communities.

In the context of the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services, community relations in the Drakensberg are based ostensibly on the Neighbour Relations Policy (NRP), a document written in 1992 which demarcates the commencement of a shifting of the conservation ideology of the organisation. The policy and its implementation are contained within a tight structure from the Community Conservation Division to staff on the ground in the protected areas.

Such movements in conservation ideology emanating from the conservation body mirror the concepts of integrated development and conservation projects (ICDPs). The basic concept understands that to prevent further depletion of natural resources the goals of conservation and development must merge, socio-economic development must be encouraged and that participation and empowerment are promoted in any initiatives (Lewis 1997). The realisation is part of a wider movement towards the notion that the protection of natural resources must first provide economic incentives to increase the net local benefits from conservation and sustainable resource use (Erskine 1995, Davion 1996, Lewis 1997). This direction appears to be followed ahead of the more community-participative programmes like CAMPFIRE from Zimbabwe which have never captured the imagination of common resource managers in South Africa. This is a result of the established techniques, legislation and institutional framework which forms the essence and ideology of the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services and which will ensure the survival of the parks in their present form for the foreseeable future. In many respects the challenge facing the threat to natural resources is more complicated in a partially-developed

scenario like South Africa where local communities seek the economic, social and political empowerment from which they have been excluded for decades than in a completely rural context where communities live among wildlife as in Zimbabwe.

Even where ICDPs have been implemented, the success rate has been less than spectacular (Davion 1996, IIED 1994) with few projects of this type claiming clear successes (Wells 1995). ICDPs are by no means the panacea for solving the difficulty of rural development and conservation. They represent, however, an alternative being considered by public conservation bodies and for that reason denote a departure from traditional attitudes. In light of this, the Neighbour Relations Policy (NRP) of the NCS remains the point of reference for its involvement of the community in the work of conservation. A fundamental truth of development, which appears to be continually ignored, is that the success of working with local communities depends on the effectiveness of public participation where effectiveness may be defined as:

'more than...project beneficiaries or as paid employees. It means participation in decision making, in problem identification, in project design and implementation, and in project monitoring and evaluation' (IIED 1994: 63)

The 1992 publication of the Neighbour Relations Policy marked the point where the NCS formalised the awareness of the need to involve local communities in its conservation effort. The reasons for the change are part of a wider dynamic that is not easily summed up but represents a global move towards questioning the need or morality of preservationist approaches to conservation. Also because of the neglected threat to conservation, posed by poverty and underdevelopment on the borders of protected areas.

The approaches to facilitating rural development within the conservation context remain contested (Wells, Brandon and Hannah 1992, Wells 1995, Lewis 1997). In an area that is aesthetically valuable, minimal disturbance is the ultimate objective of any development. At the same time 'the economic value of resource conservation is of little interest if the individuals and groups making land/resources use decisions are unable to capture the economic benefits from

conservation' (Erskine 1995).

Infra-structural development, which Wells, Hannah and Brandon (1992) see as being the pre-requisite to development of any kind, remains outside the scope of conservation interventions in the community.

#### The Neighbour Relations Policy

Davion (1996) argues that the debate between people and conservation does not so much pit people against the environment as much as the entire range of needs people seek to fulfil through access to natural resources against the needs other people seek to fulfil. The Neighbour Relations Policy (NRP) therefore suggests that the conservation body be prepared to achieve its own conservation objectives through expediency. In the past the accepted method was protectionism through law enforcement, while communities had access to natural resources and supplemented their needs with hunting. However, current developmental thinking suggests that the NCS may achieve its aims by aiding those communities achieve their development objectives. The conservation body has a key role to play as observed by Davion (1996) due to the fact that its staff is 'critical catalysts who possess technical know-how and capital infrastructure useable for work in neighbouring areas' (*Ibid.*: 24)<sup>5</sup>.

The realisations outlined within the document are apparent awareness of the problems outlined above and contextualised in three strategies:<sup>6</sup>

1. Encourage participation in protected area management and planning
2. Foster economic and social development to contribute to improved quality of life
3. Enhance environmental awareness

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<sup>5</sup> A thorough examination of the effectiveness of the NRP is carried out in Davion (1996).

<sup>6</sup> See Davion (1996) for a more in-depth explanation on the process leading up to the writing and initial implementation of the NRP

The NCS is seemingly aware of the issues that were, and are prevalent among the neighbours and their effect on these issues:

'A very fair criticism of the Board's [NCS] past management style has been the lack of respect for local black communities in that...they were largely ignored...the criticism in general has been accepted as justified' (NPB 1992)

Such admissions send a powerful message of an organisation confronting its historical problems, and creating a climate where the entrenched culture of protectionist conservation may begin to be questioned within the organisation. Indeed the motivation behind the NRP goes to the depth of the arguments advanced in the new realisations of the role of conservation.

The five objectives of the policy are outlined as being:

1. Trust building
2. Developing environmental awareness
3. Facilitating access to material and spiritual benefits of protected areas
4. Support economic and social development
5. Capacity building with NCS staff toward their participation in NRP activities

These five objectives are the drivers of the two strategic points of departure to encourage participation in conservation and to foster socio-economic development in the area. International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) analyses suggest that the extent of local participation in the ICDPs has been the key success factor in deciding whether or not the conservation body achieves its aims or not (IIED 1994). Each individual project must be measured against a set of indices commonly used in development research such as income and poverty rates.

Of interest to this project is the focus on income-generation which lies within the latter. The conservation body recognises income-generation as a tangible goal and a need within the surrounding communities. Employment and contract preference for neighbours were noted as

the primary methods of increasing income generation, however Wells et. al (1992) observe that the conservation body is not able to promise substantial changes through a local employment programme. Firstly, it does not involve the community as a whole, rather direct employment is limited to the families involved, often small in numbers and this provides only a limited source of income for the overall community (Wells et al. 1992).

Recognition of the role of tourism within the NCSs jurisdiction is shown by a wide commitment to:

‘identify outdoor recreation and tourism opportunities, and develop programmes to encourage local entrepreneurs to make best use of these, especially for services and activities that might otherwise have to be undertaken by the Board [NCS] as a self-funding operation’ (NPB 1992).

Such a statement has far-reaching implications, not least for dealing with the question of the NCS setting the communities up as competition to itself as regards the provision of goods and services to accommodate the growing tourist market. Meaningful debate needs to centre on the involvement of local communities in tourism, a sector that has promised much but provided little profit for neighbouring communities. Reversing the outflow of the proceeds of tourism through hotel chains or the conservation body is a challenge not yet faced. Opportunities, such as nature tourism or ecotourism which have been identified as high potential sectors are rarely transformed into action, probably because they are seen to compete directly with core operations of the conservation bodies.

Seemingly moving out of its sphere of competence the NCS then attempts to confront the social issues of the communities in stating:

‘Reserve staff should...identify local social needs and aspirations, some of which may be far removed from nature conservation.’ (*Ibid.*).

Identification of issues surrounding the social environment represents a fundamental move from the previous entrenchment within conservation, suggesting a new direction for protected areas towards socialistic outlooks and solution seeking. Capacity issues as well as implementation and

monitoring are key areas to be addressed. Wells (1995) recommends to conservation bodies to support local economies through:

1. Direct financial benefits for local individuals and organisation:  
Employment; purchasing more goods and contracting more services locally
2. Use of natural resources in parks or buffer zones:  
Hunting; Livestock grazing; Collection of natural products (medicinal plants, wood, construction mats.)
3. Participation in tourism enterprises:  
Employment; Revenue sharing; Selling goods and services directly to tourists;  
New market niches emphasising traditional cultures; providing affordable services to African visitors
4. Support for community projects (schools, clinics, roads):  
Fund raising; Direct financial support; Facilitation (enlisting help of other agencies)  
Technical expertise
5. Capacity building  
Training individuals with employment and business skills; supporting institutional developments

### **3.2 Nature of the Problem - Socio-Economic Development**

KwaZulu-Natal contains the highest population of all the provinces of South Africa, whilst being the third smallest province. To participate effectively in working towards the alleviation of the poverty and inequalities which remain, a profound understanding of its development dynamics is required. The urgency and scale of the need is not lessened by the fact that half of the



population are still considered rural and the rural population, while declining proportionately in relation to urban populations, will increase over the coming decades (May 1996).

Past research on the socio-economic and population indicators in KwaZulu-Natal has been mostly carried out on a regional rather than a sub-regional basis, raising questions of accuracy and relevance. The study area and the wider Okhahlamba district is therefore lacking in localised accurate statistics. As such, generalisations risk appearing which can distort the situation at a local level. However statistical research such as that carried out by CSS Population Census (1991), DRA (1992), SALDRU (1994) and DRA (1994) has been analysed and contextualised by Ardington (1994), DRA (1994), May (1993), Ardington and Lund (1996), Posel and May (1995) and May (1996). The efforts at adjusting the pure statistics can lead to the creation of misleading pictures of rural livelihoods through over-simplification (Ardington and Lund 1996). This risk must be tempered with the realisation that pure data is a static resource, which can quickly become outdated. As such the value of cross-sectional data analyses, where quantitative and qualitative data are integrated is becoming more widely accepted by researchers and institutions (*Ibid.*).

Within KwaZulu-Natal various statistical researches, such as those listed above, have succeeded in forming a number of collaborating views of rural livelihoods, relevant to as wide a body of the population as can be expected. Inequality and poverty are two of the key indicators used in examining the development of a country or region and KwaZulu Natal is marked by the presence of both. May (1996) believes that poverty “may be measured either in terms of the stream of income flowing into the household, or by the stream of expenditure flowing out” (p8).

Regarding inequality, May’s 1996 summary of past research concluded that in KwaZulu Natal ‘the poorest 60% received 23% of income and the richest 10% of the rural population received 38.5% of all income’ (May 1996:10).

May (1996), through examining the results of the SALDRU 1994 household survey, identified the main income-generating activities. Agriculture was omnipresent, although it was rarely used for

the sole or even main means of income. It is used as a buffer against the risk of income loss. Conflict of statistics leads to a mis-understanding of the actual role of agriculture and often this is attributed to the denial of access to land. Different rural communities have experienced differing land access opportunities but traditionally tribal authorities have offered generous access. However, Ardington and Lund (1996) point out that the effect of growing populations means that the demand for tribal lands can no longer be met, therefore the number of people actually gaining access to land is decreasing.

In the non-farm income-generating activity small-scale distribution networks of small produce such as retail and hawking are predominant as is petty commodity production of crafts, clothes and furniture. Niche markets were also identified with services such as child minding and water carrying (May 1996).

Claiming against the state represents a significant income for households as the money rarely stays with the recipient but is used to keep the household. Remittances are regarded as important and equally this remains a contentious issue as again Ardington and Lund (1996) point out. Often migrant workers are counted as rural unemployed and therefore their role is underestimated. The researchers characterise the migrant worker as being “predominantly male, employed and better educated than their peers who remain at home” (*Ibid.*:41). Among the effects is the omission of the migrant from policy consideration and a consequent tendency to under-value the role of rural employment and an exaggeration of the trend of urbanisation.

May (1996) feels that current surveys fail to include several important income-generating and income-stretching activities. Among these are cannabis production and dealing, unpaid domestic labour and subsistence on natural resources. Ardington and Lund warn of the dangers of over-playing the importance of the main source of income. They believe that strategies that fail to realise the mixed-income nature of the rural household will fail in projects commenced and will lead to concentration on a single source at the expense of others that are ignored and neglected. Based on this and on May’s statistics, the role of small business must be kept within the context of what it promises to deliver. Ultimately it can only serve to play the role of a cog in the holistic

development plan. Generally households involved in the micro-enterprise sector live above the poverty line, as do those in primary, formal employment (May 1996).

May (1996) cites the magnitude of the need for extra income and job creation in rural KwaZulu-Natal: 'a perfectly targeted transfer of R1,5 billion per annum would be required to eliminate poverty in rural KwaZulu-Natal: some 175 000 'livelihoods' (p9). Any integrated development strategy must prioritise how it may fulfil this need through a range of methods and projects. The need for the holistic approach is confirmed by the conclusions of Posel and May (1995) when they realised that 71% of the rural population was found to live below the poverty line. Rural populations are not living in poverty merely because there is a lack of income-generating opportunities. The provision of basic services is often the first priority:

'The absence of basic infrastructure, such as electricity and adequate health care, exacerbates the experience of poverty in these areas and increases the time spent in daily reproductive<sup>7</sup> tasks, time that could be utilised more productively in income-earning or income-generating activities' (Posel and May 1995: 25).

Delivery strategies for these services are outlined in documents such as The Growth and Development Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal (DPMC 1996) and the Integrated Rural Development (IRD)(McIntosh/Xaba 1997). These are the basic proponents of development, however beyond such progress, feasibility studies are needed to research what kinds of development initiatives would be appropriate or desirable in these areas. Feasibility studies can also highlight the constraints on people's access to resources and the viability of different kinds of development strategies (*Ibid.*).

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<sup>7</sup> Reproductive tasks are considered to be domestic chores that are carried out on a daily basis, such as water collection and wood gathering.

### 3.3 Rural Business

Socio-economic indicators underline the need for methods of contributing to the overall development challenge in Okhahlamba. Small business has been identified worldwide as being crucial to the development of rural areas and particularly so in developing countries. By providing a basic source of goods, services, income, and employment in a rural context, they offer opportunities for community development and in particular to low-income people, especially women (Jeans et al. 1990, Harper 1984). Gender issues in rural development are appearing at the fore of efforts to halt exclusion and dis-empowerment. Even today rural societies are characterised by women being excluded from formal employment opportunities due to social status revolving around the family. Domestic, repetitive chores deny the opportunity for social and personal upliftment, limiting the scope for income-generation. This is no different in Okhahlamba.

Small businesses are seen to offer an alternative source of income and a means for personal development, for women in particular (Harper 1984). The migratory labour system, throughout southern Africa, has traditionally left women in the rural areas to fend for themselves with far-reaching consequences. As a result women dominate the small informal business scene in southern Africa (Downing and Daniels 1992). Mead (1994) claims that in the recent past in Sub-Saharan Africa, small enterprises have absorbed over 50% of the growth in the active population. Furthermore the majority of these jobs have been due to business innovation rather than expansion of existing businesses. In a local context such realities are important to halt the flow of educated human resources towards urban centres.

Bees Consulting Group (BCG) carried out a rapid rural appraisal in the Bergville Magisterial District<sup>8</sup> during 1997 to build a picture of the constraints to local economic development. BCG found that women tended to fall mostly within the food and soft-manufacturing sub-sectors. However, few were educated and few of their businesses returned a significant profit with

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<sup>8</sup> Bergville Magisterial District encompasses all of Okhahlamba, some freehold areas and the Transitional Local Council of Bergville, the nearest town to the study area.

prospects suggesting a survivalist-type approach with low capital outlay. The reasons why this was so were not researched. Meanwhile the best business opportunities remained with the male-dominated hard manufacturing sector, which includes block making, mechanical work and other types of engineering.

Because of the legacy of the apartheid planning small medium and micro enterprise (SMME) development needs in Okhahlamba and in South Africa are different from those in other developing nations. Major SMME development constraints outlined by BCG include:

1. Limited exposure to “non-township” or diversified SMME opportunities, especially as relates to high-potential sectors;
2. High raw material costs combined with limited access to the same;
3. Poor access to required sites and services;
4. For manufacturers, limited access to required tools and equipment;
5. Access to credit (working and long-term) for emerging enterprise needs and (initial working capital) for family-livelihood enterprise;
6. Limited entrepreneurial capacity due to poor education and training opportunities;
7. Limited opportunities to access management and technical skills and basic adult education programmes;
8. Utilisation of only the household-consumer marketing channels and, conversely, very limited access to mainstream economy markets; and,
9. In authority / freehold areas, transportation difficulties.

Rather than implementing short-term measures in an effort to rapidly overcome such constraints, a longer-term provision of needs is required. The NCS and private sector interventions in the community in the past have done this with a limited success. Longer-term requirements are simplified in a needs-list identified in a survey by BCG:

1. Provision of credit;
2. Development of a Local Business Support Centre;
3. Business sites;
4. Numeracy / literacy training;
5. Marketing assistance;
6. Technical training, and;
7. Provincial Small Business Council development.

Support mechanisms such as those called for are lacking in the study area, to an extent where businesses remain limited to the retail and crafts-manufacture sectors. Supports offered by the conservation body include facilitating business awareness training and capacity building for community forums.

BCG discovered that only ten percent of surveyed operators indicated that they had received support of any kind, least of all from government agencies. The main source of support for manufacturers was the private sector with retailers receiving commercial training and marketing assistance. These findings reflect on the inability of government policy to attain effective implementation on the ground.

Contemporary debate around support mechanisms tends to revolve around the issues of credit provision versus non-financial support. Lorin (1997)<sup>9</sup> believes that 'the focus amongst donors is very much on financial services, with much less attention given to non-financial services and practically none to the integration of the two'. In the Bergville district entrepreneurs identified access to credit as being the top priority and all subsequent needs as non-financial support mechanisms. It is interesting that credit was listed at the top as in general, SMME start-up capital is provided "own savings" and "friends and relatives" who seem to be a nearly universal source. Mead (1994) and Harper (1984) identified these same characteristics. However, it must be considered the top priority if the business people identified it as their major constraint. The

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<sup>9</sup> Jean-Claude Lorin ENTER-L owner, ENTERWeb webmaster <mailto:jlurin@synapse.net>, Enter\_L Discussion List based on micro-enterprise.

Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism have met the local business support centre demand, due to the intervention of BCG in the district. However it remains unclear what success it will achieve in encouraging commercially viable enterprises to commence around the study area in the rural hinterland.

Okhahlamba is not advanced as a business development area and faces two issues ensuring the success of a rural business development strategy (BCG 1997):

1. The level and strength of service provision required and;
2. The ability, effectiveness and capacity of the service provider

While in the main the service provision required has been identified and highlighted, the main constraint remains the latter. Service provision is a long-term commitment to support businesses through the start-up and growth phases. Therefore a period of 'ramping up' is needed where the basic elements of business support are offered with information concerning access to credit and marketing services. Over time this would be followed by more strategic support services aimed at sectoral intervention and issues such as encouraging inward investment into identified dynamic sectors as well as technical assistance to emerging enterprises (*Ibid.*).

In typical SMME development circumstances, opportunity analysis focuses on the principle of what is simplest is best. Thus a staged scenario can be:

1. Sell more of the same products / services to existing customers, then
2. Sell new products / services to existing customers, then
3. Sell the same products / services to new customers, and finally
4. Sell new products / services to new customers

This scenario proposed by BCG holds relevance within the business opportunities discussed within the study area. Efficiency, access to resources, and improvement of skills are some of the aims of such interventions. However for businesses to be able to grow the supporting environment will only come from a tailored approach to supporting the various sectors rather

than macro-level strategy. In the rural areas the access to basic infrastructure means that it can take little advantage of opportunities discussed in towns. Therefore the perceived needs wish-list becomes all the more important as these are the needs which can make business in the deep rural context a viable proposition.

Vertical integration in the economy through business linkages is a recurrent theme in examining growth prospects of micro-enterprise. Boomgard et al. (1991) develop the theory by outlining the importance of vertical integration in defining the success of growth-oriented strategies in the SMME sector. To this end Rajagopal (1995) indicates that the strength and efficiency of the linkages established in various sectors to complete the production and business cycles measure economic development of a region. The informal sector can only hope to participate in the formal business arena through the development of vertical linkages with formal enterprises. A major opportunity and challenge is, over time, to link SMMEs with companies in high potential sectors. These sectors have been shown to exist, but to date for various reasons including the constraints shown above the integration has not happened. Experience and research has shown the challenge demands patience and specialised support. As such BCG propose a three-pronged strategy:

1. Broad-based encouragement and support of existing entrepreneurs for purposes of: (i) improving existing enterprises; (ii) increasing awareness of new opportunities; and, (iii) in support of (i) and (ii), improving basic operating skills, including literacy and numeracy;
2. Examination of promising sectors for SMME development, followed by design, preparation and execution of targeted enterprise promotion strategies; and
3. Mutually value-added linkages between mainstream and emerging enterprises.

The acceptance of the idea that conservation has an increasingly important role to play in the development of neighbours, including socio-economic development, is the start of the learning process about the challenges and potentials within those communities. Business opportunities, when they are identified must conform to a set of business norms which characterise a geographical region. The work carried out by BCG in Bergville Magisterial District outlines this



and the importance of the SMME sector to development in the area and the effect of underdevelopment as a constraint to growth. An amalgamation of the market, development needs, and conservation objectives may be the focus used to achieve success in Okhahlamba.

## CHAPTER FOUR - THE OKHAHLAMBA CASE STUDY

### 4.1 Study Area

#### Okhahlamba

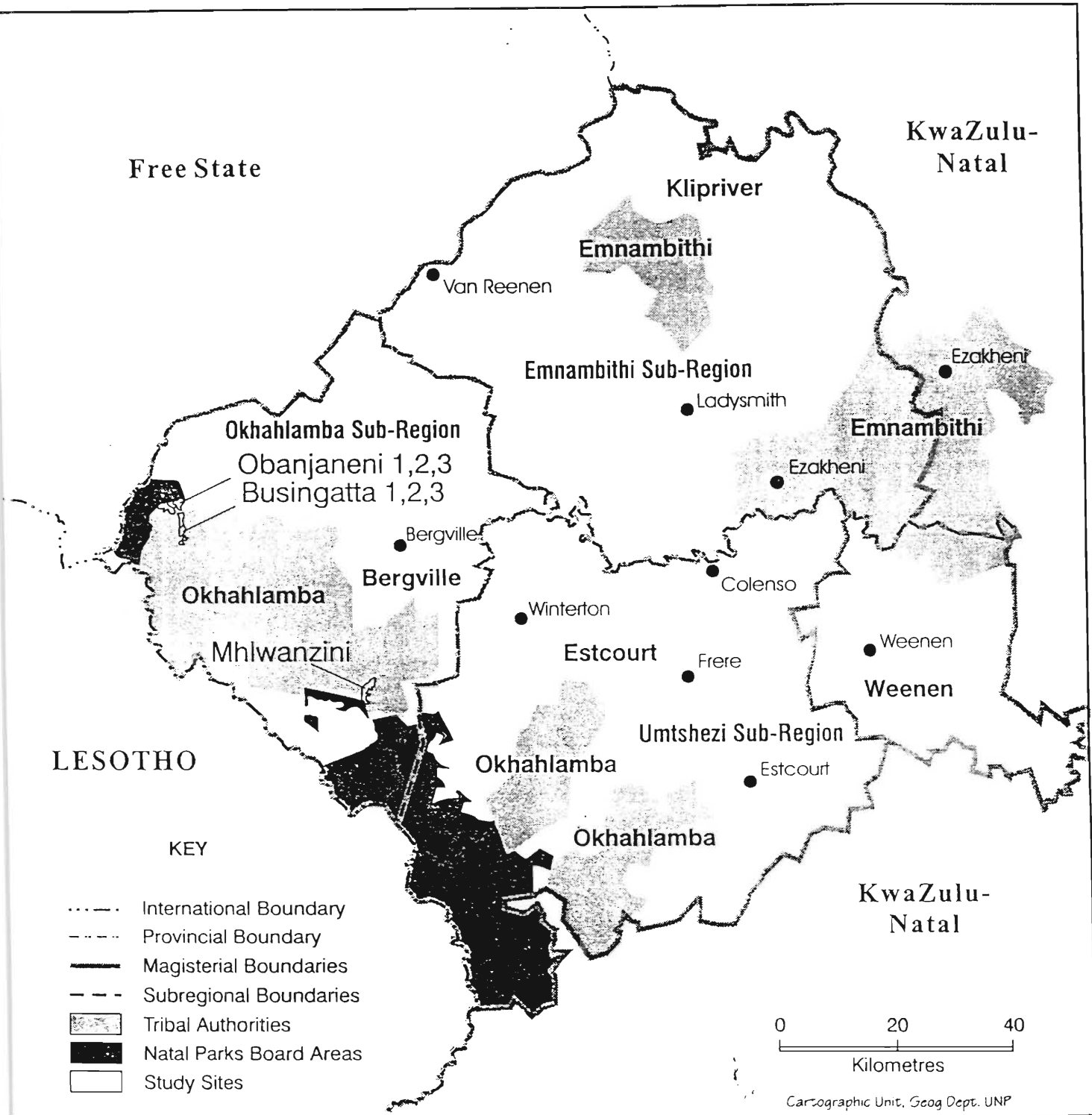
Okhahlamba, formerly known as the Upper Tugela Native Location is situated in the shadow of the Drakensberg Mountains in northwestern KwaZulu-Natal (see map of study area). It is a part of the magisterial district of Bergville and falls within the uThukela Regional Council, sitting at Ladysmith. Okhahlamba, divided into three separate sections, was governed by the former KwaZulu government and is made up of several tribal authorities, the two dominant authorities being Amazizi and Amangwane. It is regarded as a deep rural area, with a population of over 200 000 (CSS 1991). Amangwane is much larger in both geographical area and population. The Natal Drakensberg Park forms the western boundary of Okhahlamba with Royal Natal bordering Amazizi and Cathedral Peak forming the border with Amangwane. The study is focussed on the wards that immediately border the conservation body's territory. In Amazizi there are two wards bordering Royal Natal: Busingatha and Obonjaneni. In Amangwane one ward, eMhlwazini, which borders the Cathedral Peak State Forest, was included in the study. The population of Okhahlamba is growing at an estimated 3% per annum and will reach a population of 300 000 by the year 2013 (Seneque Smit & Maughan Brown 1995).

Table 4.1 Population of Busingatha, Obonjaneni and eMhlwazini

Ward	Population
Busingatha	4902
Obonjaneni	8202
Emhlwazini	3600
Okhahlamba	208 253

Sources: Seneque Smit & Maughan Brown (1995) and CSS (1991)

### Location Of Study Area



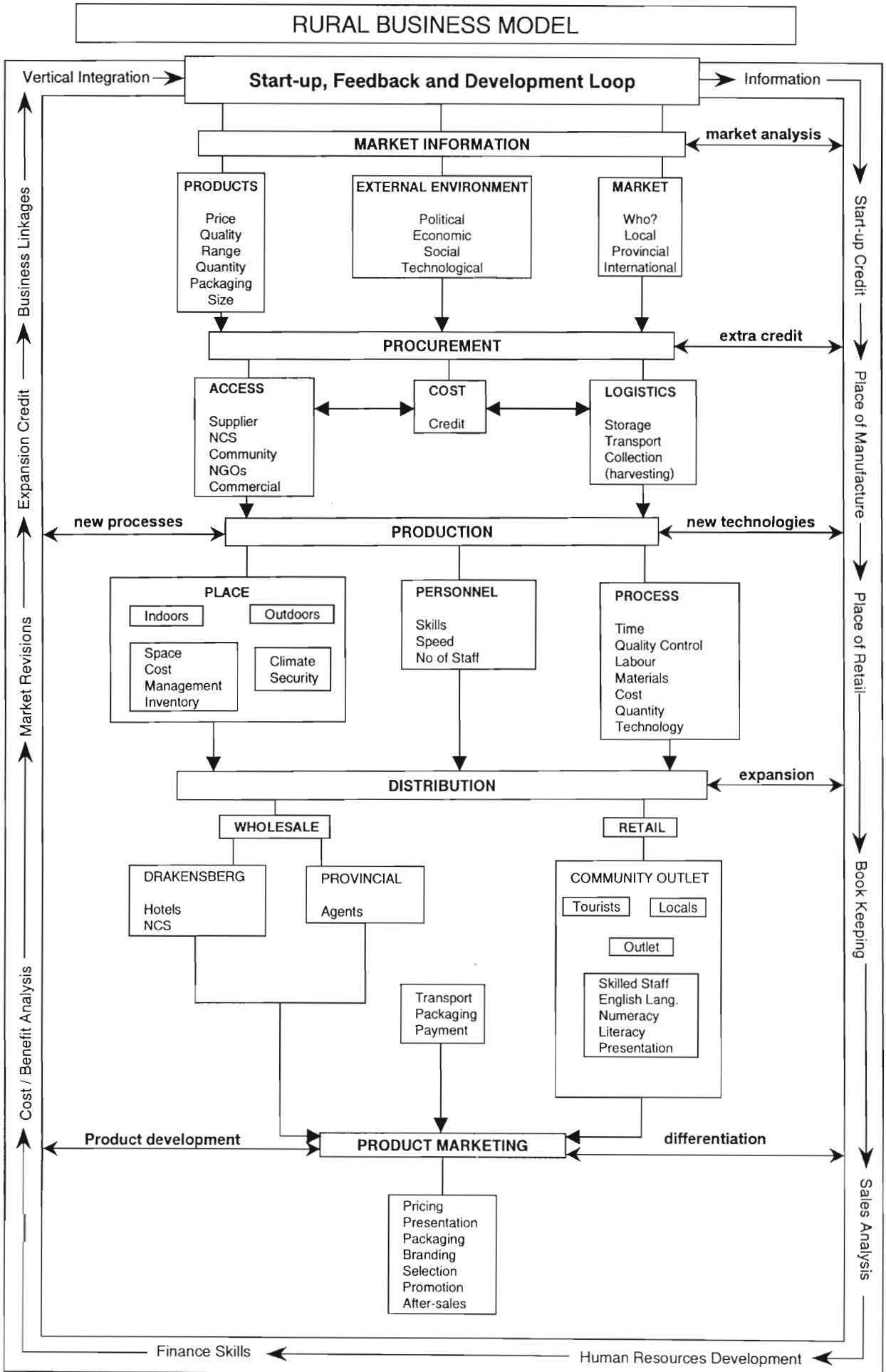
## 4.2 Market Study Context

Financial viability is the bottom line to business ventures. This realisation should not be compromised even in development-type projects, as doing so will increase the risk of business failure. In addition businesses must be examined in relation to the environments within which they operate, often dynamic and requiring an iterative process of continual adaptation. Through proposing a business model, the marketplace and the enabling environment may be scrutinised to establish the elements present and the missing criteria for a successful business. Against such a model an examination of the role of the NCS may be completed to analyse the contribution it is making towards promoting income generation through business opportunities. Hypotheses suggest three markets in particular be considered as providing the best opportunities for successful micro-enterprise development in the study area: the conservation body; the local community; and the tourists.

Figure 4.1 is the business model against which the businesses and the opportunities will be assessed. It is designed to examine the criteria from business start-up through achieving sales, feedback, assessment and development. The model has been constructed from the small business viewpoint, and considers those elements deemed to be needed to make a successful business venture. Within the model details require fine-tuning from the classic enterprise formats of the Western world to adapt to the rural realities present in KwaZulu-Natal and more particularly Okhahlamba.

The external environment requires careful examination to consider the framework within which the market must function. To a rural community the external environment will be very different to that of an urban business where different factors are at play. The process within which businesses operate is a dynamic one, with elements changing regularly. The anticipation, recognition and reaction to such changes can present an opportunity or failure to do so may have a negative impact on the business.

Figure 4.1 Business Model for Small Enterprise Opportunities in Okhahlamba



The external environment is analysed across the three areas of opportunity as it is applicable to all, and may be regarded as the support structure to promote business opportunities. Subsequent analysis is focussed on the internal functioning of the business as a unit. While many of the functions are actual relations with the external players such as procurement of raw materials, the key factor is the efficiency and ability of the internal operation, e.g. finding a reliable supplier.

### **4.3 The External Environment**

The External Environment may be analysed within the PEST framework, where political, economic, social and technological factors have an impact on the operation of businesses.

#### The Political/Institutional Environment

The impacts of influential policy makers present in the area are considered to assess the political and institutional environments. This broad political analysis includes national, provincial and local Government structures and policies. It further encompasses the operational policies of NGOs, and other parties including the Neighbour Relations Policy of the NCS. As in other parts of southern Africa, the dynamics of the struggle to define a role for the traditional authorities has a large bearing on the politics of the study area.

A distinction between the roles and influences of organisations and institutions would be helpful in understanding the dynamics of various players, and may avoid some of the confusion that often surrounds the same. North (1981) sees a natural divide, with institutions being recognised as systems of enforceable and legitimate rules while organisations are actual systems of co-operation where people get together in order to carry out a designated function (cited in Barnes and Morris 1997). The State is the biggest type of organisation and often has the largest bearing on events within an institutional environment. Therefore the institutional framework in KwaZulu-Natal is a result of the dominance of the state, both current and historical dominance. The state is perceived as having created institutions and organisations, which continually use new legislation to perpetuate their own existence (Barnes and Morris 1997). Within this context, rural

KwaZulu-Natal suffers from a fragmented, complex and inefficient institutional environment caused primarily by territorial segregationist policies of the Apartheid government. The historical legacy is reflected in development policies and how organisations and institutions seen on the ground implement them (*Ibid.*).

#### Central Government

National Government retains control of several departments that are claimed as national competencies. Ironically some of these departments such as Water Affairs and Forestry deal with the delivery of basic needs to communities. Other departments held at a national level include the Department of Energy and Mineral Affairs and the Department of Land Affairs. Water delivery is carried out between the national government and community structures that the government is attempting to create. Barnes and Morris (1997) argue that rather than being a national competence, the delivery of these services such as water should occur at least at provincial level if not at local government level as the RDP points out that services are demand driven by the communities who need them. Effective service delivery is being forgone in favour of minimising levels of government, as a consequence the creation of community structures effectively by-passes the other two levels of government and ensures that capacity will not be created at local government in the short to medium terms (*Ibid.*).

While it concerns mainly macroeconomic policy, the effects of the neo-liberal Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy are far-reaching and coming under increasing attack by leftist economists and socialist groupings. This is mainly due to its introduction into South Africa of the Western, capitalistic policies of the multi-lateral lending institutions such as the World Bank. The opening of markets to competition, reduction of the size of the state and privatisation are the pillars of its economic strategies aimed at making South Africa a globally competitive country, achieving a 6.1% growth rate by the year 2000 (KC 1997). The GEAR was also to have formed the main delivery mechanism of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) but appears to have moved to the right of any socialistic ambitions the government had once pursued (*Ibid.*). The target of 400 000 jobs which were to have been created per annum by the year 2000 cannot materialise as the GEAR by its nature encourages

the restructuring of industry and a driving down of costs, therefore necessitating short-term unemployment gains. The governments SMME policy has been broadly welcomed and has encouraged the birth of institutions like Ntsika and Khula which offer both financing and information to small business.

#### Provincial Government

The amalgamation of the KwaZulu Government and the Natal Provincial Administration (NPA) in 1994 has created an unwieldy structure based on political expediency rather than target-based service delivery (Barnes and Morris 1997). The most important government departments in rural service delivery are the Departments of Economic Affairs and Tourism (DEAT); Local Government and Housing; Agriculture and Forestry; and Conservation and Traditional Affairs. The DEAT has been charged with implementing the RDP but is regarded as having limited human and fiscal resources to do this effectively (*Ibid.*). The most contentious of the departments is that of Conservation and Traditional Affairs. This department remains independent of the others and has exclusive jurisdiction over the traditional authority areas. Because of its independence it is deemed to be ineffective at service delivery especially in the regions where it is needed most (*Ibid.*). As such Barnes and Morris (1997) believe it can only achieve effectiveness by assimilating itself with the provinces administrative structure. The lack of control surrounding this department may be seen as a direct consequence of the government's failure to resolve the issue of finding meaningful roles for traditional authorities in the democratic South Africa.

In terms of economic policy, the GEAR formed the basis of the KwaZulu-Natal Growth and Development Strategy, adopted by parliament in June 1996. The Growth and Development Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal (DPMC 1996), also based on neo-liberal economics, promotes a concept of Urban Engines of Growth for the economic growth over the next twenty years, to establish the province as a global competitor. Seven programmes are intended to address the issues of economic growth and of redistributing wealth and resources. Each of the programmes contains an outline of the strategy required for delivery. Investment will be directed towards urban industrial centres as these are the undoubted centres of growth for the economy,



employment and investment.

Corridors will be created to link the industrial centres of excellence as part of redrawing the provinces economic spaces. These Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) intend to highlight and encourage areas of high potential such as an economic corridor between Pietermaritzburg and Durban. Rural areas, it is suggested will gain from supplying labour and services to the corridors. Deep rural areas stand to gain little from the strategy. Their main benefits including investment in provision of basic services and opportunities for initiatives around ecotourism. This policy is important for its establishment of the local economic development strategy to provide support for local towns to become the drivers and co-ordinators of growth in rural areas. Okhahlamba would therefore be co-ordinated from Bergville where government spending is likely to be greatest. The strategy identifies the Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism as a key role player for areas like Okhahlamba.

#### Integrated Rural Development

To cement the provincial strategy an Integrated Rural Development (IRD) document is currently under construction (McIntosh/Xaba 1997). The document identifies the elements of delivery of a rural development strategy as being:

1. Land Reform
2. Agricultural production opportunities
3. Tourism opportunities
4. Entrepreneurial opportunities
5. Rural financial services
6. Social spending and basic services

The IRD calls for models to be designed to allow community access to benefits from ecotourism and conservation bodies are singled out as having a key role in this regard (McIntosh Xaba and Associates 1997). By highlighting the need for holistic approaches to any single form of development the IRD recognises the potential negative impact of failing to address broader

socio-economic issues. While the Department of Local Government and Housing commenced the IRD, its potential effectiveness is based on the ability of several factors to be dealt with properly. These include co-operation and co-ownership of the strategy across government departments and the ability to create effective delivery mechanisms<sup>10</sup>.

#### Local Government Structures

Regional Councils (RCs) are based in rural areas of the former Joint Services Boards (JSBs), with seven RC areas in KwaZulu-Natal. They are formed from Transitional Local Councils (TLCs), Tribal Authorities (TAs), Remaining Area Representatives (RAs) and interest groups (including women and landowners/levy payers). RCs are a secondary level of government, far removed from the ground but still the closest there is to autonomous local government. Their role is primarily one of co-ordination in service delivery. The uThukela Regional Council, seated at Ladysmith outlined a developmental role for the body with the priority remaining with Reconstruction and Development Programme RDP projects. This was outlined at a workshop in 1996 but still with the IRD awaiting implementation, while the council remains in a political vacuum (Regional Council 4 1996). Regional Councils have been subject to criticism for their unwieldiness, narrow focus on party politics and favouritism<sup>11</sup>, yet they hold the key for the future development of the rural areas, especially in relation to tourism development for which they hold a substantial budget and influence.

The Tribal Authorities remain key power brokers in Okhahlamba. The roles of the Amakosi have apparently not been undermined by the democratisation of the province and land access is still dealt with through the tribal system. Traditional authority representation on the RC is seen as hugely problematic. This is mainly due to the perception of ineffectiveness where not only is it

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<sup>10</sup> Currently Regional Council is the primary delivery agent. The effectiveness of RC is questioned in this regard as main development objectives appear to remain the delivery of service to relieve backlogs, also questions of capacity and resources are being raised. Also this is an initiative of the DLG&H, while the Growth and Development Strategy was supposed to be the driver for the RDP, which belongs to the Government's Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism. The resulting confusion of ownership can only be a hindrance to development in KwaZulu-Natal.

<sup>11</sup> Anne Harley, researcher, Centre for Adult Education, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. (1998)

seen as lacking ability within democratic structures, but also outside of them where it is unable to operate as an effective primary tier of government. Along with such perceptions are added the inevitable political and institutional complexities associated with such an arrangement (Barnes and Morris 1997). Tribal authorities are seen as a vehicle for conservatism and are often accused of slowing down development in the name of local politics. This, added to their role in Regional Councils, will increase the likelihood of conflict between communities, Regional Council and the Amakosi in the run-up to the 1999 elections where increasing party politics is likely to feature.

#### Community Based Organisations

Community Based Organisations are widespread in the area. Each ward has its own Development Committee, elected from local residents. The effectiveness of the development committees is questioned due to the same faces being present and for mainly constituting those who are "left behind", euphemistically those who are poorly educated and jobless. As such they tend to lack effective leadership and are unable to secure funding and support for their work. An umbrella CBO, the Bergville District Development Forum was created to give the organisations of the area more clout and to be able to involve all aspects of politics in the area. As such Tribal Authority, Transitional Local Council and Regional Council are represented as is the Drakensberg Tourist Association, NCS and other influential organisations. After some time spent dormant, the organisation is becoming more active and empowered. Recently the organisation, facilitated by World Vision, commenced a series of projects to help engender economic development in the area. The major achievement to date has been the securing of funding for a Local Business Service Centre (LBSC) from the Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism, as part of the local economic development (LED) strategy of the Growth and Development Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal.

#### Drakensberg Tourist Association (DTA)

A private member interests group, comprising an amalgamation of the private enterprises in the Drakensberg, in particular the hotels. Its main function is to market the Drakensberg collectively. It has tie-ups with the Regional Council and may be used as a major source of information and

networking. It has the influence and ability to secure funding for the region.

#### Other Local Players: KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services

In 1992 this conservation body published the Neighbour Relations Policy and in 1996/97 reviewed the policy to examine its achievements and failures. The resulting reviewed policy is accommodated within a process of community conservation. The effectiveness of the policy and its effects on enabling business are examined later.

The political arena is in a state of flux and the lack of ownership of clear roles at all levels is a negative aspect. However the government at all levels is promoting the role of small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME), therefore, institutional support is likely to grow and should facilitate access to credit and to markets as well as information.

#### The Economic Environment

The economic environment is dominated by deep-rural dynamics. Service delivery and cost recovery analyses provide a picture of the economic state of the study area. A 1995 needs-assessment carried out by consultants, Seneque Smit & Maughan-Brown, found Okhahlamba to be a high priority case in a number of development indices. In the 1995 Development Plan Proposal Okhahlamba's Basic Needs Index<sup>12</sup> rating was 7<sup>th</sup> in KwaZulu-Natal (Seneque Smit & Maughan Brown 1995: 30). In the housing backlogs and reticulated infrastructure index<sup>13</sup> the areas needs were rated 18<sup>th</sup>, indicating its status as a deep rural area. The needs of the community are contained within demand-driven indices such as those above, however the service provider examines the indices that outline cost-recovery potential and economic development potential. In KwaZulu-Natal the capacity for recovery of infrastructure investment

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<sup>12</sup> The basic needs index is defined as a "primary composite index constituted by and equally weighted between the Housing and Infrastructure, Community Services and Human Welfare secondary indices" (KZN Development Plan and Proposal, Seneque Smit & Maughan Brown 1995 pp 29) Overall 66 magisterial districts are included in the statistics.

<sup>13</sup> The indices are formulated using scales, which rank the most urgent need at five and the least need at zero. Okhahlamba has a value of 4.14 in this index.

is deemed to be only 9.34%, falling to a mere 4.27% in Okhahlamba, 64<sup>th</sup> out of 66 in KwaZulu-Natal's rankings (Seneque Smit & Maughan Brown 1995: 39). Furthermore the area is not believed to have the basis to allow economic growth, earning 48<sup>th</sup> place in the economic potential index. Based on this evidence, the greatest need for development investment is where there is least likelihood that costs will be recovered. Okhahlamba has little capacity to pay for those services that it requires in order to achieve socio-economic development.

Table 4.2 offers a view of the variety of income sources within the study area. Despite the fact that the income values provided do not tally with the total expenditure values provided<sup>14</sup>, the table offers an insight into the economy and social life of the area.

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<sup>14</sup> Reluctance to divulge income information seemed understandable given the fact that a member of NCS was present (translation and project aide), and many of the local community associate the Khaki uniform with law enforcement.

Table 4.2 Sources of Income in Households in Obonjaneni, Busingatha and Emhlwazini

H'hold	No in H'hold	Income- generating Activity	Rands per month	H'hold	No in H'hold	Income- generating Activity	Rands per month
1	6	n/a	n/a	24	14	n/a	1000
2	13	salary	1000	25	14	dagga	1000
3	13	small bus.	1650	26	5	building	400
4	15	sell firewood	100	27	6	sell grass	200
5	7	plaster mud houses	200	28	12	pension	457
6	8	social worker	400	29	8	dagga	160
7	8	n/a	n/a	30	9	dagga	900
8	3	sewing	500	31	7	dagga	667
9	6	n/a	n/a	32	15	beans / dagga	700
10	8	n/a	n/a	33	12	dagga	220
11	12	sell meat	200	34	7	sell sorghum beer	2850
12	12	n/a	n/a	35	17	sell fat cookies	40
13	8	n/a	n/a	36	6	sell beer	500
14	5	sell wood	200	37	8	driver	40
15	5	n/a	n/a	38	9	driver	800
16	10	togt labour	400	39	18	n/a	190
17	4	sell chickens	500	40	10	n/a	n/a
18	6	tuck shop	100	41	7	n/a	n/a
19	13	pensions	940	42	4	togt labour	350
20	3	togt labour	200	43	14	dagga	n/a
21	6	n/a	n/a	44	21	sell crafts	100
22	9	sewing	50	45	15	n/a	n/a
23	5	sell beer	n/a	46	8	n/a	n/a

The table shows a typical survivalist culture within the area. While entrepreneurship and reliance on natural resources are evident, reliance on state incomes is not obvious. Marijuana trading provides an income with a consistently high value. It may be assumed that conservative incomes were provided in the interviews, and therefore there is potentially a much larger cannabis trade in the area, the exact measure of which remains unknown.

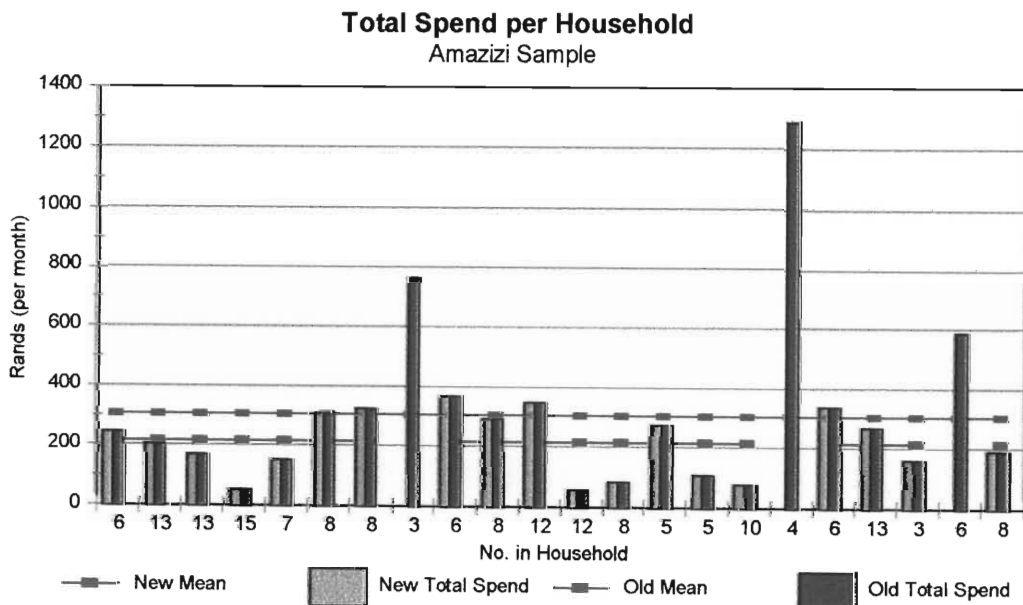
Another measure of income is the amount of money spent on purchases. While this is distorted somewhat by factors such as recently available hire purchase, it can offer a useful insight into income levels among the sample population. Expenditure and residency statistics were gathered at household level to gauge the spending per household and spending per capita within the study area. As well as the problem of the use of hire purchase, it was soon realised that a problem existed with the traditional status of women in the rural areas. Husbands did not always necessarily disclose to their spouse how much they spent on materials, it is not known how this

has affected the sample.

The respondents were asked to provide information on a set number of expenditures that were established as the largest expenditure groups. The survey then went into some depth on the grocery information, based on the assumption that it offered the best opportunities for potential businesses.

Of the 22 households surveyed in Amazizi, three had a monthly spend far above the average, despite having a low population. These three results were removed to see if their presence caused a distorted set of results. Figure 4.2 demonstrates the spread of expenditure per household with both the original 22 household sample and the modified sample with the results that were removed. It also shows the reduced mean spend per capita which came down from R301 per capita per month to R209 per capita per month when the three largest results were removed. This significant difference suggests that there is too wide a variance in the totals to indicate a strong basis for accepting the results as completely accurate.

Figure 4.2 Spread of Expenditure in Amazizi Households Before and After Modification of Sample



The X-axis denotes the amount of people in each household. Of interest are the households that appear to have a very high people count but a low expenditure. While such situations appear unlikely, closer analysis reveals that often in such cases the household's highest expenditure is reserved for food (see table 4.3). The grocery bill of the five lowest expenditure households shows that 35% of the total budget is used on food while 17% is the norm for the rest of the sample.

Table 4.3 Role of Food Purchase in Lowest Expenditure Households  
In Amazizi (22 Households)

Position of HH in Expenditure hierarchy (bottom five)	Percent of HH bill spent on food
5	39%
4	31%
3	45%
2	57%
1	32%
<b>Mean spend on food(this sample)</b>	<b>35%</b>
<b>Mean spend on food(whole sample)</b>	<b>17%</b>

In comparing the poverty levels of the sample with those in the country as a whole, the survey sample in Okhahlamba is in line with poverty expectations for the area. 1993 Household Subsistence Levels calculated for South African rural areas was R723.05 for a family of two adults and three children (May 1996: 9). When this is converted to today's levels it would be worth a per capita subsistence level of R211.72.<sup>15</sup> The results are close to the average expenditure in Okhahlamba, with a R209 spend per month. The results suggest that some 46% of the sample are living below the poverty line. Despite it serving as a rough estimate, it is an

<sup>15</sup> There are few indications of the exact poverty line, however the 1993 results were adjusted at a rate of 10% per annum to account for the effect of inflation to give a contemporary estimate. Of the 22 households in the sample, 10 were adjudged to have a monthly expenditure below R211.72.



indication of the levels of poverty in the area and the challenge facing any initiative to bring empowerment to the communities.

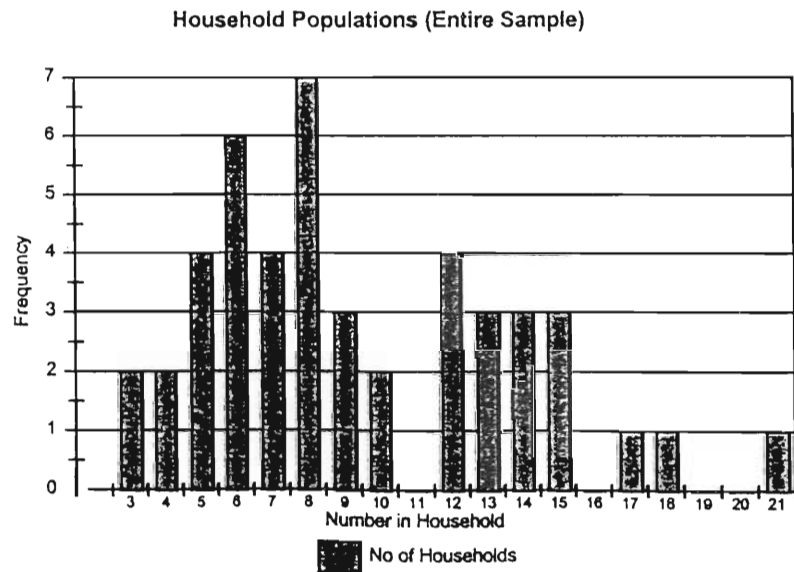
### Social Environment

Apartheid planning and its aftermath dominate the social environment of the study area. Fragmentation, witnessed through migrancy and unemployment, is a current phenomenon in the rural areas. It is a situation which demands survivalist strategies for meeting basic needs. Chapter 3 highlighted the impact of migrancy on rural areas and identified Okhahlamba as having a high instance of migrancy towards urban centres.

Women continue to play traditional roles as keepers of the house and providers for the children. Time consuming, reproductive chores such as clothes washing and water collection remain part of everyday life. Interaction of the communities also appears to be in a period of change where increasing Westernisation is having a noticeable effect. The replacing of bore-holes with taps solved one problem of time consumption for rural women, but also removed a vital social element from the day - the traditional opportunity for women to meet and interact.

Households tend to remain in the traditional set-up with extended families living together. This is borne out by the population statistics, which suggest a residency per household higher than the KwaZulu-Natal average. The populations of the households surveyed gave a mean household population of 9.4 inhabitants. This figure is above the provincial average of 6.6. The reasons for the difference are likely to be linked to the fact that the extended family is more likely to reside in the household in deep rural areas.

Figure 4.3 Histogram Showing Population Frequency in Amazizi and Amangwane Households



Examination of the population histogram (figure 4.3) suggests that the distribution of people in the households is not normal. This is accounted for by the fact that households are not established until a man is married. Nowadays children are commonly born before marriage is formalised and the household established. As a result the distribution shows few households with 2,3 or 4 members. Because of extended family culture in Zulu society, households commonly include a number of dependants who are not part of the husband - wife union. In addition husbands may have more than one wife. The consequence of this is that household sizes can become quite sizeable as shown in the histogram.

The indicators outlined earlier in this chapter demonstrate how Okhahlamba is a high priority area in its need to have service backlogs reduced. Basic service delivery, including health and education services are among the perceived needs of the communities.

Many of the traditional social structures remain despite the fragmentation of the past decades. Traditional authorities have played a major stabilising role among the communities during

apartheid. Traditional skills such as medicine and craft making and cultural activities such as dancing, story telling and social gatherings remain part of everyday lives. The institution of marriage is preserved with cattle and equivalent monetary value remaining an important part of Lobola. Cattle also retain their symbol of status.

#### The Technological Environment

Little is known of the true state of technologies being used in the area. Indigenous knowledge systems are used in medicine and craft making, not to mention agriculture. Where modern techniques are concerned they may be considered basic and limited. The provision of basic services for the first time indicates the lack of modern technologies that are associated with electricity. Now that such services are available, there are likely to be rapid expansions in supply and demand for new technologies. The conversion of developed world technologies to take account of the situation in the third world, appropriate technology, is a key demand for increasing effectiveness and productivity of potential businesses. Appropriate technology might include textbooks for the schools, irrigation systems for agriculture or tools for the production of crafts.

### **4.4 The Internal Environment**

Every business operates as an internal system, based on a series of inputs, processes and outputs. This stands true for manufacturing as it does for the hospitality industry. By applying the model to several business opportunities it is possible to establish the elements which are missing from the system and which are the cause of stagnation. The business examples to be examined include the supply of conservation products and services to NCS, curio businesses, market gardening, and community-based tourism.

#### **4.4.1 Nature Conservation Services**

Davion (1996) and UCT (1995) identified that neighbouring communities perceive the conservation body to be the biggest potential source of development. The budgets of the

parks at Royal Natal and Cathedral Peak were scrutinised to assess potential for The NCS to contribute directly to the local communities through the purchase of goods and services and through direct employment. (Table 4.4).

The NCS is managed by two separate budgets. The first covers the costs of conservation and is provided by the government and by gate receipts, called State funding. The other budget, derived from income and expenditure on its own activities<sup>16</sup> is known as Board-funding which dictates that the cost of running a camp must not exceed the camp's income. All conservation and associated salary costs are paid for from the State Funded Budget, which normally runs a deficit.

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<sup>16</sup> Typical Board funded activities include the income from hutted villages, campsites, permits and curio sales.

Table 4.4 State Funded Budgets for Royal Natal and Cathedral Peak 96/97

	<b>Royal Natal</b>	<b>Cathedral Peak</b>
Admission - Entrance Fee	484121	176525
Permits	0	94753
Sundry Income Impounding	1953	17
Recycling Fee	4053	0
Donations	0	1458
<b>Total Income (rands)</b>	<b>490 126</b>	<b>272 754</b>
Total Salary Costs	993323	1561527
Subsistence and Transport	3210	3921
Vehicle Running Costs	62192	58620
Vehicle Registration	1473	1113
Staff Removals	500	500
Training Courses and Conferences	671	0
Catering	2343	2411
MTN Conservation	16786	0
MTN Togat Labour	0	6827
MTN Conservation Erosion Control	298	0
MTN Conservation Exotic Control	1287	2380
MTN Conservation Fencing	392	3455
MTN Conservation Fire Control	2594	14683
MTN Conservation Paths	776	18743
MTN Refuse and Recycling	18446	0
Telephone and Postage	7357	12689
Printing and Stationary	1988	3977
Photocopy	803	528
Medical Examinations	0	0
Sundry	3559	5896
Feed	0	3222
Workshop Consumables	0	1056
Uniform	18211	19653
Gas	10329	9880
Electricity	35175	23014
Cleaning Mats.	2459	3280
Chemicals	648	255
Toilet Paper	4304	657
Sewerage Costs	18183	0
Catering – Trails	57	568
Stable Management	0	4648
Security Banking	1839	0
Bank Charges	0	0
Inventory Expenditure < R1000	1195	803
Capital Maintenance - Buildings	18563	9580
Housing Maintenance	0	9058
Capital Maintenance - Roads	31703	156
Capital Maintenance - Equipment	8522	15816
<b>Total Expenditure (rands)</b>	<b>1 269 184</b>	<b>1 798 916</b>
<b>Profit/-Loss (rands)</b>	<b>-779 058</b>	<b>-1 526 162</b>

#### 4.4.1.1 Cathedral Peak

Cathedral Peak receives relatively few, but an expanding number of visitors. The main attraction remains the private hotel within its gates. During the 1996/97 financial year 53 000 visitors were received (NPB 1997a). Conservation expenditure still outweighs the income from gate receipts and visitor services (NPB 1997b).

Cathedral Peak spends almost 80% of its budget on salaries and employment costs (NPB 1997a)<sup>17</sup>. Most of the remaining 20% of the budget is used for purchasing hardware items, fuel, and on vehicle maintenance (table 4.4). The table identifies the spend on uniforms from central stores at HQ in Pietermaritzburg as being the only major spend which could be easily redirected towards the community. Local sewing groups who are already involved in the manufacture of school uniforms should be approached to create an alternative source of supply.

During the 1996/97 financial year the largest campsite and the curio shop earned in excess of R100 000 for the Board funded budget (NPB 1997a). Tourist facilities at Cathedral Peak are basic when compared to those at Royal Natal. Increasing demand for accommodation could require a new campsite and a site has been identified where the development may take place. A priority of any such development would be to encourage the involvement of the community in interacting with the tourist market. Ownership of the campsite could encourage this and an interview with the Officer in Charge (OIC) of Cathedral Peak identified a willingness to help the community establish such a campsite.

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<sup>17</sup> The State funded budget for Cathedral Peak for the 1996/97 financial year was R1.61 million.

The second Officer in Charge (2IC), at the time of research, at Cathedral Peak generated a list of opportunities which he feels could be developed by the local community into businesses. While most were directed towards provision of services for tourists among his suggestions was the possibility for local people to be trained up as private conservation “service providers”. In this regard the NCS would sub-contract conservation work such as the maintenance of paths to the locals. Given the little amount of money currently spent on actual conservation it is not clear how realistic this is although it will probably become more feasible with a new development planned for the park.

The management at the park raised the idea of the locals taking over control of the petrol supply for the NCS and for the hotel. This idea has a lot to do with the wider plan to provide services for tourists. The benefits would also exist for the local taxi drivers and car owners.

Also identified as a need was fencing wire, which the park management believes locals would be able to knit of a quality suitable for use in the park. It is not known how much wire would be needed.

#### Didima Camp

For several years the NCS have been preparing plans for a major development in the environs of Cathedral Peak<sup>18</sup> according to the Drakensberg Policy Statement (Martin 1990). Plans, currently approved in principle, exist for a camp to be built adjacent to the existing park headquarters. This would be done in the style of Hilltop Hutted Camp at Hluhluwe Game Reserve in Zululand. The proposed development would cater for 214 people in different types of accommodation and would include a restaurant and a curio shop. In 1995 the

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<sup>18</sup> The budget for the development, not including consultants' fees is R32 millions (Natal Witness Jan 16 1998).

Masters students of the Department of Environmental and Geographical Science from the University of Cape Town carried out a comprehensive investigation of the proposals. The study was conducted according to the principles of Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) and the recommendations have been accepted by the NCS. When the camp is operational it will provide full-time employment for around 104 people. No time-scale has been set against the project.

#### 4.4.1.2 Royal Natal National Park

Geographically Royal Natal is smaller than Cathedral Peak, but the former has a larger turnover of guests and income. During the financial year 1996/97 RNNP received over 114 000 visitors (NPB 1997c). The difference in visitor numbers may be attributed to several factors including the proximity of hotels and resorts and the facilities offered to visitors, which are superior to those at Cathedral Peak. A Board Funded income in excess of R3.7 million shows the potential of the area as a lucrative tourism destination. This park is one of the most profitable of all the NCS protected areas (NPB 1997). This figure is derived from the Visitor Centre, Tendele Hutted Village and the Mahai Camp Site. Should the two budgets be amalgamated, the park returns a profit in excess of R1 million.

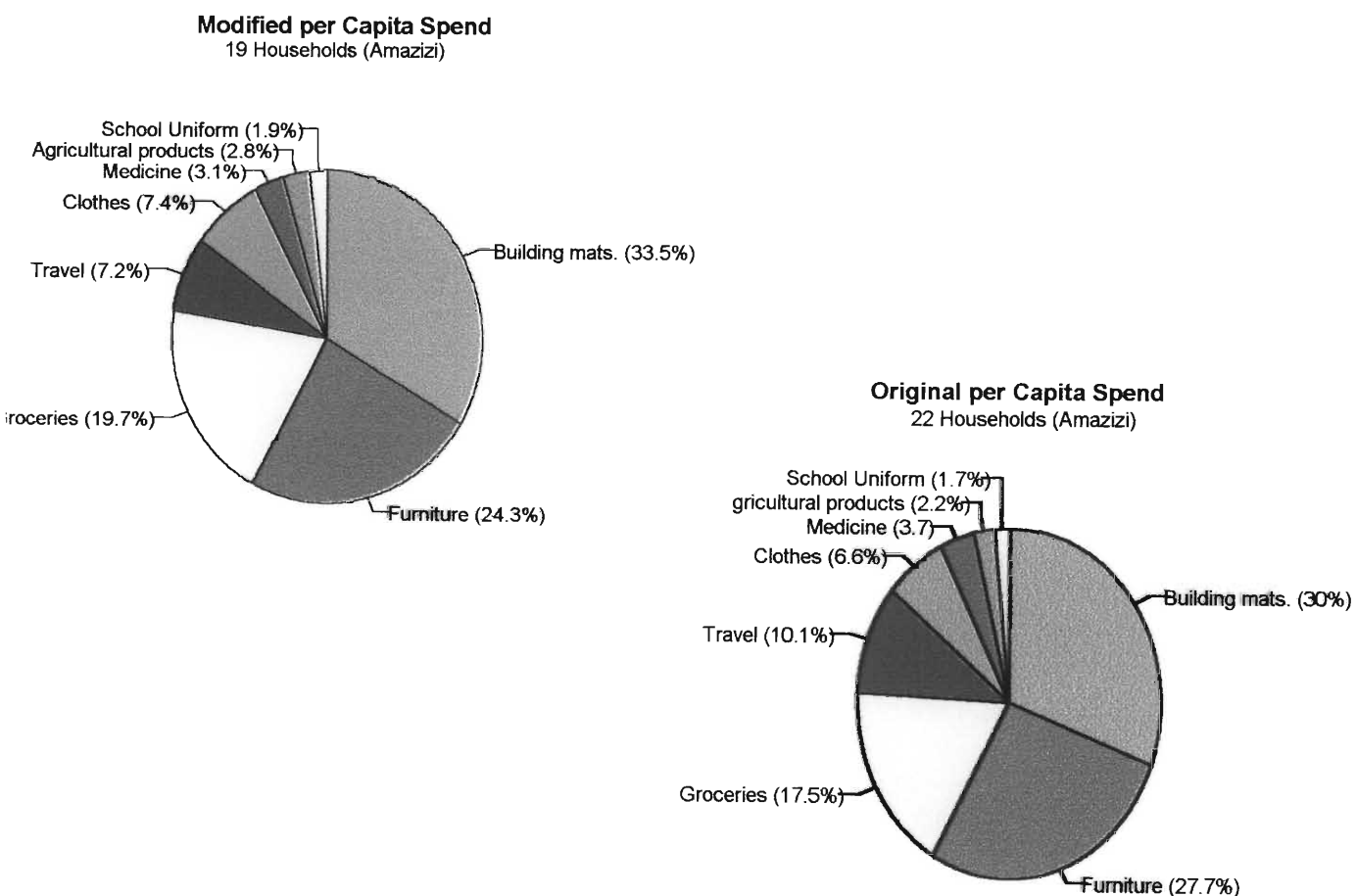
Royal Natal had a State funded budget of R1.3 million for the financial year 1996/97. Table 4.4 shows that the pattern of spending is very similar to that at Cathedral Peak. The money spent on uniforms is again the only obvious budget offering a significant opportunity for a transfer of resources towards the neighbours. RNNP employs 91 full-time workers, ranging from officers to labourers.



#### 4.4.2 The Local Community as a Market

Spending patterns within the study area were analysed to provide a fuller picture of the level of money being spent. This was intended for use as a rough estimate for calculating the average income within the study area. Due to the obvious backlogs in service provision it was assumed that most of the money flowing into the area in the form of salaries, remittances, pensions and earnings from dagga (cannabis), was immediately leaving again in the form of purchases of basic items of food and other produce. Bergville, it was suspected, was the primary destination for much of the cash. Consumer spending patterns were assessed among a sample of 22 households in Amazizi and the grocery market was studied in greater depth from a 46 household sample from all three wards. This part of the study was carried out with a view to assessing the potential for businesses to be set up within the community to provide each other with basic needs.

Figure 4.4 Spend Per Capita in Amazizi and Amangwane: Before and After Modification



While the three largest spending households make a significant difference to the mean spend per capita, they do not have such a telling effect on the percentage breakdown of the monthly bill. Figure 4.3 shows how the largest spend remains building materials in both cases, actually becoming more significant as the large spenders are removed (30% and 33% respectively).

Table 4.5 Mean Monthly Spend of Sample in Amazizi (before and after modification)

<b>Monthly Mean Spend in AmaZizi (rands)</b>				
<b>Item</b>	<b>Per Household (not modified)</b>	<b>Per Capita (not modified)</b>	<b>Per Household (modified)</b>	<b>Per Capita (modified)</b>
Building mats.	689	92	552	70
Furniture	523	83	364	51
Groceries	348	53	280	41
Travel	182	30	114	15
Clothes	116	20	85	16
Medicine	69	11	47	7
Agricultural products	47	7	42	6
School Uniform	34	5	27	4
<b>Total</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>301</b>	<b>1510</b>	<b>210</b>

#### Building Materials

Table 4.5 shows how Building materials top the shopping bill. The respondents indicated that they purchased building materials once or twice a year, which were significant enough outlays to dominate the yearly budget. When questioned about where they made the purchases, the larger spenders tended to go further afield to make their purchases, sometimes to Ladysmith, Estcourt or to Harrismith while many bought at Bergville. Reasons cited for the travelling further included price and availability. Dwellings in Okhahlamba rarely resemble the traditional beehive huts, often attributed to a scarcity in natural resources for construction. Blocks are being used to construct rondavels and Western style houses, and tin and tiles rather than thatch are being used for roofing. School and clinic construction in the area has created an extra demand for materials. Such a vibrant construction trade in the area suggests opportunities for the supply of not only materials but also for skills such as carpentry and brick laying. One block maker is

in the process of setting up a micro-enterprise in the area but is experiencing transport difficulties while the OIC of Cathedral Peak raised question marks about the quality of his produce. There is therefore a need for information on access to credit as well as quality and manufacturing techniques.

#### Furniture<sup>19</sup> and Kitchen Equipment

Furniture and kitchen equipment is a category which requires further research due to its prominence on the expenditure list and because of its evolutionary nature, linked to the expansion of access to commercial credit and the provision of new services such as electricity. Much of the activity in this market is a recent phenomenon, particularly in rural areas that have electricity for the first time. It is not known whether the purchase of such products indicate trends in the spending patterns which are causing hardship, or the contrary, indicating a rising standard of living. An electrical goods and furniture supplier in the local town of Bergville indicated that the majority of new clients buy their produce on hire purchase. It is noticeable that when the three largest spenders were removed from the sample the proportion of the budget allocated to this shopping bill fell from 28% to 24%, indicating that higher incomes alters spending priorities away from basic needs. Furniture is also being upgraded and people are buying tables, chairs and beds whereas before these were made by family members. The main sources of these products are local towns: Bergville; Ladysmith; and Estcourt. Potential may exist for artisans in the furniture market where tables, stools and beds could be made locally for this expanding market.

#### Grocery Market

Groceries appear third on the household-shopping list. This market was more intensively researched than any other as it was assumed that it could provide the greatest number

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<sup>19</sup> Furniture includes general furniture and kitchen equipment such as fridges.

of opportunities to local micro-enterprise. The questionnaire sought to find out the ten most popular items by value (Table 4.6), the level of spending, the place of purchase and the key decision criteria. The results showed the greatest evidence of income disparities across households as some of those surveyed also could not even list ten groceries they purchased regularly. The amount the average household spends on groceries is R347 per month and 70% of that is spent on just five products: mealie meal, meat, sugar, flour, and rice. The importance of the top five is due in part to the large use of a staple carbohydrate as a bulk in the diet. It is further due to the fact that rice, sugar, and meat are grown and processed outside of the area whereas vegetables are grown and are available locally in Bergville. The prominence of mealie meal in the grocery bill indicates its homegrown subsistence importance to the rural households. Despite its popularity as a crop it is still the most valuable item on the grocery bill.

Table 4.6 Top-Ten Grocery Spend in Study Area (Entire Sample)

Item	Mean Spend	Mean Spend	% of Bill
	per household (R)	per capita (R)	
Mealie meal	89.63	11.34	27%
Meat	63.07	8.75	19%
Sugar	27.96	3.71	8%
Flour	24.02	3.03	7%
Rice	22.37	2.95	7%
Beans	15.41	2.21	5%
Potatoes	13.30	1.74	4%
Soup	12.72	1.66	4%
Cabbage	10.63	1.38	3%
Tomatoes	10.24	1.12	3%
<b>Total</b>	<b>289.35<sup>20</sup></b>	<b>37.88</b>	<b>88%</b>

Despite the fact that maize represents the most common subsistence crop in the area, it still accounts for around 27% of the grocery bill each month. As such, it forms the largest local produce market potential, however it is currently not being produced at a

<sup>20</sup> NB. The total grocery spend across all 46 households is similar to that of the 19 households of Amazizi, after the three largest spenders have been removed (R289 and R280 respectively)

largest local produce market potential, however it is currently not being produced at a commercially acceptable quality. It is not clear what the acceptable quality levels are and how subsistence farmers might attain these. The development of this crop could have significant results among subsistence households as it offers an opportunity to reduce expenditure as well as to increase income through sales.

The second most popular grocery item was meat. The research did not discern the various types of meat consumed but general observations and conversations suggest that poultry meat is the most popular. As such there may be opportunities for local small-scale chicken rearers. International competition means that competitors to the chicken trade would include imported frozen chicken from North America, which may currently be purchased in Bergville and in local shops with freezers.

Other foods such as fresh vegetables figured strongly in the list. It is interesting to note that vegetables have a low cost relative to the staples such as meat and sugar. Each household spends an average of R49.58 each month on four vegetables: potatoes; cabbages; beans; and tomatoes. Using the population estimates for the study area, up to R90 000 is spent per month on these four products within the study area<sup>21</sup>. This is at best a conservative estimate as there may well be more households in the study area (if the population estimate of 9.4 per household is high).

#### Hotels

The hotels represent a large market potential with regard to fresh produce markets. Some of the owners travel great distances to collect produce and as such there is a very

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<sup>21</sup> The population of 16 700, when divided by the average per household (9.2) gives an estimated 1800 households. With a monthly outlay of R49.58 on the four items, a total of R90 000 is spent each month on these vegetables. nb. The sample of 46 households, giving a household average of 9.2 people may have a margin of error as the average household in KwaZulu-Natal has 6.6 members. Population estimates will also have changed from the 1991 census, probably in an upward trend.

real benefit for both supplier and client to establish successful gardens which will supply consistent and good quality local produce. Hotel owners and in particular chefs have indicated a willingness to participate in such projects.

There are seven main hotels and several other resorts in the area. Six of the seven hotels responded to questionnaires, providing an insight into the types and quantities of vegetables consumed. The hotels indicated that they use an estimated aggregate of R101 000 per month purchasing fresh fruit and vegetables.<sup>22</sup> The types of vegetable used by the hotels are mainly those that are suitable for the climate of the Drakensberg, such as potatoes, tomatoes, onions, and cabbages and other root vegetables.

#### Other Sectors

The other four market segments identified were:

Travel (R182); Clothes (R116); Medicine (R70); and Agricultural products (R47)

The amount spent on travel is believed to be higher than indicated as it was difficult for one person to account for the movements of the entire household during one month, as a result they tended to give estimates. The travel sector already employs a number of people as drivers, conductors and mechanics. It is difficult to see how to further involve local people in the transport sector as drivers or taxi operators, however road building, fuel supply and road maintenance are areas where development will necessarily occur in the future to meet rising demand. BCG (1997) estimated the presence of 1000 taxis

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<sup>22</sup> This will be a conservative estimate due to the fact that there are several other resorts in the locality but which were not surveyed due to time constraints and because the hotels were not willing.

in the Bergville Magisterial District, with all the major routes being well served.

Clothes are bought in a wide variety of places with the majority being purchased in Bergville, followed by Pietermaritzburg, Estcourt and Durban. It appears that most households shop for clothes twice a year and buy for the whole family. It is a diverse market with a wide range of buying habits. Among the buying criteria, selection (variety), quality and price were listed in that order. Some sewing groups operate in the area and while the potential exists to make some garments locally these would need to be targeted towards a niche market such as traditional dress for the tourist market and for local ceremonies. Otherwise uniforms and protective clothing for organisations such as parastatals like Eskom, NCS and Telkom could be manufactured.

Interviewees responded poorly to the question concerning expenditure on medicine. Many answered that they used the state hospital at Emmaus and the local clinic as these services were free. Others informed of their use of traditional medicine, overall people were reluctant to talk about the use of traditional medicine despite the size of the market not being in doubt. Work by Mander et al. (1997) has shown that up to 80% of Zulus use traditional medicine, valued at an estimated R600 million per annum. Mander also shows that cultivation of medicinal plants requires little husbandry. He also suggests that it is an activity that can become profitable when the rarer species are cultivated (Mander et al. 1997). Past efforts to promote "muthi gardens" in the area have not materialised for undisclosed reasons, although NCS staff pointed to an impasse among the Sangomas and Inyangas over responsibilities<sup>23</sup>. It is not known if NCS intend to continue the process or make an attempt to restart it.

The market for agricultural products includes seed, fertilisers and veterinary products. The low level of expenditure within this segment shown in table 4.6 indicates a relatively undeveloped agriculture sector where productivity and awareness of modern techniques

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<sup>23</sup> Personal Communication, R. Molefe. Community Conservation Assistant for Northern Drakensberg.

are very low. This situation is typical of deep rural areas in developing countries. A problem is in knowing how much importance to attach to the need for the farmers to be productive in the Western sense, however income-generation and expenditure reduction may be greatly enhanced by the improving of local techniques of crop production. Subsistence crops are rain-fed, rather than irrigated, which it is believed, could help increase the yield and the quality of crops such as maize. Appropriate technology gained from experience in other developing countries has the potential to provide low cost, effective solutions.

#### **4.4.3 The Tourist Market**

Visitors to the Drakensberg fall under a broad range of categories that includes overseas; national; local; conference attendee; day visitor; hiker; scientist; holiday maker; camper; academic and others. South Africa as a whole attracted 3,5 million foreign holiday makers in 1995, a rising trend which saw that figure jump by 162% from 1991 (Satour 1997). Foreign visitors cited scenery and wildlife as being their largest motivations for coming to this country and on average they spent R667 per day (Satour 1997).

##### **4.4.3.1 KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services: Cathedral Peak**

Cathedral Peak is one of the lesser developed of the NCS parks on the mountain range. It has a modest campsite with limited capacity. Due to the rudimentary facilities, the NCS has agreed to develop the Didima Camp capable of accommodating up to 214 people. Rock art cultural resources are abundant in the Cathedral Peak park and the development of the new camp will see its profile being raised to a level where it could aid the local community in gaining better access to the tourist market. Tourism is an industry characterised by service provision. As such there are many services which will be needed in order to cater for the influx of guests which may be expected on completion of the camp.



#### 4.4.3.2 KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services - Royal Natal National Park

Royal Natal, being the more developed of the two areas has a hatted camp, Tendele, a large visitor centre, a private hotel (RNNP) and two campsites<sup>24</sup>, not to mention some of the most accessible and beautiful hikes in the Drakensberg range. This level of development makes it one of the best presented NCS properties, helping ensure that it receives large volumes of visitors throughout the year. Due to the vibrancy of the tourist trade, peripheral services have been provided to attempt to take advantage.

#### 4.4.3.3 Private Hotels

Table 4.7 Visitor Profiles of Guests at Northern Drakensberg Hotels

Northern Drakensberg Hotel	Mean / Totals		Mean / Totals
Total Beds Available	1220	Agg. estimated spend (Rands per year)	27609020
1996 Visitors	116564	<b>Purpose of visit:</b>	
<b>Occupancy rates</b>		Holiday	56%
Dec-Jan	63%	Weekend	13%
Feb-April	56%	Conference	16%
May-June	45%	Other	1%
July-Sept.	52%	Hotels selling curios	5
Oct-Nov	60%	Annual turnover from curio sales (Rands)	1131388
Average stay (days)	2.55	Total visitors purchasing curios	83987
Frequency of visits per year	1.33	Average value of purchase (Rands)	33.33
Average spend (Rands per visit)	153.42	Value of local curios used in hotels (R)	12000

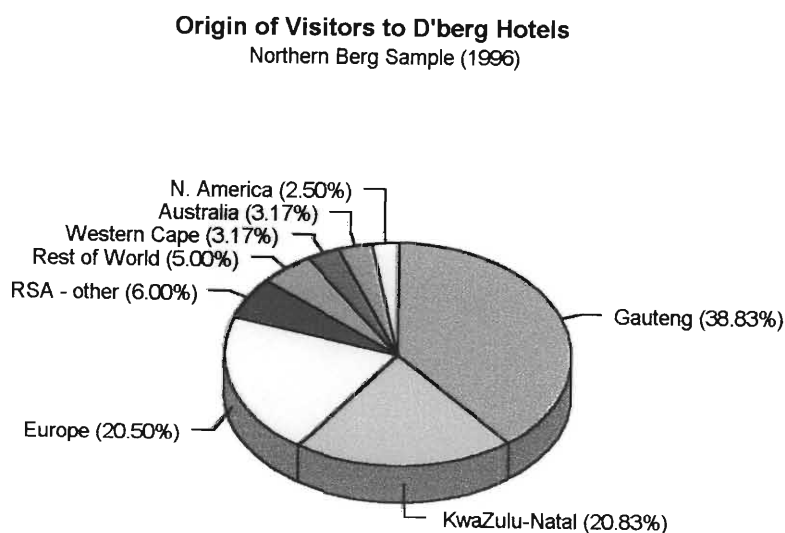
Six of the foremost hotels in the study area<sup>25</sup> were surveyed to identify a profile of the visitors to

<sup>24</sup> One of the campsites is at Rugged Glen, immediately adjacent to the Royal Natal National Park. Rugged Glen is affiliated to RNNP and runs successful stables for horse trails.

<sup>25</sup> There are more than seven establishments that cater for visitors. Those chosen had the highest profiles. (Two establishments refused to co-operate with the survey, their results would make a difference to the statistics). It is not known if they would be willing to participate in community-based

the Drakensberg, and their spending patterns during the visit. 1996 statistics were used for all information. At least 116 000 visitors stayed at the hotels during 1996<sup>26</sup>, each of these staying for between 1 and 3 nights. This suggests that many travel to other holiday destinations where they will also be exposed to curios from that area. Over 30% of the guests to northern Drakensberg hotels were foreign visitors while over 20% were from Europe (see fig 4.5). The guests dispensed with in excess of R27 million in cash for sundry purchases such as curios, visits and social expenses. This sum does not include the cost of board and is interesting to the local market as it represents 'spare cash' which is available to be competed for. The occupancy rate for the hotels is maintained at an average of 55%, with December and January being peak season. Steady year-round occupancy proves that the tourist market in the area is not necessarily a seasonal one.

Fig 4.5 Breakdown of Visitor Origin - Drakensberg Hotels



<sup>26</sup> This figure will have been higher in 1997 due to the opening of a new 600 bed hotel in the first quarter, 1997.

#### 4.4.3.4 Curio Sales

The curio-market is an indication of the markets' segmentation among tourism providers, where a variety of retail-types are experienced, ranging from formal upmarket curio shops, to informal roadside operations. Within the curio market there are three distinct supply systems. These are the NCS, hotels curio stores and the Visitor Centre at Royal Natal. Between the Visitor Centre at Royal Natal and the hotel curio stores, in excess of R2 million is being spent on formalised curio sales. This money leaves the area as none of the curios is locally sourced. The visitor centre at Royal Natal turned over R0.8m in curio sales in the financial year 1996/97<sup>27</sup>. The hotels and the NCS are those who have formalised their retail first and as such are capitalising on their advantages in terms of access to a captive market i.e. visitors. It is easy to assume that the majority of visitors will use the comfort of the hotel to purchase curios rather than venture into the informal operations within the community. Superior marketing and retailing skills are also an advantage that the hotels maintain over their local competition. None of the produce displayed or sold in the Visitor Centre is sourced in the locality. Factory manufactured curios, imported carvings and baskets from Zululand are available for sale inside the park.

The buying habits of visitors point to a demand for product quality and a desire for product branding and packaging. Responses to a tourist questionnaire indicated that tourists, in particular foreign visitors, desire locally made products as this gave them a souvenir of the area that they had visited. Innovation and decoration were listed as the top priority in buying criteria, followed by quality, price and then size or weight.

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<sup>27</sup> Personal Communication, Nov 1997 Potter. Manager of Visitor Centre at Royal Natal.

### Thandanani

Community selling of curios revolves around Thandanani Craft Centre in Busingatha and roadside markets dotted around the study area. They do their own marketing and retailing. The success of the locals is believed to be a fraction of that enjoyed by NCS and the hotels however few records are maintained. Thandanani is a community venture, started several years ago by the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation,<sup>28</sup> the community and local hotels.

A building was constructed which was to serve as a craft centre for the retailing of community products. The community manages the centre with limited help from the hotels. Artists display their works there and the centre undertakes the selling of the produce. Each artist decides their own price, to which the centre adds 30% to cover running costs and the artist collects the money at the end of the month. Income is directly affected by the amount of their produce that is actually sold. The centre is an impressive, colourful brick and thatch building, but is situated off the road some three kilometres from the front gate of the RNNP. It's functioning remains simplistic and products are poorly presented which detracts from the obvious quality of the produce, a fact which reflects poorly on the commitment and appreciation of the conservation authorities in providing the enabling environment. Staff have little training in dealing with customers and speak little English. This may be a harsh criticism but is a key factor in determining success in a services-led industry. Currently efforts are being made to expand operations to build demonstration Zulu beehive huts and the management has expressed a desire to offer food and at some time in the future, accommodation. The centre is also used for the manufacture of school uniforms, which are sold in the local community.

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<sup>28</sup> The KDNC have a station in Busingatha as much of the area falls under their jurisdiction. They motivated to obtain fencing and bricks while the hotels donated thatch and building skills. Community obtained land from Tribal Authority and aided the construction.

### Grass Weaving

The primary craft in the area of the Northern Drakensberg is Uvindi, Hashis and Iswini grass weaving. Ladies harvest the grass from both NCS land and from the local community and then weave it. Some of the ladies work for one week for the NCS and in return they are able to harvest set quantities of grass. All the grass, which leaves the park, is weighed and logged each year. The harvesting is carried out in July when there is no growth and during the week they are required to harvest as much grass as will take them through one year of craft making. The ladies hire and loan the transport to help them move the grass from the place of harvest to their homes and to a storage depot inside the park. The ilala is bought from suppliers in St Lucia.

The majority of the ladies interviewed sit out in the open to ply their trade. There is clearly a social role being performed as they all use the opportunity to catch up with each other's news. The ladies made it very clear that they were sitting out because they had no other facilities to use, something they expected the NCS to provide for them. They made it clear that things would be a lot easier for them if they had a workshop where they could sit and work while being protected from the elements, and this, they said, only required a roof over their heads.

At Cathedral Peak around 30 ladies are involved in grass weaving, while in Amazizi up to 300 are involved. At Cathedral Peak all sales are conducted at the main gate where there are no facilities to display the produce. As a result most of the produce becomes weather damaged in a short time. At Amazizi the weavers have a choice to display their goods at Thandanani. While most take advantage of the centre, they also find it equally as profitable to sell direct to the tourists as they are able to ensure the closing of a deal through bartering and bargaining. These ladies choose to trade and manufacture at the door of Royal Natal National Park Hotel, inside the park, at Little Switzerland Resort and at Drifters Inn, both on the road to Harrismith. They face the same problems of

storage and displaying as the ladies at Cathedral Peak. For many, the grass weaving skill has been passed down from elders in the family, while others have learnt from ladies who have moved communities from Amazizi to Amangwane.

The ladies described how craft making often represents the biggest source of income in the household. Each item takes anything from 2 days up to a week or more to make, depending on intricacy and size. The smallest items are sold for less than R5 while the largest item sells for up to R250. Due to the limited market available at Cathedral Peak the products there command a price far below those at Royal Natal. Prices are first determined and then reduced according to demand.

Tourists, when questioned responded that they would prefer to buy locally manufactured curios for a number of reasons. They see great many crafts as they travel around and are keen to buy produce from the areas they visit. Tourists indicated that they identified a curio with a particular geographical area and were aware of the origins of carvings and various other curios. The Drakensberg grass products didn't always fare favourably in the comparisons, but the majority of tourists indicated that they were keen to buy local produce. This is especially true of the foreign tourist market.

#### 4.4.3.5 Accommodation

The majority of the hotels cater for middle to upper class Whites with pricing tariffs and general service provision suiting this sector of the market. The NCS provides several kinds of accommodation such as the hutted camp at Tendele as well as campsites. It is successful at attracting the middle-class type client, seeking a rustic accommodation experience. The formula has worked well in its other protected areas and based on that the NCS will be applying the same formula to its proposed development at Cathedral Peak. Camping is the other

kind of accommodation available for a tourist and this is provided at both RNNP and at Cathedral Peak. The campsite at Royal Natal is well developed with electricity points, telephones, a shop and laundry facilities available. The presence of these facilities is such that the park is always busy and during peak season it operates at full capacity.

The campsite at Cathedral Peak is situated in a low-lying area near the entrance to the park. It is completely dominated by tall poplar trees which causes it to remain damp, cold and shaded from the sun. Despite this, it represents the only NCS accommodation facility.

There is little indication how future years will alter the tourism outlook in the area. Trends from the last five years show a large increase of foreign tourists who are looking for different experiences. Innovation in the provision of accommodation to tourists is one way of achieving success. This is being witnessed elsewhere in southern Africa where highly specialised tastes are being catered for in an African context, such as luxury rondavels. Another element of the market, which has not yet been targeted, is the burgeoning Black middle class, which is now beginning to aspire to a recreational side of life.

#### Culture Tourism

When questioned the vast majority of international visitors indicated a desire to learn about Zulu culture and be able to see something of the way of life. Therefore, a museum-type facility could be developed to explore Zulu history. The tourists also indicated that they would like to interact with the local people. Some suggestions of how this might happen included visits to Zulu homes and shebeens. Other suggestions included trail guides, historians, Zulu dancing, storytelling and a working Zulu village.

#### 4.4 Community Levy

One of the sources of finance for the conservation body to involve itself in communities surrounding the protected areas is the Community Levy. Since February 1998 the NCS has been charging a community levy at the entrance to each of its protected areas. The money will be retained in a trust fund for distribution to the community for projects (NPB 1997d). Initial estimations value the collections at R334 000 per annum.<sup>29</sup> It is not certain what percentage of money will remain in the area where it was collected, as a central distribution fund is likely.

The large amounts of money that will be collected offer many opportunities to the communities. However by becoming involved in such a scheme, the conservation authorities are again underlining their role in development among neighbours and hence a responsibility to be effective in its involvement. Precision planning of the amounts of money available and the decision criteria for how it will be distributed need to be clarified to the point of simplicity. The community needs to be informed of the types of project that will be considered for grants and what the qualifying criteria will be. Capacity on designing, implementing and monitoring projects must be developed. The conservation authorities must remain mindful that this development is likely to prove controversial and could come under attack from various stakeholders for a number of reasons. Conflicts and allegations of abuse of money promised and money disbursed could easily arise and risk damaging the scheme.

From the outset extensive consultation with the communities is needed, to deliberate how to use

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<sup>29</sup> This is based on 1996 visitor figures for the two parks: Cathedral Peak and Royal Natal, and may therefore be considered a conservative estimate as OICs informed that visitor figures have been showing an upward trend over several years.



the money effectively. As such, innovative ideas such as micro-lending schemes should be encouraged, perhaps on a Grameen type format where the communities manage revolving-credit loans for the development of micro-enterprise. Other potential enterprise developments might include the support networks needed for business development or investment in community structures such as the Thandanani Craft Centre.

Further concern should be granted to the definition of community. The NCS definition of community as being the immediate neighbours of the park will meet opposition as soon as money is disbursed. Whereas lack of resources dictated the definition before, it needs to be reviewed where social and economic boundaries of a community should be considered rather than a purely political boundary.

## CHAPTER FIVE - ANALYSIS OF OPTIONS

### 5.1 The Small and Micro-Enterprise Arena

The presence of small and micro-enterprise within the study area is limited to three poorly stocked grocery outlets, a fledgling block-maker and groupings of curio sellers such as those at Thandanani. Micro-enterprise isn't a significant income-generator neither for the community nor for individuals within the community. Long-term strategies are required to establish a network of informal and formal businesses within the sectors identified in chapter four. May (1996), as outlined in chapter three, estimated a need for a transfer of R1.5 billion per annum in KwaZulu-Natal to eradicate poverty. Okhahlamba was shown to be one of the most poverty stricken districts of the province of KwaZulu-Natal and one without many prospects arising from development strategies being implemented by government, therefore requiring a larger proportion of such hypothetical transfers. Cognisance of the poverty, illiteracy and social under-development levels in the region is needed before a development strategy can begin to have effect. In applying the business model from the previous chapter, it is not difficult to realise the needs of the communities with regard to both setting up new businesses and in receiving support for those already established.

#### The KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services as a Development Agent

The KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services through its Neighbour Relations Policy and its recent update, the business systems approach to conservation, is still seeking a way to make a strategic difference to the local communities through its core activity of conservation. The opportunities outlined in the previous chapter portend by inference that no form of development can happen as an isolated project. It also suggests that sustainable and holistic frameworks required implementation over a long time-scale in order to achieve development objectives.

### 5.1.1 Opportunities Within the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services

The NCS, while having a dominant influence in the area offers little by way of direct financial benefits of conservation. Large salary costs limit its scope in this regard. Neighbours require concrete information on the opportunities for conservation skills within the protected areas and help to find markets outside of NCS. The start-up support environment must include market research, information on access to capital and a market place for products. Procurement, production and logistic training are needed to build capacity. NCS would be the primary educator and market. Planning long-term conservation requirements could aid the development of the skills required for the development of a local conservation team. Roles could exist for conservation teams in community conservation and in managing local conservancies.

Fuel supply to the NCS, the hotels and to tourists needs to be researched further to establish its viability. While demand apparently exists, the level of investment needed is too large for local people to finance.

Didima camp has the potential to make transfers towards the community. No time-scale has been set against the building of the camp<sup>30</sup> and this could have both positive and negative effects on the community. The benefits from the camp are in critical demand to alleviate poverty in eMhlabathini, and once the decision to proceed is taken time is of the essence. Without detailed planning, whatever benefits flow from the construction may easily become short-term and temporary. Capacity development in skills such as construction may be realised and an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) believes that the '...proposed development would create opportunities for short-term formal employment in neighbouring communities during construction' (UCT, 1995).

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<sup>30</sup> At the time of writing (Jan 1998) an invitation to submit architectural designs had been published in the local press.

The EIA has outlined the benefits that may be realised and provides guidelines as how to achieve them, allowing the project to comply with broader provincial and national redistribution policies. Practicalities such as community involvement may be encouraged by soliciting the aid of NGO's or by issuing a list of material and labour requirements to the community early in the process, allowing the community the opportunity to react. The appointment of a project manager should be considered, with a brief to pursue co-operation between the community and the NCS. As such the community would be able to work towards a set of formal standards which would give them a better chance than having to gear up at the last minute when they won't be able to compete against formal companies (UCT 1995).

On completion of the camp, local communities must be the primary source of employment. While some of the jobs may require trained and skilled human resources, the majority should be able to be recruited from the local community and trained on the job. Recruiting at the start of construction and carrying out the training at other camps within the NCS may offset fears about the suitability of local personnel.

### Thatching

The Thatch grass business is one of potential, with an apparent rising demand for this product. Currently, adding value to the grass after purchase, by either cleaning it or actually thatching it is the main business. One entrepreneur said that he found the potential of the market to be such that should he have the capacity he could export the thatch overseas and that the thatch grass could be a viable cash crop<sup>31</sup>. Thatch grass harvesting is a profitable and sustainable activity, which does not abuse the natural resources. There should be priority laid with a project to carry out market research into this business idea. The use of thatch is widespread within the NCS, offering an ideal market that would allow a fledgling business to thrive. The NCS also has the ability to act

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<sup>31</sup> Personal Communication, P Carte. Manager of Cavern Berg Resort, which also operates a thatch business.

as a distributor for the final product. NCS has a consultancy role to play in this opportunity, as well as a facilitation role to bring in expertise.

### **5.1.2 Opportunities in Selling to the Local Community and Hotels**

Despite the poverty levels within the study area, a market for vegetable produce does exist. Evidence from the research suggests the presence of a market of some potential, where calculations were based on conservative estimates of both the consumption within the community and that of the hotels. The estimates did not include potential to sell to visitors to the parks.

#### **Market Gardening**

Market gardening has been much touted before as a means for communities to earn income, not always with success (Uphoff 1986, Rajagopal 1992). The NCS is currently involved in one such project in eMhlwazini, however it remains small scale, non-commercial and has relatively few participants. Between the hotels and the community there is a current potential market valued at over two hundred thousand rands per month. The planning phase may be co-ordinated by the NCS, through providing venues, transport and expertise.

The community need assistance in acquiring suitable land and then for management of the garden. Procurement, cultivation, marketing and retail of produce are further steps to be considered during the planning phase as are the critical success factors such as consistency and quality issues. Local chefs are willing consultants and potential customers who can assist with issues of variety, growing methods, pricing, quality and volumes as well as distribution and cost recovery need to be covered. NCS again may play a role as facilitator where it advises and facilitates the sourcing of raw inputs and expertise as well as a market. Its current form in this sector needs to be revisited to avoid past failures.

Distribution of the products to the retail market is a vital service, and one that can bring benefits to other retailers. Currently there is little access to rural products due to a limited or doubtful marketing system. Semi-formalised markets provide facilities for traders and provide a valuable service for the local community by offering the opportunity of purchasing food locally. The issues behind the smooth operation of a local market are mostly concerned with management. Levy collection and rules enforcement are needed to ensure it remains sustainable. The communities need help in examining similar ventures in other parts of the country and the developing world. The pension-day market, held fortnightly offers a suitable date for a mobile market, or it could be a semi-permanent affair based at a point where traders and customers may meet.

Within the building materials market, information and access to credit are key elements, especially where transport is a major limitation and purchasing transport is the only option. Given the terrain, location of the business is crucial. Quality standards are needed to allow access to larger scale work such as providing materials for government infrastructure development such as classrooms or to access NCS markets. The NCS also will tender for crushed stone for the Didima tender but needs to offer help with the logistics and processing of the raw materials.

#### Hotels

Hotels provide the largest established, accessible market for fresh produce and should be a primary target for the community. There is a great need for improved communication between the hotels and the local communities to agree on development plans and wishes and to help each other achieve them. Both communities need the area to be developed in a particular way and consensus needs to be reached on the alternatives open to each other. The Drakensberg Tourist Association<sup>32</sup> and the Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF)<sup>33</sup> are the key bodies through which development can

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<sup>32</sup> The DTA is a body of representatives from the private sector who promote and advertise the Drakensberg identity.

be achieved in this regard.

### **5.1.3 Opportunities Within Tourism**

Tourism represents perhaps the greatest potential for income generation, conflict resolution, socio-economic development and sustainable resource use. Tourism is now the world's largest industry and ecotourism the fastest growing segment (Erskine 1995). However despite promises and favourable predictions, ecotourism remains an industry in brochures, which has largely failed to deliver to the Black communities. The reasons for lack of delivery are varied but ultimately come down to a lack of capacity on the part of local communities caused by Apartheid and lack of support environments. Tourism is essentially the selling of services, and by this distinction is a complicated and involved trade. Skills in hospitality management, financial management, marketing, and catering are among the basics needed to provide such a service. The logistics behind tourism require experience and training, something that has not been provided to the rural communities. Breen (1997) recognised the importance of human resources development in rural ecotourism development. In an initial concept a five-year programme is needed to develop skills which would make a community effective in providing marketable tourism services such as an accommodation experience. The ability to recognise a potential and the ability to exploit it are essentially the differences between the private sector and the local community. Narrowing the gap in abilities must become the key driver in any tourism policy to be implemented among the community. This is not a short-

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<sup>33</sup> The BDDF is an umbrella Community Based Organisation, which has representatives from all bodies operating in Bergville Magisterial District, including NGOs, parastatals, Regional Council, Tribal Authority and local CBOs.

term goal and must come about as a result of an amalgamation of the institutional resources available in the area.

### Accommodation

The Drakensberg has various accommodation experiences to offer the visitor. The main ones are upper to middle-class hotels, camping inside protected areas and NCS hutted accommodation. Elsewhere in the province ethnic accommodation is being offered to visitors with a view to experiencing something of the Zulu way of life, which Satour has listed as one of the most popular attractions in the country (SATOUR 1997). These might include traditional Zulu villages; beehive huts or even wood lodges. Favourable geographic locations with panoramic views, hills for hikes, bushman paintings and rivers to fish in are some of the assets the community can draw on. There is a potential to tap into Zulu culture and the increasing desire for culture tourism. A holistic tourism experience could be offered with deep insight into the Zulu as a nation and an alternative way of life.<sup>34</sup>

The opportunity for the community to develop a campsite at Cathedral Peak must be acted upon to offer a real chance for the community to meet the hospitality industry and to earn income. Many hikes commence from the land swap area and suitable land has been identified where such a venture might flourish. A long-term plan negotiated between the community and the NCS would work out implications of such a venture such as quality standards and service provision. There are several options for the ownership of a community-run campsite, where private and NCS involvement with the community in a joint venture is achievable.

### The Crafts Market

Short-term opportunities may be best seized upon through maximising the returns from the crafts industry. It has already been established that the dominant craft in the area is

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<sup>34</sup> This idea is expanded upon later in Chapter six.



the weaving of grass products such as trays, baskets and lidded boxes. It requires nothing more complicated than the traditional four P's of marketing, product; price; promotion; place, to gain an insight into the dynamics and failures of the local crafts manufacturing industry.

### Product

Formalised design strategies are needed to develop product design and product types for the tourist market. Some of the tourist comments on the products available included: "too much homogeneity"; "not practical to use". Hotels point out that to begin with, simplicity is the key success factor. A process of diversification would therefore need to happen to allow manufacturers to experiment to find the most valuable mix of products.

Other crafts available in the area are clay models, which are shaped by young schoolboys from clay taken from the Tugela and Mahai rivers. The models are entertaining but of poor quality. Tourists are willing to buy the models, while being unaware of the quality issues. When analysed by staff at the University of Natal's ceramics department it became clear that techniques could be introduced at no extra cost which could add value to the models. The techniques included mixing various clays and designing more compact models that would not break as easily. This process of improvement needs to be continued and perhaps formalised, this could be achieved by using the school as a way of reaching the boys who make the models.

A quality assurance programme is needed to make sure only the best quality products make it to the displays inside any retail centre. The crafts are mostly manufactured outdoors, at the places of sale. While it appears charming that the ladies sit on the front of the lawn at RNNP, Cathedral Peak and the hotels, making and selling their produce, there are many drawbacks. They get direct access to the customer in this way, but in fact they risk missing out on the majority of visitors who never pass that way. Also they are exposed to the elements where they are forced to sit through the sun and the rain, both of which damage the products. A centralised manufacturing centre or workshop where

visitors may witness the process which goes into the manufacturing of the grass products already exists at Thandanani but needs to be developed. Such a centre, apart from providing sought-after shelter, would stimulate innovation by serving as a rudimentary “ideas factory”.

#### Place - Thandanani

Thandanani has the opportunity to become a focal point of the preservation of local Zulu art and culture. The centre has capacity for extension of facilities and expansion of operations. The centre could come to realise a potential such as that at Rorkes Drift<sup>35</sup>, housing a museum and gallery, a workshop, a restaurant, a Zulu village, a large curio shop and accommodation. Such expansions must become the goals of long-term strategies, built upon increasing commercial awareness, sound management and economic performance.

Many of the ladies at Cathedral Peak indicated that they would prefer to be manufacturers and to have someone else sell the produce for them. This is effectively what happens at Thadanani, a smaller venture on the same lines might have potential at eMhlwazini or beside the N3 motorway at Estcourt.

The forming of formal business linkages is an efficient way of training and capacity development. The community can participate by supplying the hotel curio shops and the NCS can help by buying products from the community. Export outside the area may be encouraged with formal trade links through intermediates. Such organisations have excellent market knowledge and many today exist to aid community driven projects

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<sup>35</sup> Rorkes Drift is a well known Arts and Crafts Centre, situated in rural Zululand, at the site of the historic Anglo-Zulu battle. It is renowned for its unique designs in woven rugs and for its pottery.

rather than for commercial exploitation.

With regard to the product marketing process the variety of retail and informal outlets gives indication of the various market types. It is clear that the formal outlets appeal to the broadest market possible. This is reflected in the low stocking quantities of any particular product, but with an extensive variety. The local craft markets are characterised by large quantities of a low variety of products, mostly based on the grass theme.

### Promotion

Thandanani needs expertise in presentation and promotion. Exhibitions of local designs, perhaps in a central focus point such as Thandanani should be considered. By becoming a part of the tourists itinerary the crafts centre may increase its sales. The hotels can help facilitate this, as can NCS. Packaging and branding of products needs to be encouraged by the NCS to let people need to know the product was manufactured locally. An easy way to do this is to print small cardboard stories describing the historical value of the piece and the manufacturing process. Branding products as Drakensberg produce is a powerful marketing tool and may be adapted for a rural market context. The community needs to establish links with organisations such as the Drakensberg Tourist Association, which is responsible for the marketing of the Drakensberg as an identity.

### Price

The pricing structure of whatever products are manufactured is critical to their success. In setting the price the curio manufacturers have several things to consider. Currently price is set through thinking of a price and reducing it if the product is not sold. Certain market conditions prevail as the prices are noticeably different at the various outlets. Ostensibly the highest prices are paid at the NCS Visitor Centre at RNNP, this is due in part to their pricing policy of adding a 100% margin to everything they sell. Prices offered by the community therefore make it too expensive for the NCS to make a success of selling local produce while implementing such a policy. The NCS need to revisit this

policy with regard to neighbours.

Low levels of literacy and numeracy, which are present in the community, contribute to the lack of records. Training in such skills is a pre-requisite to an understanding of commerce. It was recognised at Thandanani that some of the management personnel were investing their own money to pay for goods used by the centre, not making the distinction between a business and personal involvement. Bookkeeping allows progression to be analysed, by being able to keep abreast of the income earned, where and when. Book keeping is no less relevant to the individual manufacturer than to the large retail outlet. Awareness of cost, both of raw materials and the opportunity cost of labour is important, unawareness often leads the manufacturer to turn in a loss.

In the area of income generation the business opportunities may be separated into long-term and short-term programmes, but either way all businesses need to take cognisance of the processes outlined in the model. By forming a matrix of needs of the business environment in the study area a simple but holistic view of the needs of the potential and existing businesses is outlined. The matrix, constructed according to the business model outlined in table 4.2, examines the sectors of opportunity which were outlined in chapter four. From such a matrix the ability of the NCS to intervene and offer the support which can make a meaningful difference may be analysed. Such a matrix is outlined in table 5.1.

Table 5.1 Business Matrix of Needs - Sectoral Analysis

<b>Opportunity: Nature Conservation Services</b>			
<b>Market Information</b>	Products	Market	External Environment
	Ltd info provided on the types of products, services required. No values given.	NCS is obvious market. Size of opportunity not stated.	NRP policy essential role. No programmes with neighbours. Migrancy and low education levels define the labour available.
<b>Procure-ment</b>	Access	Cost	Logistics
	Access to market non-existent (i.e. NCS).		Organisational structure needed.
<b>Production</b>	Place	Personnel	Process
		Skills needed Advice on staff	Training needed in : Quality control; using tools; botany; and technologies available.
<b>Support Environment</b>	No incentive for business start-up to provide products and services. Includes advice, training, capital and continual improvement mechanism.		
<b>Opportunity: Curio Market</b>			
<b>Market Information</b>	No support for product awareness or demand analysis. Info needed on competition, pricing and req'd range.	NCS does not provide market, nor provide access to market.	Basic technologies, fulfilment of social function. NRP again key policy.
<b>Procure-ment</b>	Access to raw materials limited	Cost borne by community	Problems with storage, transport and harvesting.
<b>Production</b>	Outdoors, weather damage. No provision of facilities		Production processes need to be managed, costing information, quality control & inventory management needed.
<b>Distribution</b>	Wholesale opportunities unavailable shops. Export needs support.	Retail inadequate. Need for new outlets and expertise in managing outlet. Tied to services provision and financial management.	
<b>Product Marketing</b>	No information provided to community on product information such as pricing, branding, promotion or design issues.		
<b>Support Environment</b>	Training in book keeping and cost/benefit analysis not provided. Need access to expansion credit, distribution infrastructure and management training.		

<b>Opportunity: Market Gardening</b>			
<b>Market Information</b>	Limited info on suitable products, quality	No information on potential market and how to access them	NRP should support neighbours. Ignorance of other support sources such as agencies.
<b>Procurement</b>	Questions of supply of raw materials.	Credit for outlay needed.	System needed for storage, transport of raw mats.
<b>Production</b>	Land needed to form garden, security and management issues.	Training of personnel needed.	Seasonal issues, quality control, and cost issues need to be taught. Purchase of technology. Appropriate technology.
<b>Distribution</b>	Need support for penetrating wholesale markets of hotels and NCS.	Retail expertise needed to establish rural markets or formal outlet.	
<b>Product Marketing</b>	Market competition, presentation, pricing, branding issues need to be taught in an iterative process.		
<b>Support Environment</b>	The support environment for market gardens includes skills enhancement, drought control and market development skills. Start-up capital, land and fencing as well as networking with similar bodies elsewhere.		

In Okhahlamba, over a number of decades, a large and growing population was displaced onto ecologically sensitive land, resulting in excessive pressure being placed on the natural resource base, mostly for subsistence purposes. Belated attempts to remedy this situation cannot happen overnight, nor in isolation from the development work being carried out by other organisations and institutions.

Table 5.1 summarises the types of support needed by the various sectors. It also highlights the areas where the conservation body does and can make interventions to aid the local businesses. There are other sectors that may be analysed in this manner such as the thatch opportunity and the provision of accommodation and other tourist services.

The opportunities that have been identified and discussed in chapters four and five have existed for some time in the northern Drakensberg, while some of the elements outlined

in chapters two and three reveal why the opportunities have never been capitalised upon. Rural dynamics, which categorise the study area as an under-developed region, one of the worse off of KwaZulu-Natal, mean that survivalist income-generation is likely to be the norm. The community-based research found this to be the case.

The challenge for the NCS is to develop a strategy that examines the needs and aspirations of the community holistically. As the model demonstrates a holistic treatment of the causes of under-development is needed, even in examining an activity such as income-generation. A business will not function successfully without systematic interventions in the framework as laid out in the model.

The policy of the NCS, laid down in 1992 in the Neighbour Relations Policy was not equipped to formulate an integrated approach to achieving successful income-generation among neighbours. McIntosh (1994) describes a failed catchment conservation initiative attempted in the Upper Thukela area in the early 90's. It was an experience from which the conservation authorities could have drawn some valuable lessons about involvement of the communities in decision making and the ineffectiveness of prevailing attitudes to communities and their development priorities.

Indeed the 1992 policy appears to be a reaction to the failure encountered then but diverging opinions from inside the organisation as to the role of the NRP help explain the ineffectiveness of the policy. Officers in Charge of the parks (OICs) listed evident lack of trust between the community and the NCS and incompetence of the community to take forward any initiative as being sources of ineffectiveness. They further stated that a lack of understanding of environmental issues caused the community to destroy their own environment and was leading them to want to do the same to the protected areas. The OIC's also believed that the communities were ineffective because the same faces appeared at every meeting and that these were the ineffective people left behind when the dynamic members migrated.

One of the OIC's saw the NRP as being a means of improving contacts in the communities and for conflict resolution while the other saw it as being good on paper but not realistic when it came to implementation as success or failure was not measurable.

When questioned about aims as regards the community, the replies varied in that one felt that the NRPs aim was the integration of the community to a position where they benefited from conservation and where the people recognise conservation as being important to their survival. They did not currently perceive it as being such because they were 'peasants, worried about where their next meal was coming from'. The lack of western-style education was seen as a problem by one OIC who said that this and the lack of opportunities had fomented a "couldn't care less attitude" which made the neighbours accept the status quo. The other OIC indicated that the NRP could be used to launch economic empowerment through teaching and facilitation, allowing the park to serve as a focus and a base. He saw the park as the first world living among the third world and that there is ample opportunity for one to learn from the other.

Both OIC's saw committees as being an ineffective way of dealing with the local communities due to the dominance of certain individuals who dictated the direction of any activity, and instead the NCS should concentrate on searching for champions who put the community first. One of the OIC's was warm to the idea of business partnerships but he felt that the community had no expertise in this area. He believed that the NCS had such expertise. The other OIC was wary that such ventures could easily become handouts and stated his belief in the principles of competition as a key to success.

The OIC's were both concerned about the lack of permanency within NCS. Neighbour relations are built around the OIC and yet each time some progress is made the OIC is transferred. This is perceived as being an attempt by the conservation body to expose the OIC's to all kinds of biosphere, in the name of career advancement. The effect of this policy is a continual fracture in neighbour relations, where new OIC's must restart building relations. The continuity is further hampered by the lack of accountability of the



OIC's who enjoy a level of independence which effectively means they make up rules as they go.

Such diverse views on the NRP demonstrate the complexities of dealing with a comprehensive policy for interacting with neighbours. The interviews illustrate a worrying independence on the part of the OICs where their own views are portrayed as those of the organisation they work for. The interviews highlight the preservationist culture latent in the organisation and further underlines the need for a holistic approach which includes the aims of the Community. History shows the NRP to have become a series of ad-hoc interventions that could only provide elements of a bigger picture. The policy, calling for the intervention in the socio-economic development of neighbours failed to deliver its primary objectives. The reasons for this failure are less to do with policy than people.

## CHAPTER SIX - DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

The conservation ideology of the NCS precludes it from fulfilling a comprehensive social function. As an organisation it appears unaware of the instrument of culture, both the culture which forms the paradigm of its existence and the culture of the peoples where it operates. The culture of the organisation has been built on a history of preservationist ideals, where those who were not in support of the aims and ways of achieving them were considered to be against them. Neighbours were, and continue to be perceived as a threat. As suggested in chapter one, conservation can be seen as a product, a reflection of the image Europeans maintained about wildlife. Where fences achieved this in the past by shutting in the resources, today the risk is shutting out needed benefits and opportunities with the same fences. The cultures of the peoples surrounding the park and those managing the park are diverse and each has as much right to receive exposure as the other. Beyond the issue of rights the celebration of the diversity of cultures, especially traditional cultures provides an opportunity for the NCS to fulfil a social function while receiving gains itself.

Chapter one stated that the direction of the changing face of conservation is towards a sharing of the paradigm of social aspects of conservation, listening to and incorporating the views of those outside of the immediate conservation philosophy. This marks a transformation or evolution in the conservation paradigm commensurate with transformations occurring in organisations as a whole.

Evidence suggests that to concentrate on organisational culture is an essential means to provide stability and focus within an organisation (de Geus 1997, Senge 1997, Browne 1997). Reservations about the true purpose and culture of an organisation manifest themselves in inefficiencies and are often the result of top-down management styles. Where organisational culture is focussed around a set of shared principles it can engender the development of an organisational community where knowledge and values may be shared rather than secluded. The return to a sense of community marks a movement in organisational behaviour where today's workers seek meaning in their work rather than working merely to earn income. Senge

(1997) emphasises the values of the indigenous community where traditionally the elders were given respect for their wisdom; teachers for their ability to help people to grow and; warriors, weavers and growers for their life skills (p32). Modern organisations continually seek to recreate these values among their staff and in external relations.

Within the organisation, Senge (1997) points to research, capacity building and practice as being the key elements that allow effective learning. Knowledge in the area of competence risks becoming dominated by narrow-focus specialists who are often unable to implement it, rather than engaging the knowledge which exists within the human resources and allowing a holistic approach to problem solving. The top-down, hierarchical management structure is familiar to staff of bureaucratic government bodies.

Evolutions in organisations over the decades since Fordism have been transforming the nature of business from scientific production to the marketing of a service, a brand and an image. The cause of transformation during the interceding years was the increasingly efficient accumulation, management and dissemination of knowledge (Drucker 1997). The phenomenon of the decreasing lifetime of knowledge and the shorter product life-cycle where advances in education, human resources and technology mean that new methods and theories are conceived and applied continuously across society's spectrum. Adapting to the changes is a skill not yet learned by many organisations and life expectancies of organisations are falling accordingly (de Geus 1997).

Initially the conservation bodies need to address the questions of functionality as organisations. Primarily they are bodies that aim to provide conservation services, through preserving the natural resource base. Over a number of years increasing attention has been placed on the resources which exist within protected areas, at the expense of the people and the resources on the other side of the fence. As conservation techniques improved, the resource came to be used primarily for recreation functions, still based on the premise of the importance of preserving bio-diversity, while satisfying the need for an accepted image of wildlife.

Today the process of conservation is such that it has essentially become a commodity, a service provided by many conservation bodies, although the majorities are private operators. The NCS aims to compete with the other conservation service providers. As a public entity the NCS is compelled to justify its importance to the public and in particular to the government which provides dwindling financial support. It appears that such justification is not received by the existence of the wildlife on its own but must come from the endorsement of experiences received at first hand. It is also achieved by the financial rewards provided for the province, namely tourism.

It appears unlikely that the NCS, as a state-owned organisation, is optimising its commercial opportunities nor being as effective as it can be on a service provision level. This assumption is based on the knowledge that these are not its areas of expertise and because private operators have shown how it is possible to increase the revenue from such resources, by servicing the various segments of a tourist market. Other conservation bodies in the world have shown how working with neighbours can provide common benefits, while much work remains to be done to translate this into meaningful and effective results which make a difference to peoples pockets.

KwaZulu-Natal Conservation Services: an Organisation that is an Institution

Efforts to describe and categorise the NCS are difficult to realise as it falls outside the traditional parameters of an organisation carrying out a state function. As an institution<sup>36</sup> its status is not in doubt and as an organisation it maintains its power and ability to provide conservation within the defined parameters of protected areas. Increasingly its effectiveness at dealing with the new social realities which it itself has recognised is being called into question. Outside interests in its functioning are becoming more difficult to preclude, such as the growing involvement of NGOs and community based organisations, as well as international agencies. In the context of a

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<sup>36</sup> Debate has focussed on the differences between an organisation and an institution. An institution is defined as “complexes of norms and behaviours that persist over time by serving collectively valued purposes” (Uphoff 1986).

learning organisation outside involvement and expertise should be welcomed.

As an organisation the NCS is accountable to the public, and therefore to the government. However it may not be considered a typical departmental body as it acts independently of government and does not follow government policy, changing accordingly when the government changes. The nature of the service it provides is different to that of the departments of agriculture and education, but it is still able to claim to operate for the public good. As an organisation it does not have shareholders, and while striving for profit in certain activities, returns a net loss. Decision-making ultimately lies in the hands of senior managers at the head office, making protected area managers implementers of policy.

It retains an influential presence in the districts where it operates and by operating no formal strategy it is able to make an impression upon the expectations and needs of the public. NCS acts independently of the rural strategies such as the Growth and Development Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal and the Integrated Rural Development strategy. It does not co-operate with regional bodies such as local government on a day to day basis, and has no official policy of maintaining a presence and influence in local institutional, infrastructural or socio-economic development.

Outside of pure biodiversity conservation, the NCS struggles to define a function for itself. Its influence as an institution has led it to become involved in many areas outside of its core function such as agriculture extension, tourism services provider and local development. Instead of a process of learning as an organisation it has remained an ad hoc performer where shortage of committed human and capital resources has caused it to become involved in short-term interventions, resembling projects rather than programmes. A resultant lack of commitment from relevant staff and difficulty in motivating staff to perform functions which they do not see as important has led to inefficiencies and in some cases failure.

The culture of the organisation is not geared towards dealing with people or the provision of services. The NCS provides products, components of a wider experience rather than an entire

experience to visitors and to neighbours. Interpretation of its policy suggests that the behaviour and culture towards conservation of others must change, and that NCS can lay the ground rules for the desired behaviour patterns. However, local communities do not see the importance of the culture of the conservation authority and perceive things from a different perspective. To them and to many others, it is the preservationist culture of conservation that must change, to accept them as equals and to afford respect and partnerships where this will prove beneficial. Participation, as it is called for in both the new and old documents, should start at policy formulation level.

Its size, nature and geographical presence make the NCS a major cog in the machinery of the three areas within which it operates: bio-diversity conservation, socio-economic development, and tourism services provider. Understanding the role of the cogs and how to keep them in unison with those moving around them is an essential component of implementing strategic change.

During 1997 the NCS developed a new policy upon reflection of the failings of the Neighbour Relations Policy. Chapters three and four outlined the challenges and opportunities facing conservation and the rural communities which share different sides of the same borders. Chapter five outlined the business approach which is needed to allow the community to capitalise on the opportunities, and identified that no development can happen on its own as an isolated intervention in a system, at the risk of ineffectiveness. The key question now is whether the new NCS strategy is able to meet this challenge and develop the theme that it set out in its initial Neighbour Relations Policy.

The NCS affirms in its new community conservation strategy<sup>37</sup> that it is not a development agency and that all involvement with the community will be for the advancement of the cause of

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<sup>37</sup> The original neighbour relations policy is in the process of being updated at the time of writing. The new strategy incorporates much of the old policy with the main difference being its presentation within a business system where decisions are to be analysed according to a set of criteria decided at head office.

conservation. No claims are made towards promoting economic growth for the province, however the NCS does commit to participate in the promotion of ecotourism in the province by providing accommodation and services to tourists. Again the community policy documents of the NCS do not make mention of participating in the broader strategy of provincial politics but appear to mirror some of those already being planned. The NCS in its outlook in the new policy tends to look at the issue of community needs from an internal perspective where it aims to fulfil its own objectives: the mission statement of the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services and the subsequent policy documents. The writing of the new community conservation policy is an indication of the surety within the organisation that the direction from which their perspective comes, is the right one.

Rural Development in South Africa has been the subject of intense policy writing since the beginning of the political transformation in the early nineties. The NCS was effectively established as a role player with the publication of the Neighbour Relations Policy in September 1992 from where a dedication was made to make a difference to the lives of the neighbours of protected areas who were previously disadvantaged by the presence of those reserves. The interim years saw little progress in making a difference, recognised by a 1997 review of the policy. As a result the NCS drafted a new version of the NRP, now called community conservation and placed it within a strategic planning process. All community conservation policy fits within the broader NCS mission statement in an attempt to integrate it as part of NCS operation activities:

‘The long-term conservation of Natal’s natural resources in such a manner that the people of Natal and of South Africa will benefit from and share in the diversity, economic value, and opportunities for spiritual well-being and recreation which they offer’ (NPB 1994a)

This statement is qualified with respect to the community neighbours, previously accepted as being excluded so that:

‘opportunities and values/benefits of nature conservation can be harnessed by all communities,

within a framework of environmentally, socially and economically self-sustaining community-based natural resource management' (NPB 1997e)

By inferring a level of expertise in the areas of social welfare and business economics, the NCS places itself inside the development framework spoken of in the rural development strategies. Meaningful development within these fields is unlikely to happen as an exclusive strategy, detached from the development efforts of other institutions and organisations in the same geographical area. The previous version sought to 'identify local social needs and aspirations, some of which may be far removed from nature conservation' (NPB 1992), while the new strategy does not go so far, qualifying itself with the premise of all development objectives being tied to those of conservation.

During the 1996 review the NCS adopted a systems-based approach to conservation where its nature conservation products and services are now referred to as its "business" (NCS 1997e). As in any business system the approach is focussed on cost-benefit analysis where functions are prioritised around objectives. In achieving the outlined strategy of the community conservation programme, the NCS has four separate zones to consider in the performing of any stated function. The four zones: Bio-diversity (conservation); Finance (budgetary implications); Internal (organisational aspects) and; Community (relations between NCS and community)(*Ibid.*).

The generic strengths propositioned by the review include mostly broad, non-specific directions of movement such as:

'The board [NCS] has a principled stance regarding sustainable use' and 'The Board promotes social development' while the weaknesses, which are listed, provides an honest account of the problems faced by the implementers:

'There is a lack of strategic direction'; 'There has been poor documentation of successes and failures'; and 'It is difficult to set standards and evaluate progress (measure impact) in a social development programme' (NPB 1997e).



The original NRP document outlined the failures of the NCS to include the neighbouring communities in conservation and sought to alter that. This document, five years later accepts that increasingly a practical role for the neighbours is being sought but is not any closer to realisation. Major problems were discovered and reported in all aspects of the functioning mechanisms. The new strategy represents a retreat from the expectations that were raised from the 1992 document. Whereas before the NCS aimed to foster socio-economic development they now have more modest objectives:

#### Function B3.3 Facilitate/broker community development

‘Although clearly not the primary responsibility of the nature conservation agency, community development is an integral component of the development of sustainable natural resource management and rural livelihoods, particularly where entrepreneurial opportunities can be derived from nature conservation related activities’ (*Ibid.*).

Beyond the writing of a strategy, there are few guidelines towards what each function actually means or how it will be achieved. This strategy presupposes that communities have the technical know how to exploit any business opportunity, even those not necessarily associated with the nature conservation qualifier. The questions of provision of capacity, credit and training remain unanswered.

The preservationist approach of the conservation body brings it once more to fail to consult outside of a ‘team’ within its own organisation the needs, desires and capabilities of the local population. The effectiveness of a participatory strategy is achieved when the community is:

‘more than...project beneficiaries or as paid employees. It means participation in decision making, in problem identification, in project design and implementation, and in project monitoring and evaluation’ (IIED 1992: 63)

Meaningful participation in all areas is something which the NCS must strive for, at the risk of

having to impose another solution or meet opposition borne of a lack of understanding and willingness on the part of the community and its own staff. The new policy outlines its intentions in this regard where communities are expected to concur:

‘Legislation is inadequate to protect biodiversity and nature conservation resources, unless a high level of understanding and support of the purpose of legislation is achieved, including an understanding that legislation is necessary’ (Function B 3.7, NPB 1997e)

From the protected area viewpoint the neighbours are in poverty. Current and past strategies point to a belief that short-term projects and transfers of money is a viable means of achieving community upliftment. It also implies that the community will halt abuse of the natural resources should they receive economic gain. The depth of income-poverty in the area is such that without integrated programmes of development individual projects will have limited commitment and limited success.

‘The sustainability of biodiversity and nature conservation values is based on social and economic as well as environmental criteria’ and that the proper response to this is to implement the objective to ‘Demonstrate economic value of nature conservation through entrepreneurial partnerships’ (Function B 3.8, *Ibid.*)

One of the entrepreneurial opportunities is to promote job creation and training through tourism and tourism services. The debate surrounding tourism extends further than the realisation that it exists as an opportunity. Chapter four demonstrates the gap between the established provision of tourist services and the community involvement in terms of retail and accommodation that exists in the northern Drakensberg. Attempts to involve communities in the opportunities will necessarily require a long-term programme of capacity building, training, tutelage and local institutional development.

This presents issues of contradiction between conservation services and a role for commercial ventures carried out in protected areas. The NRP of 1992 outlined intentions to:

‘identify outdoor recreation and tourism opportunities, and develop programmes to encourage local entrepreneurs to make best use of these, especially for services and activities that might otherwise have to be undertaken by the Board [NCS] as a self-funding operation’

Despite the opportunities identified in the study area, the undertaking was not carried through; probably less for reasons of competition than for the lack of a strategy aimed at capacity building and commercial training. The NCS, as demonstrated in the profit making Royal Natal National Park, is attaining standards of service provision at a reasonable level and retail success. In RNNP the Visitor Centre sells all produce with a 100% margin, none of it from the local community. At Cathedral Peak the R32 million development of tourist accommodation again underlines the conservation authority’s commercial intentions and demonstrates the financial resources it owns for investment in tourist service provision. Function B 3.6 of the community conservation strategy outlines plans to:

‘Promote nature conservation products and services including NPB [NCS] corporate and direct selling’

Increasingly business vocabulary is being used in the NCS, proof perhaps of a growing sense of commerce and a resource and eventually expertise which may be deployed in favour of the community. Attributes of the NCS and private hotels including experience, reputation, human and capital resources make it difficult to envisage the local community competing with them for tourist revenue in the short term. Within the current context of the direction of development, the best the community can hope to achieve single-handedly are the opportunities described in chapter four. At best such strategies will make transfers of limited proportions, helping a limited number of people in the growing community. Over 500 crafts makers are struggling to share in the overall R7 million curio market, the vast majority of which currently rests with the hotels and the NCS.

Theoretically it may already be accepted that the hotels are reluctant to help provide commercial aid to the communities, as they are private entrepreneurs who have an interest in maintaining

the status quo. It is unlikely that they are willing to help the community develop in the direction that will place them on an equal footing in competing for the tourist market. Both the hotels and the NCS are in a position where they could benefit greatly from establishing business links and helping develop the type of enterprise which can aid its own business. The NCS must start by reforming its buying policy. Neighbours of protected areas all over KwaZulu-Natal could benefit from the opportunity of having their produce displayed in NCS curio shops in different protected areas.

### Conclusion

The definition of itself and its functions as a dynamic of business systems suggests that the NCS, like other conservation bodies, has commoditised the conservation services which it provides to society, including wildlife, accommodation, water, information, recreation and community conservation. By functioning on a cost-benefit basis where all decisions are prioritised according to their function and the cost implications at the time, the NCS should be able to increase efficiency. This indeed is part of maintaining a successful and profitable business, but increasingly, a less important function of the same. Systems relate to the distribution of internal information and have little way of influencing what actually happens with regard to relations with anything external. Drucker (1997) points to the increasing reliance on external knowledge and external expertise to allow an organisation to gain competitive advantage.

Conservation offers recreation, game, produce and accommodation on a commercial basis and it may not function as a business isolated from the realities of the business world. It needs to interact with the tourism industry to guarantee itself a market, to be in a position to meet the needs of the visitors. A comprehensive business plan with financial modelling is needed to ensure optimisation of revenue from the visitors. Cost saving and efficiency drives would be part of this along with expertise in human resource development, market research and marketing, sales and after sales service. The protected area is not the only supplier of the tourism experience in the area; local towns, hotels, hostels, markets and shops are crucial to the provision of the overall tourism experience.

### Conservation as a Supplier of Services

Where knowledge-management may be tomorrow's differentiation, the most effective of today is service. Service does not necessarily form the product of a particular organisation, even should it be a service supplier. Peripheral services are commonly sub-contracted to more experienced or profitable partners. The business of the NCS is diverse and spread across several domains. Through concentrating on its core business the NCS can afford itself the possibility of sub-contracting work and services which are best done by partners. Partnerships with private enterprise are conceivable in the domain of accommodation, tour guides, retailing local produce, retailing for camping market, transportation of goods and people, natural resource harvesting and production, value-added processing of natural resources.

### The Social Cog

The NCS has been involved with local communities since 1992, however the same pressures remain. Conservation bodies need to interact with government agencies to ensure that development is happening in a way that will relieve the pressure on its jurisdiction. The neighbour is as much a customer of the NCS as the person who pays to enter the park. Various departments of a company envisage each other to be customers to ensure the service between departments is maximised for efficiency. The NCS must envisage the neighbour as a customer to whom the notion of conservation is being sold; likewise the other players in the community are customers.

The neighbours have a right to expect the NCS to become involved in their development. The NCS are customers of the neighbours as it is often their traditional lands upon which protected areas are situated and they are bearing a large social cost to allow conservation to happen. The conservation authorities have a responsibility to go some way towards meeting the cost. Money transfers are part of a wider dynamic including a will to become involved in strategic development where the linkages between development and intellect are formulated into a partnership of service provision to each other. The local community has a role to play as a cog in the service provision of the NCS and the NCS must play a cog in the development that will

facilitate this. Development and community conservation may be optimised through partnerships with government agencies, local institutions, NGOs and private enterprise.

The formulation of strategies built around systems can greatly enhance the transparency of a situation. Each protected area operates through a separate set of dynamics, but within a similar framework. By setting out the framework, the conservation authorities can visualise their own role in respect of those being played out by other parties. Ad-hoc interventions achieve neither endearment nor success and it is those two things that the conservation bodies need to guarantee long-term survival. The business model laid out in this study shows those elements of the overall picture which are missing and how these must be manipulated by that body so that a strategic difference may be made. It further becomes clear where expectations and abilities begin to diverge. While the conservation authorities are not able to become involved in every area of the local development, those areas where it can make a difference become exposed. Access to natural resources is one such ability; access to knowledge is another, less spoken of.

Current conservation authority strategies tend to be short-term where the solving of old ones creates new problems. While short-term interventions must take the form of practical business interventions outlined in chapters four and five, it is important to examine the picture on the longer-term. Perhaps the largest long-term potential for the future of conservation is its interactions with local rural communities.

Mentioned earlier was the notion that organisations are simulating the traditional village community to ensure sustainability within their organisation where respect and commitment are present. Further to this idea was the notion of the developing of intellect. Drucker (1997) demonstrates that the information to put the entire world on a level playing field of knowledge is cheaply and readily available as proven by Thailand and Korea. The competitive advantage of the north over the south is its relative abundance of intellect, rather than its quality. Rural communities may be provided with intellect, a resource that would allow them to shortcut the development process by allowing them to function as traditional communities but also to participate in the first world. This marketable concept is relevant to the modern day world where

product and knowledge cycles have shortened beyond the capability of human sustainability. Increasingly corporations and tourists are seeking to “return to nature” to envisage what it is like to live among nature. The survival tools to achieve this are still in existence in Africa, along with remnants of the systemic approach to community and survival.

A challenge is to permit communities to grasp the opportunity to package this as a holistic experience. Often conservation bodies are involved in preserving cultural resources of an extinct culture while it watches a living culture die. The opportunity for a long-term solution to the development interaction is creating the desire and intellect to save and sell what the community knows best - how to be a community and how to live in harmony with nature. If the changing culture of the conservation body is needed to sustain this process, a revision of the policies towards neighbours is needed to commence it.

## Appendix A: Household Questionnaire

Lonke ulwazi olukulemibuzo luyimfihlo. Zonke izimpendulo kufanele zihlananiswe ndawonye ukuze kube yimfihlo akekho okufanele azi ukuthi umuntu ngamunye utheni.

1. Ubuilli/Sex?
2. Mangaki amalunga omndeni ekhaya?/How many people are there in your household?
3. Iminyaka?/ age?      16-24              25-34              35-44              45-54              55+
4. Usebenzisa malini ngakunye kulokhu okulandelayo?/How much do you spend on each of the following?

	Weekly	Monthly	Yearly	Where
Igilosa / groceries				
Imali yesikole / school fees				
Transport				
Ezolimo / Agri - products				
Izingubo zokugqoka / clothes				
Inyufomu yesikole / school uniforms				
Imithi / medicine				
Okokwakha / building materials				
Imphahla yasekhshini ne fenisha / furniture, kitchen equipment				

5. Igilosa / Groceries

List your top ten groceries

	Item	How often do you buy?	How Much?	Where do you buy?
1				
2				
3				
4				



5				
6				
7				
8				
9				
10				

6. List your four most important deciding factors in purchasing produce

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4

7. Uya Kangaki? / How often do you travel?

Destination	4	3	2	1	0	How much does it cost?
Estcourt						
Ladysmith						
Pietermaritzburg						
Harrismith						
Durban						

8. Awudingi ukuphendula kodwa uyimfihlo / Please describe your income

- What is your source of income?
- How much do you earn?

Appendix B (1) - Household Questionnaire Data Analysis

General Purchases in Amazizi Tribal Authority - Per Household																							Mean Spend per HH	% of Total Spend		
Household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Total			
No in Household	6	13	13	15	7	8	8	3	6	8	12	12	8	5	5	10	4	6	13	3	6	8	179			
Item	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	%
Building mats.	500	2083	1000	125	467	1667	63	500	83	1083	1611	50	0	1000	0	167	1250	500	1750	0	1250	0	15149	689	34.3%	
Furniture	0	0	333	0	0	157	1250	417	1667	167	2108	167	250	0	0	67	2500	667	333	0	600	833	11516	523	26.1%	
Groceries	300	400	300	300	250	300	200	500	300	800	200	300	200	200	300	300	500	550	500	150	500	300	7650	348	17.3%	
Travel	151	83	143	200	150	150	214	500	50	85	60	100	100	80	50	60	570	170	500	10	425	150	4001	182	9.1%	
Clothes	500	42	400	0	25	42	42	75	42	42	83	33	42	42	10	42	125	58	50	300	500	67	2562	116	5.8%	
Medicine	0	5	0	120	100	17	250	200	25	55	25	0	17	0	150	50	84	0	200	0	200	21	1519	69	3.4%	
Agricultural products	0	8	0	0	25	25	542	58	13	42	50	0	0	17	17	42	42	0	33	0	17	100	1031	47	2.3%	
School Uniform	0	0	0	17	33	100	17	33	25	42	27	17	42	25	0	42	84	67	100	10	25	33	739	34	1.7%	
<b>Total per HH (R)</b>	<b>1451</b>	<b>2621</b>	<b>2176</b>	<b>762</b>	<b>1050</b>	<b>2458</b>	<b>2578</b>	<b>2283</b>	<b>2205</b>	<b>2316</b>	<b>4164</b>	<b>667</b>	<b>651</b>	<b>1364</b>	<b>527</b>	<b>770</b>	<b>5155</b>	<b>2012</b>	<b>3466</b>	<b>470</b>	<b>3517</b>	<b>1504</b>	<b>44167</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>100%</b>	

Appendix B (2) - Household Questionnaire Data Analysis

General Purchases in Amazizi Tribal Authority - Per Capita																						Mean Spend per HH			
Household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	Total		
No in Household	6	13	13	15	7	8	8	3	6	8	12	12	8	5	5	10	4	6	13	3	6	8	179		
Item	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Building mats.	83	160	77	8	67	208	8	167	14	135	134	4	0	200	0	17	313	83	135	0	208	0	2022	92	
Furniture	0	0	26	0	0	20	156	139	278	21	176	14	31	0	0	7	625	111	26	0	100	104	1833	83	
Groceries	50	31	23	20	36	38	25	167	50	100	17	25	25	40	60	30	125	92	38	50	83	38	1161	53	
Travel	25	6	11	13	21	19	27	167	8	11	5	8	13	16	10	6	143	28	38	3	71	19	668	30	
Clothes	83	3	31	0	4	5	5	25	7	5	7	3	5	8	2	4	31	10	4	100	83	8	435	20	
Medicine	0	0	0	8	14	2	31	67	4	7	2	0	2	0	30	5	21	0	15	0	33	3	245	11	
Agricultural products	0	1	0	0	4	3	68	19	2	5	4	0	0	3	3	4	11	0	3	0	3	13	145	7	
School Uniform	0	0	0	1	5	13	2	11	4	5	2	1	5	5	0	4	21	11	8	3	4	4	110	5	
<b>Total per Capita (R)</b>	<b>242</b>	<b>202</b>	<b>167</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>150</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>322</b>	<b>761</b>	<b>368</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>347</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>81</b>	<b>273</b>	<b>105</b>	<b>77</b>	<b>1289</b>	<b>335</b>	<b>267</b>	<b>157</b>	<b>586</b>	<b>188</b>	<b>6620</b>	<b>301</b>	

Appendix B (3) - Household Questionnaire Data Analysis

Grocery Spend Per Household - All Households																										
Household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26
No in Household	6	13	13	15	7	8	8	3	6	8	12	12	8	5	5	10	4	6	13	3	6	9	5	14	14	5
Item	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Mealie meal		60	80	130	130	125	135	80	135		110	110	60	65	60	85	70	70	112	18	48	120	110	110	110	100
Meat	20	150	16	10	10	25		300	25	100	960		75		80		100	50		40	50	120	60	60	92	100
Sugar	35	30	25			35	35	36	33	40	36	30		35	48	30		35	78	8	25	42	35		70	31
Flour	30	20	25	38	38	27	48	35	32	32	52	30	28		40	24		38	24		30	30		25	30	60
Rice	18	20	16	33	33	18	28		20	20		25	21	18	30	20	30	55			45			20	42	100
Beans	26		16	8	8	22		35	20	20			25	12			50	40				19	20	50		60
Potatoes		8		12	12	12	20	6	10	30	10		10			42	50		20	10	10	10	10	10	24	30
Soup		20					20	55	20	20	60	100	10			20	30		14	2		13	20	10	8	
Cabbage				20	20	15	14	15	10	24	12	8	12	12			12			8		8	6	10		24
Tomatoes			23	21	21					14	19	20							56		30			12	28	50
Cooking oil			13	25	23		22						14			20			32	3	25	30			22	
Samp	16											25		10			20	39								
Salt		5		5	5			10								8				1						1
Soap	5														20	18	30	46		15						
Tea	6		10			6					12			6					27	2	10		20			
Milk			10			8								12	7				30			44	10			
Eggs		30					24		18				20													
Bread																										
Onions		4																	8		20		2	9	5	
Tinned food							28							36												
Fish											30							30								
Cakes	22																									
Baking powder								18																		
Spinach										8		8														
Candles																4										
<b>Total per H' hold</b>	178	287	154	172	170	168	239	510	188	308	1191	246	215	141	229	182	352	303	289	89	245	316	183	206	321	456

Appendix B (3) - Household Questionnaire Data Analysis

27	28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	Total	per household	
R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	
100	100	120	110	110	60	110	110	20	115	100	100	100	90	70	95	80	100	80	120	4123	89.63	27%
		20	40	25		100		17	45				20		20	100	25	6	40	2901	63.07	19%
10	11	35		30	60		32	11	37	36	40	29	40		52	30	14	5	42	1286	27.96	8%
				26		30	36			60	30	31	31	31		50	14		30	1105	24.02	7%
			25	40	50	20	36	2	29	74	31	21	16	35		22	16			1029	22.37	7%
			25	22	40	22	20	20			5	4	28	15	8	30	20		19	709	15.41	5%
2		10	12	12	30	30	5		16	40	12	10	14	9	10	24	10	10	10	612	13.30	4%
			40		20						20				7	40	18	5	13	585	12.72	4%
10		10	14	12	10	10	15	9	15	26	10	12	10	8	10		60	10	8	489	10.63	3%
		8	15	11	40	24	12			40		13		14						471	10.24	3%
								14		24	24	20		10		17	20	4	30	392	8.52	3%
					20				20	30			18	24						222	4.83	1%
	5	3										4			9		6	150		212	4.61	1%
			30												30					194	4.22	1%
2	3	10			20			12	5						12	12		6		181	3.93	1%
		5			20														44	190	4.13	1%
																				92	2.00	1%
								90												90	1.96	1%
		5	8							10				17						88	1.91	1%
																				64	1.39	0%
																				60	1.30	0%
																				22	0.48	0%
																				18	0.39	0%
																				16	0.35	0%
								5										2		11	0.24	0%
24	19	106	209	178	290	256	156	175	172	340	172	144	177	163	158	325	203	198	236	15162	330	

Appendix B (4) - Household Questionnaire Data Analysis

Grocery Spend Per Capita - All Households																													
Household	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	29
No in Household	6	13	13	15	7	8	8	3	6	8	12	12	8	5	5	10	4	6	13	3	6	9	5	14	14	5	6	12	8
Item	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
Mealie meal	0	5	6	9	19	16	17	27	23	0	9	9	8	13	12	9	18	12	9	6	8	13	22	8	8	20	17	8	15
Meat	3	12	1	1	1	3	0	100	4	13	80	0	9	0	16	0	25	8	0	13	8	13	12	4	7	20	0	0	3
Sugar	6	2	2	0	0	4	4	12	6	5	3	3	0	7	10	3	0	6	6	3	4	5	7	0	5	6	2	1	4
Flour	5	2	2	3	5	3	6	12	5	4	4	3	4	0	8	2	0	6	2	0	5	3	0	2	2	12	0	0	0
Rice	3	2	1	2	5	2	4	0	3	3	0	2	3	4	6	2	8	9	0	0	8	0	0	1	3	20	0	0	0
Beans	4	0	1	1	1	3	0	12	3	3	0	0	3	2	0	0	13	7	0	0	0	2	4	4	0	12	0	0	0
Potatoes	0	1	0	1	2	2	3	2	2	4	1	0	1	0	0	4	13	0	2	3	2	1	2	1	2	6	0	0	1
Soup	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	18	3	3	5	8	1	0	0	2	8	0	1	1	0	1	4	1	1	0	0	0	0
Cabbage	0	0	0	1	3	2	2	5	2	3	1	1	2	2	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	1	1	1	0	5	2	0	1
Tomatoes	0	0	2	1	3	0	0	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	5	0	0	1	2	10	0	0	1
Cooking oil	0	0	1	2	3	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	2	0	0	2	1	4	3	0	0	2	0	0	0	0
Samp	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	5	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Salt	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Soap	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	2	8	8	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Tea	1	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	1
Milk	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	5	2	0	0	0	0	0	1
Eggs	0	2	0	0	0	0	3	0	3	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Bread	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Onions	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1
Tinned food	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Fish	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cakes	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Baking powder	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Spinach	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Candles	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total per Capita</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>197</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>108</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>106</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>28</b>

Appendix B (4) - Household Questionnaire Data Analysis

30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42	43	44	45	46	Total
9	7	15	12	7	17	6	8	9	18	10	7	4	14	21	15	8	
R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R	R
12	16	4	9	16	1	19	13	11	6	9	10	24	6	5	5	15	522
4	4	0	8	0	1	8	0	0	0	2	0	5	7	1	0	5	403
0	4	4	0	5	1	6	5	4	2	4	0	13	2	1	0	5	171
0	4	0	3	5	0	0	8	3	2	3	4	0	4	1	0	4	139
3	6	3	2	5	0	5	9	3	1	2	5	0	2	1	0	0	136
3	3	3	2	3	1	0	0	1	0	3	2	2	2	1	0	2	102
1	2	2	3	1	0	3	5	1	1	1	1	3	2	0	1	1	80
4	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	3	1	0	2	76
2	2	1	1	2	1	3	3	1	1	1	1	3	0	3	1	1	63
2	2	3	2	2	0	0	5	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	52
0	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	3	1	0	1	0	1	1	0	4	40
0	0	0	2	0	0	3	4	0	0	2	3	0	0	0	0	0	32
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	10	0	20
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8	0	0	0	0	38
0	0	1	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3	1	0	0	0	22
0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6	22
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
0	0	0	0	0	5	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	11
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	11
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	10
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	6
0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
35	41	23	31	38	11	48	55	30	14	27	33	63	29	14	19	45	1977

### Appendix C: Drakensberg Hotels - Market Questionnaire

- 1a. How many overnight guests can your hotel cater for? people
- 1b. How many visitors did your hotel have in 1996? visitors
2. What are the occupancy rates during the following periods:
- Dec-Jan %
- Feb-April %
- May-June %
- July-September %
- Oct-Nov %
3. What percentage of visitors are from (please indicate percentage breakdown):
- KwaZulu-Natal %
- Gauteng %
- Western Cape %
- Elsewhere in SA %
- Europe %
- North America %
- Australia/Asia %
- Elsewhere in world %
4. How long does the average guest stay at your hotel per visit? days
5. How many times a year does the average guest visit? times



6. How much money does the average guest spend during a visit (not incl. board)?
- Rands
7. What is the purpose of visit of the average guest (please indicate percentages):
- |                          |   |
|--------------------------|---|
| Holiday                  | % |
| Weekend Break            | % |
| Conference               | % |
| Other (please stipulate) | % |
8. Do you sell curios in your hotel?
- Yes / No
9. What is the annual turnover of Curio sales?
- Rands
10. How many visitors purchase there?
- Visitors
11. What is the average value of a visitors purchase?
- Rands
12. Where are the curios / gifts manufactured and bought?
- 13a. Do you use local curios (in bedrooms, lounge etc)?
- Yes / No
- 13b. If yes, what value of local curios do use per annum?
- Rands
14. How many of your guests visit the locality whilst staying at your hotel?
- %
15. Where are the favoured destinations for these excursions?
16. Please relate some of the activities of guests who visit outside of the hotel.

17. Does your hotel operate a policy involving community relations? Yes / No

18. Is it a formal relationship? Yes / No

19. If your hotel operates a policy please describe the form it takes.

20. Does your hotel buy any fresh produce from the local community? Yes / No

21. What and how much (e.g potatoes, onions)?

1.	Kg	Rands
2.	Kg	Rands
3.	Kg	Rands
4.	Kg	Rands
5.	Kg	Rands
6.	Kg	Rands

22. What is the hotels monthly/annual expenditure on fresh food products? Rands

23. What do you feel needs to be done to enhance relations with neighbours?

24. Please give a description of current hotel involvement and work in the community?

## Appendix D - Visitor Survey

This survey is being conducted as part of a research project by the University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg. It is being carried out as part of a project to help local communities to achieve self-empowerment by becoming more effective. Your answers will provide a valuable input. Please answer all questions, if you need more space please use the back of the page.

1. Place of residence: Province \_\_\_\_\_  
Country \_\_\_\_\_
  
2. What is the reason for your visit? (please tick)  
Holiday  Conference  Week-end break  Other  (specify) \_\_\_\_\_
  
3. What activities have you engaged in since arriving or what activities will you be doing before leaving (please tick)
  - 1 Hiking
  - 2 Touring locality
  - 3 Fishing
  - 4 Day visit to Parks Board
  - 5 Other  please specify \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
4. Have you bought or do you intend to buy any curios during this visit?  
Yes  (where?) \_\_\_\_\_ No
  
5. How much did you / will you spend?  
R10-R30  R30-R50  R50-R100  R100+
  
6. Please list in order of importance the following buying criteria, 1 being most important, 5 being least important.  
Quality  Price  Innovation / aesthetic value  Size/weight  Place of Origin
  
7. Given a choice would you prefer locally produced crafts to imported from other areas in Southern Africa? Please state why.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
8. Please make some comments about the local produce (grass woven products). Please be critical as well as stating what you like.  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
9. Would you like to have interacted with the local community during your visit? How?  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
10. Would you like to have learnt about Zulu culture during your visit? Yes  No

**Thank you for completing the questionnaire. Your help is appreciated**

## REFERENCES

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