

**A CONTRIBUTION TO UNDERSTANDING  
CONTEMPORARY PEOPLE-ENVIRONMENT  
DYNAMICS:  
SOUTH AFRICAN APPROACHES IN  
CONTEXT**

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## ABSTRACT

People's level of development is a significant determinant in their relationship to wild nature. People today characterized by a high level of development value wild natural resources primarily for non-consumptive aesthetic and humanistic purposes. Modern nature conservation has been dominated by developed peoples' concerns with wild nature. Concerns of developed peoples with wild nature are described by a resourcism-preservationism paradigm. In contrast underdeveloped peoples rely upon wild nature to maintain the integrity of their cultures and increasingly for purposes of physical survival and promoting development; this involves consumptive use of wild nature. As all people increasingly become part of a global development trajectory, resourcism-preservationism is articulating itself as the global people-environment dynamic.

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Emergent relations between nature conservation agency staff and reserve neighbours in South Africa offer a unique opportunity to study competing concerns around wild nature and assess the ability of approaches which link conservation and development to meet developed and underdeveloped peoples' concerns. Evaluation of reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay areas is achieved through determining whether it *empowers* reserve neighbours and conservation agency staff; fundamental to empowerment is people managing natural resources themselves. Natal Parks Board's and KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation's frameworks for extension do not empower reserve staff or neighbours at Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay respectively.

Trends in competition between developed and underdeveloped peoples for use of wild nature evidenced in field studies mirror global trends in people-environment relations. Recent attempts in South Africa and internationally to address the concerns of underdeveloped peoples, witnessed in efforts to link development to conservation such as reserve-neighbour interaction, are efforts by developed people to protect their particular concerns with wild nature. As a result these attempts have not been integrated into a larger conservation and development *process*. Instead they have been plagued by short term vision among nature conservation agencies and reserve neighbours. Linking conservation and development is a process fundamental to the future of conservation, benefitting

people at all levels of development. A fundamental redefinition of conservation agency objectives and restructuring conservation agency operations is required such that people are empowered to manage their own natural resources. Principles to guide and an approach for structuring such an undertaking are proposed involving collaboration with relevant agents.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ADMADE	Administrative Management Design
AFRA	Association for Rural Advancement
ANC	African National Congress
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CCN	Chief Conservator North
CITES	Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora
CLC	Conservation Liaison Committee
CLO	Conservation Liaison Officer
CO	Communications Officer
CORD	Centre for Community Organization, Research and Development
CPR	Common Pool Resource
EAA	Environmental Awareness Assistant
EAG	Environmental Awareness Guard
EAO	Environmental Awareness Officer
FCO	Field Communications Officer
GG	Game Guard
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ICDP	Integrated Conservation and Development Project
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IUCN	The World Conservation Union
KBNR	KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources
KDNC	KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation
MRC	Medical Research Council
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NLF	Neighbour Liaison Forum
NPB	Natal Parks Board
NR	Neighbour Relations
NRP	Neighbour Relations Policy
OIC	Officer in Charge
TA	Tribal Authority
TCLC	Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee
TTA	Tembe Tribal Authority
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature
ZO	Zone Officer

## GLOSSARY

<b>Conservation education</b>	Conservation education's goal is to improve natural resource management and reduce environmental degradation. It tries to (a) increase people's awareness of the value of natural resources, both now and in the future, along with the ecological processes that maintain these resources; (b) show people what threatens the well-being of their environment and how they can contribute to its improved management; and (c) motivate them to change their behaviour in a way that leads to improved environmental management. <sup>1</sup>
<b>Development</b>	Empowering people to meet their own needs and to have control over their future.
<b>Extension</b>	Any and all forms of formal voluntary interaction or exchange with the public, <i>particularly reserve neighbours</i> , in which conservation agency staff participate.
<b>Focus group interview</b>	An interview conducted with a small group of people on a specific topic. Participants get to hear each other's responses and to make additional comments beyond their own original responses as they hear what other people have to say. <sup>2</sup>
<b>Interview guide</b>	A list of questions or issues that are to be explored in the course of an interview. A guide provides topics or subject areas about which the interviewer is free to explore, probe, and ask questions that will elucidate and illuminate a particular subject. <sup>3</sup>
<b><i>Induna / izinduna</i></b>	Headman / headmen
<b><i>Inyanga / izinyanga</i></b>	Herbalist / herbalists
<b>Key informant</b>	People who are particularly knowledgeable and articulate and whose insights can prove particularly useful in helping an interviewer understand what is happening. <sup>4</sup>
<b><i>Nkosi</i></b>	King or chief

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<sup>1</sup> Brown 1994, p. 29.

<sup>2</sup> Patton 1987, p. 135.

<sup>3</sup> Patton 1987, p. 111.

<sup>4</sup> Patton 1987, p. 95.

**Participant observation**

Observation of some social event, the events which precede and follow it, and explanations of its meaning by participants and spectators, before, during and after its occurrence.<sup>5</sup>

**Purposive interviewing (sampling)**

A form of non-probability sampling where cases are judged as typical of some category of cases of interest to the researcher. They are not selected randomly. While not ensuring representativeness, such a method of selection can provide useful information.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Becker and Geer 1970, p. 133.

<sup>6</sup> de Vaus 1986, p. 68.



## **PREFACE**

This thesis is the end product of a research exercise initiated in September 1993. The entire thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work. Field research during this interval focused on the activity of two conservation agencies, the Natal Parks Board (NPB) and the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation (KDNC). The Natal Parks Board is a statutory body governed by *Nature Conservation Ordinance No. 15 of 1974* enacted by the Provincial Council of the Province of Natal.

*The Natal Parks Board's vision* is 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.

*The Natal Parks Board's Mission is:*

TO CONSERVE THE WILDLIFE RESOURCES OF NATAL AND THE ECOSYSTEMS AND PROCESSES UPON WHICH THEY DEPEND, AND TO ASSIST ALL OTHER PUBLIC AND PRIVATE GROUPS IN ENSURING THE WISE USE OF THE BIOSPHERE.<sup>7</sup>

At the time field research was conducted the now KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation (KDNC) was the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources (KBNR) under the Department of Economic Affairs. In becoming the KDNC the organization did not publish a new mission statement as it and the NPB will soon be unified as one organization with a new mission statement. With the creation of the KBNR on 1 April, 1982 the organization was charged under the *KwaZulu Nature Conservation Act of 1975*:

TO PROVIDE FOR THE CONSERVATION OF WILD ANIMALS, FISH AND INDIGENOUS PLANTS, THE DESTRUCTION AND CONTROL OF PROBLEM ANIMALS AND VERMIN, AND THE ESTABLISHMENT AND CONTROL OF NATURE AND GAME RESERVES.<sup>8</sup>

The mission of the KBNR (KDNC) is the following:

The Bureau of Natural Resources recognises the fundamental inter-action of people, resources and the environment. The Bureau is particularly aware and concerned about the threats to the environment contained in the increasing pressures being placed on it due to rural poverty, unsustainable population growth and insufficient responsibility and accountability for the integrity of the environment. In order to try and reduce this pressure the Bureau strives to make environmental integrity directly beneficial to the widest possible range of people. This is done through a management programme which, based on sound ecological principles, allows for the wise and sustainable use of the resources of that environment. Furthermore, recognising the link between rural poverty and environmental degradation the Bureau will

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<sup>7</sup> Natal Parks Board 1994.

<sup>8</sup> KwaZulu. *Nature Conservation Act 8 of 1975*.

support and encourage environmentally appropriate socio-economic development.<sup>9</sup>

A provincial conservation agency will be formed from the Natal Parks Board and KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation in 1996. Among the more complicated arenas for the development of policy will be that addressing the new organization's relationship to people, particularly protected area neighbours. Policy in this area will need to reconcile existing Parks Board and Department of Nature Conservation programmes and incorporate recent thinking on efforts to link conservation and development. From a practical perspective, it is hoped this research exercise can contribute to national and international debate on these issues and inform the development of policy in the new organization.

Chapter 1 will identify common issues around people's different concerns with the environment--specifically wild natural resources--and introduce interaction between protected areas and neighbours as an arena for evaluating a variety of concerns with wild nature. A framework for probing reserve-neighbour interaction will be developed in chapter 2. This framework will serve as an evaluative tool for examination of reserve-neighbour interaction in Natal Parks Board and KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation. Chapters 3 and 4 will look specifically at the respective conservation agencies. In these chapters the objectives of, organization of staff around, and practical experiences with extension in NPB and KDNC will be assessed. Giant's Castle area will be the focus of chapter 3, and the Kosi Bay area that of chapter 4. In chapter 5 information obtained through the evaluative framework will be contextualized by examining linkages between trends in reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay and the broader context of people-environment relations and general efforts to link development to conservation.

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<sup>9</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources. Mission Statement.

## CHAPTER 1: PEOPLE-ENVIRONMENT DYNAMICS

The many transitions from Palaeolithic to ancient, modern, and post-modern ideas of wilderness can be explained not as mere contingencies of existence but as events that gain cogency through location in an encompassing evolutionary framework. So viewed, the history of the idea of wilderness is not all sound and fury, signifying nothing, but intimately related to the evolving character of culture as human nature has articulated itself in particular places and times.<sup>10</sup>

In his study *At the Hand of Man: Peril and Hope for Africa's Wildlife* Bonner offers a rigorous analysis of the process leading up to the Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora (CITES) ban on trade in elephant products (1993). Examining the forces which resulted in the ban, he concludes aesthetic *and* humanistic concerns of Europeans and North Americans were the major force behind banning trade in elephant products. Evaluating the results of surveys conducted in Japan and the United States on people's attitudes to the environment, Kellert finds people to value the environment *most significantly* for humanistic reasons "suggesting the importance of strong emotional attachments to individual animals, single species, and specific elements of the landscape."<sup>11</sup> In another study Boardman finds a "conservationist emphasis on those large mammals most attractive to humans has... sometimes been an obligatory consequence of the pursuit by [conservation] organizations of active voluntarism and adequate financing." As a result of the focus on large mammals, conservationists have had to dodge being classified "bunnyhuggers": "Confusion of the conservationist with the sentimentalist has weakened the ability of wildlife advocates to compete effectively with other claimants to political or budgetary priorities."<sup>12</sup>

Although professional conservationists themselves may be less exclusively motivated by humanistic and aesthetic concerns, suggested above, in order to fund their activities, conservationists are often forced to cater to the general public's humanistic and aesthetic concerns. The import of conservationists catering to humanistic and aesthetic concerns is illustrated most graphically by the

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<sup>10</sup> Oelschlaeger 1991, p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> Kellert 1995, p. 109-10.

<sup>12</sup> Boardman 1981, p. 12.

World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF). The selection of the "cuddly" giant panda as an emblem (which was not an endangered species when selected) belies the attention the organization has devoted to maintaining a marketable image in the eyes of its western membership and their particular nature concerns. Indicated by these examples, for at least citizens of Europe, North America and Japan--most of whom enjoy a relatively high level of development--humanistic and aesthetic concerns can be seen as shaping forces in their relationship to the environment and wild natural resources.

It has been argued that the impulse actively to conserve wild nature is peculiar to westerners and urbanites--again populations whose members tend to be characterized by a high level of development (Boardman 1981). Such a conclusion is bolstered by the brief history of the modern conservation movement, which has been driven by the activities of countries and individuals characterized by a high level of development. In 1900 the European colonial powers signed the Convention for the Preservation of Mammals, Birds and Fish in Africa, an international conservation treaty covering most of Africa. Signatories indicated they were "desirous of saving from indiscriminate slaughter, and of insuring the preservation throughout their possessions in Africa of the various forms of animal life existing in a wild state *which were either useful to man or are harmless*."<sup>13</sup> The intent of the treaty seems not to have been to protect animals, but to ensure the specific needs of signatory nations related to wild nature were met. Accordingly animals that were irrelevant to colonial nations when living, such as elephants, rhino and zebras, were not barred from being hunted; rather controls on the exploitation of these animals were instituted to increase the availability of natural resources for the development of colonizing (western) nations.<sup>14</sup> Several years later in 1907 a conference was organized around natural resources, this time by American president Theodore Roosevelt. The Governor's Conference was convened amidst concerns of shortages in natural resources required by humans. It examined how conservation could contribute to obtaining greater returns from natural resources in the face of scarcity.

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<sup>13</sup> quoted in Bonner 1993, pp. 40-1, italics mine.

<sup>14</sup> *ibid.*

The reasons for which developed people in the world ("developed groups") have actively conserved wild nature have changed over time as they have moved along a "development trajectory"; however their relationship throughout to wild natural resources and the environment is generally described by *resourcism-preservationism*. Resourcism distinguishes between people and the "ecomachine" believing the "ecomachine" can be engineered to meet human needs, while preventing undesirable outcomes. A resourcism approach supports the market as a system for valuation, and believes progress is measured according to the utilitarian principle of the greatest good for the greatest number (of *Homo sapiens*) (Oelschlaeger 1991). Its concept of the environment is thus highly similar to that of technological environmentalism, a product of the Newtonian scientific paradigm which Pepper argues characterizes developed western societies' relationship to the environment and wild natural resources:

Technological environmentalism...represents in modern Western societies the *official*, dominant set of attitudes to the environment. It.... is characterized by an apparent rationality, a belief in an "objective" approach, and a conviction that although careful management must be exercised in order to avoid fouling the environmental nest, man is able to manipulate and appropriate nature for his own ends.<sup>15</sup>

A sub-category of resourcism is *preservationism*, a framework for people-environment relations which although may contribute to more ecologically sound outcomes, remains firmly ensconced in a resourcism paradigm. Preservationists justify prescriptions about conserving natural resources by appealing to a broader interpretation of nature's utility to humans (Oelschlaeger 1991). Preservationism can be seen as a reconstituted version of resourcism, popularized within a human-environment context where scarce natural resources can contribute more to human development through being conserved, than through being consumed. Preservationism and resourcism share the same criterion for valuing wild nature: "Relating wildlife issues to human needs is... not easy. The success of conservation organisations has been in large measure a function of their ability to argue persuasively in wider political arenas about the significance of these relationships."<sup>16</sup> This citation is Boardman's conclusion in his study on *International Organization and the Conservation of Nature*.

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<sup>15</sup> Pepper 1990, p. 37.

<sup>16</sup> Pepper 1981, p. 176.

Today the continued development of groups already characterized by a relatively high level of development is driven less by the extraction of wild natural resources from other countries than was the case in 1900. Developed groups today derive benefit from wild nature in non-consumptive ways:

Public concern in western Europe and North America has expressed itself in the burgeoning of environmental pressure groups and the spread of an interest in the natural world as a wider element of European culture... It is important to bear in mind that the growth of this global environmentalism has been based in perceptions and values of the environment that are closely connected with the functioning and social dynamics of western society.<sup>17</sup>

The transformation which has occurred in developed groups relation to wild nature is witnessed in the changing objectives of actively conserving wild nature. Noted above to be peculiar to westerners and urbanites, conservation has gone from seeking to increase the numbers of game available for consumption by colonial powers to meeting aesthetic, humanistic and other largely non-consumptive needs of developed groups.<sup>18</sup> From the inception of the concept of nature conservation however, its objectives have been determined by developed groups--westerners and urbanites--who have structured it around promoting their own development. This has often implied the objectives of nature conservation have been contrary to the objectives of underdeveloped people with wild nature.

Among cultures still characterized by underdevelopment, wilderness and wild natural resources are valued not so much for the aesthetic and humanistic reasons of developed groups but on other grounds. In the broadest sense non-developed--traditional, often aboriginal people--tend to be distinguished by a bond between people and wild nature no longer significant among developed groups whose survival *and culture* have ceased to be dependent upon consumptive use of wild natural resources; in the words of a Native American: "To the native peoples of North America, wilderness was home, and it was not 'wild' until the Europeans made it so."<sup>19</sup> The quality of the bond causes nature to be revered: "...nature is the superior force from which emanates the authority that gives

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<sup>17</sup> Anderson and Grove 1987, pp. 6-7.

<sup>18</sup> This however does not imply use of wild nature by developed groups is benign. The ecotourism industry has a significant, sometimes destructive, impact on wild nature. To this extent developed groups' use of wild nature is consumptive, but the consumption is not being driven by efforts to meet basic needs.

<sup>19</sup> Bruhac 1993, p. 10.

direction to life and to the reproduction of all beings.... Man bends to the design of nature, which he does not consider alien to himself and which he cannot exploit without mercy."<sup>20</sup>

Because indigenous Africans' do not *manage* their cattle herds so as to obtain an "optimal" yield, developed people have long suggested indigenous Africans are characterized by a "cattle mystique"--essentially an "unnatural" obsession with these beasts. In fact while developed peoples separate "wild" nature and "domesticated" nature, indigenous Africans have the same relationship to all nature. As a result cattle exist to be *harvested* not managed, and are subject to nature's forces--disease, famine, etc.--like all other life forms (Marcus *et al* 1996; de Wet and van Averbeké 1995). For indigenous Africans the bond between people and cattle is governed by the same forces as the bond between all indigene and wild nature. The *survival* of indigenous cultures is dependent upon indigene's use of wild nature:

That is why today's environmental crisis is for our people a social and historical crisis. We indigenous people only want to live in communion with nature. Any violation of its laws and physical integrity is also an act of violence against our societies and our people themselves.<sup>21</sup>

Indigene live amongst nature, exercising control over its use to maintain the integrity of their societies.

Taking Zulu culture as an example, traditional belief holds people are naturally compatible with their environment:

Zulu believe that there is a special relationship between a person and his environment, and that plant and animal life somehow affect the environment. As different countries or regions have different types of plants and animals, they therefore have different environmental and atmospheric conditions. The people in any particular region are adjusted to their surroundings but should they go to a completely different region they would become ill, not being adapted to the new atmospheric and environmental conditions.<sup>22</sup>

Some of the specific aspects of the "special relationship" will be probed in the following chapters. Chapters 3 and 4 will examine attitudes and opinions of largely Zulu communities neighbouring Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay nature reserves, and chapter 5 will contrast these attitudes with the hypothesized "special relationship" between people and their environment.

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<sup>20</sup> Chay 1993, p. 20.

<sup>21</sup> Palomino 1993, p. 46.

<sup>22</sup> Ngubane 1977, p. 24.

Evidence from various case studies evaluating local systems for community based natural resource management finds systems are valuable to resource users because they ensure stable access to required wild natural resources (Brownrigg 1985; Berkes and Favar 1989b; Berkes 1989). Together with trends remarked above, these examples support a conclusion that non-developed peoples practising indigenous lifestyles have *in the past* depended upon wild natural resources for the two related objectives of physical survival and maintaining cultural integrity (West and Brechin 1991). However, *today* most indigene and non-developed peoples collectively find themselves amidst a dynamic process of rapid change and evolution.

For most indigenous groups it has become increasingly difficult to maintain cultural integrity. With the destruction of much of the world's wild natural resource base, changing patterns of land ownership (restricting access to wild nature), and the almost global adoption of a money-based economy has also come the extinction of many indigenous groups. In short options are quickly being exhausted for peoples whose existence is predicated upon use of wild nature. A member of an indigenous group reflected: "Everything was in balance. Our prayers, our rituals, our ancestors, nature. We always felt that if that balance were to break down, everything would change."<sup>23</sup> Today it would be difficult to argue the balance had not broken down; everything *is* changing in terms of the goals, objectives and survival patterns followed by indigene. King Moshoeshe II of Lesotho remarked that in a period of 200 years indigenous cultures, once spread throughout the world, had largely been replaced by the culture of the industrial market society (1993). Subject to the forces noted above, indigene have been swept up into an industrial market culture such that they are distinguished *less* by an "indigenous" or "aboriginal" status and *more* by their state of underdevelopment within that culture. While it would have once been inappropriate to categorize indigene by the values of developed groups, as indigene are increasingly integrated into developed society they assume a state of underdevelopment relative to developed groups; today the concerns of many "indigenous" groups with wild nature revolve around its usefulness for promoting their development:

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<sup>23</sup> Wate 1993, pp. 73-4.



In contrast to the life style in industrialized regions of the world, which includes a higher percapita income and standard of living, the short-term subsistence needs of indigenous people in developing regions are today acute. Hence, political and public support for parks in these areas often depends more on their contribution to local socioeconomic development than it does in developed regions.<sup>24</sup>

Thus in summary it is important to observe the terms "underdeveloped" or "less developed" are not intended pejoratively. Rather they are employed to describe the *position* of once largely indigenous and aboriginal groups in a development trajectory of which they are increasingly a part, by choice or consequence, and capture the implications of these terms for underdeveloped groups' relationship to wild natural resources.

Again using Zulu culture as an example, today examples of imbalance between people and environment are widespread in rural areas of KwaZulu in the form of environmental degradation. Wild natural resources which once contributed to the integrity of traditional Zulu culture are no longer abundant, and nor is traditional Zulu culture an integral entity. Noted a South African theorist:

The traditional systems and practices were well suited to people's survival needs when population densities were low. As populations grew slowly, they evolved in response. But with the acceleration of population growth in the 1950's, these traditional ways came under strain--eventually to the point of being overwhelmed.<sup>25</sup>

As wild natural resources have become scarce and cultural integrity broken, the significance of wild nature becomes more exclusively a tool for physical survival and development than one for promoting cultural integrity. Increasingly Zulus measure and are measured by their level of development, than by the integrity of their culture; increasingly indigenous groups are distinguished by underdevelopment. Linking the objectives of physical survival, development and the maintenance of indigenous cultures is that they all tend to require consumption of wild natural resources.<sup>26</sup>

Wild natural resources are becoming significant to almost all groups as tools for achieving values defined by developed society--as tools for promoting development. In this way a people-environment dynamic is characterized by competition among groups for access to and / or use of increasingly scarce wild natural resources for purposes determined by a group's position on a global

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<sup>24</sup> Machlis and Tichnell 1985, p. 17.

<sup>25</sup> Erskine 1992, p. 2.

<sup>26</sup> Certainly other ways exist to promote development, but many underdeveloped peoples are presented with few options other than consumption of wild nature.

development trajectory. *Resourcism-preservationism* is increasingly articulating itself as the global paradigm. If indigene's one-time relationship to wild nature does present an alternative to this paradigm, it is perishing in the unfolding of the modern era and disappearance of indigenous culture. Developed groups have increasingly sanctioned how wild nature may or may not be used, consequently restricting access to and use of wild nature by underdeveloped peoples.

Nature conservation is increasingly a field which is concerned with regulating access to and use of wild natural resources. Relations between conservation agency staff and underdeveloped rural peoples living around protected areas is one arena where different concerns around use of wild natural resources are operative. For more than a century protected areas have been a bulwark of nature conservation. The now worldwide system of officially protected areas traces its roots to the United States where the first national park--Yellowstone--was established in 1872. In North America national parks were created to preserve scenic beauty and natural wonders for the enjoyment of people, typified by: a tacit disregard for ecosystems, drawing a boundary around specific natural elements, an emphasis on visitor enjoyment, and management by national government (Hales 1989). As Hales concludes: "Inherent in the origins of the National Park concept, then, are the basic contradictions which have characterized its history."<sup>27</sup> In that national parks have been established in underdeveloped areas along the lines of those in the United States, Hales' conclusion is not surprising. Since the establishment of Yellowstone in 1872, the objectives and concerns addressed by protected areas have tended to be dictated by developed peoples in society:

The ideal of a national park is, by and large, an American one.... Unfortunately, the American ideal carries implicit meanings, political mandates, and management objectives that do not always fit circumstances elsewhere. The United States has always been a country with vast, sparsely settled lands. It is also a wealthy country where most of the population is now urban-based and does not need to subsist directly from the land.<sup>28</sup>

Protected areas whose objectives have been determined by the above factors, typical of a high level of development, have wrenched away the control once exercised by now underdeveloped people over

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<sup>27</sup> Hales 1989, p. 140.

<sup>28</sup> West and Brechin 1991, p. 16.

wild nature:

The establishment of European settler regimes brought the concept of 'King's Game,' which held that wildlife once belonging to local people became the legal property of the state. Legal exploitation of the resources became the exclusive domain of white colonialists. For communal land inhabitants, wildlife became regarded no longer as a resource but as a liability, an alienated component of their environment to be tolerated or covertly destroyed.<sup>29</sup>

Clearly wild nature in protected areas is valuable to different groups for different reasons.

Several functions of protected areas are intrinsically valuable to society. Protected areas conserve ecosystems and biodiversity, and in doing so protect representative samples of different habitats, rare species and allow research toward the understanding of ecosystems and their function to occur. These objectives are challenged by groups who seek to appropriate wild nature for consumption. "Virtually all major managerial problems facing protected areas today have a human component. Within Africa, the most common of these relate to the increasing human settlement of adjacent lands and the unauthorized harvesting of resources within the protected areas."<sup>30</sup> The World Conservation Union (IUCN) concludes:

The use of wild species, whether sustainable or unsustainable, is a fact of life in Africa. Irrespective of whether use is for subsistence or commercial purposes, the forces that drive demand and consumption have proved so resilient as to render most 'protection' strategies futile or unaffordable in the long-term.<sup>31</sup>

In light of this reality, the concept of protected areas has been reevaluated over the last two decades. New approaches which attempt to meet the suite of concerns around protected area natural resources are being created, frequently involving efforts to link conservation and development. On a global scale conservation agencies are being asked to assume more diverse roles, in the process of developing a more dynamic approach to conserving wild nature. Driving this process is increased recognition of the fact that people are the decisive factor in the success or failure of conservation. Nature conservation is being seen as a public good, and no longer an enclave for the interests of affluent society. Who has rights to use and control access to wild nature are issues open to debate; in some areas control over wild nature has been restored to now underdeveloped peoples who once

<sup>29</sup> Anderson and Grove 1987, p. 13; see also Dixon and Sherman 1990.

<sup>30</sup> Newmark *et al* 1993, p. 177.

<sup>31</sup> Makombe 1994, p. 19.

practised it. Conservation today revolves around people as much as if not more so than around wild nature. Forming a backdrop to the evolving character of conservation and protected areas are classic issues of natural resource scarcity, today addressed by the concept of "sustainability". These latter issues continue to exert a decisive influence on the changing nature of conservation.

Nature conservation in the province of KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa is engaged with each of the above global trends, finding itself amidst a process of change. South Africa has often been described as a world in one country, a statement with particular relevance to the field of nature conservation. Within the context of the people-environment dynamic outlined above, nature conservation in South Africa is tasked with reconciling the concerns of its citizenry with wild nature. South Africans range across the entire spectrum of positions on the development trajectory, offering the possibility of comparing different concerns with wild nature within a provincial and national polity; observation of competing interests around wild nature usually requires an international framework.

South Africa has a well developed system of nature conservation, springing from a colonial conservation philosophy, similar to much of sub-Saharan Africa (Anderson and Grove 1987). The province of KwaZulu-Natal is especially suited for study of people-environment dynamics in light of its robust Zulu culture. The changing relationship of Zulus to their environment can be used to illustrate aspects of the more general movement of people *into and along* the development trajectory, the collapse of indigenous systems, and growth of an "underdeveloped" section in the world's population. Finally, relative to programmes such as The Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (Campfire) in Zimbabwe and The Administrative Management Design Programme for Game Management Areas (ADMAGE) in Zambia, South African efforts to link conservation and development are in an early state. In this way analysis of aspects of the South African situation can contribute to the development of provincial and national approaches for meeting competing interests around protected area natural resources.

The following chapter will develop an objective framework for analysis that will be used to identify trends in the field. It will formally introduce the concepts of *empowerment* and *sustainable living*. Empowerment is the *process* of enabling people to meet their own needs and to have control over their future. Fundamental to this process is a sustainable relationship between people and wild nature--sustainable living. Sustainable living is thus a practical consequence and indicator of empowerment. Empowerment and indicators thereof (introduced in chapter 2) will inform understanding of the relationship between people and wild nature in the field studies. Through use of empowerment indicators a resource of information will be created about people-environment relations on which discussions and conclusions in chapter 5 will be based.

The field studies in chapters 3 and 4 will offer an objective examination of how people's competing uses of wild nature play themselves out in the context of people-park interaction, and assess the effectiveness of approaches being inaugurated in South Africa. Do they facilitate resolution of different peoples' concerns with wild nature? Drawing heavily upon information gathered in the field studies in chapters 3 and 4, chapter 5 will locate the South African experience within the conceptual framework developed in this chapter, linking the South African experience to global trends in the process.

The overall aim of this research effort is to *evaluate* and to *enrich* the conceptual framework developed in this chapter through analysis of interaction between nature conservation agencies and neighbours of protected areas. The relationship of people to their environment and reserve-neighbour interaction, as indicative of people-environment relations, are multi-dimensional issues significant to a number of academic disciplines. In an effort to gain a more complete understanding of people-environment relations, it has not been possible to address each of the issues with bearing upon this broad topic; this is accepted as a necessary weakness in the potential contribution of this study to understanding people-environment relations.

For example it is felt the competition between developed and underdeveloped groups for access to and / or use of wild nature might be informed by relating it to systemic modernization issues

and the dichotomy between groups at the "centre" and those at the "periphery"; conclusions reached about the structure of nature conservation could be interpreted as similar to indictments of the modernization paradigm. Likewise, in light of conclusions reached about a people-environment dynamic characterized by resourcism-preservationism, the possibilities for structuring people-environment relations around a different paradigm--for example deep ecology--are not explored in the context of this study. Finally it is accepted that the South African system of apartheid had (and continues to have) dramatic implications for people-environment relations, affecting people who participated in this study. Apartheid's impact on people-environment relations has been studied elsewhere, but is not critically evaluated here.<sup>32</sup> These areas of investigation are not detailed with the intent of undermining this study, but in the hope and with the recommendation that they be engaged by future research.

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<sup>32</sup> see for example Ramphele and McDowell 1991; Huntley *et al* 1989.

## CHAPTER 2: AN APPROACH TO RESERVE-NEIGHBOUR INTERACTION

### ISSUE PARAMETERS

Resolution of developed and underdeveloped peoples' concerns with access to and use of protected area natural resources demands the involvement of all concerned. While conservation agency staff may view greater involvement, participation or managerial input by reserve neighbours, who tend to be characterized by underdevelopment, as an infringement on and perhaps a threat to their authority, this is not necessarily the case. People-park interaction, rather than being about conservation agencies relinquishing control, is about furthering the objectives of conservation by linking it where appropriate with development. By working to restore balance between people and environment, conservation agencies can promote a more sound outcome from the people-environment dynamic.

The debate between people and conservation--to the extent that one exists--does not pit people against the environment but rather the entire range of needs people seek to fulfil through access to natural resources against the needs other people seek to fulfil. In meeting this assortment of needs, "[r]ather than talking about 'the socio-economic integration of conservation and surrounding communities', conservation authorities should be aiming at the 'socio-economic interdependence of nature reserves and local rural communities based on an ethic of sustainable living.'<sup>33</sup> Conservation is about people.

In *Governing the Commons* Ostrom analyzes the use of "common pool resources" (CPRs) typically subject to non-sustainable use by resource "appropriators" (1990). From fifteen case studies she distils design principles for institutions governing use of common pool resources by appropriators--"fallible, norm-adopting individuals who pursue contingent strategies in complex and uncertain environments." Appropriators support common pool resource management institutions governed by

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<sup>33</sup> Venter, Breen and Quinn, p. 4.

rules which:

- *define a set of appropriators who are authorized to use a CPR (design principle 1),*
- *relate to the specific attributes of the CPR and the community of appropriators (design principle 2),*
- *are designed, at least in part, by local appropriators (design principle 3),*
- *are monitored by individuals accountable to local appropriators using the CPR (design principle 4), and*
- *are sanctioned using graduated punishments (design principle 5).<sup>34</sup>*

These design principles offer insights into a possible structure for relations between protected areas and neighbours. Reserves and associated programs, most obviously resource harvesting, could play the role of the common pool resource and reserve neighbours that of the appropriators.

In this thesis "reserve" or "protected area" will refer to common pool natural resources managed by field staff of a conservation agency such as the NPB or KDNC. Towards defining neighbours, Murphree notes: "Wildlife assets are distributed unevenly in any national context; equally the cost of sustaining and managing these assets is unevenly distributed."<sup>35</sup> In this study the "neighbours" in reserve-neighbour interaction will be defined as that group of individuals able to have regular and direct impact on the reserve natural resource base through appropriation. On a practical level neighbours will be further specified by ward and sub-ward classifications recognized by the former KwaZulu Government. Neighbours will not reside more than 10 km from the reserve boundary.

Ostrom's design principles for 'common pool resource management institutions' can be contrasted with a recent analysis of four southern African countries' experiences with community based natural resource management (CBNRM)--Zimbabwe, Zambia, Botswana and Namibia:

All four countries have created the *policy framework* for communities to assume a co-management role for wildlife; the mechanisms for *revenues to be retained by producer communities*; and the *institutional frameworks* for local level decision-making.<sup>36</sup>

Towards improved CBNRM the analysis cites four essential areas for action. These include: 1) the development of effective institutions at the local community level, 2) research into the ecological,

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<sup>34</sup> Ostrom 1990 p. 185-6.

<sup>35</sup> Murphree 1991, p. 6.

<sup>36</sup> Steiner and Rihoy 1995, p. 23.



economic and social viability of CBNRM, 3) building an alliance of intermediary organizations such as government departments, private sector bodies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Point 4 states:

CBNRM programmes must begin to address integrated resource planning and management, not only to ensure that wildlife becomes an integral part of rural economies and household management strategies, *but also to promote land-use planning strategies that optimise the management of the whole resource base.*<sup>37</sup>

Protected area-neighbour interaction is not synonymous with CBNRM, but to different degrees both undertakings concern themselves with people managing resources. In keeping with principles espoused by Ostrom and Steiner and Rihoy's analyses, but appropriate to protected area-neighbour interaction, criteria for evaluation of NPB and KDNC programs have been developed under the heading of *empowerment*. Empowerment is indicated by the following concepts, ideally generated from interaction between conservation agency staff and reserve neighbours:

1. ***Sustainable living:*** A cooperative reserve-neighbour effort to effect balance between human objectives and environmental equilibrium--a change in attitude from "we" and "them" to "us".
2. ***Education:*** Knowledge exchange and internalization between conservation agencies and neighbours toward improving the ability of both to achieve their objectives.
3. ***Organization:*** The creation of organized structures in the reserve-neighbour community through reserve-neighbour interaction.
4. ***Accessing resources:*** Facilitating access to resources, particularly monetary and skills, by neighbours to be managed by organized structures.

These concepts will be used to probe reserve-neighbour interaction in field studies, informing understanding of people-environment relations. The process of bringing the empowerment framework into reality will be referred to as the development of a strategy for sustainable living, involving reserve staff and neighbours as members of a common community.

The creation of opportunities for rural entrepreneurship in conjunction with the reserve, joint exercises in planning and problem solving, and the establishment of community institutions with influence upon reserve management will act as powerful stimuli for *accessing resources*, *organization*, and *education* amongst neighbours and reserve staff. Already an indirect result of the processes of accessing resources, organization and education, *sustainable living* can also result directly from the

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<sup>37</sup> *ibid*, italics mine.

empowerment of reserve staff and neighbours. The ability of conservation agencies to have significant impact / influence among reserve neighbours and to effect conservation in officially protected areas has long been limited by rural poverty and mutual suspicion among reserve neighbours and conservation authorities. Resultant poaching, encroachment on protected areas, environmental degradation by neighbours and disputes between reserves and neighbours challenge efforts of conservation authorities. The emergent "island" and "desert" scenario of officially protected and unprotected areas in South Africa and elsewhere is neither desirable nor sustainable, threatening the objectives of all groups with wild nature. Dialogue and interchange between reserve staff and area residents will facilitate trust building and learning processes among protected area staff and neighbours, allowing a joint strategy for meeting concerns with wild natural resources to become reality. Greater understanding among reserve staff of rural cultures and philosophies on people-environment relations will allow neighbour's systems to be harnessed to conservation ends.

Evidence of community based natural resource management facilitating empowerment is emerging from the field. Analysis of fourteen examples of "community based conservation" from around the world led to the conclusion:

Community-based conservationist action shall, almost mandatorily, turn to cultural, political and organizational growth of social agents involved, enabling them to decisively affect the institutional operation of local legislative and executive bodies.<sup>38</sup>

The Campfire program in Zimbabwe yields similar findings. Fundamental to the Campfire approach is the empowerment of district councils to manage wildlife on their respective lands. Originally envisaged as vehicles for wildland management, district councils have independent of the Campfire agencies formed the Campfire Association to lobby for constituent interests at the political centre.<sup>39</sup> The Campfire Association has assumed the leading role among organizations involved with Campfire.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Feldmann 1993, p. 6.

<sup>39</sup> Murphree 1991, p. 9.

<sup>40</sup> Campfire 1992, 1994.

## FACILITATING EMPOWERMENT

### Engaging neighbours

Bringing to fruition a strategy for sustainable living requires interaction to occur between conservation agency staff and a large segment of protected area neighbours.

Token participation cannot suffice in the [Integrated Conservation and Development Project (ICDP)] design process. Instead, participation includes all relevant stakeholder groups in a way that enables each to perceive a stake in, and the *ability to impact*, the process. In addition, the process needs to enable target beneficiaries to themselves initiate the flow of information and decision-making.<sup>41/</sup>

Involvement of neighbours as an entity creates opportunities for each individual to acknowledge his or her potential contribution to *sustainable living* and allows a larger group of individuals to share in organizational, educational and improved resource access benefits as other elements of the empowerment process.

What is therefore meant is that the movement towards using community-based conservation requires preparing the community for action free from traditional subordination, through the formal political process, for urgent interests. This means also the advancing concepts of environmental education more as a process of preparation for the full exercise of citizens' rights than of limited understanding of physical ecosystems' operation.<sup>42</sup>

Every member of the reserve-neighbour community can contribute to sustainable living.

The *educational* component of empowerment in particular requires a large section of neighbours and a variety of reserve staff participate in reserve-neighbour interaction. In this way education will be an instrument empowering individuals with a more comprehensive understanding of natural resource management. Odendal's study of rural communities concludes: "The results suggest that education plays a major part in the peoples' understanding of the importance of the correct utilization of a balanced environmental setting."<sup>43</sup> Out-dated cultural beliefs positing a naturally wholesome balance between people and environment can be reexamined with education.

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<sup>41</sup> Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1994, p. 15, italics mine

<sup>42</sup> Feldmann 1993, p. 6.

<sup>43</sup> Odendal 1986, p. 26.

Conservation education's goal is to improve natural resource management and reduce environmental degradation. It tries to (a) increase people's awareness of the value of natural resources, both now and in the future, along with the ecological processes that maintain these resources; (b) show people what threatens the well-being of their environment and how they can contribute to its improved management; and (c) motivate them to change their behaviour in a way that leads to improved environmental management.<sup>44</sup>

The behaviour of every individual impacts upon the environment. The development of a strategy for sustainable living at the reserve-neighbour level thus requires many individuals acknowledge their potential contribution. Conservation education as defined is unlikely to be successful if the educational process assumes a classroom style approach. Rather, experiential learning for reserve staff and neighbours and demonstration through example are assumed to be more apt mediums to impart the messages of conservation education in a rural context, perhaps through joint participation in development projects. It is appropriate that *education* as an element of empowerment be further defined as *conservation education*; people being able to manage their own natural resources is fundamental to the development process.

### Conservation and development

Most theorists now recognize the well established link between conservation and development (Erskine 1992; Ramphela and McDowell 1991; Newmark *et al* 1993). Accordingly, community development should be an activity facilitated by the reserve-neighbour community. To date programs have seemed to focus on consumptive use of resources.<sup>45</sup> In some cases reserve natural resources are consumed; in others reserve monetary resources. These programmes are based upon a finite and often highly limited resource base. Under South African conditions of high population density, per capita benefits to neighbours can and will increasingly be limited from such programmes.

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<sup>44</sup> Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1994, p. 29.

<sup>45</sup> i.e. Campfire.

TABLE 1: National Population Densities: South Africa

<u>Country</u>	<u>Population density</u> (people / km <sup>2</sup> ) <sup>46</sup>
South Africa	29
(KwaZulu-Natal)	78
Zimbabwe	25
Zambia	11
Botswana	2
Namibia	2

Reserve-neighbour interaction resulting in community development would seem to offer greater possibility of benefitting neighbours as a whole than would programs focusing on consumptive use of reserve resources. Additionally, the objective of *engaging* a large section of the neighbours in a relationship with protected area staff, noted above, would be furthered.

Development alone does not immediately promote conservation. "Communities or individuals that are impoverished do not have the lee-way to support the practice of conservation, even if they support the concept. The economic constraints on them are too powerful."<sup>47</sup> The community development impact of reserve-neighbour interaction which seeks to promote development cannot alter constraints neighbours face *in the short-term*. The noted affinity between conservation and development only gains operational significance in the medium to long-term. The short-term operational dynamic in such examples of reserve-neighbour interaction is possibly conservation agencies winning the support of, through assistance to, neighbours.

Every program for reserve-neighbour interaction must pose the question of whether it acknowledges and promotes sustainable living through empowering often underdeveloped neighbours to manage their own natural resources or merely seeks to increase local reserve political capital. Conservation does have immediate and present benefits which can contribute to improved quality of life and promote development among underdeveloped groups. Protected area neighbours should become cognisant of this so that practising conservation is not *perceived* as an additional cost to be

<sup>46</sup> World Bank 1992

<sup>47</sup> Infield 1986, p. 16.

born by them. Projects between reserve staff and neighbours need have multiple objectives. Rather than being contented with bringing to fruition the developmental *project* objective, designers need ensure projects promote conservation education.

An essential element in the design of every ICDP is the consideration of the *linkage* between the conservation and development objectives. All material benefits of a project must be clearly tied to its conservation actions. Local project participants must perceive development activities as incentive for sustainable management of the resources, the ultimate goal of the project... If producers view the future of their livelihoods as a function of their present use of the renewable resources, they are likely to adopt more sustainable methods.<sup>48</sup>

As conservation agents reserve staff are well positioned specifically to illustrate such linkages.

### Neighbour participation in reserve structures

Central to contemporary debate around protected areas as effective conservation tools is the involvement / participation of reserve neighbours in the management of protected areas. Generally it is argued that improved natural resource management demands resource ownership or a sense thereof amongst the individuals whose actions determine the success of management (Murphree 1991; Talbot 1993). Successful examples of neighbour involvement in protected area management are few in number. Murphree notes:

Serious consideration of [community-based resource management regimes] requires however far more than decentralized administration or current and trendy plans to "involve" local people in planning, to encourage their "participation" in project implementation and to increase the economic benefits to them arising from resources. However well intentioned, such plans generally fail to achieve the perception of cause-and-effect relationships which is the essential component in the motivational dynamics of sustainable natural resource management and utilization. "Participation" and "involvement" turn out to mean the co-optation of local elites and leadership for exogenously-derived programmes; "decentralization" turns out to mean simply the addition of another obstructive administrative layer to the bureaucratic hierarchy which governs natural resource management.<sup>49</sup>

Involvement of neighbours in protected area *management*, particularly in light of the above pitfalls, should not be an end in itself. Rural people most likely do not possess capacities for involvement in what is essentially a technical exercise -- reserve management. "Ownership" or a sense thereof by neighbours is catered to by the empowerment framework outlined in the beginning of this chapter. A reserve and its neighbours are one community; neighbour input in non-technical aspects of reserve

<sup>48</sup> Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1994, pp. xiii-xiv.

<sup>49</sup> Murphree 1991, p. 5.

management will enable the protected area to serve and to be *perceived* as a resource for neighbour empowerment. Additionally, neighbour involvement in reserve management can further objectives of *conservation education, organization and sustainable living*. Of equal importance is conservation agencies empowering neighbours to manage their *own* natural resources (outside protected areas).

Neighbour participation in reserve structures should result in capacity building and spreading knowledge and organization among neighbours contributing to the development of a strategy for sustainable living. Exposure to the dynamics of natural resource management should make clear basic cause and effect relations between people and their environment allowing people to be more aware of their ability to impact and responsibility for the natural environment. Protected area neighbours at the study sites were revealed sometimes to hold wild ideas about the natural resource and financial wealth of protected areas. Participation in reserve structures will give neighbours a more realistic understanding of reserve capacities and ideas for ways in which cooperative reserve-neighbour efforts could be mutually beneficial. The involvement of government and non-governmental agencies in reserve-neighbour interaction can contribute to empowering neighbours with legal authority and the resources to manage their own natural resources.

### **Reserve participation in neighbour structures**

In developing an approach which will meet all people's concerns with wild nature, conservation agencies must seek to harness existing neighbour systems. The importance of using neighbour traditions, customs and practices as building blocks to sustainable living is supported by recent field evidence:

In most situations, [ICDP] project design has more of a chance of meeting its development and conservation goals if it expands upon the existing circumstances than if it tries to impose externally developed technologies and institutions.<sup>50</sup>

Public policies based on the notion that all [common pool resource] appropriators are helpless and must have rules imposed on them can destroy institutional capital that has been accumulated over years of experience in particular locations...<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1994, p. xv.

<sup>51</sup> Ostrom 1990, p. 184.

Ostrom's design principles 2 and 3 at the beginning of this chapter further stress the imperative of joint reserve-neighbour designed, situation-specific relationships. In this way variables unique to each and every instance of reserve-neighbour interaction are accounted for, and existing systems are developed rather than contested. Systems familiar and accessible to neighbours were once used to control their use of wild nature. They must be adapted and reinvented.

Conservation agencies should involve those agents in reserve-neighbour interaction which can facilitate adaptation and reinvention, as this can directly contribute to sustainable living.

Unlike designed projects, community initiatives are not input intensive, so the potential scale of their replaceability is not initially limited by externally supplied project staff or finances. They thus have the potential to make dramatic impacts on the landscape in relatively short amounts of time...<sup>52</sup>

Though more of an initial challenge than an exogenously designed program for environmental management, scrutinizing and developing existing systems offers the potential for establishing a low-input, capially non-intensive system (under an economy of scale) that is able to be generalized to similar groups.

### **The institution of tribal authority**

One "neighbour system" merits special evaluation. In rural areas traditional authorities are the operational institutional structures in many sub-Saharan African communities. In South Africa tribal authorities are the official representatives of communities in KwaZulu. The institution of tribal authority (TA) is worthy of examination in light of its ability to impact a) efforts at engaging neighbours in a relationship with a reserve, b) effecting linkages between conservation and development, and c) general reserve-neighbour interaction.

The former homeland of KwaZulu is divided into 26 magisterial districts. Districts are further disaggregated into wards. Tribal authorities remain the essential institutions for local government at the ward level. Individual tribal authorities are headed by a chief or *nkosi* who, together with his *izinduna* operating at a sub-ward level and tribal councillors, in theory governs ward level activities.

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<sup>52</sup> Seymour 1993, p. 26.



The position of *nkosi* is typically inherited. *Izinduna* may inherit their positions or be selected with varying degrees of popular input.

The importance of KwaZulu TAs to the former Government's administration and control of KwaZulu is widely known. That the former KwaZulu Government is Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) affiliated is also commonly accepted. McIntosh (1990b) and Hartley (1993) detail policies and laws which limit TA autonomy from, and effect TA allegiance to, objectives of the KwaZulu Government.

A report on private development in KwaZulu concludes:

Tribal authorities are seen as being ineffective in communicating news of change to those directly affected by that change. Whilst the tribal authority may be fully briefed on a project, this information is not seen to be passed on or is passed on in filtered form.<sup>53</sup>

Reserve-neighbour interaction mediated through tribal authorities may fail to reach and thus benefit neighbours. The importance of reserve-neighbour interaction engaging many individuals is fundamental to the empowerment process, particularly in the achievement of conservation education and thus sustainable living objectives. TA members may actually feel threatened by the process of community empowerment and development (McIntosh 1990b). These weaknesses of tribal authorities as institutions combined with their allegiance to the objectives of the former KwaZulu Government call into question the ability of tribal authorities, as agents of local government, to represent their communities. This reality has been noted by development workers: "Not all tribal authorities are seen as truly representing the views of all their people. Decisions may, therefore, be taken by the tribal authority which are not acceptable to local communities."<sup>54</sup> For this reason it is felt appropriate to make a distinction between tribal authorities and the reserve neighbours; TAs are at times entities motivated by different and possibly competing objectives from those of neighbours. Where appropriate distinction is made in the thesis between tribal authorities and neighbours.

What is the appropriate position for TAs in reserve-neighbour interaction? Ultimately a question to be decided by neighbours, from any perspective, including that of protected areas, TAs

<sup>53</sup> Fowkes 1990, p. 280.

<sup>54</sup> *ibid.*

cannot be left out of reserve-neighbour interaction. As the local government organ in rural communities, TAs can be the only formally organized body. Despite noted failings, TAs can enjoy community bestowed legitimacy. Further, the considerable power and influence wielded by TAs in rural areas of KwaZulu would likely doom any initiative which sought to marginalize TA authority. As local government agents TAs possess enforcement and adjudicatory powers which are important to the development of efficient systems for sustainable living. Ostrom notes in design principle 5 the import of management institutions which "are sanctioned using graduated punishments." TAs are the authorities most capable of administering such a system in rural settings.

### **Conservation agencies: critical catalysts**

Scepticism perhaps lingers over the relationship between issues raised in this chapter and the objectives of conservation agencies such as the NPB and KDNC. On a surface level conservation agencies are good catalysts for development. Staff of protected areas possess technical know-how and capital infrastructure useable for work in neighbouring areas. Conservation agency reputation and skills can be used to attract and assist in the administration of financial resources for development in rural communities without accepted systems of accountability. Further protected areas are often located amongst people in need of development assistance.

On a more significant level, conservation agencies must remain loyal to their conservation objective. Its fulfilment demands *people* take responsibility for the wise management of their environment and be empowered to be *managers of their environment*. This does not mean the tokenistic involvement of underdeveloped peoples in the objectives of developed groups, but rather conservation agencies being *catalysts* in an empowerment process which enables underdeveloped groups to regain management authority over wild nature. The four empowerment criteria are indicators of achievement in the process of enabling people to manage and live sustainably with their environment. Evaluation of the NPB and KDNC and their activities in chapters 3 and 4 will be achieved through use of the empowerment criteria. In chapter 5 information gathered in chapters 3

and 4 will be discussed, analyzed and located within the conceptual framework for global people-environment relations developed in chapter 1.

## CHAPTER 3: NATAL PARKS BOARD AND GIANT'S CASTLE

### OVERVIEW AND POLICY

Natal Parks Board administers some 74 protected areas across Natal covering 696 240 ha or 10.4% of the province. The organization employs 3,200 individuals with its head office located at Queen Elizabeth Park in Pietermaritzburg. In September 1992 the NPB formally launched a *Neighbour Relations Policy* (NRP) with the objective of guiding and developing extension activities with neighbours.

The NPB's NRP is rooted in a five pronged approach of concurrent activities with protected area neighbours. These include:<sup>55</sup>

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 NPB staff toward their participation in NRP activities

NPB actions in support of these objectives are centred around three main initiatives:

- A. *Encourage participation in reserve management and planning.* Topical issues under this initiative involve: creation of forums for liaison with neighbours, discussion of reserve boundary and land issues, reserve resource harvesting programs, access for neighbours to protected areas, formalization and honouring of commitments.
- B. *Foster economic and social development to contribute to improved quality of life.* Here the NRP suggests protected areas address basic social needs of neighbouring communities, seek preferential employment for locals, involve local entrepreneurs in the economy of protected areas, develop neighbour conservation areas, and undertake to train staff in skills germane to Neighbour Relations (NR) activities.
- C. *Enhance environmental awareness.* "This strategy is aimed at creating a greater understanding of the necessity of sound environmental use and the role of natural ecosystems."<sup>56</sup> Besides enhancing neighbour environmental awareness through an educational approach, this strategy argues for creation of a Neighbourhood Trust, training of employees in conservation awareness and understanding such that they may act as indirect "interpreters", and creating an appropriate problem animal policy.

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<sup>55</sup> Natal Parks Board 1992.

<sup>56</sup> Natal Parks Board 1992, p. 21.

In fulfilment of the above objectives, the NRP gives NPB officials jurisdiction to undertake various extension activities with protected area neighbours for purposes of education, developing projects and providing "facilitory support by putting neighbours in contact with other agencies that can help to solve local problems not necessarily related to nature conservation."<sup>57</sup> The policy targets protected area "neighbours", defined as: "Any person who serves as head of a family and who is permanently resident on property neighbouring a protected area or is a member of an Induna Area bordering any protected area."<sup>58</sup>

### ORGANIZATION OF NEIGHBOUR RELATIONS ACTIVITIES IN NPB

Figure 1 depicts the flow diagram for NR activities in Natal Parks Board and offers a key to staff abbreviations. Bold-face staff represent the nucleus for reserve-neighbour interaction, staff generally involved on a daily basis with extension activities. Large arrows depict frequently used channels for communication about NR activities. Small arrows represent less active channels for NR related communications, while lines indicate the chain of command without reference to NR activities.<sup>59</sup> Depicted in figure 1, no coordinating body for Awareness activity, nor NR activity in particular, exists. Environmental Awareness Officers in practice report directly to the regional Chief Conservator, who oversees all regional activities.<sup>60</sup> Unlike reserve management which has a defined chain of command, the Environmental Awareness Officer (EAO) (bureaucratic rank the same as the Officer in Charge (OIC)) is the most senior full time NR position.

The core of reserve extension activity is the EAO-Environmental Awareness Assistant (EAA) unit. These individuals interact directly with protected area neighbours. The EAO position has become the hub of NR activity in each of NPB's five regions. EAOs and EAAs are primarily

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<sup>57</sup> Natal Parks Board 1992, p. 7.

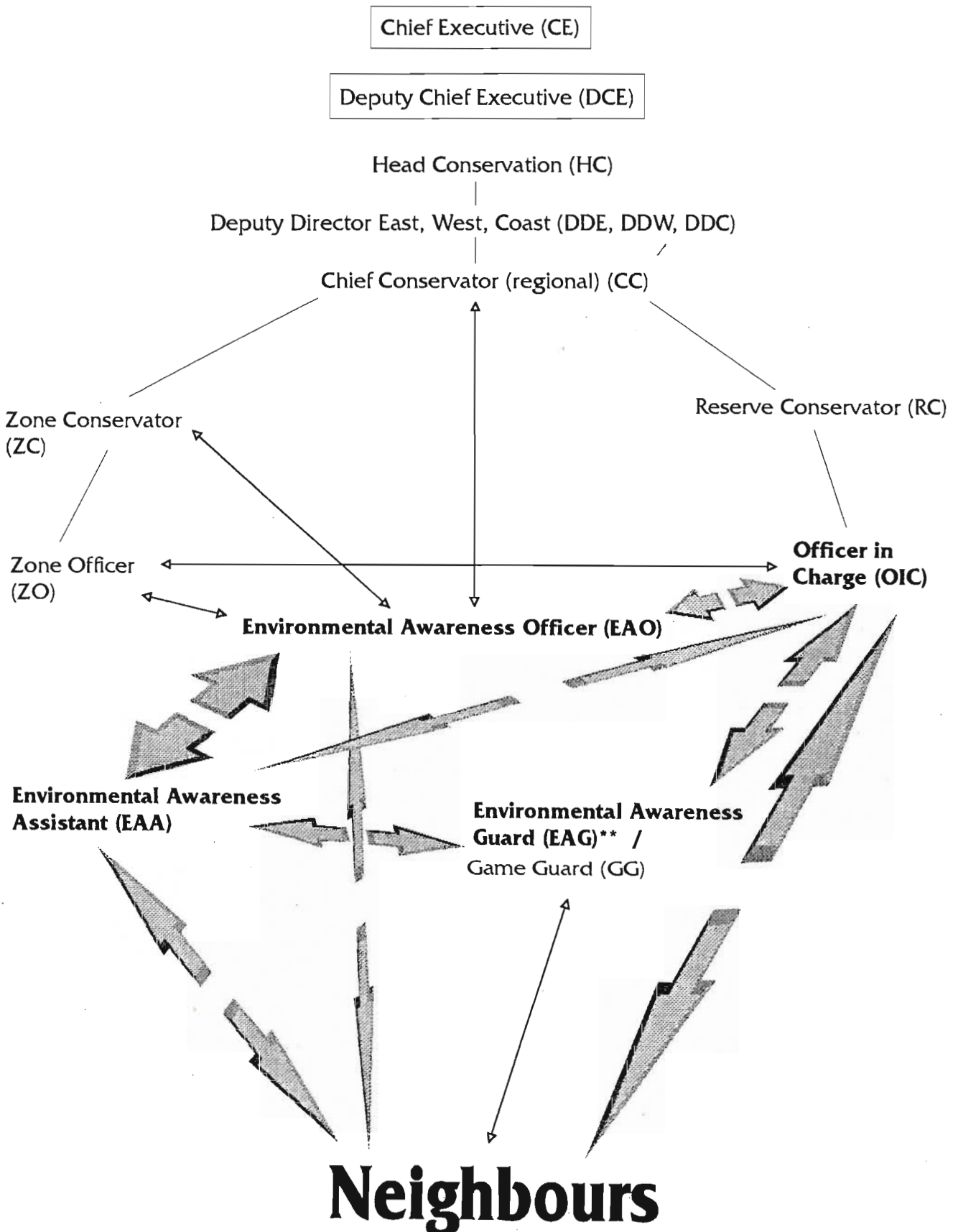
<sup>58</sup> Natal Parks Board 1992, p. 12.

<sup>59</sup> Figure 1 and ensuing bureaucratic analysis have been developed with particular but not unique reference to NR staff in the Drakensberg region.

<sup>60</sup> The Coordinated Extension Committee, does not coordinate NR activities, but deals primarily with the activities of Zone Officers. NPB staff indicate it is being phased out of the NPB system.

# FIGURE 1

## Flow diagram for Neighbour Relations in Natal Parks Board\*



\* assembled through interviews with NPB staff

\*\* operate at only some protected areas

facilitators for NR activities working in close coordination with each other and other line management staff. Awareness staff set goals on a monthly basis. EAOs and EAAs are responsible for working with all reserve neighbours in their region; thus the southern Drakensberg EAA is responsible for facilitating relations between 11 reserves and neighbouring communities. Awareness staff may be involved in launching NR initiatives, but time constraints prevent EAO or EAA involvement with daily initiative management. EAOs indicate they have three primary tasks including promotion of NPB's mission statement, creating environmental awareness among neighbours and supporting community development.

EAAs have broad based responsibilities for reserve-neighbour interaction. They seek to create environmental awareness among neighbours, facilitate the development of relations between individual reserves and neighbours, improve intra-reserve communication and interact with field staff on NR issues. EAAs in each region are generally the individuals in physical contact with NR initiatives. Typically they are involved with reserve-neighbour forums, development projects, visits to schools around protected areas, traditional healers (toward developing sustainable medicinal plant harvesting), sports activities with youth, curio production / sales by locals, and establishing garden plots.

Under the NPB system OICs serve as regional managers overseeing all activities in their area; reserve staff including the OIC are responsible for daily management of NR initiatives.

Implementation of NR programs is mostly dependent upon OICs:

The meeting decided that should the Board accept the Neighbour Relations Policy, the following would become Board policy, and would not be negotiable. How the following are implemented however, are entirely up to the respective Officer in Charge.<sup>61</sup>

"The following" refer to the essential programs of the NRP; in the final NRP document OICs are directly responsible for 9 of 13 tasks detailed under the three NRP strategies. NPB staff suggest: "It is common knowledge that time available to officers in reserves and zones is limited and the

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<sup>61</sup> Natal Parks Board 1991, p. 2.

[NRP] programme should, therefore, be run by graded staff, particularly Game Guard (GG) ranks."<sup>62</sup> To date however Game Guards are little involved in NR activities.

Regular coordination exists between the EAO, EAA, and OIC; reserve level staff are local contacts for EAAs in their work with neighbours. Annually in February or March objectives for Neighbour Relations are developed by the reserve OIC and regional EAO. OICs report on status of NR initiatives at reserve management meetings.<sup>63</sup>

### GIANT'S CASTLE: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

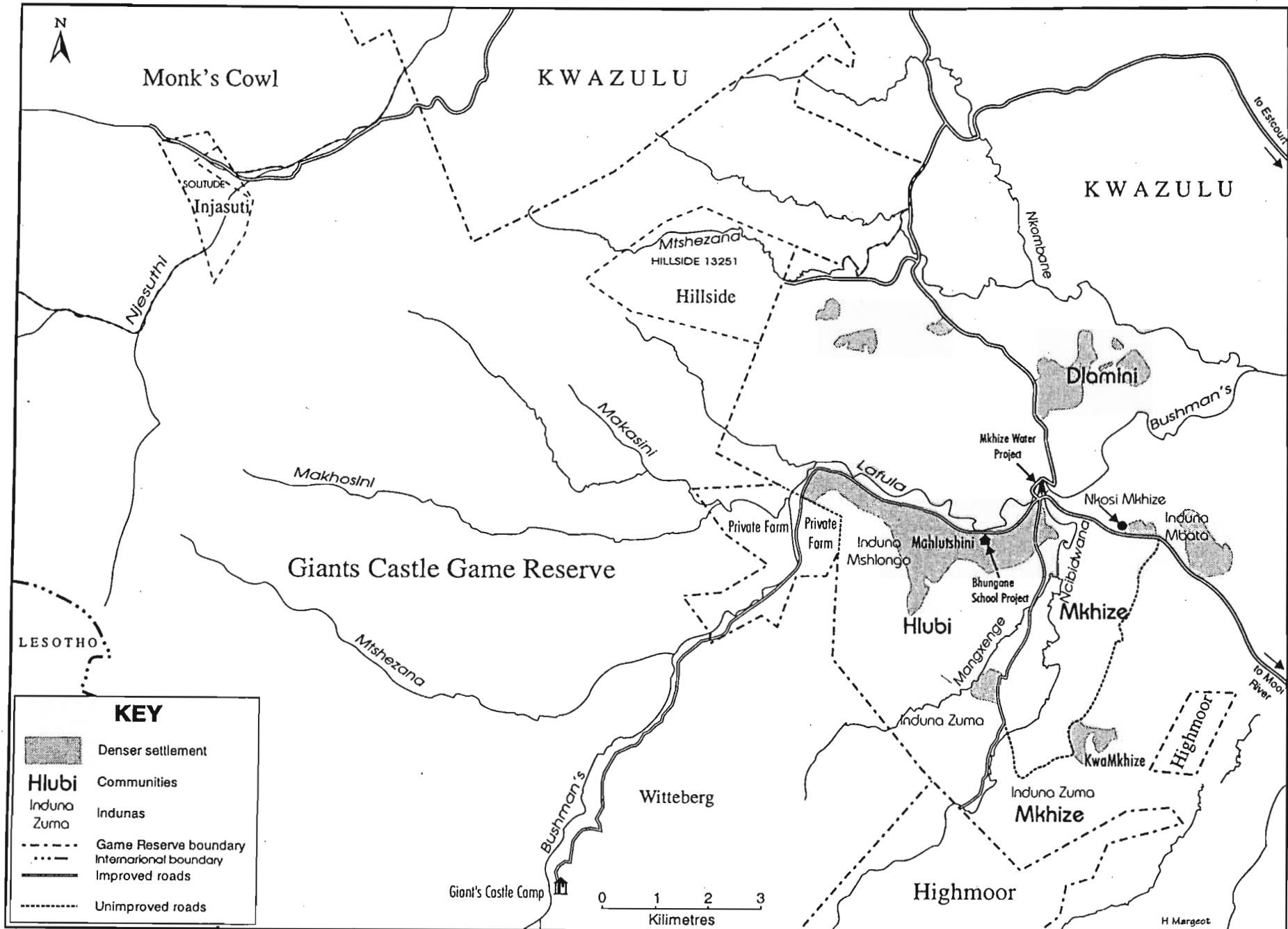
In the mid 1800's a peaceful separation occurred between the Hadebe and Zulu royal families. Granted land by Native Affairs Commissioner Shepstone in 1849, *Nkosi* Langalibalele Hadebe of the Amahlubi people left the Zulu kingdom and settled the Amahlubi on a tract of land in the area west of Estcourt, possibly including portions of what is today the Giant's Castle Game Reserve. As the Amahlubi settled, many of Langalibalele's people found work in the diamond mines. Returning home from the mines they brought with them firearms acquired there. The colonial authorities, upon learning Langalibalele's people were armed, grew alarmed and sent a messenger to *Nkosi* Langalibalele, saying the weapons must be brought to Pietermaritzburg for "registration". Once in possession of the weapons, British authorities sabotaged and returned them to Langalibalele. Discovering the deceit Langalibalele was angered; his followers soon rearmed themselves with weapons from the mines. Again the British sent their messenger to collect the weapons for

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<sup>62</sup> Laws 1992, p. 4. NPB no longer uses the term graded staff.

<sup>63</sup> Such is the core NR bureaucracy. However several other positions are situation-specific in facilitating reserve-neighbour interaction. Zone Officers (ZOs) charged with promoting conservation outside protected areas may support reserve-neighbour interaction in cases where NPB "zones" overlap with "reserve neighbours". Noted in figure 1 in those cases there may be coordination between the ZO, the EAO and reserve OIC. Environmental Awareness Guards (EAGs), found presently at only a few NPB reserves, are envisaged to become more widespread. These specially trained GGs have dual responsibilities for reserve duties and conservation awareness with local communities. It is envisaged that reserve-neighbour interaction initially facilitated by EAAs can be maintained through neighbour contact with EAGs stationed permanently at their respective reserves. In the Northern region EAGs are supported by the position of Community Development Officer (CDO). Suggested by his title this individual is a community developer with responsibility for providing neighbours with training relevant to specific projects and "extend[ing] the existing [NPB] extension program into the Zulu community." The CDO is also involved with capacity building for NPB staff and training EAAs in community development techniques.





**KEY**

-  Denser settlement
- Hlubi** Communities
- Induna Indunas
- Zuma Indunas
- - - - - Game Reserve boundary
- · · · · International boundary
- — — — — Improved roads
- · · · · Unimproved roads

Giants Castle Area Map

"inspection", but the messenger, knowing the ire of Langalibalele, instead hid in the mountains for several days. Returning to Pietermaritzburg, the messenger reported Langalibalele had refused to yield the weapons. British forces were sent in to subdue the "rebellious" Langalibalele.

Learning of British intention to capture him, Langalibalele took refuge in the Drakensberg mountains in the area of Giant's Castle. There he made his last stand; battles occurred between his forces and British regulars. He, his sons and *izinduna* were captured and taken for imprisonment in Pietermaritzburg. While in jail he signed an agreement partitioning the land he had been granted, destroying his kingdom. Out of the Amahlubi land various parcels were carved, including those now occupied by the Mkhize and Dlamini people, as well as the land of what is today Giant's Castle reserve. Two years after being released from prison *Nkosi* Langalibalele Hadebe, grandfather to the current *Nkosi* Hadebe, died. He was buried on land that was at that time private farmland, and which is today Giant's Castle Game Reserve. Giant's Castle Game Reserve was formally proclaimed out of state land in 1903. The Amahlubi, Mkhize and Dlamini people are neighbours of the reserve (see Giant's Castle area map).

#### AREA OF STUDY: GIANT'S CASTLE

Giant's Castle Game Reserve is an example of a well established protected area without a protracted history of antagonism between reserve management and area residents. Interviews with the inhabitants of the Mkhize and Mahlutshini (Amahlubi) areas reveal the following.<sup>64</sup> Residents are predominantly farmers and pastoralists. Farmers practice rain-fed monoculture growing primarily maize with many also raising cattle and goats. As in many rural areas of KwaZulu, a significant percentage of the middle aged male population are migrant workers, with many employed in the towns of Mooi River and Estcourt. Hard cash is also brought into the local economy from pensioners. Over the last century various grass species, peaches, potatoes and most indigenous trees

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<sup>64</sup> Research was conducted in the Mkhize and Amahlubi areas as these people were the focus of reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle until 1994. Since then reserve-neighbour interaction at Giants Castle is growing to include other neighbours in South Africa and Lesotho.

have become scarce or disappeared. No longer are antelope in the area to be found outside the Giant's Castle reserve boundary. People indicate many cultural traditions are no longer practised as a result of changes in the natural environment.

Giant's Castle Game Reserve is one of the fifteen individual reserves comprising the Natal Drakensberg Park. When formally proclaimed in 1903, the reserve consisted of some 8 000 ha of state land. Since that time it has grown in size with the addition of parcels of formerly private farmland. As a protected area it serves the function of catchment protection for the Tugela river. It contains remnants of forest patches, thought by area conservators to have once been more widespread in the Drakensberg. Like other areas of the Drakensberg, Giant's Castle contains highland sourveld vegetation.

#### **INTERACTIONS BETWEEN RESERVE STAFF AND AREA RESIDENTS**

Since the onset of extension activity in 1990, a variety of initiatives have emerged involving reserve staff and neighbours. They have included forums for dialogue between the reserve and Mkhize and Amahlubi people, repairs to and upgrading of area schools, road grading, attempted development of curio sales, a water reticulation scheme, and the construction of a primary school. Several of the above projects, particularly those first embarked upon involved little interaction between neighbours and reserve staff. For example, learning of repairs needed for the Thibani LP school in the Mkhize area the Drakensberg EAO contacted outsiders who constructed ablution facilities, painted the school and made unrealized plans to fence and upgrade the property. In another instance road graders owned by NPB and operated by reserve staff were used to improve the dirt road to Tskheswa Nhlanga Sweni school in the Mahlutshini area.

#### **Reserve-neighbour forums**

Among extension programs initiated by the reserve, perhaps the most ambitious was the launching of reserve-neighbour forums with the Mkhize and Amahlubi people in 1990, spearheaded

by the EAO. Each of the two forums brought together representatives from the Departments of Health and Education, principals from area schools, a KwaZulu government agricultural extension officer, and tribal authority members. The forums met about five times, before ceasing to convene.

Forums were created to initiate development projects. The Bhungane school project in the Amahlubi area and a water scheme in the Mkhize area resulted indirectly from initiatives begun under the forums. As the most recent examples of reserve-neighbour interaction at the time research was conducted in the Giant's Castle area, the water and school projects illustrate the state of reserve-neighbour interaction; they will be a focus of discussion.

### **Bhungane school and the Mkhize water scheme**

At individual meetings of the Mkhize and Amahlubi people attended by reserve staff, area residents expressed their respective preferences for a water scheme and primary school. Application for project funding was made by Giant's Castle staff. Elected committees of area residents charged with overseeing the projects were constituted at public meetings in the respective areas as per donor agency requirements. Labourers for the physical construction of the projects were drawn from the respective areas.

The respective project committees, once constituted, failed to play an active role in project implementation. According to committee members, the efforts of the Giant's Castle OIC, Induna Mhlanga, chair of the school project, and Ms. Mkhize, book keeper for the water project, were the forces behind the implementation of these projects. The OIC, Induna Mhlanga and Ms. Mkhize themselves indicate other committee members were largely inactive in project related duties. In the case of Bhungane school interviews suggest the joint energy of the OIC and Induna Mhlanga resulted in the project being completed timeously and within the projected budget. The water project was less successful; indications are that the efforts of a single woman without access to the traditional leadership were insufficient to bring project goals to fruition. Problems encountered, including difficulties with labourers and failure to keep within the projected budget, were not readily addressed.

Efforts to convene meetings to address these issues were unsuccessful due to the absence of the project chair who worked in Mooi River. Eventually the project was halted due to lack of funds. Area residents standing to benefit from the project provided no incentive to resolve these complications as they were unaware of project status. Instead, they wondered aloud why work had stopped when it did.

As suggested in the above description, among Giant's Castle staff the individual who undertook implementation of these projects was the OIC. Awareness staff (EAO, EAAs) were not involved in the projects.

The approximately one hundred workers employed in the water and school projects left their experience with financial resources and rudimentary skills. Workers indicated wages earned provided for basic necessities for children and paid school fees. Some workers subsequently found employment. Among six individuals who were trained at Nottingham Road with project funds and employed on the two projects, several are now employed and working in urban areas. However the majority of interviews with workers, who lacked accreditation for abilities acquired through experiential learning on the project, revealed they had not been employed. Among these workers several had applied their informally acquired skills toward development on the local level. Skills had been used to make home improvements and to assist neighbours.

The water and school projects established linkages between reserve staff and involved area residents--particularly individuals such as Induna Mhlanga and Ms. Mkhize. Induna Mhlanga is discussing building a technical school for the area and other development priorities, indicating the Bhungane committee will be transformed into an area development committee. He indicates the committee will work closely with Giant's Castle staff who will motivate for financial resources for development projects.

### Development of a neighbour conservation area

*Izinyanga* resident in the area spoke of discussing plans with a reserve officer to create a conservation area for growing *muthi* plants and learning cultivation techniques. *Izinyanga* indicated they awaited the response of reserve management to the proposed initiative. Discussion with the OIC revealed such a request had never reached his desk.

### Curio sales by neighbours

Plans for the development of curio sales by area women to tourists visiting the reserve resulted in a cultural exchange; women from the Giant's Castle area met with women from a community in Zululand near Hluhluwe. Interviews with women who had participated in the exchange said progress on the development of curio sales at Giant's Castle had ceased. Women wanted but did not know how to contact reserve staff to proceed with the initiative.

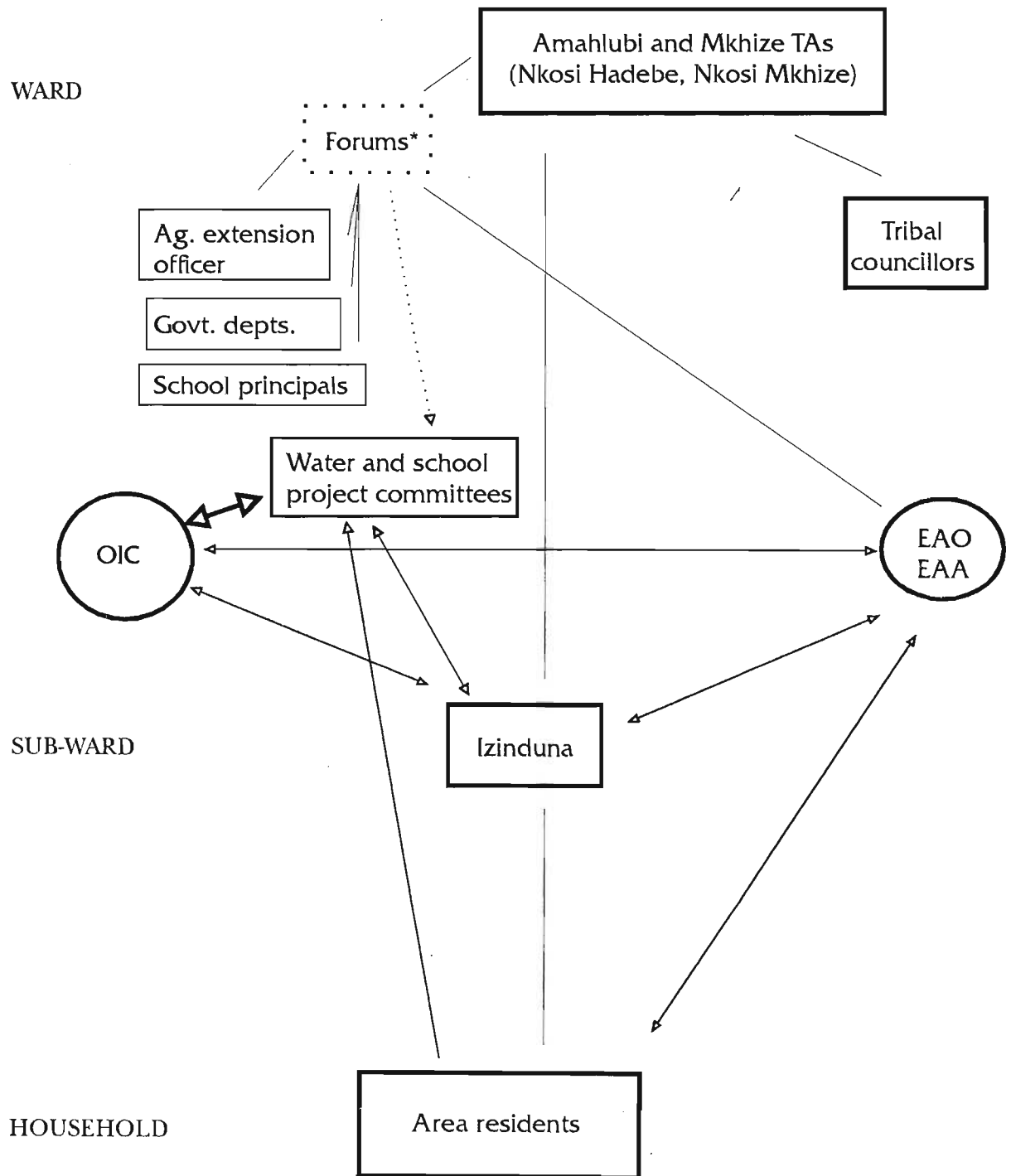
The above activities provide scattered benefits to neighbours, but do not seem to describe a process for reducing pressures to which area wild natural resources are subject.

## NEIGHBOUR STRUCTURES AND ORGANIZATION

The Mkhize and Amahlubi people are organized under tribal authorities. In both the Mkhize and Amahlubi areas *izinduna* do not inherit their positions, but are selected at public meetings. Only a portion of the Amahlubi people are neighbours of Giant's Castle Game Reserve, with the remainder situated closer to Estcourt. *Nkosi* Hadebe of the Amahlubi resides in the non-neighbouring portion. Perhaps for this reason *izinduna* enjoy significant authority over the activities of the Amahlubi who are reserve neighbours. The Mkhize area is more typically organized with the *Nkosi* resident in the area, served by Mkhize *izinduna*. Public meetings are held regularly in Mkhize and Amahlubi areas. At meetings individuals may raise issues of concern to them and hear reports from traditional leaders on issues affecting area people. Figure 2 describes organization in the Mkhize and Amahlubi areas.

# FIGURE 2

## Organization in Amahlubi and Mkhize areas and NPB linkages



\* now defunct

The authority and influence of traditional leaders among the Mkhize and Amahlubi people appears considerable. In terms of resolving disputes, raising issues and acting on behalf of people, the tribal authority was named by virtually everyone as being at least partly if not exclusively responsible for these activities. In a survey drafted in part by the researcher and conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (henceforth referred to as the HSRC survey), 93% of Giant's Castle area respondents indicated "induna" as the individual to whom they would go to resolve disputes.<sup>65</sup> Said one individual of thirty-five: "It is a custom, a community norm that whatever decision is taken [by the traditional leadership] is obeyed whether you win or lose." In interviews area residents specified jobs, electrification and water as their most pressing needs. Despite being unable to cite examples of these developments being provided by traditional leaders, 47% of respondents to the HSRC survey at Giant's Castle indicated the tribal authorities to be "mostly responsible for meeting community needs".<sup>66</sup> Trying to decipher the nature of traditional authority, I asked one young interviewee: "Why will nothing get done without *nkosi*?" To which she responded: "Why did you have to report to *nkosi* before you got here?" The amorphous power of the traditional leadership, the *izinduna*, the *nkosi* and councillors, is recognized by most reserve neighbours.

## STAFF ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS ON NEIGHBOUR RELATIONS

### Reasons for undertaking Neighbour Relations activities

Senior NPB staff indicate that until the onset of political change in 1990, the organization was legislated to be a Natal conservation agency with the black inhabitants of KwaZulu not among its constituents. According to the Northern region Zone Conservator:

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<sup>65</sup> Du Toit 1994. Attitudes were surveyed of communities around Giant's Castle Game Reserve, Royal Natal National Park and Kruger National Park. Unless otherwise indicated survey data presented will be for communities in the Giant's Castle Area.

<sup>66</sup> Du Toit 1994.



With the breakdown of the apartheid system over the past three years, we have come to realize that the new era of conservation lies in obtaining support from the Black population who were almost completely ignored over the past one hundred years, apart of course from an intensive law enforcement programme which has served to actively exclude them from any benefits from conservation.<sup>67</sup>

A former Deputy Director explains the Parks Board recognized and assumed that in post apartheid South Africa Natal and KwaZulu would be unified. As such a thrust of the NRP was the establishment of linkages with the Board's new neighbours; the NRP was envisaged to create a "social buffer" between protected areas and neighbouring communities through improving black South Africans' support for protected areas.

Discussing the development of a policy for Neighbour Relations in the Northern region, remarks of the Chief Conservator North (CCN) were as follows: "The CCN reported back shortly before our meeting with the Rural Foundation that such a proposal may achieve support among executive staff as current political changes suggested we move quickly with these programs."<sup>68</sup> The Chief Executive tells the NPB:

In a changing South Africa there are many misperceptions, misunderstandings and indeed malicious rumour-mongering about and within the field of nature conservation in South Africa.... Whether or not such statements have validity in 1991 is not particularly relevant and we should not get involved in too much defensive debate in public. However, it is believed that we must take some dramatic and highly marketable action to counter the impact of such negative propaganda. In addition to such action, we must exercise maximum effort to provide positive images of the Board and its work to the less fortunate of our publics.<sup>69</sup>

A motivation behind the advent and implementation of the NRP appears to have been the national socio-political transition.

### Goals and objectives of Neighbour Relations

A northern region staff member involved with NR perceives two NR pitfalls to be avoided-- paternalistic attitudes toward neighbours and monument building (development projects in which neighbours are not active participants, equipped to manage and / or sustain). Other staff from the Northern region indicate the focus of reserve-neighbour interaction to be to assist neighbours to

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<sup>67</sup> Laws 1992, p. 1.

<sup>68</sup> Laws 1992, p. 3-4.

<sup>69</sup> Natal Parks Board 1991, p. 1.

address and meet basic needs. Staff from the northern and other NPB regions are involved with the Rural Foundation, a development facilitator. The Rural Foundation is involved with capacity building toward NPB staff implementing the NRP. Parks Board and Rural Foundation staff, queried about the strong community development focus of NR initiatives, indicated they felt it important to meet pressing neighbour needs before overt conservation issues could be addressed.

Zululand staff involved with NR argue there should be two bases for reserve-neighbour interaction: Mutual respect and the NPB assisting neighbours to be able to provide for themselves; a member of Awareness staff indicates work with neighbours is basically "a case of self interest" toward furthering the objectives of conservation. In the opinion of an OIC involved with NR: "If surrounding communities are not friendly to the park in a changing South Africa, the place may not exist in 10 years. Our job is to protect the reserve which means improving relations with surrounding communities." The Community Development Officer for the Northern region suggests the objective of the NRP is making local people perceive the adjacent reserve as beneficial to them. Staff of the Giant's Castle reserve describe the ultimate objective of extension activity as being seen as part of the community by local inhabitants. Although themes of community development and improving local support for protected areas are evidenced in NPB's approach to NR, equally strongly evidenced is the trend of staff to pursue individual interpretations of "Neighbour Relations" instead of a coherent process toward achieving a defined policy objective.

### **Staff evaluation of the NRP**

Of NPB staff interviewed, 31% felt positively about the extension program; 69% held mixed views, and no staff had a negative attitude toward it. Nonetheless, interviews with NPB staff involved with "Neighbour Relations activities" in the Northern, Drakensberg, and Zululand regions revealed almost no familiarity with the NRP document. OICs, Zone Officers (ZOs), and other staff indicated they had never seen the policy. One staff member requested I assist him in acquiring a copy of the document. An EAO, who claimed to know the document well, when queried about possible

amendments to it replied: "To tell you the truth, it makes no difference to me because I do what I want to do." An OIC regularly involved with NR initiatives felt the NRP had "limited value as a policy document." Quickly interviews revealed what was referred to as "Neighbour Relations" at head office, was in the field an assortment of initiatives endowed with the title "Neighbour Relations".

Staff remarked on the central role played by the OIC in NR. Queried as to important influences on levels of reserve-neighbour interaction, virtually all field staff interviewed noted the attitude of the reserve OIC. EAAs envisaged to coordinate with Environmental Awareness Guards (EAGs) in NR duties (figure 1) comment on experiences: "Most reserve OICs seem not to be interested... in allowing Game Guards to visit schools more often or visit communities." "Some OICs don't want to go out into the communities; they don't want to implement the Neighbours Program." While in theory EAGs should have responsibilities to reserve duties and to extension work with neighbours, NPB staff indicate in practice OICs are reluctant to release these Game Guards from reserve duties. Described as "icing" by one EAO, the person indicted the EAG position to pay lip service to the objective of developing relations between reserves and neighbours.

EAAs interviewed felt they did not have time to adequately service the area for which they are responsible; one EAA noted there are protected area neighbours he has yet to visit in the year he has been an EAA.

Examination of NR initiatives reveals them in many cases to be development projects facilitated by the reserve. NPB staff felt they did not possess the expertise to participate effectively in community development activities. Commented one EAO: "What I really need are community development workers." And an OIC: "What I believe we need out here is a community developer." Seemingly in an effort to build a positive image of itself and ensure protected areas of interest to developed groups are not jeopardized by the concerns of underdeveloped peoples with wild nature, the NPB adopted a NR program. Responsibility for NR appears to have been *attached* to field staff's existing duties, without a clear objective or process for achieving an objective being defined.

## ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS OF MKHIZE AND AMAHLUBI PEOPLE

### Significance of reserve physical environment

HSRC survey data finds that among area residents, 86% feel a traditional lifestyle to be important to them to either a "great extent" (10%) or a "very great extent" (76%).<sup>70</sup> Area people's support for tradition cause an influential segment of the population to value the integrity of Giant's Castle reserve as a means for retaining access to their traditional way of life. The unspoken sentiment was eloquently captured by various neighbours: "We respect antelopes; that is why we respect Parks Board." Noted one induna: "Nature goes very well with our traditional life systems." Area residents value the undisturbed natural resource base of the reserve because it allows future generations in the area to know their history. Fifty-nine percent of neighbours interviewed felt positively about the reserve, with only 7% having a negative attitude toward it. In the words of *Nkosi Mkhize*:

Yes, you see nature is about treasure, especially if there are ways of doing it [having conservation areas] we must. You see nature is important; it is important historically, but it is also important for the benefit of the future generations so they can know what happened in the past.

The line between respect for nature and respect for cultural traditions is difficult to distinguish. One area resident particularly supportive of conserving nature said: "Giant's Castle is a wonderful place; it conserves nature. If you tamper with such a place and you destroy it you have killed the world." Here the death of the world could be understood as the irrecoverable loss of an environment so integral to as to define the cultures of the Mkhize and Amahlubi people.

Area residents learned of their historical neighbours in school and felt the presence of the reserve allowed them to physically access this knowledge: "We learned in school about the Bushmen and Hottentots, but I couldn't know how they lived. When I visited Giant's Castle, I was able to see how they lived. It is very educational to visit Giant's Castle; I and my children know about wild animals I wouldn't have known about." Parents and children felt these to be meaningful functions

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<sup>70</sup> Du Toit 1994.

of the reserve.

### Access to the reserve

Among various answers to the question posed to area residents "to whom does the land of Giant's Castle belong?", no response was more common than "Langalibalele Hadebe". Area residents desire more land for farming and grazing, but as a group do not covet the land of Giant's Castle Game Reserve. Some individuals believe Natal Parks Board occupies Giant's Castle land with the permission of the current *Nkosi* Hadebe.

Statements of area residents and youth in particular indicate support for maintaining Giant's Castle as a protected area: "Even if they [the community] take that land [of Giant's Castle], it will get full and there will be no places again." "If people are given rights over the land [of Giant's Castle] they will eat all that is there." "If we give the people the rights to participate in the Giant's Castle, they will kill all the animals."

Some people express the need for a more cooperative approach between the *community* of the reserve and area residents. Said one woman:

We love the reserve, but we don't like the way it has been run. The people who own the land don't have control over the reserve. My ideas about the reserve are improving, but we don't know where it is heading and the situation is complicated because we have no control or ownership so we can never be sure what will happen.

And asked one youth: "How can a person outside myself know what I want to be done to me. A person operating on their own will do things for their own good so in order to avoid that we must work together."

Area residents feel the level of future cooperation between reserve staff and local people will influence the course of reserve-neighbour relations, indicating area people have many needs. In response to the question of whether the reserve should give land to reserve neighbours, one individual had this to say: "It is a difficult question. If the Giant's Castle assists people, they are not going to demand *their* land, but they would demand *their* land if they didn't receive assistance [from the reserve]." In another example area residents talking about the disappearance of their forest connected

it to jobless and resourceless individuals among them chopping down trees to sell in the city. A rudimentary relationship between environmental integrity and development was crudely but aptly captured by an Mkhize resident: "Nature conservation can only happen if we work, because if we don't, we think we can harvest some of those natural resources and sell them because we want money." Individuals feel if the reserve can assist them to meet needs like jobs, skills and electricity, there is less need for reserve land to be used for purposes other than conservation.

An area where particular differences have existed between reserve management and the area residents is the Langalibalele grave. The Amahlubi request complete and unrestricted access to the grave. The reserve, although gravitating toward such a policy, still imposes access restrictions.<sup>71</sup>

Overall area women feel they enjoy less access to the reserve than men. Regularly in interviews women complained about the absence of employment opportunities for them in the reserve, feeling it only had employment value for males. Women feel employment in the reserve is a prerequisite to being able to have influence in the reserve. In interviews women indicate there are not channels for communication with the reserve or options for addressing women's issues related to the reserve.

### **Reserve extension activity**

Reserve extension activity since 1990 has influenced relations between the reserve and involved neighbours. Virtually everyone interviewed expressed awareness of either the school or water project in which the reserve had participated. Data from the HSRC survey indicates among neighbours of Giant's Castle 18% of respondents perceived the reserve to be "mostly responsible for meeting community needs". By contrast in samples from neighbours of Royal Natal and Kruger National Parks, less than 2% of respondents mentioned the neighbouring reserve to be mostly responsible for meeting their needs.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> NPB staff indicate that subsequent to research a joint management committee of reserve staff and Amahlubi neighbours has been established to address issues concerning the grave site.

<sup>72</sup> Du Toit 1994.

Extension activity on the part of reserve staff has been taken by area residents as a sign of this most symbolic area managed by NPB becoming part of the *community* in which it is situated. Commented a member of the community: "If the reserve hadn't helped the community [with extension programs], it would have been like it didn't exist; I wouldn't have thought about it."

All Giant's Castle area residents felt it was necessary for the reserve to continue helping them. Area residents however did not necessarily see reserve assistance requiring their personal input. Residents interviewed tended not to want to become involved in technical reserve management, feeling its requirements to be complex and thus better left to "whites" currently undertaking it. Residents did feel they should be involved in reserve activities that affected them (such as extension activities). In the latter case residents felt their interests should be articulated through traditional leaders or, when prompted, elected committees that would report to the traditional leaders. In spite of or perhaps because of HSRC data indicating a) an improvement in the level of trust of the reserve among neighbours b) a sense the reserve is important to area development and c) overall positive feelings toward the Giant's Castle reserve, only 52% of individuals sampled at Giant's Castle by HSRC felt it was important for there to be *communication* between the them and reserve management. This percentage compares with 74% and 72% of individuals feeling similarly at Royal Natal and Kruger National Parks respectively. Alternately 18% of those sampled around Giant's Castle expressly stated communication with reserve management to be unimportant as compared to figures of 4% and 5% at other survey sites.<sup>73</sup>

### **Bhungane school and the Mkhize water project**

Asked what had been the role of the water project committee in "implementing" the project, one committee member replied: "The committee has done nothing in that respect because there is a person responsible from Giant's Castle." Despite the official involvement of neighbours with reserve staff on project committees, committee members indicate they did not necessarily participate

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<sup>73</sup> Du Toit 1994.

in committee activities, nor acquire related skills. Perhaps most important among these skills are acquiring funds for development and managing projects. Tasks of acquiring development funds and project management were handled by reserve staff in both the construction of the school and water scheme. A member of the school project committee felt "it would not be possible for us to contact these organizations [Independent Development Trust, Donaldson Trust, Joint Services Board] without the NPB I think because we are spoiled; they used to do everything for us."

The approximately 120 individuals involved with the two projects did feel communication channels had been opened with reserve staff. One worker left the water project with the thoughts: "I didn't know they [staff of Giant's Castle reserve] cared about us." Area residents feel the personal contacts established over the course of projects could serve to address other issues. In the words of another project labourer: "The presence of NPB in this area is a huge benefit; it's like now we have a relative; we have a brother next to us who we can share with."

Without exception as a group labourers for the two projects were most supportive of the reserve. This bolsters Infield's (1986) hypothesis that receipt of direct benefits from protected areas is the best way to achieve support for them.

### **Reserve-neighbour forums**

Almost no neighbours were familiar with forums established between reserve staff and the Mkhize and Amahlubi people. Members of defunct forums tended to attribute their demise to the departure (retirement) of the EAO: "That is why we no longer meet. His [retired EAO] departure has really brought down communication between the forum and Giant's Castle", was one member's statement.

One forum member held the individual opinion: "He [*nkosi*] is the one who made the community-reserve forum not successful." This member claims the *nkosi* was intentionally negligent in maintaining the forum and in harnessing its potential to further community development.



### Reserve-neighbour relations

In interview after interview neighbours supported the continued presence of the reserve, often indicating they had held misgivings about the reserve in the past, changed by reserve extension activity. The change in attitude was especially evidenced among the influential traditional leadership.

Said *Nkosi Hadebe*:

There is much they [staff of Giant's Castle] are doing. I would say that my feelings to them are changing. Now I believe in settling things in a neighbourly manner. Before I saw them as people who were here to cause trouble, but now I realize these people could be neighbours.

Among the general population a shift in attitude is also evidenced. In the words of one area resident: "They [staff of Giant's Castle] were not as kind before. I think now they are starting to get into their senses. They treat you like human beings." Forty-six percent of reserve neighbours interviewed were positive about reserve-neighbour interaction, with only 12% expressing negative feelings. Some youth felt the very presence of the reserve was important to the people with one saying: "We like it when it is said there is a reserve in the area. It gives us status." HSRC survey data finds 46% of those surveyed indicate their level of trust toward the neighbouring reserve had increased "over the recent past". By contrast only 14% and 15% respectively at the two other HSRC survey sites indicated an increase in trust "over the recent past".<sup>74</sup> One individual's statement that: "now they regard us as people" encapsulated sentiments of other area residents.

Induna Zuma of the Mkhize area cites an experience in 1992 when a white man from the reserve [the OIC] came and released cattle to him that had been impounded inside the reserve for return to the owner, rather than taking the animals to Weenen for impounding as had been custom. The induna claims that gesture on the part of the reserve improved positive feeling among his people toward the reserve.

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<sup>74</sup> Du Toit 1994.

### **The KwaMkhize area**

The KwaMkhize area is highly isolated from the principal Mkhize settlements centred around the road to Mooi river (see Giant's Castle area map). KwaMkhize's isolation is interesting in that attitudes of the residents vary noticeably from those of people residing closer to the main road. Interviews with KwaMkhize residents reveal a lack of familiarity with reserve operations / activities; this is perhaps a result of projects with the reserve not having been implemented in their area. Most people are further unaware of reserve staff's involvement in development projects including the school and water scheme in the main sections of the Mkhize and Amahlubi areas. In response to questions concerning possible alternative uses of the Giant's Castle reserve, KwaMkhize residents expressed interest in using reserve land for farming and grazing purposes at a level far exceeding that evidenced in other parts of the Mkhize and Amahlubi areas. All residents of KwaMkhize interviewed favoured at least a portion if not all Giant's Castle land being given to them. Sentiment favouring reserve land being given to area residents was accompanied by a belief the reserve offered no benefit to them. One woman interviewed felt Giant's Castle must give land to area residents because of land scarcity, and because reserve staff impounded cattle found inside the reserve. Another KwaMkhize member encountered, aware of reserve extension activities in other Mkhize areas, felt somewhat less need to entertain alternative land uses "now that things are coming right" in terms of the reserve assisting the Mkhize people. Collectively however KwaMkhize interviews reflected trends and attitudes not apparent in interviews conducted in areas reached by reserve extension activity.

### **Reserve conservation objectives**

Said one woman: "I don't know; I would like to keep it [Giant's Castle reserve] as it is because it is beautiful, but I don't know how others would feel." Although the Mkhize and Amahlubi people are supportive of Giant's Castle reserve, ideas about reserve function and objectives vary amongst area residents. Stated one individual: "I think we should just hear why it is important to have a reserve." HSRC survey results find less than half of individuals surveyed feel the purpose of

the reserve to be to "protect nature".<sup>75</sup> Low levels of understanding about reserve activities and objectives were matched by an absence of clear understanding of nature conservation itself. While 82% of neighbours interviewed were supportive of nature conservation, HSRC survey results show only 25% of individuals sampled indicate the "Goals / Objectives of Conservation" to be to "protect nature". To the extent conservation is understood to be a management activity involving natural resources, residents associate it with the *protection of antelope*. Almost without exception neighbours failed to perceive linkages between objectives of Giant's Castle reserve and their quality of life. Conclusions by neighbours about reserve activities such as: "They just keep wild animals. Maybe they use them somehow; I don't know, but they don't use them for the benefit of the community" were common.

Even among area residents directly involved with reserve-neighbour projects, reserve function and the objectives of conservation seem to be unclear. One woman employed on a project explains the objectives of the reserve to be the following: "It is a hotel where whites can rest with their cars; they also have some antelope there and provide employment for some members of the community." She understood the reserve's benefit to area people to include the provision of petrol [from the filling station at the gate] and use of reserve motor vehicles for neighbours transport needs. When prompted as to whether Giant's Castle was involved in conserving nature, she replied, "I don't know very well if they have a place they conserve nature."

Nature conservation was not perceived as an exclusive activity by neighbours. Regularly individuals expressed support for nature conservation and the reserve only to suggest later in the interview the need for either portions of reserve land to be given to them or cattle grazing to be an activity allowed in the reserve. Toward promoting greater awareness of the reserve, NPB staff are holding open days, on which reserve neighbours are encouraged to visit the reserve.

In summary neighbours express concern with access to and use of area wild nature for purposes of physical survival and development. Reserve natural resources are also important to the

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<sup>75</sup> Du Toit 1994.

Mkhize and Amahlubi peoples as an opportunity to maintain the symbolic integrity of their disintegrating cultures. And while neighbour attitudes toward the reserve have improved, neighbours' ability to meet their own needs and to have control over their future--empowerment--has not necessarily been raised.

## EMPOWERMENT AT GIANT'S CASTLE

### Accessing resources

Workers employed in the reserve and for the water and school projects received wages. In this way reserve extension activity has assisted individuals to access resources. The six individuals trained in skills for work on the projects have been empowered to access resources over the long term. Some have found permanent employment. As a result of reserve staff's involvement in the construction of the primary school and water scheme, area residents now regard Giant's Castle reserve itself as a resource which can assist them. In other key areas however reserve extension activity at Giant's Castle has not empowered neighbours to access resources. Project committee members indicated they were not involved in the *process* of implementing the water and school projects--specifically areas of project management and acquisition of project funds.

In crude terms, when people participate in a project by contributing physical labour for example, they may gain materially in a developmental sense. Depending on how the project is realized, they may also gain in confidence, nurture feelings of self-worth or gain significant support from other members of the project. All these gains can however be perceived as limited. The project participants may continue to operate within certain constraints and continually rely on the outside agent to initiate new projects or sustain the gains of the original project.<sup>76</sup>

Neighbours have not acquired skills which would enable them to access additional resources. In not involving area residents more heavily in project processes, reserve extension activity has catered to a tendency evidenced among Mkhize and Amahlubi people toward not participating in reserve-neighbour interaction. Noted a Drakensberg EAA: "Communities just want a white person to come and tell them what must be done." If extension activities at Giant's Castle foster neighbour

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<sup>76</sup> Friedman and Pollett 1991, p. 2.

*dependency* on reserve assistance, neighbours will not be empowered.

### **Organization**

Over four years of reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle transient organizational structures have been created. These have included the Amahlubi and Mkhize liaison forums and the committees for the school and water projects. While the formation of project committees fulfils donor requirements, their existence has not contributed to a long term development strategy for the area nor defined an objective for reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle. Organized structures with an objective beyond a specific project would more likely acquire their own momentum, and be less dependent on the initiative of reserve staff. Organized structures created through reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle should be *developed* and *operationalized*.

A permanent body for reserve-neighbour interaction with long term objectives would serve to expand dialogue between reserve staff and neighbours in the process of bringing its objective to fruition. Individuals including the *izinyanga* and women involved with an initiative for curio sales were not able to access communication channels with reserve staff. A body acknowledged by neighbours for coordinating interaction could *engage* a larger segment of area residents in reserve-neighbour interaction and keep individuals abreast of developments. Conservation education for example could be engaged by the greater community such that many individuals are aware of their potential role in sustainable living.

### **Conservation education**

Investigation of reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle revealed neighbours to be familiar with reserve-neighbour projects, supportive of the reserve, and poorly versed in reserve / conservation objectives. In short while almost all neighbours interviewed are aware reserve staff assisted in constructing Bhungane school, a significant percentage of them would and do support a description of Giant's Castle as "a hotel for whites only."

In several ICDPs thus far, services and income-earning activities have been offered as a *quid pro quo* for respecting protected-area regulations.... One of the most critical questions at this point is whether local resource users perceive the development activity as an incentive to adopt conservation practices. If the resource users do not share this understanding or if their understanding changes over time, the development activity is unlikely to change conservation behaviour. Development activities frequently must be complemented with a conservation extension or education program that informs all parties of their responsibilities under the project and of the interrelationships between conservation and development.<sup>77</sup>

Neighbours' lack of familiarity with the objectives of the reserve and conservation in general reveals the importance of *linking development and conservation*. Vital components of a "linkage strategy" are conservation education as defined and other reserve-neighbour initiatives which illustrate conservation's direct relevance to people's lives. Unless individuals are aware that conservation can benefit and help them realize their potential contribution to effecting balance between human needs and the environment, they will not develop and promote a strategy for sustainable living.

The Giant's Castle extension program focuses almost exclusively on physical development projects. Indirect linkages exist between conservation and physical development projects, but these linkages become operational largely over the long term (chapter 2). Ostrom posits a learning curve among appropriators of common pool resources:

Given these levels of uncertainty about the basic structure of the problems appropriators face, the only reasonable assumption to make about the basic structure of the process employed is that the appropriators engage in a considerable amount of trial-and-error learning.... Over time appropriators gain a more accurate understanding of the physical world and what to expect from the behaviour of others.<sup>78</sup>

The situation presently facing many "appropriators" is one in which lessons learned over generations are ill suited to current pressures on natural resources. It is vital developed and underdeveloped peoples establish a state of dynamic equilibrium between themselves and wild nature. Programs for reserve-neighbour interaction should seek to expedite a return to dynamic equilibrium through enabling conservation to contribute to the well being of all peoples, not only developed groups. If *conservation education* were integral to the Giant's Castle extension program, this objective would be furthered.

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<sup>77</sup> Brown and Wyckoff-Baird 1994, p. 10.

<sup>78</sup> Ostrom 1990, p. 34.

## Sustainable living

At Giant's Castle reserve-neighbour interaction furthers development objectives and the NRP objective of building neighbour support for protected areas. Empowerment however is not the result of neighbours' supporting the Giant's Castle reserve. To ensure the integrity of the reserve, reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle must facilitate the long-term coexistence of area people and *their* environment, a component of which is the reserve environment. From the remnants of the kingdom of Langalibalele, a new *community* can emerge. The community should include reserve staff and other area residents.

In a relatively short period of time reserve extension activity at Giant's Castle has effected a notable improvement in relations between reserve staff and the Mkhize and Amahlubi people. Eighty percent of NPB staff interviewed felt positively about reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle. Mutual goodwill and linkages established between reserve staff and some area residents must be taken a step farther to embrace a *joint* vision for sustainable living. Some Mkhize and Amahlubi people recognise the interdependence between environmental integrity and socio-economic integrity for the reserve-neighbour *community*; other community members must do likewise. At present extension activities at Giant's Castle are a series of at best *loosely connected initiatives* which result in scattered elements of *community* empowerment. If Giant's Castle staff wish to fulfil their stated objective of being seen as part of a community, they must behave as part of the *community* and develop an *area-wide management strategy* with the Mkhize, Amahlubi and other community members. Reserve interaction with area residents can then be structured around enabling *people* to be the key contributors in bringing to fruition the strategy for sustainable living.

Reserve-neighbour interactions at Giant's Castle engage issues specific to protected area *neighbours*; interaction has largely taken place outside the officially protected area. Issues related to neighbour employment and management of the Langalibalele grave site, although involving the protected area, do not question the conservation agency's management of reserve natural resources. Perhaps for this reason protected area-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle has been comparatively

straightforward. Sustainable living is about the social, economic and environmental integrity of the *community* of the reserve and its neighbours. Sustainable living at Giants Castle thus demands the issue of *how* a reserve is managed also be engaged. Management should contribute to promoting area socio-economic and environmental integrity, empowering neighbours to manage their own natural resources outside the protected area.

## NPB INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

### Approach to Neighbour Relations

Introducing the NRP the NPB states:

It has become evident in recent years that the conservation efforts and successes of the Natal Parks Board have not been widely understood and appreciated. This is particularly so among the less privileged communities of Natal and more specifically the people who live in close proximity to the protected areas of the Board.<sup>79</sup>

Conclusions echoed in the 1993 Strategic Planning Report: "A major part of the public is not aware of the relevance of the service the Natal Parks Board provides."<sup>80</sup> These descriptions seem to assume less privileged groups in Natal should appreciate NPB efforts. The NPB has enjoyed success at conserving species and ecosystems. However, if its conservation success is judged by the Board's contribution to developing a management strategy for the province of KwaZulu-Natal, like the KDNC it would have performed poorly. The NPB acknowledges rural black people have not shared in the benefits of conservation. An approach to interaction with neighbours under which NPB plans to "*inform* the immediate neighbours about the vital importance of nature conservation"<sup>81</sup>, does not seem to espouse a participatory approach. Indeed such an approach may achieve less than one in which NPB staff and neighbours together develop a plan for sustainable living, which enables the concerns of *both* developed and underdeveloped peoples to be met.

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<sup>79</sup> Natal Parks Board 1991, p. 20.

<sup>80</sup> Natal Parks Board 1993, appendix 2.

<sup>81</sup> Natal Parks Board 1991, p. 20, italics mine.



### **Bureaucratic factors**

In keeping with the organization of NR activities in NPB, reserve extension activities at Giant's Castle have largely been the work of the current OIC and before him the retired EAO. With the retirement of the EAO the embryonic relationship between himself and neighbour contacts collapsed without lines of communication having been established between the reserve and neighbours. Area residents who had had contact with the EAO did not know how to contact reserve staff with his retirement. Forums he had been instrumental in launching ceased to meet with his departure. In the work with which the OIC has been involved with neighbours--the water and school projects--the same potential for reserve-neighbour relations breaking down exists with his departure.

The successes extension activity at Giant's Castle has enjoyed in terms of bringing development projects to fruition are due significantly to the devotion of the above individuals to interaction with neighbours. NPB reserves acknowledged to have the most advanced NR programs--Mkuzi, Giant's Castle, Itala and others--are those with OICs interested in participating in and in improving reserve-neighbour interaction. What is the incentive for less interested OICs at other reserves to undertake the 9 of 13 tasks with which they are charged under the NRP? While dedicated Environmental Awareness staff can provide facilitory support, time constraints prevent their assuming responsibility for daily management of NR initiatives. Further Awareness staff indicate, they are powerless to encourage OICs who "don't want to implement the Neighbours program" to do so.

Neighbour Relations in NPB is characterized by a lack of accountability for policy implementation. To the NPB's credit progress on NR is a topic at annual reserve management meetings. However a senior coordinating structure for NR activity able to provide direction and promote accountability does not exist in NPB. Efforts are made to implement Neighbour Relations activities at certain protected areas but not at others. NR is not integral to the activities of the NPB.

Neighbour Relations activity in NPB does not reflect a coordinated organizational effort. While a well publicized NR Policy has been developed, outside of the activities of Awareness staff, the Parks Board has done little to define an *institutional* framework for NR activities. A gap exists

between NR policy and the activities which in practice comprise NR. Many of these activities focus on community development, yet staff lack community development skills or linkages to a network of development facilitators. Already burdened OICs have not been provided with or necessarily linked to staff who could lend support in implementing the NR Policy. Members of staff able to contribute to extension activities should participate in the NRP. Game Guards and EAGs in particular, in light of their regular contact with and sometimes familial linkages to neighbours, must be enabled to participate in and remain abreast of extension activities and objectives. Activities of the NPB Education Officer could be more closely linked to those of EAOs and EAAs, given Awareness staff's responsibility for education. Staff involved with NR activities indicate that over time many lessons have been learned and knowledge acquired. At present staff indicate no means exist to allow this knowledge to be injected back into the organization. Coordination of activities of staff involved with NR would allow information to be shared throughout the organization, empowering NPB staff to implement the NRP.

Reserve staff should through extension activities develop a relationship not only between themselves and the relatively small segment of neighbours involved with projects, but between themselves and *community* members. The organization must itself take a participatory approach in interaction with neighbours in order to engage them in the development of a strategy for sustainable living. This requires the NPB provide organizational support to individuals now responsible for NR activities and develop linkages with other relevant agencies; where skills or assistance required are beyond the expertise of NPB, it should liaise with facilitating organizations able to further the objective of sustainable living.

NPB reserve level staff should be trained to *facilitate* development activities; EAOs should be community developers. As the effective management of protected areas is increasingly revealed to be tied to the social, economic and environmental integrity of the *community* in which protected areas are situated, reserve staff should be empowered with linkages to other relevant agencies operative at the *community* level. As conservationists, staff are poised to illustrate and exploit

linkages between conservation and development, even when physical development activities are carried out by outside agents.

If the Natal Parks Board wishes to move beyond isolated instances of successful projects and generating publicity around Neighbour Relations initiatives, its staff must be empowered with appropriate support and linkages with other agencies to facilitate everyone's wise use of the biosphere.<sup>82</sup> Placating underdeveloped neighbours with the provision of services tends not to promote empowerment. Neighbours remain dependent upon consumptive use of wild natural resources, which ultimately threatens developed peoples' concerns with wild nature.

### NPB EXTENSION POLICY

Nowhere in the Neighbour Relations Policy is a goal or long-term objective stated. The policy says:

despite the very positive contribution by nature conservation of maintaining... South Africa's wildlife heritage, adverse attitudes towards protected areas are still prevalent amongst some neighbouring communities; and population pressure and social change are exacerbating *this* problem; the Board BELIEVES that accelerated attention should be given to these issues where they concern neighbouring communities and UNDERTAKES to do so...<sup>83</sup>

This statement suggests the NRP's focus is improving rural attitudes to protected areas. To the extent the Policy addresses and is concerned with socio-economic rural development it appears to be for purposes of improving protected area-neighbour relations; the Policy talks about addressing "basic social needs of the neighbouring communities" justifying the action saying: "In the interests of fostering and maintaining good relations with neighbouring communities, there is a need for the Board to be aware of their social needs and aspirations and to take such actions as may be appropriate and possible... to assist the communities to achieve these aims."<sup>84</sup>

Evidence in this study and others (Infield 1986) suggests the best way to win neighbour support for protected areas is through providing them with direct benefits from protected areas. The

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<sup>82</sup> In the future EAAs and OICs will attend training courses in neighbour relations and Participatory Rural Appraisal.

<sup>83</sup> Natal Parks Board 1992, p. 3, italics mine.

<sup>84</sup> Natal Parks Board 1992, p. 15.

basis for this "support" however is questioned, and the hypothesis proposed that support for protected areas is based upon continued receipt of benefits, *without necessary understanding of or commitment to the larger conservation objective and the development process*. Recall the lack of understanding of conservation and protected area objectives expressed by neighbours of Giant's Castle. Does such an approach further the mission of the Natal Parks Board?

Motivation behind working cooperatively with "neighbours" to address socio-economic needs should rather emerge from recognition of NPB reserves and their respective neighbours being members of one *community*. This requires longer term vision than is articulated in the NRP. Support of neighbours for NPB protected areas can emerge within the context of NPB staff and neighbouring groups *mutually* developing a strategy for sustainable living, which promotes *community* social, economic and environmental integrity. The NRP focuses on relatively specific issues such as park boundaries, problem animals, and creating wildlife resource harvesting programmes, but the Neighbour Relations Policy at present does not articulate a *process* that could result in members of the *community* developing a strategy for sustainable living and addressing the root causes of conflicts between neighbours and reserve management, underdeveloped and developed peoples.

The lack of a sound theoretical objective around which strategies can be formulated causes NPB staff to have multiple understandings about the objectives of Neighbour Relations. While flexibility in the realization of any objective is desirable, the objective itself should be shared by all members of an organization allowing them to contribute to the objective. At present many staff members are not even familiar with the NR Policy document.

For individuals not skilled in community development, the policy provides small direction. For example the Policy offers five brief steps for reserve OICs toward establishing neighbour liaison forums (NLFs), while providing no guidance as to their creation, objectives, membership, function, nor relationship *vis a vis* reserve management. Reference is made to the forums in relation to other NRP initiatives, but they are not expressly indicated to be the focal points for reserve-neighbour interaction. The NPB will not be empowered to achieve conservation goals until a NR program

empowers staff with objectives and a methodology for interaction with neighbours. NPB's present approach to Neighbour Relations only enables the NPB temporarily to protect its protected areas.

## **CHAPTER 4: KWAZULU DEPARTMENT OF NATURE CONSERVATION AND KOSI BAY**

### **OVERVIEW AND POLICY**

The KDNC manages some 30 protected areas in KwaZulu and employs 850 individuals. Activities of the KDNC are divided into three regions--South, Central and North--with the Northern region being the focus of conservation activity. The Secretary (director) of the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation indicates that since its creation in 1982 as the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, the organization has had two objectives: It has sought to increase the amount of protected land in KwaZulu. Success on this front has resulted in 2.9% of KwaZulu or 103 605 hectares now falling under protected status. Acknowledging that islands of protection would not endure amidst a sea of degraded land, the KDNC's second objective has been to develop a conservation strategy for KwaZulu. The thrust of this strategy is the KDNC's work with communities.

KDNC extension programs are not carried out under any unified policy other than the KBNR mission statement. Extension activities are referred to by staff as "community involvement" programs. "Community involvement" includes individual *policies* which affect communities living in the wards in which KDNC protected areas are located, and *the activities of extension staff* carried out generally through KwaZulu. One can attempt to discern principles which inform extension activities from KDNC documents:

The most important issue in forming the policy of the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources is the Third World context in which it finds itself. Historically, the Zulu nation was confined to the Reserves allocated originally by the Colonial Government... The deprived state of the mass of the people in KwaZulu, particularly in the rural areas, seriously affects the Bureau of Natural Resources' ability to protect the environment. The greater proportion of the population rely in one or another way upon the natural resources for survival on a daily, monthly and annual basis.<sup>85</sup>

Local communities are the focal point of our conservation efforts. Consequently the Bureau actively and persistently encourages rural communities to identify and manage their own natural resources.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources. "Environmental Policy Statement".

<sup>86</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources. "Conservation and Tourism: the 1990's and Beyond".

The KDNC Secretary indicates the organization has sought to a) redress the colonial conservation legacy which separated people and conservation b) enable communities to benefit from the presence of protected areas and c) improve relations between communities and protected area management. The Secretary indicates the organization recognizes people's historic rights to now protected areas and the inalienable connection of people to the land. The KDNC thus supports involvement of communities in protected area management.

KDNC has two *policies* affecting protected area neighbours:

...the Bureau has adopted two major policies affecting local communities over the years. They are:

- The fundamental right of locals living adjacent to a proclaimed area to have access to that area for their specific needs, be it collecting reeds, herbs, fishing and of course recreation.
- That local communities earn 25 percent per annum of the revenue from any tourist facility that has been or will be established in any proclaimed area.<sup>87</sup>

With regard to the latter policy, 25% of *gross* protected area revenues are allocated to communities of the ward in which the protected area is situated. These policies allow communities direct financial and material benefits from reserves in their area.

More recently the KDNC has explored joint venture ecotourism developments with communities near protected areas. Joint ventures involve a partnership between private developers, communities, and ISIVUNO, the private sector arm of the KDNC. Communities are at least 25% shareholders in these projects entitling them to 25% of *net* profits. Support for such joint venture tourism developments is provided by the KDNC Conservation Trust. As required by law in the former homeland of KwaZulu, each example of KDNC extension activity described is mediated through KwaZulu tribal authority sanctioned structures.

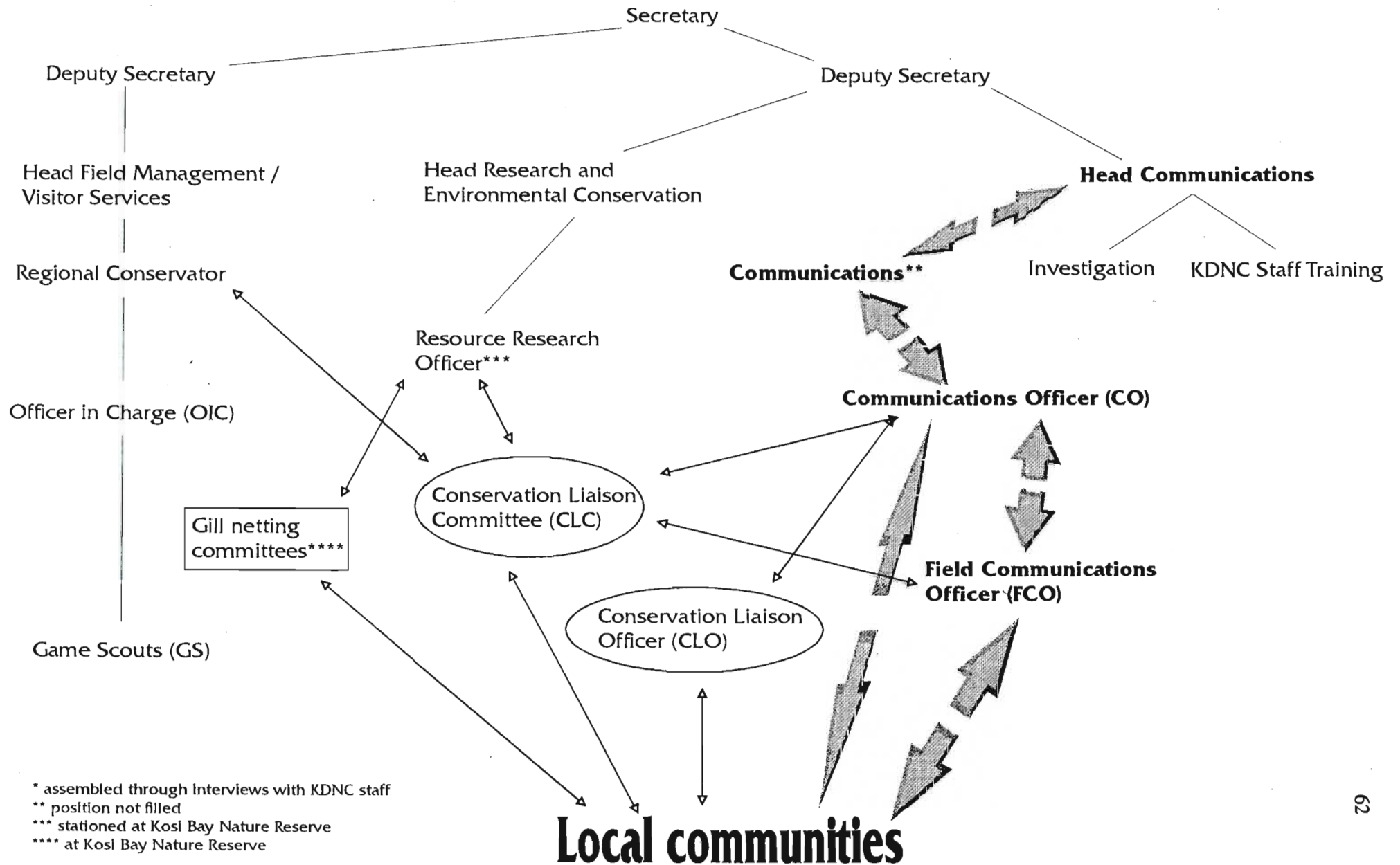
## ORGANIZATION OF EXTENSION ACTIVITIES IN KDNC

Figure 3 is the KDNC flow diagram for extension. As with figure 1 bold-face staff represent the bureaucratic nucleus for extension, involved on a daily basis with extension activities. Large

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<sup>87</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources. "Conservation and Tourism: the 1990's and Beyond".

FIGURE 3: Flow diagram for extension activities in KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation\*



\* assembled through interviews with KDNC staff  
 \*\* position not filled  
 \*\*\* stationed at Kosi Bay Nature Reserve  
 \*\*\*\* at Kosi Bay Nature Reserve



arrows depict frequently used channels for communication related to extension work. Small arrows represent less active channels for communication about extension activities, while lines indicate the chain of command without reference to extension work. Within the KDNC tasks are allocated by division. Indicated in figure 3 the Communications division is responsible for KDNC extension work. In the Northern region inter-divisional coordination is envisaged to occur on a monthly basis at meetings of the Regional Planning Group consisting of senior staff.

The Communications division seeks to make KwaZulu communities aware of the importance of their natural environment toward having a responsible attitude to the environment. Within the division there are 16 officers responsible for coordinating and working with communities in the field. In the Northern region, consisting of the Ubombo and Ingwavuma districts, staff explain that in practice there are four individuals responsible for Communications tasks.

A primary audience for Communications field work is school children. Communications activities include visits to and projects with schools addressing either subject matter germane to school curricula or general conservation issues, audio-visual presentations for people, and assisting communities to establish wood lots for fuel. Projects with schools include establishing conservation clubs. Clubs raise awareness on environmental issues of special relevance to communities such as litter prevention and erosion control. Officers indicate the gist of these activities is to encourage communities to practice living strategies friendly to the environment and to appreciate linkages between people's activities, livelihoods and environmental impacts.

The Communications division is assisted by the activities of the Conservation Liaison Officer (CLO), who is a resident of the ward in which a reserve is situated, appointed by the area tribal authority. As a resident this individual facilitates dialogue between the KDNC and other ward residents, attending reserve management meetings.

Conservation Liaison Committees (CLCs) are an attempt to facilitate dialogue and resolve issues between the KDNC and ward residents. Although each CLC has its own structure, representatives from the KDNC including the regional Communications Officer (CO), ward tribal

authority and possibly other ward residents constitute CLC membership. CLCs seek to provide an opportunity for residents' input to shape local KDNC policies.

There is no provision for formal reserve-based extension under the KDNC extension strategy.

## **KOSI BAY: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

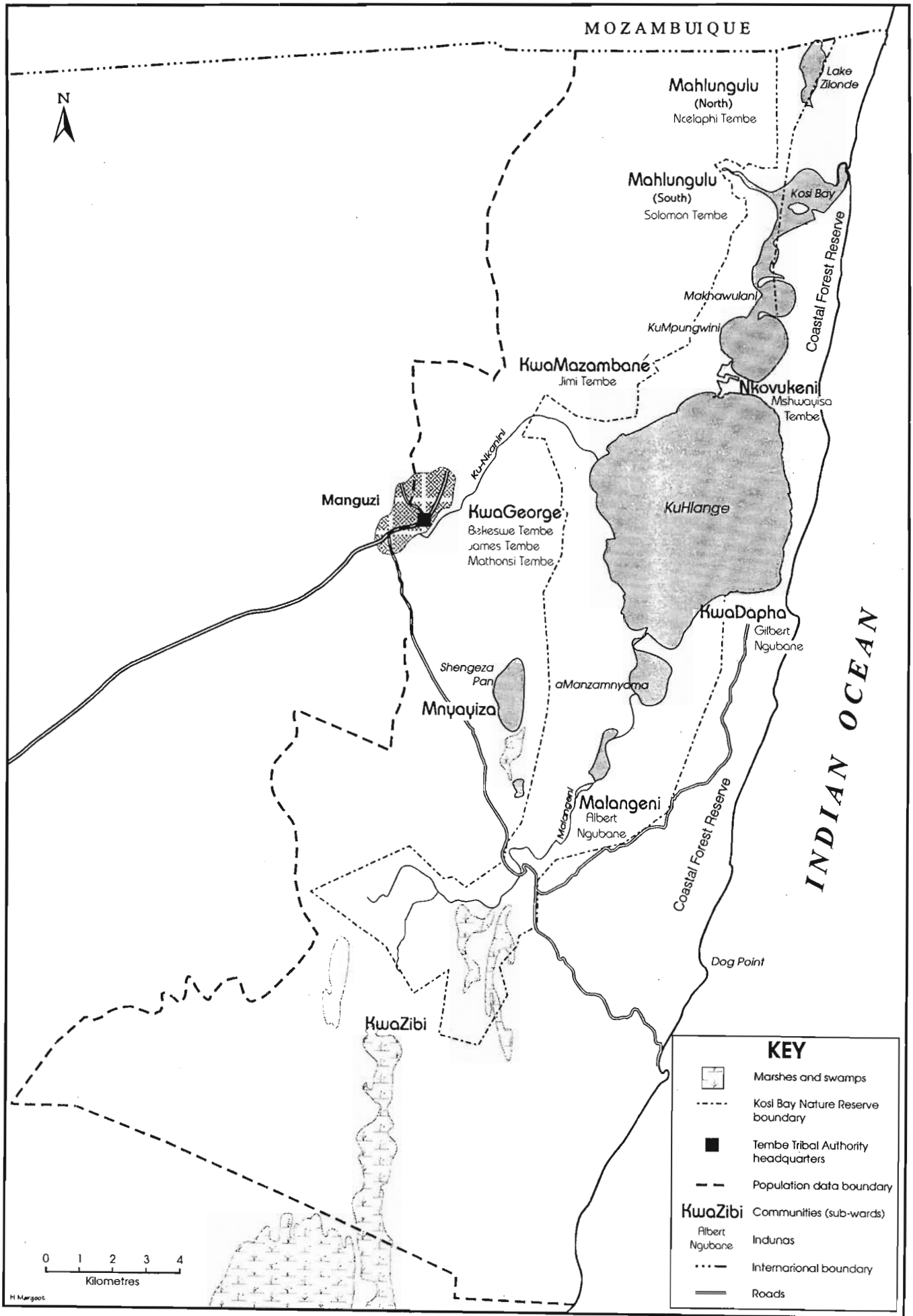
The KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources<sup>88</sup> was confronted with a challenge in the 1980s. Inheriting control of the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve from the Natal Parks Board, it was charged with the management of an environmentally sensitive area under generally increasing population and other pressures. Population growth among Kosi Bay area residents (table 2, p. 67) had resulted in new pressures on the area natural resource base, demanding system intervention by the conservation agency. The Kosi Bay Nature Reserve was formally proclaimed in 1987. Following the proclamation conflict between the KBNR and reserve neighbours resulted in adverse publicity for the KBNR. This included depictions of the situation by the Centre for Community Organization, Research and Development (CORD) and the Association for Rural Advancement (AFRA), followed by national and international press coverage of the Kosi Bay situation which portrayed the KBNR negatively.<sup>89</sup>

In an effort to remain true to the aspirations of its mission statement, staff indicate since the establishment of the reserve the KDNC has devoted considerable effort to improving relations between itself and Kosi Bay area residents. KDNC staff have launched a variety of initiatives, but say the process of improving relations is slow. Indications are that KDNC-area resident relations have improved and are no longer characterized by overt hostility. For example game scouts indicate they were required to remain in groups when venturing outside the reserve to discourage being attacked by local residents; today they say they are able to move more freely within neighbouring areas. Formal and informal linkages exist between reserve staff and neighbours in the form of employment,

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<sup>88</sup> Few residents of the Kosi Bay area are aware of the recent upgrading of the Bureau of Natural Resources to Department status. Having always known the organization as KBNR, individuals continue to refer to it in this manner, thus the use of both KDNC and KBNR as acronyms to refer to the organization in the thesis.

<sup>89</sup> Association for Rural Advancement, January 1990.



Kosi Bay Area Map

personal contacts and resource harvesting. Current protected area-neighbour interaction must be viewed against the historical context of relations.

Ecologically the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve is one of the gems of the protected area system in South Africa. Including the northern portion of the Coastal Forest Reserve, it stretches from Dog Point north to the Mozambique border (see Kosi Bay area map). The coastal strip of the reserve is inhabited by the people of Nkovukeni, KwaDapha, and Malangeni. The Kosi lake system, the heart of the reserve, is among the last non-degraded estuaries in South Africa and contains the last operating traditional fish kraals. Its import as a protected area also includes five simultaneously occurring species of mangroves, the largest natural stands of raffia palms in South Africa, and 75% of South Africa's swamp forests. It is an important sanctuary in South Africa for juveniles of several species of marine fish, and marine beaches serve as nesting grounds for leatherback and loggerhead turtles.<sup>90</sup>

The Kosi Bay Nature Reserve is located in the Tembe ward. With forty-nine sub-wards the Tembe ward is amongst the larger wards of KwaZulu. It occupies the eastern portion of the district of Ingwavuma in the northeastern corner of Natal. With its large size comes a great variety of groups and factions. Divisions exist within the Tembe ward of political, cultural, ethnic, religious, familial and virtually every other nature making it a dynamic and vibrant area. Historically a Thonga region, majority inhabitants today are a mixture of Thongas and Zulus. Forcibly separated by colonial and now national borders, the Thongas of the area enjoy strong links to the population of southern Mozambique and collectively form the Maputo people.<sup>91</sup> Languages spoken in the area include Thonga (particularly among the older inhabitants) Zulu and English. Area residents survive on pension incomes, remittances from migrant workers, salaries from KDNC employment, rain-fed agriculture—primarily maize, ground nuts and pumpkins, and use of the *different* natural resource bases inside and outside the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve boundary.

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<sup>90</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources. "Features Unique to the Kosi Coastal Forest Reserve".

<sup>91</sup> Felgate 1982.

## FACTUAL HISTORY: KOSI BAY AREA

Under the control of local people, then the Department of Forestry in the early 1950s, followed by the Natal Parks Board and then the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources in 1982, the Kosi Bay area has long enjoyed semi protected status. KDNC staff indicate motivation behind the formal proclamation of the 11 000 hectare reserve was protection of the Kosi Bay estuary. Specifically targeted in the terrestrial portion of the proclamation were the swamp forests abutting portions of the lake system. Swamp forests act as the major filtration agents for the lake system thus protecting fundamental ecological processes of the system. Increasingly the swamp forests were threatened by area residents cultivating bananas and other cash crops in swamp forest and the accompanying drainage of these areas. For many years bananas had been cultivated in the swamp forests, but conservation officials citing the onset of civil war in Mozambique in 1975 and associated influx of refugees to South Africa, saw increased commercialization of banana cultivation in swamp forests posing, in the view of the KDNC, a critical long-term threat to the Kosi Bay lake system. As such motivation was made for the formal proclamation of the reserve. Table 2 presents population data for the Kosi Bay area. The "Population data boundary" indicated on the Kosi Bay area map demarcates the area for which population data were compiled.

**TABLE 2: POPULATION DATA FOR KOSI BAY AREA 1975-1992<sup>92</sup>**

Year	1975	1980	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988	1992
Population	10099	10579	12019	11408	11416	12321	13451	15505
Percent increase		5	14	(-5)	0	8	9	15

KBNR negotiations with reserve neighbours over the establishment of the reserve occurred with members of the Tembe Tribal Authority (TTA) without direct input from Kosi Bay area

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<sup>92</sup> Source: Medical Research Council (MRC) and KwaZulu Department of Health. Incomplete data for 1980 resulted in estimation of certain figures.

residents.<sup>93</sup> In 1986 a committee was established to redefine the borders of the Malangeni Forest Reserve (now contained in the southern part of the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve). Committee members included representation from the KBNR, the KwaZulu government, and the Tembe Tribal Authority--including the Conservation Liaison Officer and *izinduna* from some affected areas. Citing a proclamation made in the 1950s to establish a reserve in the Kosi Bay area beyond the borders of the existing Malangeni Forest Reserve, the Committee, according to the KBNR,<sup>94</sup> did not address the issue of *if a reserve was to be established*, but only that of if and how people inhabiting proclaimed land should be compensated. This committee came to be known as the "Compensation Committee". When the Ingwavuma magistrate, chair of the Compensation Committee, presented a plan outlining the boundaries of the reserve and procedures for compensation at a meeting of the TTA, people present rejected the proposal. Concerns raised about the proposal were assuaged by the magistrate who urged them not to worry, explaining the plan to be only a "concept" proposal. According to Committee members such was the extent of formal opportunity for public input in discussions on the establishment of the reserve.

Some short time later the people of northern Mahlungulu sought a resolution with KBNR over problem hippos and wild pigs that were raiding their fields. In the past residents trapped and killed hippos which raided their crops. Hippo are a protected species and people are not permitted to destroy these animals. The Bureau enforced the prohibition on killing hippos resulting in residents requesting a fence be erected to stop raiding hippos. This request from *one* sub-ward neighbouring the reserve combined with the agreements reached at the Compensation Committee initiated the fencing of the entire reserve.

Plans were made for Communications staff to discuss the establishment of the reserve with area residents who would be moved. Staff indicate however that only those residents whose *izinduna* consented to the proclamation of the reserve were able to be reached by Communications staff.

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<sup>93</sup> Compensation committee members.

<sup>94</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, 1990.

Residents under *izinduna* who objected to the creation of the reserve had no contact with the KBNR concerning the establishment of the reserve, except for having their property assessed under the Compensation Committee procedure. Communications staff confirm they were unable to discuss the establishment of the reserve with some residents; they assert Field Management staff got impatient with the slow interactive process with area residents and simply erected the fence, destroying some residents' crops in the process. Events surrounding the establishment of the reserve demonstrate the fundamental conflict between developed and underdeveloped peoples' interests in wild nature.

## **KDNC INTERACTION WITH KOSI BAY AREA RESIDENTS**

### **Resource harvesting**

In keeping with KDNC policy neighbours are allowed use of reserve resources deemed sustainable by the KDNC. Table 3 details the accessibility of resources typically harvested by Kosi Bay area residents. It reflects comparatively recent changes in KDNC policy. Until 1992 harvesting of red bait, oysters, and mussels was prohibited as it was thought to be non-sustainable. Similarly legal fishing with nets (gill netting) has only been permitted since 1992; 35 individuals now receive monthly gill netting permits. KDNC officials concede differences exist between official policy and practice; with recent changes in KDNC policy, different personalities, attitudes and knowledge of KDNC policy among Game Scouts charged with monitoring resource use result in variations in the nature and intensity of enforcement.

**TABLE 3: ACCESSIBILITY OF RESERVE RESOURCES HARVESTED  
BY KOSI BAY AREA RESIDENTS**

<b>RESOURCE</b>	<b>FREE ACCESS</b>	<b>CONTROL 1</b>	<b>CONTROL 2</b>	<b>PROHIBITED</b>
Building poles			X	
Fishtrap wood		X		
Firewood		X		
Shellfish		X		
Fish trapping		X	/	
Gill netting with KDNC permit			X	
Gill netting w/out permit				X
Spear fishing		X		
Spear fishing with goggles				X
Rod fishing		X		
Ncema sedge		X		
Reeds	X			
All other grasses	X			
Wild fruits	X			
All wild game				X
Honey	X			
Palm wine	X			
<i>Muthi</i> plants			X	
Raffia palms		X		

*Controlled 1: use restrictions determined by KDNC and area residents*  
*Controlled 2: use restrictions determined by KDNC*



## Gill netting

The focus of KDNC efforts in the area of sustainable resource harvesting has been the formalization of gill netting activities by Kosi Bay area residents. KDNC research yielded scientifically determined, sustainable use levels for fish in the Kosi lake system. Thus in 1992 the KDNC introduced a gill netting permit scheme, allowing neighbours legal gill netting privileges.<sup>95</sup> Introduction of the system was in response to years of complaints about restrictions on fishing, instances of illegal fishing, and attempts by area residents to exploit fish resources. For example in 1989 KwaDapha residents formed the Vik'indlala fishing committee; members indicate it was created with the objective of starting a small business selling frozen fish. The committee requested permits from the KBNR in a letter signed by their induna, but received no response to their proposal from the KBNR. Today KwaDapha residents harvest fish under the KDNC introduced scheme.

Under the gill netting system permits are awarded in conjunction with *izinduna*, and participating neighbours are encouraged to form gill netting committees. As envisaged by KDNC officials, the fishing committees should generate neighbour organization around the need to manage fish resources sustainably; permits were to be rotated amongst neighbours on a monthly basis.

Since the introduction of the program, KDNC staff and participating neighbours indicate permits have tended not to be rotated amongst individuals. In practice gill netting "committees" consist of that group of individuals awarded permits at the inauguration of the system. Those with permits are reluctant to yield them, though several individuals sometimes share one permit. For a short period in 1994 KwaGeorge residents indicated they stopped using the permit system altogether due to conflict between those residents wanting to fish with permits for reasons of subsistence and those refusing to be associated with any program started by the KDNC. KDNC staff say that the system continues to improve with more total permits being shared and up to five people sharing individual permits.

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<sup>95</sup> Areas currently participating in the system are KwaMazambane, KwaGeorge, KwaDapha and Nkovukeni.

Willingness to work within the permit system parameters of net size and fish size seems to be lacking. Free from restrictions on net size and fish size, area fishermen claim and KDNC staff concede, fishing illegally fishermen can and do catch more fish and earn more money, in spite of potentially severe financial penalties, than they do fishing legally under the permit system. This reality is likely a force behind continued instances of illegal gill netting. The gill netting permit system has not yet empowered area residents to manage the resource themselves.

### **Allocation of reserve revenues**

Communities in the Tembe ward annually receive 25% of the revenues from all ward KDNC facilities including the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve. This money is received by the Tembe Tribal Authority, and administered along with its other revenues. Speaking on the 25% of revenues from the KDNC, Minister M. Buthelezi describes its intent: "This was an effort to invest in the development and the upliftment of the communities living adjacent to the reserves."<sup>96</sup> Table 4 details TTA finances with special reference to the 25% of KDNC revenues allocated to the TTA. Line 5: "Expenditure on community development" was defined as all ledger items indicating expenditure on projects in Tembe communities, programs for Tembe communities, and school bursaries. In cases where TTA ledger items suggested expenditures might have gone toward these activities but it was unclear, they were so allocated. The figure is therefore a generous statistic of allocation to community development. It should be noted that at least a portion of "TTA operating expenses" (line 3) must be viewed as overhead for community development expenditure (line 5). One might presume a similar percentage of expenditure in line 2 (vehicle, transport and subsistence expenses of TTA members) has also contributed to expenditure on community development.

Over the six year period revenues from the KDNC have supplied the Tribal Authority with almost 60% of its total operating budget. Over that same period under 20% of *total* TTA expenditure has been directly allocated to community development (line 10). If it is assumed for the moment that

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<sup>96</sup> Buthelezi 1995.

**TABLE 4: TEMBE TRIBAL AUTHORITY EXPENDITURE 1988-1993**

(in rands unless otherwise indicated)	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992	1993	TOTAL 1988-1993	6 year average.
1.Salaries and bonuses to TTA members	R41 645,22	R45 415,12	R65 983,85	R61 270,65	R54 470,22	R64 228,00	R333 022,06	R55 502,18
2.Vehicle transport and subsistence expenses of TTA members	R15 935,64	R22 716,20	R19 839,34	R18 309,79	R30 149,98	R15 046,97	R121 997,92	R20 332,99
3.TTA operating expenses	with (4)	R2 200,90	R5 858,19	R11 161,26	R14 258,46	R15 759,76	R49 238,57	R9 847,71
4.Miscellaneous TTA expenditure	R2 334,92	R11 115,58	R10 890,97	R22 553,42	R42 829,98	R29 353,37	R119 078,24	R19 846,37
5.Expenditure on community development	R6 189,00	R10 218,50	R19 581,00	R25 254,00	R63 648,84	R27 263,25	R152 154,59	R25 359,10
6.Total TTA expenditure	R66 104,78	R91 666,30	R122 153,35	R138 549,12	R205 357,48	R151 651,35	R775 482,35	R129 247,06
7.Revenue from KDNC to TTA	R35 764,50	R64 172,75	R113 946,86	R19 933,57	R95 736,39	R235 589,10	R565 143,18	R94 190,53
8.Total TTA revenues	R76 276,53	R94 191,93	R155 440,92	R72 200,07	R261 281,03	R290 768,27	R950 176,75	R158 359,79
9.KDNC revenue (7)/ total TTA revenue	47%	68%	73%	28%	37%	81%	NA	59%
10.Community expenditure (5)/ total TTA expenditure	9%	11%	16%	18%	31%	18%	NA	20%
11.Community expenditure (5)/ revenue from KDNC to TTA	17%	16%	17%	127%	66%	12%	NA	27%

Source: Tembe Tribal Authority Ledger.

the Tembe Tribal Authority spends none of its own (non-KDNC) revenues on community development and that only money received from KDNC reserves goes toward expenditure in communities, then *over the six year period only 27% of total KDNC reserve revenues awarded for community development have actually been so allocated* (line 11). If it is again assumed that no non-KDNC TTA monies are used for purposes of community development and then that expenditure on community development does not actually reflect significant overhead costs incurred by the TTA, and a 50% overhead is applied to expenditure on community development (line 5), it remains that at most 40% of the revenues the KDNC seeks to invest in communities are actually invested. School bursaries are the source of much of community development expenditure (line 5). Empirically, it seems unlikely projects such as these would incur significant overhead costs if any, implying the percentage of KDNC revenues being invested in communities is closer to 27%.

Noted above Bureau policy states: "That *local communities* earn 25 percent per annum of the revenue from any tourist facility that has been or will be established in any proclaimed area."<sup>97</sup> While the KDNC is meeting its legal requirement by allocating 25% of revenues to the TTA, it is not apparent what if anything *Kosi Bay area residents* "earn" from KDNC revenues.

### Conservation Liaison Officer

For many years a focus of KDNC extension efforts at Kosi Bay has been the Conservation Liaison Officer position, held by Rev. J. Msinga, appointed by and a member of the TTA executive. According to the CLO he is an unsalaried, untrained individual who works without assistants. The CLO is officially responsible for dialogue between the Department and all Kosi Bay reserve neighbours and for relations between the KDNC and all other communities among the forty nine Tembe sub-wards. The CLO's self described responsibility is that of a "communicator" between the KDNC and Tembe ward communities. He indicates he represents the interests of the KDNC and the TTA. Notably, he does not profess to represent interests of the people with whom he communicates.

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<sup>97</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources. "Conservation and Tourism: the 1990's and Beyond", italics mine.

### **Employment of area women**

Recognizing women's pivotal role in family structure, a KDNC staff member indicates he employed area women to clear invasive flora from the reserve. Women earned temporary financial benefit from employment, allowing them to address necessities for themselves and their children. Interviews revealed women involved did not know why eradication of the plant was necessary, and claimed to have learned nothing about the reserve through being employed.

### **Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee**

The Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee (TCLC), formed in March 1993, is a forum for addressing issues between communities of the Tembe ward and the KDNC. Originally the TCLC executive consisted of senior KBNR officials including the Director, and members of the TTA. It is now being restructured to include an additional 10 representatives elected from Tembe communities. The "new" TCLC will seek to promote and manage a relationship between communities of the Tembe ward and the KDNC. A KDNC TCLC member indicates long term vision for the Committee is to involve communities adjoining protected areas in the wise management of the protected area. Salaried staff of the TCLC include a coordinator, administrator, administrative assistant, and 6 facilitators who address specific issues on ground between the KDNC and Tembe communities. The TCLC has an office in Manguzi.

TCLC members explain the committee has become embroiled in Tembe ward politics, which has checked the committee's ability to address issues between Tembe communities and the KDNC. Further, although representatives from several of the forty-nine Tembe sub-wards attend TCLC meetings, logistical realities of transportation and communication make their regular attendance at meetings problematic. TCLC members acknowledge that it has yet to address the localized issues between Kosi Bay reserve neighbours and the KDNC. KDNC representatives on the TCLC suggest future KDNC interaction with Tembe communities may become more localized and / or reserve-based.

### Ecotourism development at Shengeza pan

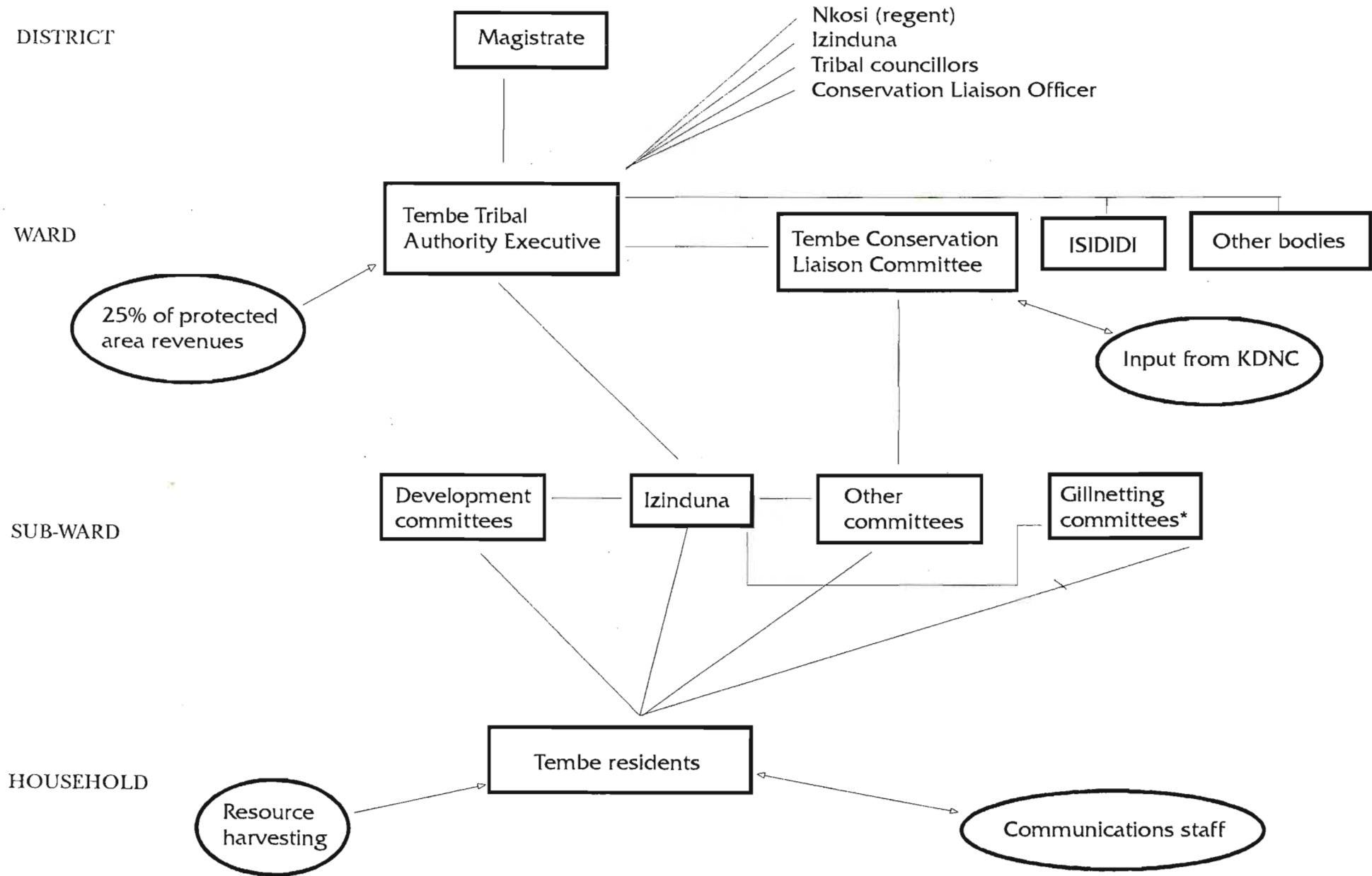
The KBNR refused to move "problem" hippos living in Shengeza pan (see Kosi Bay area map) reportedly after requests from Mnyayiza residents. Negotiations between KBNR and residents led to an agreement such that the Bureau fenced the pan so as to allow residents to continue to have access to their land while preventing hippos from straying into areas where they could cause damage. Residents launched an initiative appropriately named Umvuma-Mvubu to develop ecotourism in Shengeza pan. They formally constituted a development committee and contacted a consultant employed by the Department of Economic Affairs to plan Shengeza development. Following above negotiations between KBNR and Mnyayiza residents, dialogue decreased between them and the Bureau. The project has stalled reportedly as a result of KDNC (in)action. According to private developers working independently with both the KDNC and Mnyayiza residents, the KDNC is holding up ecotourism development at Shengeza in order to plan their own development for the pan. Residents are unclear as to who is in fact responsible for and overseeing development at Shengeza pan and cite poor communication between the KDNC and themselves as a source of difficulties. Umvuma-Mvubu members suspect the KDNC of planning a competing development at Shengeza; relations with the KDNC have soured. KDNC officials acknowledge bureaucratic delays, but indicate they are not holding up the development. Improved communication between KDNC and area residents might diffuse tension and allow Shengeza development to satisfy KDNC and residents' concerns.

As at Giant's Castle, it is unclear that KDNC initiatives with residents of the Tembe ward form part of a process or that they effect the empowerment of reserve neighbours.

### ORGANIZATION IN THE TEMBE WARD

Tembe communities are organized under a tribal authority system like other KwaZulu communities. Following the death of *Nkosi* Mzimba Tembe in 1992, a new *nkosi* has yet to be selected; the area is currently served by a regent. Figure 4 describes organization in Tembe

**FIGURE 4: Organization of Tembe ward communities and KDNC linkages**



communities. *Izinduna* operating at the sub-ward level and who are members of the TA executive may attend weekly meetings of the TTA. Issues of transportation and physical distance from TTA offices in Manguzi however can preclude regular attendance. The areas of KwaDapha, Nkovukeni, Malangeni and Mahlungulu are accessible only with a 4x4 vehicle, the trip between Manguzi and KwaDapha, Nkovukeni or Malangeni requiring about one hour (see Kosi Bay area map).

Authority of the TTA appeared to vary within sub-wards and among *izinduna* and area residents. Having received permission from the acting *nkosi* at a meeting of the TTA executive to work in sub-wards around Kosi Bay, I discovered this did not preclude gaining permission at the local level. It became necessary to come to individual arrangements with some *izinduna* in order to conduct research in their areas. At least one Kosi Bay area induna rejects the legitimacy of TTA. At the household level Kosi Bay area residents' allegiance to *izinduna* and TTA structures also varied. This is examined below. In addition to the TTA other significant organized structures in the ward include the Manguzi Community Project, *Isididi*, the TCLC and various sub-ward development committees. These structures are established with the support of the TTA.

## ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS OF KDNC STAFF

### Extension objectives

A KDNC official notes: "There is no doubt that the pressure placed by local people on the reserve affects the [quality of] reserve management." Staff support a need for better relations with reserve neighbours than those which existed in the past: "If we are going to manage to succeed in conservation, we need better relations with communities." A senior KDNC officer suggests the need for better relations with neighbours has only recently been embraced by the organization. Until the 1990's the Bureau had no need to look beyond its protected areas to implement its conservation agenda; area residents possessed no political power and accordingly formal negotiation with them did not occur. With the advent of the new South Africa and the political empowerment of black people,



interaction and negotiation with them is required to bring conservation objectives to fruition.<sup>98</sup> The post 1990 approach has required a shift in attitudes throughout the organization.

Head of the Communications division indicates the KDNC seeks 100% commitment of communities to conservation over the long-term; from people's support for conservation will naturally flow support for protected areas. Northern region staff suggest the KDNC strives to achieve a relationship of mutual understanding and mutual respect between itself and protected area neighbours, achieved principally by talking with neighbours "until you fall down". In pursuit of such a relationship staff acknowledge the need to move beyond the mutual suspicion, characteristic of the KBNR-neighbour relationship in the past, and accept that the intent of neighbours *vis a vis* protected areas is not evil. KDNC staff feel neighbours must engage in a similar process *vis a vis* the organization.

#### **Establishment of the reserve**

A KDNC official at Kosi Bay suggests the Bureau's objective was to establish a reserve; it was felt by the organization that relations with area residents could then be addressed. In the opinion of a Field Communications Officer responsible for informing area residents about the reserve:

We couldn't succeed in our efforts to do environmental education and win local support for the reserve because KBNR [head office] had already decided that a reserve would be made at Kosi Bay. If real negotiations had taken place with the local people, this fence wouldn't be here today.

KBNR officers in the northern region who participated in establishing the reserve confirm the organization's intention was for affected residents to have no recourse but to accept the imposition of the reserve, take compensation, and move elsewhere. KDNC officials further acknowledge that talks between the TTA and KDNC, which in theory provided an agreement for the proclamation of the reserve, failed to reach, be understood or accepted by local people.

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<sup>98</sup> personal interview.

## Programs with communities

Defining and implementing sustainable natural resource harvesting programs has been the thrust of KDNC programs with Kosi Bay area residents. The KDNC believes reserve resource harvesting in Kosi Bay Nature Reserve satisfies many of the natural resources demands of people living in and around the reserve.

271 people were involved with harvesting [fish, cracker shrimps, crabs, incema and umhlanga grasses] on a regular basis while a further 605 people were involved occasionally. In other words, virtually all the local residents benefit from utilisation at Kosi Bay and those who don't have chosen not to.<sup>99</sup>

In the opinion of the Resource Research Officer: "In some areas I think we've gone quite a way toward satisfying the demands for [access to the fish resource]." The officer however acknowledges difficulties in implementing the gill netting permit system, attributing some difficulties to the fact that: "There is a backlog of issues with the Department in the area." Another officer felt that KDNC efforts would be better spent trying to improve relations with Kosi Bay residents before attempting to initiate specific programs with people hostile to the KDNC. In light of still present illegal gill netting activities, it would seem area residents have yet to be satisfied by access to the fish resource they have been granted.

## Framework for extension

KDNC staff indicate their interaction with communities in the Tembe ward to be less than effective. No KDNC staff members interviewed felt entirely positively about the organization's extension program, and 18% of interviewees were negative about it. Communications officials suggest they are understaffed. A Field Communications Officer (FCO) estimated "I doubt if during the 3 year period which I worked for KBNR we managed to reach 50% of the communities at Ubombo / Ingwavuma." He indicated "reached" to mean a single address by an FCO of a public meeting. KDNC staff cite the CLO position as one weakness in the KDNC extension strategy. Staff indicate the appointed CLO tends not to attend management meetings and is ineffective at facilitating

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<sup>99</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, 1990.

communication; both KDNC officials and residents familiar with the Tembe ward CLO felt that rather than conveying differences between the KDNC and residents, the CLO smoothed over the seriousness of issues between the two parties. KDNC staff tacitly admit recognition of the ineffectiveness of the CLO position was partly responsible for the establishment of CLCs.

Communications staff are sceptical of the ability of the TCLC to improve KDNC-community relations. Feeling the Manguzi based TCLC cannot reach communities, staff propose conducting relations at the sub-ward level.

Staff suggest interaction with neighbours is handicapped by the Communications division tending to operate independently of the Field Management division. Field managers feel the Communications division has no formal linkages with the KDNC structure and that the division lacks authority within the organization. Communications staff indicate there is a lack of incentive for Field Management staff to interact with protected area neighbours. Staff expressed a need for a more interactive relationship between the separate Communications and Field Management divisions. Seemingly, this is made difficult by South Africa's apartheid past; staff of the largely Zulu Communications division indicate reluctance to offer constructive criticism or provide direction to the activities of field managers, who at the officer level are predominantly white.

Communications staff indicate the attitudes of senior staff and reserve OICs (Field Management) to be central to poor KDNC relations with reserve neighbours. Certain officers went so far as to claim that barring the departure of individuals or attitudes of individuals from the KDNC, they will be unable to fulfil their Communications duties--winning support for the KDNC among communities and achieving conservation education objectives. These sentiments echo findings of a controversial study commissioned by the KwaZulu Department of Economic Affairs<sup>100</sup>:

Senior ex-Zimbabwe staff are criticised for carrying with them an inappropriate colonial attitude towards conservation. An attitude that is believed to work against the constructive involvement of local people in the decision making process.

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<sup>100</sup> Economic Affairs is the Department in which the KBNR was located before becoming the KDNC.

The motives of the Director of the BNR are believed to be good. The Director is, however, criticised for: a) failing to listen to people, projecting his interpretation of what he thinks they are saying onto what they are actually saying; b) using his relationship with the Chief Minister to force through unpopular decisions; and c) not using his Zulu staff members to keep him in touch with local feelings and attitudes.<sup>101</sup>

The following description by a KDNC officer of the establishment of the reserve would also seem to characterize the operation of the KDNC bureaucracy as centralized, with a one-way flow of information: "Being helped by the KwaZulu government, the KBNR managed to impose the reserve on the people. The traditional leaders wouldn't say no to [KBNR] proposals. The only people who could say no were the local people, and they weren't consulted." A senior Kosi Bay official was of the opinion that field staff's ability to initiate and develop relations with reserve neighbours is stifled by head office. Perhaps for this reason the official felt: "If I look at when I started, [x] years down the line nothing has changed in the extension work we do." It would appear difficult for protected area staff or neighbours to participate in developing a strategy for sustainable living when policy is made centrally, instead of involving greater delegation of authority to field staff.

KDNC extension activities are significantly motivated by containing the threat underdeveloped people pose to protected areas--be it through their increased political clout or their non-sustainable use of natural resources. KDNC efforts seek to promote improved natural resource management, but this seems to occur in a dictatorial manner, without necessarily empowering underdeveloped neighbours to practice resource management themselves.

## ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS OF KOSI BAY AREA RESIDENTS

### Impact of reserve establishment

Reserve neighbours indicate the erection of the reserve fence to have impacted them significantly, separating them from what one individual described as "*our* cultural forest." Reflecting on their request that the KBNR erect a fence to stop hippos damaging crops, the statement by a

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<sup>101</sup> Fowkes 1990, p. 279, 281.

Mahlungulu resident: "When we raised that point [of the fence], we committed community suicide" was supported by assembled area residents. Reserve regulations prevent neighbours from cultivating bananas, madumbes, sweet potatoes and sugar cane in the reserve. Individuals indicate they have lost an important source of income in these cash crops.

### **Implications of reserve establishment**

Reserve neighbours profess ignorance as to how or why a reserve came to be established in their area; many people claim they only became aware of the advent of the reserve as it affected them directly. "We had to move because they told us to", said one woman. "We really don't know, but what we thought was because he was a white person he got the right from Pretoria [to construct the fence]" was another person's depiction of the establishment of the reserve (in reference to participation by the Kosi Bay OIC in building the fence). Even amongst *izinduna* privy to discussions with the KDNC, communication seems to have been poor. Said one induna:

Although the community doesn't like [KBNR], I agree with the KBNR to be here. I say this because the youth does not notice there is a need to talk about the future. When I talk about what happened in the river [in terms of the decrease in the numbers of fish], I talk about something which I experienced; it is good for KBNR to be here. What I don't like about KBNR is today they say this and tomorrow they say that which make a conflict between the induna and the community, like telling me the fence would go one way and doing it differently. They cause a conflict by not consulting people.

Local people who were aware a reserve was being established posited the following misunderstandings between themselves and KBNR. They were under the impression their access to reserve resources would not be significantly altered; the fence to be erected was understood to be only a cable, and not a game fence; the fence was to be located in close proximity to the Kosi Bay lake system, not enclosing so much terrestrial area; it was not understood that the erection of the fence implied the displacement of individuals living inside the fence.

### **Legitimacy of KDNC actions**

It is the *perception* of area residents that the land they and their ancestors have lived on and had access to is theirs. One resident reminded me, "you can't take control of land without the

agreement of the *owner*." As such residents reject the actions of the KDNC. In the words of a KwaMazambane individual: "We are the citizens of this area. They [KBNR] have no right to come to us and say you cannot step there; you cannot go there." A Mahlungulu resident demanded: "Is there any such law which says if you find someone on *his* land making a living; arrest him; hit him? Because that is what the KBNR does!". A sub-ward development committee chair summed up the attitude of his constituents: "We are not against nature conservation, but we want to be involved [in conservation activities]; not just accepting posts, but in planning. If a person comes from outside he must come not to grab *our* land but to educate us."

### Reserve-neighbour relations

Kosi Bay area residents *perceive* the KDNC to be either unconcerned with or hostile to resident's interests. In the words of two residents:

There is no good relations between Nkovukeni and KBNR. In this land we were staying well with many whites [staff of the Natal Parks Board]. They were working in this area; we supported one another. It is our first time to see anything like this. Many of us moved from this area. Who can stay in a place where we can't have fields or plough. We talked to NPB; they listened to us. Then KBNR came with their own thing and we suffered. When we plough, we plough for KBNR's animals, and our children are dying. There was cooperation between NPB and the community. There is no cooperation with KBNR. We don't hate KBNR, but their way of operating is unacceptable. The hippos have finished our food, are staying in our houses; we report to KBNR and nothing happens. They sent our complaints to Ulundi and we are still waiting for an answer.

It is not that we are against nature conservation, it's just that when KBNR came, they didn't negotiate with the people. The second thing is that they pressurized people into moving out of the area, they don't even educate people about how to conserve nature, they employ people from outside. You can see there are many people here who are not working, yet they still employ us. *The picture we get from KBNR is that they are just fighting us.* (italics mine)

Kosi Bay neighbours harbour resentment against KBNR because of the way they feel they have been treated by the organization, particularly concerning the establishment of the reserve. In meetings held with reserve neighbours 77% of comments about the reserve and reserve-neighbour interaction were generally negative; 4% were generally positive. Offers by KDNC officials to residents of Nkovukeni and KwaDapha to provide materials and assistance for the repair of a local school were rejected by residents. Queried about prospects for future relations with KDNC, one individual responded: "If you were hitting me when I was small, and you say that you want relations with me as an adult, have

you forgotten that I have a heart? How can I relate to such a person?" One TTA councillor was of the opinion: "Since the fence is there, I don't think there can be any relationship with them [KDNC]... How can I trust people who are having a fence around my people?"

Some Kosi Bay reserve neighbours feel the nature of the KBNR organization is an obstacle to their involvement with it. "Wherever KBNR goes there is no cooperation. He is an elephant which you cannot answer", said one individual. Asked whether he would be interested in participating in making decisions with the reserve, one resident responded: "The KBNR takes all their decisions to Ulundi where they are made, so how could the community [here] be involved when decisions aren't even being taken here?" In the second half of 1994 meetings were facilitated between residents of Malangeni, KwaDapha and Nkovukeni areas, northern region KDNC staff, and staff of the NPB. Together KDNC and NPB staff and residents of the above areas agreed to form the Kwenmal Development and Conservation Indaba to implement conservation and development decisions in the Kosi reserve area. KDNC and NPB staff and residents also provisionally agreed to principles including: mutual recognition of conservation agency and residents' aspirations, joint problem solving, working together to develop area eco-tourism and resource potential, and the issuing of joint press statements. KDNC and NPB participants took the provisional agreement for approval to their respective head offices, but it was not ratified. Indaba participants indicate no feedback or explanation as to why the KDNC or NPB did not ratify the agreement was received from the organizations. The above events would appear to support neighbour concerns about being able to participate in decision making with KDNC, as the active local conservation agency.

Over the course of Indaba negotiations, KDNC staff invited residents of the involved areas to select individuals to attend a Kosi Bay reserve management meeting as observers. When the residents' delegation arrived at the meeting, it was deemed unrepresentative by the KDNC, preventing the delegation from attending. Indaba participants indicate involved locals have lost faith in the KDNC as a result of these developments.

While the idea of cooperating with the KDNC does not appeal to reserve neighbours given the *perceived* absence of efforts at cooperation by KDNC in the past, neighbours express interest in participating in management with KDNC. The apparent contradictory nature of the above statement noted, it seems that area residents, while indignant with the KDNC over a *perceived* absence of past KDNC efforts at cooperation, are still willing to have relations with the KDNC provided negotiations over outstanding issues occur. Neighbours' ambivalence was captured at a meeting between the KDNC and Nkovukeni residents:

The meeting was aimed at getting the views of the local people on KDC's [*sic*] proposal that it wanted to work with the people (see minutes/ 25.03.94). It appeared that people had lost trust on KDC. Basically two views came out of the discussions. On the one hand people felt that KDC had to address and resolve the problems that were put forward to be attended to by the Department. According to this view the proposal [for future cooperation] could only be considered when KDC had responded positively. The second view stated that whether KDC responds positively or not the people were not prepared to have anything to do with KDC.<sup>102</sup>

#### **KDNC objective of conservation**

Repeatedly statements such as the following were articulated by neighbours: "When [KBNR] came here, there were natural resources as there have been for generations and generations. Now with their coming how can the resources be [threatened with being] finished?" "We hear the [KBNR] saying they are conserving nature, but we also conserve nature. So we do not know which nature they are conserving. Did they come with another nature?" Neighbours express support for nature conservation and acknowledge the KDNC declared objective of resource management. They evidently do not however accept or believe in the need for restrictions on resource use. Many residents also deny their actions can threaten the environment. Area fishermen acknowledge fishes caught today in the Kosi Bay estuary are fewer in number and species than in the past. The phenomenon is explained by the repeatedly articulated belief that the KDNC adds *muthi* to the water of the estuary to prevent fishermen from catching the amount of fish they were able to catch prior to the arrival of the KBNR.

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<sup>102</sup> Minutes of "Nkovukeni Meeting (05.04.94)" reported by Isaiah Mahlangu.



Interviews reveal locals to *perceive* modern nature conservation to be concerned exclusively with wild *animals*, with *flora* not being relevant to conservation activities. Under this erroneous understanding reserve neighbours explain they do not understand what KDNC is doing at Kosi Bay since no *animals* have been brought into the reserve. Additionally as a result of area residents' incomplete understanding of conservation, individuals are perplexed and indignant over being denied access to reserve *flora* resources on which they rely. At individual meetings with 3 sub-wards it was expressly stated that KDNC restricted access to reserve natural resources (primarily flora) for the sole purpose of destroying area people's lives and livelihoods; in not clearly understanding KDNC objectives, neighbours' *perceptions* are a source of hostility toward the KDNC.

In not accepting KDNC's declared objective of managing area natural resources, some reserve neighbours suspect the KDNC has ulterior motives. One individual queried: "What surprises us is that they [KBNR] want to teach us how to conserve natural resources, but have they ever taken anyone for training from the community to learn how to conserve natural resources?" Some individuals believe the establishment of the Kosi Bay and Tembe Elephant Park reserves are efforts by the Government of KwaZulu to control the land of the Thonga people, thus cementing their bond to the KwaZulu Government.

#### **Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee**

Kosi Bay area residents expressed almost no awareness of the TCLC. In spite of the considerable time, effort and resources the KDNC has invested in the TCLC, area elites familiar with the body did not feel it could address the concerns of their people. One said: "The TCLC has no ability to represent the people of KwaMazambane."

#### **KDNC allocation of reserve revenues to communities**

Almost categorically reserve neighbours expressed no awareness of ways the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve benefitted them (developmental, financial or other). Some individuals reacted with

incredulity to the revelation of a financial transaction taking place between the KDNC and TTA. To promote accountability and transparency for revenues it allocates to the Tembe ward the KDNC now publicly presents a cheque for the amount to the TTA and encourages residents to participate in deciding how the revenue is spent. Nonetheless it is unclear the current system promotes accountability for the revenue; in interviews the few area residents who were aware of revenues going to the TTA echoed the following sentiment: "Let's put it this way; the KBNR sends this money to the TA, but the TA uses it for [themselves] with no benefit to the community."

### **The gill netting permit system**

In interviews conducted with 3 gill netting committees not one *committee* member expressed interest in working cooperatively with KDNC toward establishing a system for managing exploitation of the fish resource. A gill netting committee member explained his people did not like the permit system because the fish resources are the property of area residents, not the KDNC. Neighbours *perceive* gill netting permits as an attempt by the KDNC to manipulate them. *Beliefs* articulated by *gill netting committee members* included that the Department started the permit system only to appease Kosi Bay area residents following the killing of a resident by a Game Scout in 1992, that the KDNC imported crocodiles from Ndumo to the Kosi Bay system to further restrict residents fishing there, that the KDNC has intentionally placed restrictions on gill netting to prevent area people from earning an income and improving their quality of life, and that the gill netting permit system was launched as an exercise in public relations in the aftermath of negative publicity surrounding the establishment of the reserve. While remaining suspect of KDNC motives, involved neighbours continue to use permits issued by the KDNC regularly.

The KDNC denies the above allegations, and staff indicate that increasing numbers of fish continue to be caught by locals under the permit system.

### Resource harvesting

According to reserve neighbours, under KDNC policy levels of access permitted to reserve natural resources are unacceptable. Neighbours complain of difficulty in obtaining poles to build their homes, wood for fish kraals, red bait, ncema grass, oysters and mussels, wild fruits, monkeys, wild pigs and fish. Indicated in table 3 KDNC policy *does not* limit access to most of the above resources.

Neighbours suggest fishing was a mainstay of the local economy before enforcement of restrictions on fishing by KBNR. Neighbours indicate fishing allowed people to address requirements of subsistence and income generation with four sub-wards making special reference to revenues from fishing enabling them to pay school fees. As a result of lost income from gill netting restrictions, some parents indicate they are no longer able to send children to school. Neighbours continue to benefit from fishing under the permit system, but seemingly not to their complete satisfaction.

### Traditional leadership

Kosi Bay area residents suspect traditional leaders' involvement in the agreement to establish the reserve. An individual captured their sentiment: "Since both the Tribal Authority and the reserve are [KwaZulu government bodies], there undoubtedly was an agreement between them to make a reserve."

Sub-ward residents suspect some *izinduna* in particular of knowing more than they have admitted. In meetings held with five of seven induna areas neighbouring the reserve, residents engaged in unprovoked, public accusations of the induna regarding his involvement in the arrival of the KBNR in their area, and of not providing his people with a "full report" of what happened. *Izinduna* of these sub-wards seem to have lost support and, in cases, the respect of their constituents. To the extent that reserve neighbours have an interest in involvement with the reserve, only one of seven sub-wards feel the TTA could be the vehicle for representing those interests. Neighbours' sentiments are in keeping with Felgate's findings in his study of the Tembe-Thonga:

While his [induna's] office does accord him certain status, his ability to rule rests more on his acceptability to the local community, which regards him as a champion of its causes...<sup>103</sup>

Public opinion is fundamentally important for both the headman and sub headmen. It provides a very real check on the powers of the headman. To rule effectively the headman has to have a certain degree of acceptance.<sup>104</sup>

Perceived by some sub-ward residents as having failed to champion their interests in the establishment of the reserve, certain *izinduna* have evidently lost support.

Area residents continue to experience a strong bond with reserve wild natural resources, which they until recently either lived amongst or had greater access to. Neighbours perceive themselves to be the legitimate owners of reserve land--*their* "cultural forest"; neighbours' comments also indicate they rely upon reserve resources to promote development. Accordingly the most significant issues between the KDNC and area residents revolve around residents' rights of access to and use of reserve natural resources. Underdeveloped neighbours perceive their concerns with wild nature to have been ignored by the KDNC while it achieved *its* own objectives with area wild nature.

## EMPOWERMENT AT KOSI BAY

### Organization

KDNC interaction with Kosi Bay area residents occurs through the TTA or TTA sanctioned structures. This study has demonstrated the TTA to be ineffective at communicating with and not to be trusted by Kosi Bay area residents in dealings with the KDNC. Thus the KDNC approach to reserve-neighbour interaction has reinforced the authority of an ineffective organization rather than facilitating or supporting the development of organizational structures among area residents. Kosi Bay reserve neighbours have not been *engaged* by the KDNC *modus operandi*; opportunities for KDNC participation with neighbour organizations such as the Vik'indlala fishing committee, the Umvuma-Mvubu development association, the Kwenmal Development and Conservation Indaba, and others

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<sup>103</sup> Felgate 1982, p. 44.

<sup>104</sup> Felgate 1982, p. 151.

have not yet been embraced by KDNC.<sup>105</sup>

Mechanisms are required to involve people of all levels. Politicians seldom serve the interests of all community members and thus alternative mechanisms are required to address the interests of affected people. The best way to involve people is through the creation of interest groups.... This enables the involvement of all interested or affected persons.<sup>106</sup>

Fishing committees offer the best example of reserve staff developing linkages between themselves and neighbour interest groups. However "committees" consist of individuals in possession of gill netting permits, with little organizational structure; committee members do not accept the need for resource management. While the KDNC should not impose a structure in neighbouring areas, it could work together with reserve neighbours to develop functional organizational structures around permit rotation and to promote understanding of the need for resource management. The TCLC is another KDNC supported structure, but to date it has not reached Kosi Bay area residents. The TCLC is a *ward* level body for relations between the KDNC and Tembe communities. It has not generated organization among nor interacted with the appropriators of the natural resources of Kosi Bay Nature Reserve, namely people in and around the reserve. If the KDNC worked with existing organizational structures in sub-wards around Kosi Bay and, with area residents, created new structures, it might empower residents of the Kosi Bay *community* to practice resource management.

### Accessing resources

The KDNC policy of allocating 25% of reserve revenues to TAs seeks to facilitate local community access to resources. Kosi Bay reserve neighbours are largely unaware of financial resources the KDNC allocates to the TTA, nor are they aware of ways these resources benefit them. Analysis of TTA finances reveals probably not more than 27% of the 25% allocated to the TTA reaches its objective of uplifting local communities. With improved management KDNC revenues allocated to communities could be a force for reducing underdeveloped neighbours' dependence upon

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<sup>105</sup> A KDNC staff member suggests such initiatives are embraced carefully and slowly in the same way Kosi Bay area residents approach the KDNC, adding that the pace at which the KDNC embraced such initiatives was due in part to issues the KDNC faced as an arm of the KwaZulu Government.

<sup>106</sup> Mander *et al* 1992, p. 4.

use of wild nature to promote their development, and a force for improving local support for the KDNC.

Reserve employment opportunities offer ward residents access to financial resources. The Kosi reserve employs some 280 individuals, of which 167 are casual labourers drawn from Tembe communities. Wages to casual labourers inject roughly *R1.2 million* into the Tembe ward on an annual basis. Considering that one salary can support between 5 and 15 dependents in the Tembe ward, reserve employment assists Tembe communities as a whole to access resources, but area residents may not be aware of the magnitude of this assistance, nor *perceive* it as a form of compensation for reduced access to protected area natural resources.

### Conservation education

Kosi Bay area residents do not fully understand conservation, nor grasp KDNC conservation objectives. Perhaps as a result they also deny a need for resource management. Education and dialogue about conservation and reserve objectives is fundamental to the management of the Kosi Bay environment and the development of a relationship between KDNC staff and area communities. Being unaware of the objectives of and rationale for KDNC conservation activities, Kosi Bay area residents are suspect of and hostile towards the KDNC instead of supporting the organization's conservation efforts. Area residents' *perceptions* are a force challenging KDNC efforts to interact with residents. Regardless of the nobility of KDNC efforts, until reserve neighbours' *perceptions* are changed, the KDNC cannot expect their support.

Accepting the need for management of Kosi Bay natural resources, resolution of KDNC-neighbour differences is inextricably linked to a meeting of KDNC and neighbour minds. This requires conservation education. A study of conservation agency-people interaction concludes: "The community-initiated conservation regimes described in the case studies... appear to have evolved in conditions of relative resource scarcity."<sup>107</sup> Before management systems for natural resources can

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<sup>107</sup> Seymour 1993, p. 6.

be developed such as gill netting, neighbours must willingly *perceive* threats to area natural resources and the environment. Presently neighbours do not acknowledge threats posed by human activity to *their* resources and environment and are suspect of KDNC's professed ability to monitor nature. Demanded one resident about the estuary: "Do [KBNR] know how many fishes were there?!" If area residents were involved in reserve management--particularly activities such as research into sustainable natural resource yield and policy making about resource harvesting--residents might experience first hand threats human activity can pose to area natural resources. Imbuing residents with the information possessed by KDNC staff will empower staff and neighbours to effect an area wide strategy for resource management.

At present KDNC staff estimate sustainable yield levels for natural resources and unilaterally determine harvesting levels for area residents. Determination of sustainable yield however can mean relatively little if an accepted system for effecting that level of off-take does not exist. Were area people a more integral part of the process of researching, discussing, and determining sustainable yield, they might accept the need for resource management. Ostrom's design principle 4 (chapter 2) suggests institutions for community based conservation are effective when monitoring systems operating are *accountable* to communities. Systems are accountable when those affected by system rules participate in making them. Neighbours involvement at this level is a valuable opportunity for experiential education for both KDNC staff and area residents.

Conservation education might also be a focus of day to day KDNC-neighbour interaction: Women employed to clear invasive brush did not know why they performed their task. A discussion at any point over the months they were employed about the work and its objectives might have left some of these individuals with a message to take back to their families about conservation. Capitalization on these opportunities to imbue people with an understanding of reserve function and objective could promote conservation education.

The 167 casual labourers employed by the reserve are another opportunity for education. Every individual employed at Kosi Bay Nature Reserve and other reserves managed by KDNC and

NPB should leave his or her job at the end of the day with something more than the sum total of their hourly wage. If these people benefitted from conservation education through their work, it might enable them to share, along with their wages, what they learned in the reserve with their communities. Only a broad based approach to conservation education can begin to confront the massive task that it is.

### Sustainable living

Until 1988 *people* were significant elements in the Kosi Bay environment. As such people are integral to any comprehensive management strategy. Instead of acknowledging *people* as tools for building a conservation strategy, their decisive influence on the efficacy of resource management has not been grasped by the KDNC in its pursuit of developed peoples' objectives with wild nature at Kosi Bay. Ramphela and McDowell write:

Any local conservation and development plan that ignores this rich history of intricate social relationships, survival systems and ingenious use of resources is severely limited and ultimately doomed. More importantly, this history can only be learnt about and drawn on if those who have developed the systems participate fully in project planning. Despite its "progressive" environmental policy, and its claim to be working towards "the integrated multiple-use managed category of conservation", the KBNR in fact perpetuates the legacy of apartheid planning, which barely acknowledged those being planned for.<sup>108</sup>

A case with similarities to Kosi Bay is Amboseli National Park. Western concludes:

The very intensity of the clash over Amboseli, and the intertwined ecologies of the Maasai and wildlife ruled out a hard-edged national park. It simply wouldn't have worked. A small area might have been set aside, but the ecosystem would not have survived nor would there have been the increase in wildlife seen in the last fifteen years.... The success of the program, measured against its original goals, is that new conservation approaches and policies bearing on reconciling human and wildlife interests did emerge.<sup>109</sup>

Some few years ago area residents coexisted freely with the natural resources of Kosi Bay. Residents consider themselves the resource owners. Externally controlled access to resources granted to neighbours under KDNC policy, instead of being perceived as generous, is a major source of hostility between the KDNC and neighbours. *Improved natural resource management requires reconciliation on all levels--education, accountability, responsibility--between the de jure administrator of Kosi Bay*

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<sup>108</sup> Ramphela and McDowell 1991, p. 75.

<sup>109</sup> Western 1993, p. 29.



*natural resources and the de facto managers--local underdeveloped peoples.* Not one KDNC staff member interviewed was entirely positive about reserve-neighbour interaction at Kosi Bay, and 39% felt negatively about interactions. This situation must be addressed. Neighbours state repeatedly that they support the concept of conservation. Neighbour systems, which have become obsolete as management institutions, once revitalized can form part of the infrastructure for a new management regime. Sustainable living is the end-product of an area strategy *jointly* formulated by empowered KDNC staff and Kosi Bay area residents.

The legacy of KDNC-area resident relations presents obstacles to the formulation of such a strategy. KBNR "negotiations" with locals over the establishment of the reserve neglected the *de facto* resource managers, instead of formulating a strategy for sustainable living with them; a polarized climate was created. Underdeveloped reserve neighbours believe conservation practised by the KDNC is opposed to their values, objectives and needs. Programs such as controlled gill netting could be components of a strategy for sustainable living. However, until outstanding KDNC-neighbour tensions are redressed under a more holistic approach, such initiatives are challenged by the still present suspicion and hostility of neighbours.

The required *process* is well illustrated in meetings held between residents of Nkovukeni, Malangeni and KwaDapha and KDNC staff at Kosi Bay. The same people who had rejected out of hand KDNC assistance to repair an area school agreed with KDNC reserve staff to form the Kwenmal Development and Conservation Indaba. Local and KDNC participants in the dialogue indicate a focus of discussions were past issues, suspicions and difficulties between the KDNC and area residents. Although the process was never taken forward, the dynamic between KDNC staff and area residents demonstrates only with resolution of past issues were new opportunities for cooperation opened. Why they were not embraced by KDNC head office at Ulundi is unclear.

Unlike at Giant's Castle where the focus of extension activity was *exterior* to the reserve, at Kosi Bay people reside in the reserve and harvesting of reserve natural resources is central to the KDNC extension program. As such the Kosi Bay case directly confronts the issue of *how protected*

*area resources can be managed to promote the social, economic and environmental integrity of a reserve and its neighbours.* Clearly this is a more complex arena for the development of policy, highlighted by the recent establishment of a reserve on inhabited land. How and the objectives for which a reserve is managed are fundamental issues in the development of a strategy for sustainable living by a *community* of a reserve and neighbours. At Kosi Bay meeting developed peoples' concerns with wild nature while glossing over those of underdeveloped groups has not contributed to establishing dynamic equilibrium between people and nature.

Reserve-neighbour interaction at Kosi Bay has not succeeded in developing effective policy for management of a reserve as one component of a *community* whose objective is sustainable living; interaction has not empowered reserve staff or area residents. While factors specific to Kosi Bay have offered the beginning of an explanation for empowerment not occurring, KDNC institutional and policy factors also complicate efforts at empowerment. They are examined below.

## **KDNC INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS**

### **Bureaucratic**

Under the KDNC organizational structure (figure 3), tasks are allocated divisionally. Communications staff are responsible for extension activity, while Field Management is charged with reserve management. The Regional Conservator is responsible for coordinating regional activities, providing an opportunity for inter-divisional coordination. He is the essential conduit for dialogue between head office and field staff. The Regional Conservator is however a member of the Field Management division with responsibility to Field Management superiors. Staff indicate that this tends to reduce Field Management coordination with other divisions.

Compartmentalization of responsibilities is reinforced by differences in approach to conservation by Communications and Field Management staff. In the establishment of Kosi Bay Nature Reserve these differences resulted in the activities of the Communications division being

performed in competition with those of field managers. Communications staff indicate the behaviour of Field Managers to challenge Communications objectives. Coordination and shared objectives among Communications and Field Management staff are prerequisites to developing empowering relations with protected area neighbours.

Work of the Communications division addresses conservation education and sustainable living objectives of empowerment. These activities are performed independently of the KDNC's "two major policies affecting local communities"<sup>110</sup>--access to reserve resources and a 25% share of revenues allocated to communities. While activities of Communications are general to the Ubombo-Ingwavuma *districts* (in the Northern region), the two major policies of the KDNC focus on communities in *wards* in which reserves are located. Not surprisingly therefore discussion with Communications staff reveal they have not participated in gill netting activities--the focus of resource harvesting at Kosi Bay--managed by the KDNC Resource Research Officer. Lack of coordination between KDNC divisions is thus matched by an absence of coordination in the implementation and strategies that form KDNC extension activities. Organizational energy is dissipated amongst uncoordinated activities rather than directed toward a coherent objective.

Not only should extension programs be coordinated, but their scale should be defined relative to organization resources. The Communications division is charged with spreading conservation education throughout the entire Ubombo-Ingwavuma region. Consequently Kosi Bay area residents receive only a portion of the resources of the *four* regional Communication field officers. Kosi Bay area residents' lack of understanding of KDNC objectives suggest current allocation of staff resources is not impacting residents' attitudes.

Without coordinated divisional objectives and extension programs, and an appropriately defined scale for operation, KDNC staff may achieve less than they strive to in their efforts to develop a strategy for sustainable living with reserve neighbours. If limited numbers of KDNC staff and resources were more strategically allocated, returns on the efforts of dedicated staff might be

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<sup>110</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, "Conservation and Tourism: the 1990's and Beyond".

increased. Communications staff could work with Field Managers in developing relations between KDNC protected areas and neighbours. At present while the Communications division addresses the important task of conservation education, its work is largely technical. If the Communications division had greater formative power in the realms of policy making and planning, it might improve coordination within the organization. The organization of the Communications division and the lack of authority of its staff suggest its activities to be less important than those of the Field Management division, which maintains protected areas.

### Administrative

KDNC programs with neighbours--activities of the Communications division, 25% of protected area revenues allocated to the ward communities, opportunities for resource harvesting, the CLO position and CLCs--are centrally *formulated* and involve little delegation of authority to field staff. The above programs have been ineffective at developing relations which promote reserve management in the Kosi Bay area. Although programs at Kosi Bay with neighbours have not had their intended effects, policy has not been significantly restructured since the formal proclamation of the reserve.

The KDNC experience at Kosi Bay suggests reserve level programs that are centrally formulated and directed cannot be as evolutionary or adaptive to ground issues as situations demand. Noted was the opinion of a senior KDNC official at Kosi Bay: "If I look at when I started, [x] years down the line nothing has changed in the extension work we do."

Both private and state natural resource management regimes have their strengths and may be appropriate for given resources in given contexts. But both have their weaknesses, particularly if they are underfunded, large-scale and managerially distanced from the resources in question. In such circumstances the state, or private owner, purports to be the owner but de facto use and management are in the hands of others--the people living with the resources concerned. Not only is this local management resource marginalized, it is also antagonized.<sup>111</sup>

KDNC policy at Kosi Bay also seems to be centrally *implemented*. As an arm of the former KwaZulu government, the KDNC is obligated to work through the Tembe Tribal Authority as the

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<sup>111</sup> Murphree 1991, p. 3.

official representative of ward communities. Demonstrated in the failed Kwenmal Conservation and Development Indaba, KDNC staff at Kosi Bay are not empowered to make decisions, or in some cases even to have dialogue with area residents, without first consulting KDNC head office at Ulundi. This causes the driving relationship to exist between KDNC head office at Ulundi and the Tembe Tribal Authority, rather than between the KDNC staff at Kosi Bay and area residents. The KDNC head office-TTA relationship is also witnessed in KDNC staff at Kosi only being able to interact with TTA sanctioned structures, the TTA being the administrator for resources allocated by the KDNC to area communities, and in the CLO being appointed by and a member of TTA, and in his words representing TTA and KDNC interests. In that KDNC and TTA interests were manifest in the establishment of the Kosi reserve, which area residents do not support, reserve neighbours cannot be said to be important forces in the KDNC-TTA relationship. The TTA has alone assumed a role that should be shared with neighbours of Kosi Bay Nature Reserve as the people with the greatest potential contribution to an area strategy for sustainable living.

Attitudes of senior KDNC staff noted above also seem to result in top down policy administration.

The difficulty with [a proposed alternative development plan for Kosi communities] is active obstruction from the KBNR and KwaZulu government. Any form of resistance or alternative planning is labelled anti-KwaZulu and anti-Inkatha, rather than being seen as addressing the real issue of removals and other negative consequences of a conservation plan formulated without any consultation.<sup>112</sup>

Attitudes of "we" and "them" espoused by certain KDNC staff are antithetical to a *jointly* formulated plan for sustainable living.

The effects of a centralized approach to conservation are not limited to excluding protected area neighbours and outsiders from participating in KDNC conservation efforts. Three KDNC field officers interviewed indicate reserve level initiatives to be stifled by head office. A management strategy for the Kosi Bay area requires field staff be empowered through devolving authority to the reserve level to develop programs and initiatives with neighbours. This will allow a strategy for

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<sup>112</sup> Ramphela and McDowell 1991, p. 77.

sustainable living to emerge among the *community* of reserve level KDNC staff and neighbours.

### **Arm of the KwaZulu Government**

Although KDNC staff claim the organization is apolitical, the evidence does not support viewing the KDNC independently of its parent organization and funding agent, the KwaZulu Government. It would be naive to assume there was no spill-over in the objectives and agendas of any government into its individual departments. Is it not the collective function of government departments to carry out a government's mission? Beyond the potential implications of this basic relationship for the KDNC, former KBNR staff members suggest a close personal relationship between the Secretary of the KDNC and former Chief Minister Buthelezi; KBNR staff indicate acquisition of land over the last 12 years by KBNR would not have been possible without the backing of Chief Minister Buthelezi. The policies of the KwaZulu Government seem to place limitations and restrictions on KDNC activity, as suggested by continued reliance upon programs accepted as ineffective.

Allocating 25% of reserve revenues to ward communities via the TA is one of the organization's two "major" programs.<sup>113</sup> Not a single KDNC officer interviewed, including the Secretary of the KDNC, supports allocating 25% of KDNC reserve revenues as presently administered. Despite concurrence over the need for changes to a policy in operation for almost a decade at Kosi Bay, no change has been made. Why? One possible answer is related to issues discussed in chapter 2. The existence of the KwaZulu government rests upon the tribal authority system; the 25% of KDNC reserve revenues allocated to communities via tribal authorities supports the tribal authority system. Despite clear evidence of funds being at best poorly managed by the TTA (Table 4), no change in policy has been made. Using the TA structure appears to take precedence over allocating revenues in such a way that they are a force for improving natural resource management or local support for protected areas.

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<sup>113</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, "Conservation and Tourism: the 1990's and Beyond".

The CLO position offers another example. KDNC staff *today* acknowledge the TTA and appointed CLO to be ineffective at facilitating communication between the KDNC and communities; this has long been known by KDNC staff. The issue of the CLO was discussed at a tourism workshop held in 1990:

The question of how people and communities can have a say in tourism development was raised. KBNR responded that the correct channel of communication is through the tribal authorities, more specifically through the local TA representative who sits on local KBNR management boards [Conservation Liaison Officer]. Members of the Tembe tribal authority working group asserted that this system was not working satisfactorily and that the people serving on the management boards were generally not regarded as representative of the community.<sup>114</sup>

Past reports commissioned by KBNR speak to the non-representivity of TAs themselves:

Even if tribal authorities were legally competent to enter into contracts to alienate land, which is doubted, the Bureau would wish to consider the potential political implications of becoming involved in such a transaction. It is well known that tribal authorities do not always represent the interests of the people over whom they hold authority. The possibility therefore exists, *inter alia*, that a chief may become party to a land agreement in the absence of consultation with his people. To the extent that there might be resentment over the fact of the arrangement, the other party could find itself in an untenable position, resulting in a loss of credibility amongst local people. This in turn could have a damaging effect upon the interests of conservation.<sup>115</sup>

Considerations of the KDNC other than the realization of its conservation mission appear to have caused the organization to fail to remedy policies and courses of action which are antithetical to the sustainable living of KDNC reserves and neighbours. Fowkes' conclusion, general to the tribal authority system, is suggestive of the course of events and situation in the Tembe ward related to the Kosi Bay reserve. Indeed after more than a decade of involvement at Kosi Bay, only in 1994 has the KDNC begun to conduct dialogue with area communities not exclusively via the TTA but through the restructured TCLC (which includes elected local representatives). In a climate of natural resource shortages and pressing people-environment issues, such a prolonged learning process for a conservation agency to adapt policy compels question of its ability to promote the development of a strategy for sustainable living. KDNC staff agree that as a Government department the KDNC faces constraints, which may have delayed the adaptation of policy, that a statutory body might not face.

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<sup>114</sup> CORD 1990, p. 14.

<sup>115</sup> Fowkes 1990, p. 131.

## KDNC APPROACH TO EXTENSION

KDNC programs indicative of the organization's approach to interaction with communities do not support sustainable living *for the community of a reserve and its neighbours*. Ostrom's design principle 1 suggests it is important to define a set of appropriators entitled to use a resource. Gill netting, which is unique to Kosi Bay as an estuarine activity, is the only KDNC program which specifically targets reserve neighbours as *the* appropriators. Harvesting of more typical reserve natural resources is carried out by many groups, not all of whom are reserve neighbours. Similarly, twenty-five percent of reserve revenues are allocated to the area tribal authority. At Kosi Bay indications are these TTA managed revenues have tended not to benefit, nor generate good will amongst, reserve neighbours; good will might be considered a first step in neighbours working together with the KDNC to manage area resources. Finally, field activities of the four Communications officials in the Northern region address issues related to sustainable living, but these activities are carried out without specific reference to reserve neighbours; neighbours continue to have a weak understanding of conservation and are poorly versed in KDNC objectives.

The KDNC approach to extension also fails to establish linkages at the reserve-neighbour level which empower neighbours to manage natural resources or promote the development of a common vision for the *community*. The 25% of reserve revenues allocated to communities entails a cheque being deposited in the account of the tribal authority where the reserve is located. The policy neither necessitates nor involves contact between developed reserve staff and underdeveloped neighbours, the people whose collective vision is required to address competing concerns with wild nature. The gill netting permit system seeks, but has yet to enable area residents to manage their resources. CLCs are ward level bodies, which at Kosi Bay have not facilitated dialogue between reserve staff and Kosi Bay area residents; reserve neighbours have not yet participated in the TCLC. How can a strategy contributing to management of Kosi Bay area natural resources hope to be inaugurated among groups who are largely not in contact with each other?



Aside from the work of the Communications division, as presently structured the KDNC approach to extension does not further reserve neighbours' ability to participate in area sustainable living. KDNC revenues allocated to communities via the TTA do not implant knowledge or skills among Kosi Bay area residents which promote improved resource management. Access to reserve natural resources to which neighbours are entitled under KDNC policy do not further neighbours' *own* ability to *practice* resource management. Neither reserve neighbours nor KDNC staff are empowered to practice resource management outside or inside the protected area. The *community* of reserve staff and neighbours continues to be bounded by constraints which cause underdeveloped neighbours to use natural resources non-sustainably, jeopardizing the long term integrity of all wild nature.

## CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Chapter 1 suggested different people had different concerns with wild natural resources, determined significantly by people's level of development.<sup>116</sup> The chapter indicates underdeveloped peoples' concerns tend to involve consumptive use of wild nature, and that developed peoples' concerns exist significantly around aesthetic and humanistic aspects of wild nature. Subsequent chapters have examined issues around interaction between conservation agency staff and protected area neighbours, looking specifically at the Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay areas. This chapter will locate the field studies in the people-environment dynamic, relate them to global trends, and conclude by assessing the implications of identified trends for people-environment relations.

The objectives of the conservation agencies administering Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay reserves fall within a resourcism-preservationism paradigm:

*The Natal Parks Board's vision is 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.*<sup>117</sup>

The KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation seeks to promote "the management of man's use of the environment so that it may yield the greatest sustainable benefit to present generations while maintaining its potential to meet the needs and aspirations of future generations."<sup>118</sup> Chapter 1 observed nature conservation and specifically the protected area movement had catered to developed peoples' concerns with wild nature; the primary focus of the NPB and KDNC has been on establishing and maintaining protected areas which satisfy the humanistic and aesthetic concerns of their largely urban, westernized clientele base.

While it is straightforward to situate conservation agencies with fixed objectives within the people-environment dynamic, locating people on and within a development trajectory characterized

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<sup>116</sup> Level of development is defined as people's ability to meet their own needs and to have control over their future (see Glossary).

<sup>117</sup> Natal Parks Board 1994.

<sup>118</sup> KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, "Environmental Policy Statement".

by resourcism-preservationism is a messier undertaking. People do not occupy compartmentalized positions of either "developed" or "underdeveloped"; rather they are more often located somewhere between these extremes. This is especially true of people falling under the umbrella of "underdevelopment". Reserve neighbours involved in the Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay studies have characteristics of underdevelopment--poor access to services, unemployment, subsistence farming etc. Concerns they express in chapters 3 and 4 indicate they seek consumptive use of wild nature; the most significant issues between neighbours and conservation agency staff revolve around control over use of specific protected area natural resources. Neighbours of Giant's Castle reserve indicated nature conservation to be important because it allows for grasses for stock grazing to be available and because it increases the numbers of consumable game. A study by Odendal of attitudes to wild nature in Maputaland (location of Kosi Bay reserve) finds "eighty-six percent of the people who were interviewed in Maputaland focus on the usefulness and the utilization of natural resources spontaneously."<sup>119</sup> These neighbour concerns with wild nature around issues of physical survival and development would seem to locate them firmly within the resourcism-preservationism development trajectory, placing them in competition with developed people who seek access to wild nature for non-consumptive purposes.

Other aspects of neighbours' interaction with wild nature suggest a different relationship of neighbours *vis a vis* the development trajectory. Chapter 1 noted people once described as "indigenous" or "aboriginal" are today increasingly better characterized by underdevelopment. Reserve neighbours spring from a comparatively recent situation of assumed natural balance between themselves and their harvesting of wild nature. At Kosi Bay area residents argue that the arrival of the KBNR in their area, a force alien to the area environment, disrupted a *perceived* harmonious relationship between local inhabitants and their use of wild nature. The advent of the KBNR is associated with manifestations of imbalance between people and wild natural resources, with some residents expressing their belief that it is impossible they are the cause of changes in or damage to

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<sup>119</sup> Odendal 1986, p. 35.

the environment. Similarly around Giant's Castle neighbours interpreted changes in their physical environment as just that, changes, rather than alterations caused by human activity. Some area residents spoke of rains being harder today than in the past as the cause of increased erosion in their area. The possibility that human environmental impacts precipitated by apartheid planning (creating dense populations on poor quality land) such as over cultivation weakening topsoil resulting in erosion are not considered. People related an increase in illness among people and livestock to the disappearance of plants and animals needed for *muthi*--a disruption in environmental composition adversely affects the health of a society whose existence is predicated upon access to wild natural resources.

The notion of an assumed natural balance between people and wild nature was remarked particularly amongst elderly reserve neighbours. In this way some Amahlubi and Mkhize neighbours of Giant's Castle experience a cultural-historic connection to the land of the neighbouring reserve, which clearly transcends concerns with using wild nature to promote development. As one area resident noted: "Giant's Castle is a wonderful place, it conserves nature. If you tamper with such a place and you destroy it, you have killed the world." It is suggested the "death of the world" could be understood as the irrecoverable loss of an environment fundamental to the integrity of the culture of the Mkhize and Amahlubi people. Similarly, Kosi Bay area residents' description of the reserve area as "our cultural forest" and equating of their acquiescence to the construction of a fence around it with "*community suicide*" suggests concern with wild nature motivated by a desire to maintain cultural integrity.<sup>120</sup> Because culture emerged around wild nature as people's only source of existence, wild nature was and is revered as one reveres one's own life force. These trends would seem to be in keeping with the special relationship between Zulus and their environment posited by Ngubane (1977), and suggests a relationship that is fundamentally different from regarding wild nature as a tool for development as is so within the resourcism-preservationism paradigm.

In the case of underdeveloped peoples the transition from exclusive dependence on wild nature

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<sup>120</sup> In the case of the Mkhize and Amahlubi the "maintenance" is more symbolic than real.

for survival to the advent of a global industrial market economy has occurred with blinding speed. This rate of change has thrown underdeveloped peoples onto the development trajectory, in many cases before their traditional relationship to wild nature is severed. While neighbours continue to express concerns with wild nature around the issue of cultural integrity, neighbours are now also locating themselves within the resourcism-preservationism paradigm. Field studies indicate neighbours relate to wild nature as a tool for development. The words of the Mkhize resident in chapter 3 reveal the pressures to which once indigenous peoples are increasingly subject: "Nature conservation can only happen if we work, because if we don't we think we can harvest some of those natural resources and sell them because we want money." Giant's Castle area residents were revealed to no longer be able to depend upon wild nature for subsistence and were increasingly part of the industrial market economy with many residents working as migrants. Chapter 4 observed the desire of a local fishing committee to have access to fish in the Kosi estuary in order to start a small business selling frozen fish, and the use of income from fishing to pay children's school fees. As protected area neighbours adopt a resourcism approach to wild nature, so too do they adopt underdeveloped status within the increasingly global development trajectory. Modern conservation tended to overlook the concerns of less developed groups while seeking control of wild nature which these groups had once considered theirs and used to maintain their cultures. Today underdeveloped peoples have been left with little option but to seek to raise their level of development through consumptive use of wild nature. Such efforts by underdeveloped peoples are a major force behind reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay.

Having begun to situate reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay relative to the people-environment dynamic, we are in a position to relate trends there to the macro or global level. The establishment of Kosi Bay Nature Reserve in 1988 illustrates the predominance of developed group concerns with wild nature that has persisted throughout the period wild nature has been actively conserved. Kosi Bay Nature Reserve was established to protect the Kosi Bay estuary, as the last undeveloped estuary in South Africa. Such a motivation for establishing the reserve is in

keeping with objectives of a protected area movement which focuses on aesthetic aspects of specific natural features. KDNC staff say their objective at Kosi Bay was to establish a reserve; staff indicate it was their belief that once the reserve had been established--once developed concerns with wild natural resources had been addressed--relations with protected area neighbours could be addressed (chapter 4). That the reserve was established against the will and without the involvement of area residents illustrates how uninfluential underdeveloped peoples' concerns with wild nature have been in modern conservation.

More recently in South Africa a more concerted effort has been made to address underdeveloped peoples' concerns with wild nature. What has precipitated the change? With the onset of the transition from apartheid to democratic government in South Africa, conservation of wild nature, which had traditionally been the domain of and catered to the developed sector of society, was under pressure to satisfy underdeveloped peoples' concerns with wild nature.

In the case of the NPB at least, evidence indicates the pressures of the political transition were a significant motivation in its adoption of a Neighbour Relations Policy. As indicated in chapter 3, a major objective of the NRP is to build support, particularly black support, for NPB protected areas. Staff noted the NRP was envisaged by the organization as a "social buffer" for NPB protected areas, and a premium was placed on the Policy's marketability. An objective of the NRP is to highlight the NPB's contributions to less developed groups. This it was (and presumably is) hoped would deflect pressures and / or criticisms the organization could face in the national transition process, jeopardizing its ability to continue to meet developed groups' concerns with the environment. As the NPB officer concluded: "If surrounding communities are not friendly to the park in a changing South Africa, the place may not exist in 10 years. Our job is to protect the reserve which means improving relations with surrounding communities." The effect of Neighbour Relations activities at Giant's Castle has been to improve local support for the reserve and engender a feeling amongst neighbours that as long as the reserve continues to help them, there is no need to talk about the reserve's occupation of "their" land (chapter 3).

Sentiments expressed by the KDNC official in chapter 4 also speak to the influence of the national political transition in precipitating change in the organization's relations with underdeveloped communities. The official noted only with the political empowerment of black South Africans did it become important for the KDNC to negotiate with and try to meet the needs of black people in order to achieve its objectives. This shift in approach is observed at Kosi Bay where in the 1990's the organization has increasingly sought dialogue with area residents affected by the establishment in the reserve. In marked contrast is the pre-1990 approach under which KDNC staff say Kosi Bay area residents were forced to move from their homes so that the reserve could be established. Thus it seems while there have long been competing interests around wild nature, it is only recently, at least in South Africa, that concerns of underdeveloped people in this respect have had the opportunity to *threaten* the concerns of developed people, resulting in the advent of formalized reserve-neighbour interaction. The forces unleashed in South Africa by the national political transition, have over the past two decades been driving a global shift in people-environment relations that is still unfolding.

As was the situation in apartheid South Africa, modern nature conservation has been the domain of and catered to the developed, westernized segment of the world's population. Bonner observes in his study:

That there was a schism as big as a canyon between the approach to conservation taken by the Africans on the one hand and the conservation organizations on the other was not surprising, not when one looked at the conservation organizations; they were the monopoly of white Westerners. Whites headed them, hired whites to staff them, and implemented programs that reflected Western values.<sup>121</sup>

In 1985 Machlis and Tichnell noted the predominance of aesthetic and humanistic concerns in the construction of protected areas could prove their undoing:

The romantic vision of parks as protected paradises is widespread and, ironically, may threaten the permanence of national parks. This purely preservationist approach, where parks are considered 'fortresses' under siege, invincible or soon eradicated, carries great political risks. It requires an essentially militaristic defense strategy and will almost always heighten conflict.<sup>122</sup>

Perhaps fortuitously then such developed peoples' concerns with wild nature have recently been challenged by the concerns of underdeveloped groups. Formal indications of major change was

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<sup>121</sup> Bonner 1993, p. 81.

<sup>122</sup> Machlis and Tichnell 1985, p. 105.

reflected as early as 1980 with the publication of the IUCN's World Conservation Strategy, which emphasized the importance of *meeting rural needs* as a component of conservation planning (IUCN 1980). A similar trend was evidenced at the 1982 World National Parks Conference in Bali. Through 1982 national parks had emphasized the preservation of large mammals which "captured the imagination of Europeans and North Americans."<sup>123</sup> As this focus was increasingly determined *not* to be sufficient justification for establishing and maintaining national parks, particularly in a third world context, the 1982 conference determined "the future of the protected-areas movement in most parts of the world will be determined by the extent to which its proponents can demonstrate its direct relevance to [basic] human concerns."<sup>124</sup> In the context of this investigation this implies greater attention being devoted by champions of protected areas (developed people) to meeting needs of underdeveloped peoples in order to offset an increased ability of underdeveloped groups to threaten developed groups' concerns with wild nature.

The increased power of less developed peoples in the international context derives from a variety of sources. Greater international recognition of the steadily decreasing rights enjoyed by less developed peoples to wild nature (and threat this poses to them), such as the 1982 conference, has increased their political clout. This has been complemented by steadily growing populations among underdeveloped groups and a dwindling global natural resource base. These latter factors pose a real physical threat to the integrity of protected areas and developed peoples' concerns with wild nature (West and Brechin 1991). In their analysis of programmes for community based natural resource management in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia and Zimbabwe, Steiner and Rihoy identify reasons behind the recent promulgation of CBNRM-type approaches in these countries and in doing so, itemize ways less developed peoples threaten developed peoples' concerns with wild nature. They cite: increased poaching of large mammals, pressures of development and poverty jeopardizing conservation, failure of inability of states to protect their wildlife estates, and the colonial conservation

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<sup>123</sup> Hales 1989, p. 141.

<sup>124</sup> *ibid.*



legacy (1995). In this way programs for reserve-neighbour interaction and related efforts to *attach* development to conservation, which seek to address concerns of underdeveloped peoples, need to be viewed as a response by developed groups to threats posed by less developed groups. Drawing on studies from around the globe Seymour concludes: "The point is that the [integrated conservation and development] project initiator's initial interest in the concerned communities stemmed from communities' proximity to areas of biological significance, and the potential roles of communities as agents of the destruction or protection of important ecosystems."<sup>125</sup>

Thus a significant motivation behind the recent promulgation of initiatives between conservation agency staff and protected area neighbours, which ostensibly seek to promote development, and more general efforts to combine development with conservation, is the continued realization of developed groups' objectives with wild nature. For the better part of the 20th century the protected area movement has demonstrated that reliance on classical forms of enforcement--fences, patrols, etc.--was sufficient to realize the objectives of protecting specific natural features or components of ecosystems of interest to developed society. This reality once implied that the concerns of less developed peoples with wild nature could be overlooked or to an extent controlled without jeopardizing developed groups' concerns. Now that this is ceasing to be the situation, developed people seek to realize their objectives with wild nature through initiatives to combine development with conservation.

Although programmes combining development with conservation have as a major objective promoting development among less developed groups--essentially facilitating the end (development) underdeveloped peoples would otherwise seek through consumptive use of wild natural resources--to date successes have been scarce. South African conservation agencies were caught unaware by the rapidity of the national transition process. Long isolated from the ongoing global shift in conservation, agencies such as the NPB and KDNC launched programs such as the Neighbour Relations Policy which appears to seek the *short term* end of improving support for NPB protected

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<sup>125</sup> Seymour 1993, p. 9.

areas. Likewise the KDNC began to consult with underdeveloped groups affected by conservation in the wake of the national political transition so that it could continue to achieve its own pre-defined objectives. KDNC programs of resource harvesting and allocation of reserve revenues to neighbours reflect a short term vision, which does not contribute to establishing dynamic equilibrium between people and wild nature. Neither the approach of the NPB or KDNC is well thought out nor reduces underdeveloped peoples' dependence on wild nature.

Development is about empowering people to help themselves and to have control over their future. The failure of extension programmes to empower people, at least at Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay, appears to have resulted from the fact that developed groups administering these programs seek not to promote development among less developed groups, as much as they seek to ensure their own concerns with wild nature are met. For example, that 25% of revenues from the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve are allocated to the tribal authority, and have tended not to benefit Kosi Bay area residents, supports a hypothesis that conservation agency extension programs have largely been employed to ensure the continued satisfaction of developed group concerns with wild nature. For developed peoples whose interest is maintaining the protected area, gaining the political support of the local hegemon--the Tembe Tribal Authority--for Kosi Bay Nature Reserve is more important than gaining the support of local residents, who accordingly receive few benefits from the reserve.

The extension programs examined in chapters 3 and 4 have not been integrated into the organizational processes of the NPB and KDNC; rather extension programs are attached or "tacked on" to preexisting NPB and KDNC policies, systems and objectives. Extension programs being "tacked on" rather than "built in" is evidenced in: the comparatively scant authority exercised by extension staff--the isolation of Communications staff in the KDNC and complete absence of senior staff for extension in the NPB, the lack of a process for achieving extension objectives, ambiguous institutional structures for extension activities, and in the case of the KDNC a seeming lack of concern about remedying extension programs acknowledged to be ineffective by staff. The primary objective of NPB and KDNC remains the maintenance of protected areas, which meet the concerns of

developed groups with wild nature; extension activities have been adopted by NPB and KDNC to facilitate the achievement of this objective.

The empowerment of underdeveloped peoples to manage their own natural resources will not be achieved when developed peoples seek only to protect their specific interests with wild nature. Empowerment involves a transfer of power. For reserve-neighbour interaction to empower underdeveloped groups, they must be able to manage their own natural resources outside protected areas. Initiatives launched by NPB and KDNC by and large do not facilitate people managing their own resources. Indeed at Kosi Bay the opposite has occurred where the *de facto* control area residents practised over area natural resources has been taken from them.

Empowerment resulting from reserve-neighbour interaction is further complicated by involved underdeveloped groups, such Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay neighbours, also having short term objectives. Neighbours tend to be more concerned with, and are often placated over the short term by, having their needs met through receiving from the conservation agency the accoutrements of development--schools, water systems, access to natural resources, etc.--than with participating in a development *process*. Both developed and underdeveloped groups have short term vision, which has not been placed in the context of a long term development process to empower people.

When only short term ends are sought the relevance of initiatives which seek to link development with conservation in a context of reserve-neighbour interaction becomes a reconstituted version of an approach based on enforcement for developed groups, and as a false hope that promotes dependency among less developed groups. This tendency is not isolated to reserve-neighbour interaction at Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay. Notably the focus of both the 1980 IUCN Strategy and the 1982 World National Parks Conference was on conservation contributing to *meeting needs*--a short term, stop-gap measure--as opposed to promoting development--a long term process. Drawing upon the experiences of more than twenty-five cases from around the globe, West and Brechin observe in their conclusion that new approaches to conservation have often masked a continued preoccupation with traditional (developed peoples') concerns:

We seem to be more concerned sometimes that participation rituals function to educate the local people and facilitate implementation of our plans, rather than to serve as a vehicle for true participation and power sharing in determining the basic policies of protected areas that will affect their lives.... Even when park administrators and planners really do listen to local concerns, it is often to let them blow off steam in the hopes of deflating conflict.<sup>126</sup>

## CONCLUSION

This study supports the hypothesis that the people-environment dynamic is characterized by resourcism-preservationism; increasingly all people form part of a global development trajectory on which people compete for access to wild nature to promote their development. The study has further illustrated a continuing dominance of developed peoples' objectives with wild nature over those of underdeveloped peoples; conservation agency efforts to link conservation and development facilitate the realization of developed peoples' concerns with wild nature but have not tended to promote development among underdeveloped groups. In order for these efforts to be successful, it requires that the key participants--developed and underdeveloped groups--see linking development with conservation as a *process*, the products of which hold essential benefits for all. Enabling less developed groups to regain management of wild natural resources they once held--enabling them to practice conservation themselves--is a fundamental element of a development process that puts people in control of their future. The poor understanding of the objectives of conservation and the potential contribution of conservation to development among both Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay area residents suggest conservation agencies could do more in this area; extension programmes need to address the linkage of conservation *to* development, as opposed to trying to tack on the accoutrements of development to a pre-defined conservation objective.

Linking development *to* conservation clearly must also be addressed. Enabling underdeveloped peoples to meet their own needs through an integrated development process will contribute to empowering people. People who are able to meet their own needs and have control over their future (and who are therefore farther along the development trajectory) will be less dependent

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<sup>126</sup> West and Brechin 1991, pp. 396-7.

upon consumptive use of wild natural resources. Only if conservation agencies develop an approach which *does* empower protected area neighbours to manage their own natural resources, which *does* facilitate development, will their concerns, and those of developed groups in general with wild nature, have *long* in addition to short term integrity.

On a global scale the objectives of conservation are being reevaluated. The mission and objectives of conservation agencies such as the NPB and KDNC still relate to a minority sector of society--developed peoples--and that sector's objectives with wild nature; programs for addressing concerns of the majority underdeveloped groups are tacked on to predefined conservation agency objectives and preestablished conservation agency systems for realizing objectives. In South Africa conservation agencies have attempted to address the symptom--increasing threats to protected areas--instead of redefining their objectives around the problem--the potential role of conservation in enabling people to manage their own natural resources within an integrated development strategy. A fundamental redefinition is required of the objective of nature conservation and the processes, institutional structures, and resources that are used to achieve the objective.

Empowerment is a complex process. Demonstrated by the experiences of NPB and KDNC, not only is it complicated in its mechanics, but demanding in its requirements. Conservation agencies can act as catalysts in transferring power and authority to underdeveloped peoples such that they manage their own natural resources outside protected areas, contributing to the integrity of all wild nature. To enable local people to manage resources conservation agencies themselves need to be empowered. While conservation agencies may relinquish influence at the local level through increased decentralization of natural resource management, they will require new capacity to operate at higher administrative levels of government to promote conservation objectives. Based upon the preceding chapters and informed by discussion here five principles have been distilled to promote empowering reserve-neighbour interaction. These principles have direct implications for the role of conservation agencies in promoting a more healthy relationship between people and environment--in promoting *sustainable living*--through reserve-neighbour interaction:

## PRINCIPLES

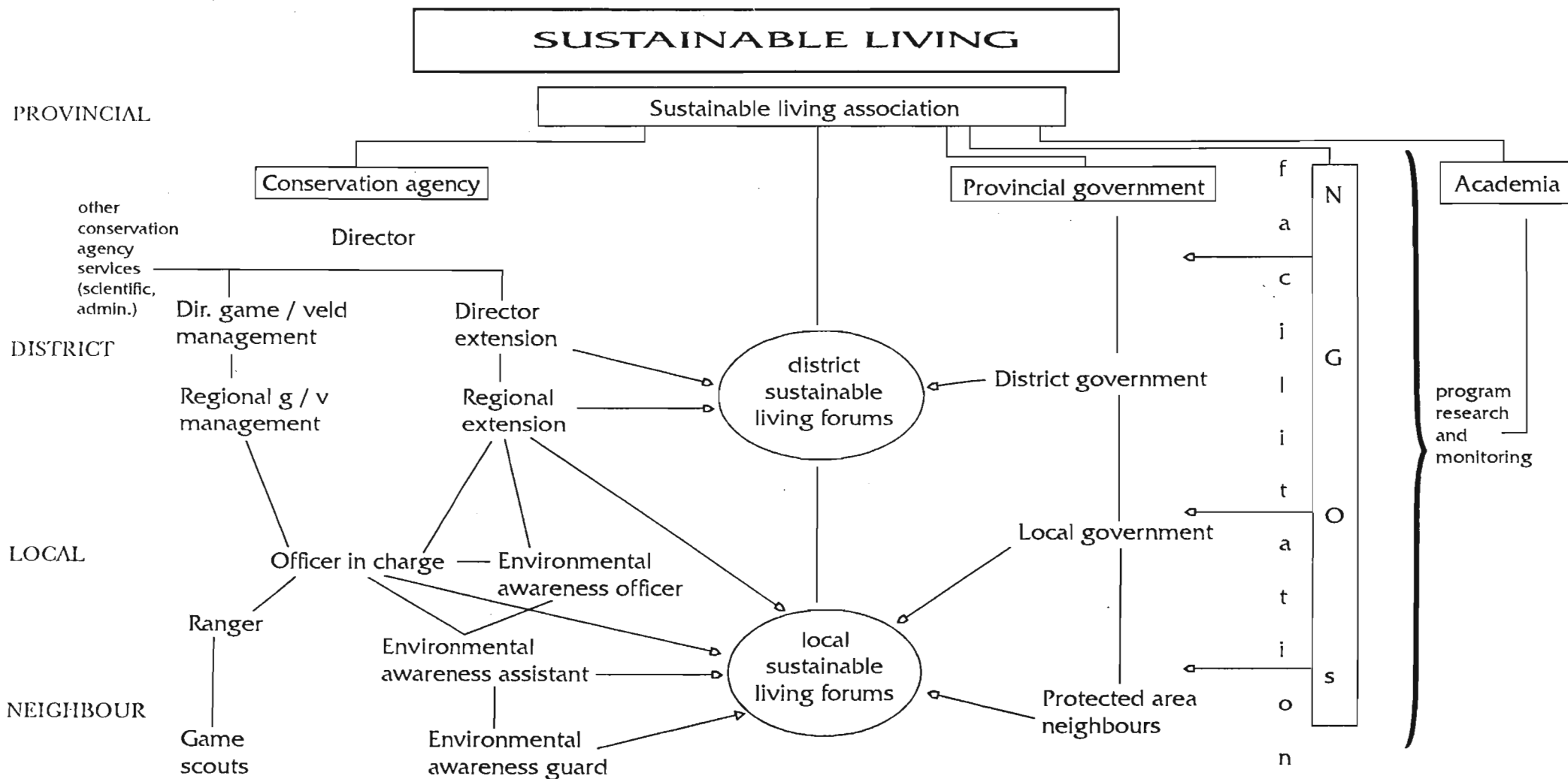
1. ***Principle:***            **Protected areas and neighbours are members of one *common community*.**
2. ***Principle:***            **Conservation is a people-driven process.**
3. ***Principle:***            **Sustainable living in the reserve-neighbour *community* is the end-product of the *community's* shared vision.**
4. ***Principle:***            **Bringing a shared vision to fruition requires equity amongst *community* members.**
5. ***Principle:***            ***Community* members need be *accountable for* and *empowered to fulfil* their roles in sustainable living.**

Building on the concept of sustainable living, and drawing from the discussion, figure 5 illustrates diagrammatically the implications of the above principles.

Principles 1 and 2 imply protected area staff and neighbours need to act as members of one community and that the opportunity for people to "drive" conservation must exist. The creation of local sustainable living forums, which bring together members of the common community, can facilitate these ends. With such a structure in place community members will have the opportunity to develop a shared vision for sustainable living (principle 3), which draws upon linkages between conservation and development, meeting concerns of developed and less developed groups.

Principle 4 speaks to the need for equity amongst community members such that everyone is able to contribute to the shared vision. In many areas equity between reserve staff and neighbours does not exist such as: education / knowledge about natural resource management, access to resources (natural and other), legal authority to undertake natural resource management, and so fourth. It is not the responsibility of conservation agencies to promote equity in all these areas, and nor do agencies likely possess the capacity to do so. Supporting a development *process* that promotes equity in the reserve-neighbour community and contributes to sustainable living will typically require expertise beyond that possessed by conservation agencies. While agencies can facilitate less developed peoples regaining their ability to manage wild natural resources and contribute in other

# FIGURE 5: proposed approach to sustainable living



areas germane to conservation agency objectives, other aspects of promoting development will require the involvement of relevant players such as government departments and NGOs. Middle and senior level conservation agency staff could liaise with these agents, creating sustainable living forums at higher administrative levels to coordinate and plan the activities of involved groups.

Principle 5 speaks about the importance of accountability amongst community members. Accountability can be promoted through each member of local, district and provincial sustainable living forums defining their roles and responsibilities in the shared vision. It also mentions specifically the need to empower participants in the shared vision to fulfil their roles and responsibilities. This will require conservation agency staff to establish structures which empower staff with relevant skills and authority, and the establishment of additional linkages with outside agents which contribute to empowering staff and protected area neighbours to fulfil their roles and responsibilities. Finally the involvement of academia would bring to the program an evaluative component, providing feedback on the effectiveness of the overall approach and that of the individual participating agencies.

The approach derived here is similar to that of Campfire in Zimbabwe. Campfire is reputed to be among the more successful in linking development to conservation and conservation to development. In that under Campfire "[i]n a period of less than 10 years Zimbabwe has returned control over most of its wildlife outside national parks to local communities", the programme has demonstrated itself to be a legitimate and productive approach. Campfire is not the product of nor owned by any single agency. Consensus exists amongst the agencies which collectively make up programme that "the strength of the programme so far has been the 'coalition of support programmes' provided through each of the institutions of the [Campfire Collaborative Group]."<sup>127</sup> Perhaps the range of expertise brought together under the Campfire umbrella has enabled the involved agencies to support a development *process* and succeed in linking development to conservation and *vice versa*. This is an area meriting further investigation.

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<sup>127</sup> Campfire 1994, p.10.



Promoting empowerment through reserve-neighbour interaction cannot be done in isolation. Conservation agencies in South Africa must tap the expertise of other institutions able to facilitate this *process* and draw from the global experience of efforts to link development with conservation. In the future competition between developed and underdeveloped sectors of society for access to and use of wild nature will increase. If developed and underdeveloped groups continue to focus on their respective short term ends instead of together creating a strategy for sustainable living, it is certain the consumptive needs of less developed groups with wild nature will not be met and likely the "protected paradises" so valued by more developed groups will yield to the pressures of natural resource scarcity. The development process must be strategically engaged by the agents identified in figure 5 led by conservation, for only with the movement of underdeveloped sectors of society along the development trajectory can the integrity of all concerns with wild nature be maintained. Seemingly this will require a concomitant movement of developed groups to a new level on the development trajectory characterized by a more holistic relationship to wild nature. Redefining conservation agency objectives and restructuring conservation agency operations have become essential for human development.

## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX A: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

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### METHODOLOGY

#### Approach: field research

Study sites were selected on the basis of discussion with conservation agency staff and visits to potential study sites. Most important among criteria for selecting study areas was the *level* and *nature* of protected area-neighbour interaction at various reserves. An effort was made to select sites with different natural resource bases and histories of protected area-neighbour interaction. Sites initially chosen for research were Giant's Castle Game Reserve, Kosi Bay Nature Reserve, Mkuzi Game Reserve, and Sileza Forest Reserve. Due to the volume of data gathered from the first two study areas and concern over the suitability of Sileza as a study area, the latter two areas were not included in the research effort.

Between 8-3-94 and 24-5-94 research was conducted in the Kosi Bay and Giant's Castle areas. An effort was made to evaluate interaction between staff of the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve and Giant's Castle Game Reserve and reserve neighbours. Reserve-neighbour interaction was measured against the objective of *empowerment*. In attempting to understand relational forces in reserve-neighbour interaction, research assumed a *qualitative* rather than quantitative approach.

Field research consisted primarily of interview guides, conducted through *existing* organizational structures; participant observation techniques were employed. Interviewees were drawn from staff of the Natal Parks Board and KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation, and Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay area residents.<sup>1</sup> Area residents involved in research in Giant's Castle area were

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<sup>1</sup> In keeping with the agreed confidential nature of discussions between the researcher and interviewees, names are not used with statements by these individuals.

the Mkhize and Amahlubi. Those involved at Kosi Bay included residents of Mahlungulu, KwaMazambane, KwaGeorge, Malangeni, KwaDapha and Nkovukeni. In both cases introductions to the areas were made via the appropriate tribal authorities. \* How MADE?

Within the framework of a qualitative approach three interview strategies were employed:

- \* {
- a) key informant interviews
  - b) focus group interviews
  - c) purposive interviews

*Key informant* interviews were conducted with individuals having direct involvement with or responsibility for protected area-neighbour interaction. These included conservation agency staff, independent authorities and reserve neighbours participating in activities with protected area staff at study sites. *Focus group* interviews were organized to observe and record the opinions of protected area neighbours on reserve-neighbour interaction. Focus groups reflected geographic and known social indicator criteria germane to the research objective. In practice focus groups comprised various subsets of neighbours. Both key informant and focus group interviews were structured around investigating reserve-neighbour interaction.

*Purposive* interviews were conducted with individuals meeting criteria of area residency and willingness to be interviewed. An attempt was made to balance the purposive interview sample on grounds of gender and age. Purposive interviews were conducted with protected area neighbours and examined a variety of subject matter, including reserve-neighbour interaction. A total of 155 individuals participated in interviews from the NPB and Giant's Castle area residents, and 324 individuals participated in interviews from the KDNC and Kosi Bay area.<sup>2</sup> Data from individual interviews is contained in appendix C.

Topics covered in interviews included but were not limited to: perceived individual wellbeing before and after examples of reserve-neighbour interaction, associated attitudinal shifts, knowledge about reserve function and objectives, and access to effective communication channels for dialogue

<sup>2</sup> In calculating total individuals interviewed, in relation to group interviews the number of individuals attending group interviews is the figure used as indicated in appendix C.

with reserve staff. Linkage between a perception of improved quality of life and / or the generation of positive feelings toward the reserve with improvements in individual attitudes to conservation was tested. Interviews explored whether current reserve-neighbour interaction was able to resolve broad-based neighbour concerns and build sustainable relations which promote conservation. Interviews also sought to assess whether, as a result of reserve-neighbour interaction, reserve policy in a general sense became more sensitive to neighbour issues. The impact of cooperative reserve-neighbour efforts on the area economy was evaluated. Possible linkages between heightened levels of dialogue between reserve neighbours and reserve staff with increased neighbour organization and interaction with outside agencies were explored. Interviews sought to elicit links between neighbours empowered through cooperative efforts with the reserve, the development of a conservation culture, and reduced non-sustainable resource use by protected area neighbours.

#### **Approach: data interpretation**

Data was interpreted using a qualitative approach through accepted methodology. Data obtained from field studies at Giant's Castle and Kosi Bay areas was interpreted within a national and international context. Relevant literature on global people-environment relations was surveyed. A variety of approaches for structuring interaction between nature conservation agencies and people were also consulted, as was contemporary thinking in the field of community based natural resource management. A global framework for people-environment relations was developed. Global trends in people-environment relations were contrasted with trends that had already been identified in field data through the established empowerment framework. Influenced by circumstances particular to the South African context, as indicated by the field studies, principles and an approach for reserve-neighbour interaction were constructed.

#### **Working assumptions**

The delineated qualitative approach is a recognized scientific method of inquiry (Filestead

1970; Patton 1987), appropriate to the study of protected area-neighbour interaction. Data derived from this process and contained in this document are indicative and reflective of views of neighbours and conservation agency staff involved in the study.



The history of conservation practice in Africa and South Africa in particular has shaped the dynamic between rural people and formal conservation agents. Perceptions today of neighbours and conservation agency staff are the end-products of the historical dynamic; perceptions are a motivating force in behaviour (Patton 1987). Neighbours and protected area staff enjoy relatively different levels of exposure to media and information allowing them to explore and to an extent escape the bounds of their perceptions. As a result of widespread illiteracy, lack of access to modern media and strength of tradition, rural people enjoy comparatively less freedom of exploration than conservation agency staff, who have access to the tools of modern society--formal education, information resources, etc.

There is considerable difference in power between the various stakeholders. Central government has the weight of the legal and enforcement mechanisms of the nation state.... In view of the differential in power between the park authorities and the local people, the burden of demonstrating trustworthiness, or a real commitment to change in historical confrontational attitudes, will fall primarily on the park authority.<sup>3</sup>



Recognition of the importance of *perception* and *perceptions* by neighbours as the point of departure for protected area staff interaction with them is essential. Perceptions need be the starting point for developing mutually acceptable solutions to outstanding reserve-neighbour issues; how can people be made to understand differently than they do? While the research does not uncritically accept neighbour attitudes and opinions as fact, it does seek to indicate their realities (perceptions), which influence all efforts at protected area-neighbour interaction.

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<sup>3</sup> Hough 1988, p. 131.

## APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRES

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The following appendix contains most of the questions used in various interview categories. As part of a dynamic qualitative research process, questions and issues were adapted and refined over the course of field research in light of information gleaned. Questions presented below represent the end products of this process. It is important to note that the following questionnaires are **interview guides**. As such questions formed an outline for interviews; many interviews drew questions from several interview categories. The subject matter of most neighbour interviews was determined significantly by matters of interest to interviewees.

## CONSERVATION AGENCY

### 1. Officer in Charge

#### DEVELOPMENT OF A RESERVE-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP; CONSTRAINTS AND POSSIBILITIES CONFRONTING IT

1. If one exists could you describe the evolution in your and the reserve's approach to interaction with communities?
2. What has been done to sensitize the conservation agenda of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve to the realities of life in rural communities?-- changes in reserve policy?
3. In a general sense, what problems do communities living in the vicinity of protected areas pose to reserves?
4. What would you characterize as some of the major issues on ground preventing more positive relations between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and surrounding communities? How about factors within the NPB / KDNC preventing better relations?
5. What is the issue of greatest contention between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and communities?
6. Could you go into a bit of detail about the history of the land that makes up \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and along with it the reserve's history of relations with communities?

#### THEORY AND ORGANIZATION FOR EXTENSION

7. What is the reserve-community relationship working towards, that is, is there a model you are seeking to develop for relations between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and surrounding communities?
8. Have you received any direction from Head Office about the structure of a model for reserve-community relations? How about support for **implementing** a model for improved-reserve community relations? Are you involved with any outside facilitators like NGOs in your work with communities?
9. Where do reserve-community extension programs fit into the organizational bureaucracy of NPB / KDNC?
10. My experience thus far is that reserves that have built good relations with surrounding communities have done so as a result of the efforts of singular individuals? Do you agree and if so why is that?
11. Is there any sort of "missing ingredient" in the existing dynamic between reserves and communities, that is would the involvement of organizations perhaps government with other expertise allow the NPB's / KDNC's community involvement programs to have a broader impact?
12. Is there an evaluation component to reserve-community extension programs? Do you feel evaluation is important? You said reserve-community relations were working towards \_\_\_\_\_ how are you measuring the success of efforts?
13. As OIC what are your official duties with regard to reserve extension into communities? (PB relation to EAOs) Who else within the NPB / KDNC do you work directly with in carrying them out?
14. How often are meetings held between yourself and representation from the community?
15. What is the usual structure and nature of those meetings?



16. (KDNC) Is the creation of other structures for interaction with the reserve envisaged or will the TCLC (Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee) remain the only vehicle for interaction with people in the Tembe area? What is the role the CLO plays when he's not in meetings?-- sounding out community concerns?
17. What is your opinion of the NPB / KDNC's overall policy for reserve extension into communities? How do you think the program could be improved?

#### EXTENSION PROJECTS AND PROGRAMS

18. How have relations between the community and reserve changed over the past five years?
19. And specifically, have you remarked any greater receptiveness within communities to reserve objectives, such as reduced levels of poaching or fence cutting?
20. How about any examples of heightened concern for conservation or conservation issues within communities?
21. The above changes, what have they resulted from?
22. From the perspective of reserve manager, what consequences have your improved relations with area communities had for the reserve, and have they expedited your ability to fulfil managerial responsibilities?
23. What if anything is the reserve now able to accomplish that it could not have before relations with communities improved? Cooperation from community to stop poaching?
24. How were local people living inside what is now Kosi reserve moved?
25. What has the KDNC done to compensate local residents who were moved? How was compensation decided upon? Local involvement?
26. What have been some of the unexpected difficulties you have encountered in your (project) work with communities, things which have just blind-sided you?
27. Have local or community politics been an influential force in the development of reserve-community projects? What has been their impact-- people squabbling for control, when has it appeared in the project cycle?
28. How much interaction do you have as OIC with community youth? What is their attitude to NPB's / KDNC's involvement in their communities? Do they support the idea of conservation? Does the NPB / KDNC target any specific initiatives at youth cadres?
29. What is your sense of the strength of tribal authority structures in communities surrounding the reserve?
30. During your tenure as OIC, what have you learned about the communities' around \_\_\_\_\_ reserve approaches to or philosophies on conservation of natural resources?

#### NATURE OF RESERVE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

31. How do you see future directions for relations between the reserve and community unfolding?
32. Do reserves have responsibilities to their immediate neighbours? What are those responsibilities?

33. Defined in the broadest sense, what **resources** do reserves possess that can facilitate the upliftment of communities around reserves? Should those resources be used proactively to uplift communities?
34. In a general and specific sense, on what is \_\_\_\_\_ reserve dependent from neighbouring communities?
35. Do you acknowledge a link between ownership over resources and sustainable use of resources?
36. If yes, what then is your opinion of joint management schemes with the communities for \_\_\_\_\_ reserve?
37. Are community members ever present at reserve management meetings; in what capacity; are they allowed to be present?
38. (KDNC) As a reserve manager do you feel your job would be made easier were the 25% of revenues from this reserve to go directly to communities surrounding the reserve? What are the prospects for reform?

#### SPECIFIC RESERVE-COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES

39. What initiatives or projects are currently under way between \_\_\_\_\_ and communities?
40. Specifically, which **natural** resources are communities currently engaged in harvesting from the reserve?
41. Do you feel either the level or variety of resources harvested by communities could be sustainably increased? What have been some of the obstacles in allowing greater resource harvesting by area communities?
42. What is the import of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve, that is how would you characterize its maintenance as a protected area as crucial to Natal / KZ, SA or the world? What is the agricultural value of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve as farmland?
43. In rural communities much of the responsibility for sustainable natural resource exploitation is vested in women. What attempts if any have been made by the reserve to work directly with women's groups, to instill them with a conservation ethic or to spread environmental education programs their way?
44. Among the projects you have been involved with the community, which groups within the community have been the primary beneficiaries of the projects? Which community group(s) have you worked with? Is there a "core" set of individuals involved in most community-reserve initiatives?
45. How many people does the reserve employ from the surrounding communities?

## 2. Environmental Awareness Officers (NPB) and Communication Officers (KDNC)

### EXTENSION ACTIVITIES WITHIN THE NPB/KDNC BUREAUCRACY

1. As an EAO / CO what is your charge within the NPB / KDNC bureaucracy, specifically as related to the Neighbour Relations Policy / KDNC policy of conservation benefiting the people of KwaZulu?
2. How long have you been EAO / CO? Over that period how have your duties changed?
3. In carrying out your duties, what kind and level of cooperation do you rely upon from OICs?
4. Within the reserves in your region how regularly is the requisite cooperation obtained?
5. Have you received any direction from Head Office about the structure of a model for reserve-community relations? How about support for implementing a model for improved-reserve community relations? Are you involved with any outside facilitators like NGOs in your work with communities?
6. (NPB) Status of appointing a community development officer to the Zululand / Drakensburg region?
7. (NPB) How will his duties mesh with the existing relationship between the EAO and OICs?
8. Is there any sort of "missing ingredient" in the existing dynamic between reserves and communities, that is would the involvement of organizations perhaps government with other expertise allow the KDNC's community involvement programs to have a broader impact?

### OBJECTIVES OF EXTENSION

9. Within the NPB / KDNC has there been a development in the approach to reserve-community relations over the last 5-6 years? Describe?
10. What is the reserve-community relationship working towards, that is, is there a model you are seeking to develop for relations between \_\_\_\_\_ and surrounding communities? What principals guide and should guide reserve-community relations?
11. In terms of overall process do you feel it is more important for the community to become integrated into the reserve as an entity or for the reserve to familiarize itself with the ways and life of the community, so achieving integration, why? Which of the above better characterizes the philosophy behind NPBs / KDNCs approach to interaction with communities?
12. Do reserves have responsibilities to their neighbours? What are those responsibilities?
13. Defined in the broadest sense, what resources do reserves possess that can facilitate the upliftment of communities around reserves? Should those resources be used proactively to uplift communities?
14. Is there an evaluation component to reserve-community extension programs? Do you feel evaluation is important? You said reserve-community relations were working towards \_\_\_\_\_ how are you measuring the success of efforts?
15. How do you see future directions for relations between the reserve and community unfolding? What is it working towards?
16. What is your opinion of the NPB / KDNC's policy for reserve extension into communities? How do you think the policy could be improved?

## APPROACH FOR INTERACTION WITH COMMUNITIES

17. What institutional structures or which individuals do you tend to work through in communities? On what grounds do you base a decision to work through these structures?-- respect, analysis of systems operating in communities, advice from community members? Would you say there is a core group of individuals in the community you work regularly with?
18. Could you outline in step by step format the approach you employ in developing relations with neighbouring communities?
19. What is the rough division between time devoted to reserve-community interaction and work in communities not attached to a specific protected area? Is most of your work project oriented or more general environmental education? Could you give an estimate about the percentage of projects you are responsible for in your region that involve reserves?
20. In the projects you have facilitated, which other organizations have been involved?
21. What have been some of the unexpected difficulties you have encountered in your (project) work with communities, things which have just blind-sided you?
22. Have local or community politics been an influential force in the evolution of reserve-community projects? What has been their impact-- people squabbling for control?, when has it appeared in the project cycle?
23. Given your experiences to date in facilitating interaction between communities and reserves, is there any "missing ingredient", that is would the involvement of specific other organizations or agencies allow neighbour relations activities to have broader impact; what other institutional structures need be harnessed?
24. In rural communities much of the responsibility for sustainable use of natural resources is vested in women? How much extension work is targeted specifically at women or women's groups? Nature of that extension work?
25. Among extension / development efforts that do not have a gender content, how involved are women in these "general" projects?
26. How much interaction do you have as an EAO / CO with community youth? What is their attitude to NPB's / KDNC's involvement in their communities? Do they support the idea of conservation? Does the NPB / KDNC target any specific initiatives at youth cadres?

## COMMUNITY RESPONSE TO EXTENSION

27. As someone within the PB / KDNC who might be best able to have a finger on the pulse of communities, in a general sense have you observed over the recent past any general attitudinal shifts toward the NPB / KDNC? Toward conservation? Specifically at Kosi / Giants / Mkuzi have there been changes in the reserve-community dynamic?
28. Are you or your EAAs (Environmental Awareness Assistants) / Field Communication officers ever solicited by community members with proposals for projects with the reserve? Nature of proposals, frequency?
29. What is the communities' best line of communication with the reserve?
30. Have you experienced assistance from the community in combating activities like poaching?

## RESULTS THUS FAR

31. As a result of the work you have facilitated in communities, have you noticed the emergence of ability for or examples of autonomous action within the community toward community development?
32. Are you aware of any linkages the communities you are involved with have developed between themselves and NGOs or CBOs?
33. Has PB / KDNC extension work improved life in communities? How?
34. Have the projects which have been launched been sustained by communities? What efforts do you make to ensure communities have the ability to manage projects for the long term? Training received toward CD?
35. From what you have witnessed, which groups within communities have been the primary beneficiaries of community-reserve projects?
36. During your tenure as EAO / Communication Officer what have you learned about approaches to conservation in the broadest sense within communities in which you are involved? Does a conservation ethic exist?
37. How has this learning influenced your work with them?

### 3. Environmental Awareness Assistants (EAA) (NPB) and Field Communication Officers (FCO) (KDNC)

#### POSITION RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Describe for me your responsibilities as EAA / FCO? What training if any have you received to assist you in carrying out these duties?
2. What is the overall objective of your work with communities?
3. What is your opinion of your workload? Do you feel you have enough time to devote to communities in your region?
4. How long have you been an EAA / FCO?
5. How regular is your contact with superiors? Are you able to take decisions about community-reserve projects without consulting them?
6. How many of the reserves in your area of responsibility have forums or committees for permanent and ongoing relations with the reserve?
7. Aside from facilitating projects between the reserve and community, I understand as an EAA / FCO you are also responsible for spreading environmental education in your area. How would you rate your success on this front as compared to that on the projects side, or are the two not able to be separated? Are communities interested in environmental issues and conservation?

#### APPROACHES FOR EXTENSION

8. (NPB) I understand many projects have been started between the NPB and communities. Are you regularly involved with each of the initiatives that have been launched between reserves and communities in the Drakensburg / Zululand region? Doing what? How much time do you spend with the average project in a week?
9. Are you familiar with the Neighbour Relations Policy / objectives of the KDNC? What is it you are trying to achieve in your work with communities in your area? Do you have a strategy you employ in each of the communities in which you work?-- detail?
10. (NPB) Before the start of the NRP in 1992, did your duties differ from your responsibilities post launching of NRP? How?
11. (KDNC) Over the time you have been a FCO have your duties changed at all ? How about in last 5 years?
12. When you go into an area for the first time what do you tell communities about [the PBs neighbour relations policy?-- objectives? / objectives of the KDNC]?
13. Do you talk to them about the objectives of reserves in their area, objectives of conservation? Do they differ? --detail.
14. What is the general model employed for community management of **development projects** facilitated by the reserve (project organization within community)? Is any specific effort made to work through systems already operating within the community when setting up project committees or other community-reserve bodies ie the forums?

15. Is it important to measure whether your efforts in communities are successful? How do you know if they are successful? (How do you measure them?)
16. What kind of specifically conservation projects if any has the PB / KDNC started with communities?
17. What is your sense of the community structures which hold the greatest sway in the communities around Giants / Kosi? Who are the most powerful individuals in the community? Do you enjoy positive relations with them? Would it be possible for you to work in their communities without being on good terms with them? Are they supportive of the reserve getting more involved in the community? Why?
18. Which structures in the community do you tend to work directly with in your interaction with area communities? Do you have a strategy you regularly employ

#### COMMUNITY RESPONSE

19. (NPB) Could you describe the responses from communities to the PBs new program? Do they generally react with interest or is there suspicion of PBs objectives?
20. (KDNC) Could you describe typical community responses when you make first contact?
21. Have you experienced any overtly hostile reactions to the NRP / KDNC extension efforts in the communities in which you are involved? What causes people to react this way?
22. From which area of Natal / KZ do you come? Would / does coming from the area in which you work make your job easier in terms of gaining people's trust and cooperation? Would / does it further complicate it in some ways?
23. (NPB) Have you perceived any sense of solidarity to KwaZulu in your extension work to communities, that is do people reject the NRP and involvement of the PB in KwaZulu's jurisdiction?
24. (NPB) Are people or communities ever aware of the NRP before you introduce it to them? What do they know about it? Would you say the level of awareness of the PBs NRP has grown appreciably since its official inauguration in 1992?
25. Do communities or individuals ever approach you with projects on which they would like the cooperation of the PB / KDNC? Since when has this been happening? Since you started working with communities, have any of the communities begun their own projects without your input?
26. What are the typical requests people come to you with? What is some of the assistance people request of you or the PB / KDNC with which you are not able to provide them?
27. Have community members ever **approached** you with conservation initiatives they were hoping to launch in their area?
28. Over your time as EAA / FCO have you noticed any increased receptiveness within communities to the idea of conservation, or examples of community behaviour that is more environmentally friendly?
29. How much interaction do you have as an EAA / FCO with community youth? What is their attitude to NPB's / KDNC's involvement in their communities? Do they support the idea of conservation? Does the NPB / KDNC target any specific initiatives at youth cadres?

## EFFECTIVENESS OF APPROACH

30. You began by telling me about your responsibilities as an EAA / FCO. Do you feel your efforts are serving to improve relations between reserves and communities? What other activities between communities and reserves would make relations even better?
31. Do you feel or is it your perception that the communities feel a sense of ownership over the reserve land or do they naturally acknowledge it as belonging to the state through the NPB / KDNC?
32. Personally, not as a NPB / KDNC employee, do you feel there can ever be genuine and permanently good relations between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and communities? Why or why not?
33. As objectively as possible what is your assessment of the benefits that have accrued to the community as a result of NRP / KDNC reserve extension work activities?-- Nature, individuals benefitting, quantity, sustainability?
34. Is the NRP / KDNC functioning to help communities meet some of their most pressing needs? How is it doing this?
35. In your work with communities do you direct them on what they should be doing on projects, or do you work with them more as an advisor?
36. As I understand it, community interests in regard to the reserve are represented on a community-reserve forum? How representative do you feel this forum is? Which groups hold greatest sway on the forum? Are there elements within the community who reject the PBs NRP / KDNC because they feel their interests have been left out? Is it your sense that people serving on the community-reserve forum are respected and influential within their community? What problems will the NPB / KDNC encounter in working in communities?
37. is there anything you feel would improve relations between the community and reserve, make them even better?
38. Given your knowledge about the forces within communities outside the reserve, what problems do you feel the established forums could / will encounter?



#### 4. Game Guards

##### POSITION RESPONSIBILITIES

1. Name, time serving.
2. Describe for me your duties as a game guard?
3. Aside from trying to stop poaching, what other interactions do you have with area communities as a game guard?
4. Over the time you have been with the reserve has the work you have been responsible for carrying out changed much? How?
5. Could you estimate how many people within your family and community are dependent upon the salary you earn from NPB / KDNC?

##### EXPERIENCES

6. I understand the NPB / KDNC is now trying to work more cooperatively with communities. Are you aware of a such efforts by the NPB / KDNC? Could you tell me about the objectives of the new efforts? Do you think it will serve to improve relations between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and surrounding communities?
7. Specifically, how has your work changed as a result of the new approach by PB / KDNC? Have you received any new duties; been involved in any training programs toward new skills for work with communities? Biggest difference between pre and post the new approach?
8. Would you say that over the recent past and particularly the last 5 years your duties as a game guard have become easier, harder or remained about the same?-- detail.
9. Have you found the communities with which you are regularly involved more cooperative and easy to work with or more difficult?
10. Is there anything specific to which you can attribute the above changes in community behaviour?
11. Has the level of poaching changed noticeably in the recent past? How?
12. Over your time as a game guard have you noticed any increased receptiveness within communities to the idea of conservation, or examples of community behaviour that is more environmentally friendly?
13. Are you aware that the reserve has established a committee for dialogue between it and the communities? Do you feel the membership of those committees reflects individuals within the community that are influential and respected by people? Are there groups or people from the community who are not represented on the committee / forum? Are most people within the community aware of the existence of the forum? Do you ever tell people about the forum?

##### INTERACTION WITH COMMUNITIES

14. Given your knowledge about the forces within communities outside the reserve, what problems do you feel the established forums could encounter? How about the NPB / KDNC working in communities?
15. From which area of Natal / KZ do you come? Would / does coming from the area in which you work make your job easier in terms of gaining people's trust and cooperation? Would / does it further complicate it in some ways? Such as? Which would you prefer?

16. When does most poaching occur? What are the causes of it? If someone is caught poaching an antelope, is he usually arrested? What happens to him?
17. When trying to stop poaching, or when you are at home with your family do you ever find yourself having to explain the purpose of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? What do you say? What do most people you know in the community think about the reserve?
18. Should there be reserves? Why? Who should control them?
19. What are relations between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and area communities like currently?
20. In your opinion can there ever be truly good relations between reserves and communities? Why or why not? How can they be achieved?
21. What is the source of greatest conflict between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and the communities in which you work?

## 5. Conservator North (KDNC)

### DEVELOPMENT OF RESERVE-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP; CONSTRAINTS AND POSSIBILITIES CONFRONTING IT

1. Why is the KDNC working with communities?
2. How has the KDNC's approach to working with communities changed over the past 5 or 6 years?
3. How much has the approach been shaped / revised based on lessons learned over the proclamation of Kosi Bay? What were some of those lessons?
4. Speaking more generally, what have been the motivating factors behind changes in KDNC's programs for reserve-extension into communities?
5. What has been done to sensitize the implementation of KDNC's conservation programs to the difficulties of life in rural communities, to make them more amenable to the community? Specifics?-- staff training, game guard reeducation?
6. Why do KDNC reserves give 25% of reserve revenues to the area TA? What do you feel has been and is the impact of the 25% of reserve revenues going to the Tribal Authority? Do you not feel the linkage between conservation or the existence of the reserve and community benefit would be more explicit were the money to be channelled more directly to the community? Other discussions I have had suggest the TCLC might become the body responsible for administering the 25% take from Kosi-- any progress in implementing this?
7. I understand one of the difficulties in enacting such a change is that KZG law stipulates the KDNC must work through tribal authority structures in its relations with communities. Specifically, which law is this, and what are its exigencies?

### THEORY AND ORGANIZATION OF EXTENSION ACTIVITY

8. What is the relationship the KBNR seeks to develop between its reserve and area communities, is there a model? What are the objectives of increased interaction with area communities?
9. Is there an underlying philosophy to the relationship between KDNC reserves and surrounding communities? How does the growing focus on community involvement in ecotourism development fit into that philosophy?
10. Could you describe the community that is the focus of reserve extension efforts? Will the support of this community ensure the continued existence of reserves? Are efforts made to work with the broader national community?
11. As Conservator North, what sort of support does your office provide for staff of individual reserves developing relations with surrounding communities?
12. Have you received any direction from Head Office about the structure of a model for reserve-community relations? How about support for implementing a model for improved-reserve community relations?
13. Is there an evaluation component to reserve-community extension programs? Do you feel evaluation is important? You said reserve-community relations were working towards \_\_\_\_\_ how are you measuring the success of efforts?

14. Does being an arm of the KZG influence or impact the KDNC's ability to fulfil conservation objectives? Influence the KDNC's interaction with communities?
15. Towards developing better relations with communities is the KDNC working with any other organizations? Nature of MDO link? What sort of input have they been giving?

#### NATURE OF RESERVE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

16. Did dialogue exist with local communities concerning the establishment of the reserve? Nature of?
17. How were local people living inside what is now Kosi reserve moved?
18. What has the KDNC done to compensate local residents who were moved? How was compensation decided upon? Local involvement?
19. What resources **broadly defined** are possessed by KDNC reserves that be harnessed toward the upliftment of area communities? Should these resources be so used?
20. What role should the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation be playing in the development / upliftment of communities surrounding its reserves?-- nature of; or is that responsibility vested exclusively with other KZG departments?
21. Do conservation agencies like the KDNC have responsibilities to their immediate neighbours? What are they?
22. In terms of overall process do you feel it is more important for communities to become integrated into the objectives and workings of the reserve or for the reserve to become part of the life of the community, why?
23. Do you and the KDNC acknowledge a linkage between ownership over natural resources and sustainable use of natural resources?
24. What implications should this have for reserves being jointly managed by communities and the KDNC in order to satisfy community's sense of ownership and ideally improve sustainable resource exploitation?
25. In both a general and specific sense on what are you dependent from communities surrounding Kosi Bay? From communities in general?
26. Looking long term, what are the future plans for interaction / initiatives between reserves and surrounding communities? Specific plans for Kosi?
27. A term often associated with the joint ventures is "community based ecotourism". Could you define this from the KDNCs perspective?
28. Would it be fair to characterize the basis of the relationship between Kosi reserve and communities as one of mutual business interest, or is the business partnership a **result of a preexisting relationship** between the reserve and communities?
29. What sort of general applicability do you feel the joint venture project at Sileza-Jondotibe in terms of a split of responsibility with the community responsible for tourism management and the KDNC for conservation, holds for KDNC reserves in general?
30. It will likely take some time before actual joint management schemes get off the ground. Is there any sort of existing provision for community representation on reserve management (meetings)?

31. How should existing community interests in Kosi Bay reserve be represented?-- structure.
32. As I understand it aside from envisaged community-based ecotourism development, at the moment the KDNC's two primary vehicles for its reserves benefitting communities are the 25% allocation to the TA and opportunities for harvesting reserve resources. It seems to me a relationship between communities and the reserve based upon distribution of reserve resources is dangerous as mounting population pressures will continually reduce benefits accruing to community. Is the KDNC concerned with this issue? What new bases for relations with surrounding communities might be established?
33. How does the emergent relationship between KDNC reserves and area communities mesh with the realities of life in rural communities how does the relationship help rural people / meet rural needs? Looking specifically at ecotourism developments at Sileza and proposed at Kosi, how will these meet rural needs?
34. What is your opinion of the KDNC's policy for reserve-community relations?

#### FIELD EXPERIENCE

35. Have communities responded positively to some of the recent changes in the KDNC approach?
36. Is the bulk of KDNC's work with communities run out of reserves? What sort of work if any has KDNC done outside of protected areas and their immediate neighbours involving communities and conservation issues?
37. Within the framework of the Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee (TCLC), what avenues are there for your average goat header to raise issues with Kosi management? For community development initiatives to be raised by community members?
38. Is the creation of other structures for interaction with the reserve envisaged or will the TCLC remain the only vehicle for interaction with people in the Tembe area?
39. Both through experiences of the TCLC and other instances of reserve extension into communities, what have been some of the unexpected difficulties the KDNC has encountered in work with communities, things which have just blind-sided you?
40. The Kosi area particularly is fraught with divisions on numerous lines. There, and in general, have local or community politics complicated KDNC efforts to work with local communities? How and where?
41. The KDNC has moved aggressively into joint venture ecotourist development with communities. Particularly in areas such as Kosi it seems like quite a big step to move from a semi-hostile relationship with communities to one of business partners. What were some of the steps that led up to a business venture between the reserve and community I may not be aware of?
42. Have northern reserves made any specific efforts to work or develop programs with community youth? What is their attitude to KDNC's involvement in their communities? Do they support the idea of conservation?
43. What do you see coming out of a KDNC and NPB merger? It would seem the upgrading of the Bureau to a Department is in some way preparation for a merger?

## 6. Resource Research Officer

### THEORY AND ORGANIZATION FOR EXTENSION

1. How has the KDNC's approach to working with communities changed over the past 5-6 years?
2. What is the relationship between reserves and communities working towards, that is, is there a model you are seeking to develop for relations between \_\_\_\_\_ and surrounding communities?
3. Is there an underlying philosophy to the relationship between KDNC reserves and surrounding communities? How does the growing focus on community involvement in ecotourism development fit into that philosophy?
4. In the mind of the KDNC what is "community based ecotourism?"
5. Have you received any direction from Head Office about the structure of a model for reserve-community relations? How about support for implementing a model for improved-reserve community relations? Are you involved with any outside facilitators like NGOs in your work with communities?
6. Within the KDNC who do you work regularly with on reserve-community extension projects and programs?
7. If any, what other organizations-- CBOs, NGOs,-- have been involved with Kosi reserve extension work into communities? Nature of?
8. Is there any sort of "missing ingredient" in the existing dynamic between reserves and communities, that is would the involvement of organizations perhaps government with other expertise allow the KDNC's community involvement programs to have a broader impact?
9. Does being an arm of the KZ Government influence or impact the KDNCs ability to fulfil conservation objectives? Influence or impact its work with communities?
10. Is there an evaluation component to reserve-community extension programs? Do you feel evaluation is important? You said reserve-community relations were working towards \_\_\_\_\_ how are you measuring the success of efforts?

### FIELD EXPERIENCES WITH COMMUNITY WORK

11. How were local people living inside what is now Kosi reserve moved?
12. What has the KDNC done to compensate local residents who were moved? How was compensation decided upon? Local involvement?
13. Were Kosi's marine and estuarine resources endangered when the reserve was fenced in 1988? What systems had area groups developed for sustainably exploiting the resources? Had they become dysfunctional?
14. What sort of systems have you established with the community for the sustainable exploitation of Kosi's marine and estuarine resources? How many years has it taken for these systems to become operational? Was the community initially receptive to the necessity of sustainable harvest levels for their long term good? How were you able to convince them of the importance of sustainability?
15. What sort of input have the communities had and do they continue to have in the determination of sustainable harvest levels?

16. Are the groups in the Tembe people you started working with the same groups you are working with today? How have they changed? There seem to be innumerable factions in the Kosi area, how did you know you were speaking to the "right" people?
17. Would it had been possible to accomplish any of the things you have in terms of having an ongoing relationship with the community and setting up structures without working through the TA?
18. What have been some of the surprises and unexpected difficulties you have had in implementing projects or management schemes with communities?
19. How problematic have community politics been in project implementation? During what phases of the project do they tend to be most virulent? Have any of your projects ended in total stagnation as a result of community politics?
20. Do Tembe people ever approach you about community conservation issues? About issues or differences they might have with the reserve? Such as?
21. For Kosi would it be accurate to say the TCLC is the principal vehicle for dialogue between the reserve and community, or do unofficial links between reserve staff and community members play a more important role?
22. In rural communities much of the responsibility for sustainable exploitation of natural resources is vested in women. What attempts if any have been made by the reserve to imbue women with a conservation ethic?
23. What would you characterize as some of the major issues on ground preventing more positive relations between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and surrounding communities? How about factors within the NPB / KDNC preventing better relations?
24. What is the issue of greatest dispute between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and communities?
25. What is the import of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve, that is how would you characterize its maintenance as a protected area as crucial to Natal / KZ, SA or the world? What is the agricultural value of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve as farmland?

#### PERSONAL APPROACH?

26. Over your years of interaction with communities, what has been most integral to the successes you have met with?
27. In either your and the KDNCs work with the fisheries, Shengeza project or at SJ have you or the Department made any attempt to be sensitive to or to work through existing social and institutional structures in communities?
28. During your long tenure here has environmental scientist what have you learned about the approaches to conservation in the communities in which you work? How has this impacted your work with them? If at all how has this knowledge influenced reserve policy as related to interaction with communities?

#### SPECIFIC PROJECTS AND PROGRAMMES

29. The Shengeza project seeks to develop a community run conservation area. Status? What benefits can you anticipate accruing to the community from the project? Who or what group on the community side is coordinating the project?

30. In terms of the possibility for real and long term benefits accruing to the general community, what are your feelings about SJ (Sileza-Jondotibe)? About unfolding plans for community based ecotourism here at Kosi?
31. What is to prevent community elites from taking overt or covert control of the SJ project and benefits which come from it?
32. The impression I have from speaking with others involved with SJ is a total commitment from the KDNC to it. Why is the Department so devoted to the effort?
33. Do you have any indication or reason to believe the split witnessed at SJ with the KDNC managing conservation and communities ecotourism will be replicated in other KDNC reserves? How much of the KDNCs future level and nature of work with communities will be dictated by the outcome of this project?
34. Currents status of development activities at SJ?
35. The SJ Joint Management Committee, has it created any sub forums for specific project components? Are you aware of other responsibilities performed by these committees aside from tasks directly related to SJ? By the SJ Joint Management Committee itself?
36. Are any other projects or initiatives under way here at Kosi with communities?

#### NATURE OF RESERVE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

37. Do conservation agencies like the KDNC have responsibilities to their immediate neighbours? What are they?
38. What resources **broadly defined** do reserves like Kosi and Sileza possess that can play a role in uplifting neighbouring communities? Should those resources be so used?
39. What role should the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation be playing in the development / upliftment of communities surrounding its reserves?-- nature of; or is that responsibility vested exclusively with other KZG departments?
40. In both a general and specific sense on what are you dependent from communities surrounding Kosi Bay?
41. How involved is the TCLC (Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee) in working to meet community needs and address general community development? With spawning entrepreneurial initiatives in conjunction with reserves?
42. When first formed what were the terms of reference of the TCLC?
43. As I understand it, at the moment the KDNC's two primary vehicles for its reserves benefitting communities are the 25 % allocation to the TA and opportunities for harvesting reserve resources. It seems to me a relationship between communities and the reserve based upon distribution of reserve resources is dangerous as mounting population pressures will continually reduce benefits accruing to community members. Is the KDNC concerned with this issue? What new bases for relations with surrounding communities might be established in KDNC reserves in general?
44. How does the emergent relationship between KDNC reserves and area communities mesh with the realities of life in rural communities, serve to meet rural needs? Looking specifically at ecotourism developments at Sileza and proposed at Kosi, how will these meet rural needs?



## **7. Conservation Liaison Officers (KDNC)**

1. What are your responsibilities as CLO? Are you salaried? What CLO related activities are you involved with in an average week?
2. To whom are you responsible? (TA, reserve, community)
3. Whose interests do you represent?
4. How often do you meet with the KBNR? What happens at those meetings?
5. How long have you held the position of CLO?
6. Over those years what have you done to make conservation more receptive to and understood by area communities?
7. What are some of the issues community members come and talk to you about in relation to the reserve?
8. Do you speak directly with reserve management about these issues? Who do you talk to in the reserve?
9. Have you facilitated any (development) projects between the community and reserve?
10. There is a history of poor relations between Kosi reserve and the communities. Have you been at all successful in improving relations between Kosi and the community?
11. What sort of training if any have you received to assist you in carrying out your responsibilities?
12. What would have allowed you as CLO to have met with greater success?

## COMMUNITY

### 1. Community Development Committees / Members of

1. Age, duration living, occupation.

#### RESERVE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

2. What should be the relationship between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and your community?
3. Should the reserve assist in the development of your community?
4. How much of a factor is \_\_\_\_\_ reserve in the development of your community?
5. What benefits has \_\_\_\_\_ reserve brought to your community?
6. What new skills if any has the reserve brought into your community? Are they being used for the upliftment of your community?
7. What organizational structure within your community should be the basis for relations and interaction with the reserve?
8. Is the NPB / KDNC or KZG more important to your community's development?
9. Does \_\_\_\_\_ reserve have a genuine understanding of the needs of your community? Have they been receptive to assisting your community to meet those needs? How receptive has the reserve been to listening to the community?

#### WORKINGS OF THE COMMITTEE

10. How and when did this development committee come into being?-- created as a result of reserve extension efforts? Is this development committee the body most responsible for the general upliftment of the community? Who is?
11. Besides the NPB / KDNC which development organizations have been involved in your area? How did your community become involved with them? (role of reserve) Would you have been able to contact them without the assistance of the reserve?
12. Before you had regular communication with the reserve, which organizations were involved in your community? Were you or people in the community working cooperatively with them? Were they helping to resolve problems facing your community?
13. In cooperation with the reserve you have been involved with the following projects \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_, \_\_\_\_\_. How did the ideas for these projects come about?
14. What has been the various roles the development committee has played in their implementation? Delegation of responsibility?
15. Have most decisions for the project been made by the development committee or by the reserve?
16. It seems most of the projects this committee has been involved with have been large scale development projects i.e. \_\_\_\_\_. What initiatives if any has the committee been involved with that have been more entrepreneurial in nature, projects which have brought money directly into the community?

17. What are some of the major obstacles in allowing the community to seize entrepreneurial opportunities presented by the reserve and tourism?
18. Have you or committee members received any training for purposes of running this committee-- book keeping, organizational skills. By and from whom?
19. Aside from having relations with the reserve on joint projects, what other functions independent of the reserve does this committee perform? Independent development functions? Since when has the committee been performing these functions?--why

#### PROJECT MANAGEMENT

20. Is there a general model the committee employs for community management of joint development projects with the reserve?
21. In trying to implement development projects either with the reserve or on your own, what kinds of problems have you encountered?
22. For the projects the community has undertaken with the reserve, how have benefits from the projects such as jobs been allocated within the community?
23. What sort of input do your indunas and Nkosi have in projects with the reserve?
24. Over the long term how will / are projects initially facilitated by the reserve be maintained by the community?-- finance, expertise, community commitment?

## 2. Community-reserve forum / committee members

1. Name, age, occupation, duration living?

### WORKINGS OF THE FORUM

2. Who does the forum serve? Which communities within the \_\_\_\_\_ people are represented?
3. What is the purpose of the forum, that is its terms of reference?
4. How often does it meet?
5. Who regularly sits on the forum both from the reserve and community?-- female members?
6. How are its members chosen?
7. How was the forum established?
8. Within the community which individuals have been mostly responsible for the creation of this forum?  
Within the reserve who has been responsible?
9. What are some of the issues most regularly discussed with the reserve at forum meetings?
10. I imagine your community has many pressing needs? How are projects and programs to address community needs decided on? What input do community members who do not sit on the forum have?
11. Once a project has been chosen specifically how is it administered by the reserve and community?
12. What other forums or committees have been established out of this forum?
13. Has the forum established relations with agencies other than NPB? Which agencies? Why was contact established? When? On whose initiative?
14. Aside from serving a liaison duty with the reserve, what other functions are performed by the forum?  
Does the forum serve to administer community development without the assistance of the reserve?
15. To whom is the forum immediately accountable, the community, the Nkosi? What input does the Nkosi have in the forum?
16. Have you or other members of the forum received any training in running a forum?--finance, organizational skills?

### FORUM-RESERVE INTERACTION

17. Should your community have a say in some of the decisions taken by the reserve? Which ones?  
Should \_\_\_\_\_ reserve be managed by your community instead of by NPB / KDNC?
18. What are some of the issues you have been discussing with the reserve, but not yet been able to resolve? Does your community feel it should enjoy certain right to \_\_\_\_\_ reserve not enjoyed by others? Which ones? Why?
19. What changes if any has the forum tried to effect in reserve policy? Result?

20. Before the existence of the forum was there any regular communication with the reserve? Through which channels?
21. What benefits does this forum bring to the \_\_\_\_\_ community?
22. Who is more responsible for initiating and implementing new community-reserve projects, reserve staff, forum members or the community?
23. Do members of the forum ever attend meetings of the heads of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? (management meeting) Are you permitted to attend reserve management meetings?

#### FORUM-COMMUNITY LINKAGE

24. Are individuals or groups who are not official forum members permitted to attend meetings if they want? Do community members ever do this?--frequency and which members? What are some of the issues community members have brought into the forum in the past?
25. Could you estimate how much awareness there is within the community of the community-\_\_\_\_\_ forum as a means to raising issues with the reserve?
26. How often if ever has the forum been approached by individuals or groups within the community about starting individual or small group projects connected to \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? Does the forum do anything specific to encourage this sort of activity in the community?
27. Is the forum as it is now structured an adequate body for interaction with the reserve? By adequate I mean a body able to **represent the interests of the community** and serve as a venue for **discussing and resolving** those issues with the reserve? What changes if any would you make in the way the forum operates?
28. In the comparatively short life of the forum, how receptive has \_\_\_\_\_ reserve been to discussing and resolving issues the forum has raised with it? Any examples? Does the reserve treat the community differently from the way it did before the forum was established? How?
29. When will the forum next meet (possibility of my attendance)?

### 3. Standard Interview

1. Name, age, occupation, duration living here?

#### GENERAL COMMUNITY ISSUES

2. Would you say that in terms of keeping in touch with the traditions of the past and leading the life your parents led, your lifestyle is very traditional, traditional, semi modern, or very modern?
3. What are the most pressing problems facing \_\_\_\_\_ in your community?
4. (W) Is it more difficult to find firewood for cooking now than it was five, ten years ago?
5. (W) What do you think will happen as more and more people try to collect enough firewood?
6. Are there ways you think \_\_\_\_\_ in the community can be helped by the reserve?
7. In what ways can \_\_\_\_\_ in the community be of assistance to \_\_\_\_\_ reserve?
8. If you had a dispute with one of your neighbours / friends, how would you go about settling it?
9. Do you always follow the instructions of your Nkosi / induna? Why?
10. Within your community where are \_\_\_\_\_ best able to raise issues of concern to you?
11. What is your greatest concern about the future?
12. Who or which groups within your community are most responsible for development such as schools, water taps, clinics taking place and improving community wellbeing?

#### NATURE CONSERVATION ISSUES

13. Is it important to have areas where wild plants and animals cannot be used by people?
14. Do you feel nature conservation is a worthy cause? Have you always thought nature conservation was a good thing? Why?
15. Is it more important certain wild natural resources are protected from being all used up by people than others? Which ones? Are there fewer available wild natural resources now than there were in your youth? The disappearance of which ones have been particularly difficult to live without?
16. What are some of the old ways, customs and traditions the \_\_\_\_\_ people have sought to conserve wild plants and animals and use sustainably communal lands? Are these practices still followed? Have they been altered?

#### RESERVE INTERACTION

17. What sort of involvement or participation have you had with the \_\_\_\_\_ reserve in the past if any?
18. Does the existence of the \_\_\_\_\_ reserve help your community? How?
19. Do you receive any personal benefit from the reserve?
20. Does \_\_\_\_\_ reserve make it more difficult to live in this area? How?

- 20a. How did you first learn the KBNR intended to make a reserve around Kosi Bay?
21. Have you been affected by the establishment of Kosi reserve? Are there ways you used to benefit from the fenced area you can no longer benefit?
22. Have you ever been inside the reserve? For what purpose?
23. (W) Do you harvest resources from the reserve? Do many women in the community? What is done with the materials you harvest?
24. Are there any dangerous animals in the reserve? Which ones?
25. Have you ever had a specific issue or complaint about \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? What? Did you share your concerns with anyone in the community or in the reserve? Was anything done about it?
26. (W) Has \_\_\_\_\_ reserve held any workshops or training specifically for women?
27. Are many people in your community employed by the reserve?
28. Are you aware of any recent efforts by the reserve to assist your community to meet its needs? Aware of any projects in which the reserve has participated with the community? Have they helped you? How?
- 29a. Why did the KBNR make a reserve at Kosi Bay?
29. (Kosi) Before his death did your Nkosi give permission to make a reserve at Kosi Bay?
30. You have lived here a long time, does the reserve treat your community differently today than it did in the past?
31. What does the \_\_\_\_\_ reserve do, that is what is its current function?
32. Do these activities benefit the community?
33. How did you learn about these activities of the reserve?
- 34a. Is it necessary for the NPB/KBNR to manage the reserve in order to preserve the natural resources there?
34. To whom does the land of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve belong? Should your community enjoy certain special rights and privileges to the land of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve not enjoyed by people who come and visit? Such as? Why?
35. If it were up to you and your community, how would you like to see the land that is \_\_\_\_\_ reserve being used? Should your community be allowed to farm and graze cattle in the reserve? Why?
36. What would you like to see \_\_\_\_\_ reserve doing for your community that it currently is not?
37. Does \_\_\_\_\_ reserve assist at all in the upliftment of your community? Could it?
38. Who do you feel is more important to the upliftment of your community, the NPB / KDNC or KZG?
39. Would you say your opinion of the reserve has improved or become more negative in the recent past? Why?

40. Do you trust the staff of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? Has your level of trust increased, decreased, or remained the same over the past five years? Why has it changed?
41. What is your greatest concern about \_\_\_\_\_ reserve?

#### RESERVE-COMMUNITY RELATIONS

42. Are you aware of any channels you can use to speak about issues concerning the reserve? If you had issues you wanted to raise with the reserve staff, how would you go about doing it, who would you talk to? (ie cutting thatch)?
43. Is it important for there to be cooperation between the reserve and your community? Should your community have a say in the management of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? Should the reserve be managed by your community instead of by the NPB / KDNC? Do you feel the interests of the community need to be represented in the reserve?
44. What should the relationship be between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and your community?
45. Are you aware your community and the reserve have established a forum called \_\_\_\_\_ to discuss issues affecting both the community and the reserve? Are you or other \_\_\_\_\_ in the community able to raise issues and have influence on that forum? How? / Have influence in the reserve?
46. Do you feel your interests and those of \_\_\_\_\_ in your community are represented on the forum? / In the reserve?
47. How do you feel the interests and concerns of \_\_\_\_\_ in your community about the reserve should be represented?
48. (W) Do you feel a forum need be established to discuss women's issues with the reserve or are they able to be expressed through the existing structures? Why?
- 49a. How could good relations be made to exist between your community and the \_\_\_\_\_ reserve?
49. Should the \_\_\_\_\_ reserve give land to the community to do with as the community pleases? How much land? Why should this be done?
50. Name?



#### 4. Nkosi / Indunas

0. Age, duration living here?

##### GENERAL COMMUNITY ISSUES

1. Speaking for the whole community what would you describe as its greatest needs?
2. Who or which groups within your community are most responsible for development such as schools, water taps, clinics taking place and improving community wellbeing?
3. Is the NPB (Natal Parks Board) / KDNC (KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation) or the KZG (KwaZulu Government) more important to your community's development and meeting community needs?

##### CONSERVATION ISSUES

4. Could you speak to me about the history of the \_\_\_\_\_ people's relation to the land that is now \_\_\_\_\_ reserve?
5. (Kosi) Has your community been affected by the fencing of Kosi reserve? How was the area that is now run by KBNR used by the community before the fence?
6. (Kosi) During the years leading up to 1988 when the reserve was formed, what changes did you notice in that land? Was it harder to find certain kinds of trees? Were there increased levels of erosion? Was the flooding less predictable and more severe? Reduced amounts of fish to be caught? Greater levels of cultivation?
7. What steps did the \_\_\_\_\_ people take to use resources sustainably in their area?
8. (Kosi) Did many new people from elsewhere come to the Kosi area in the years leading up to the proclamation of the reserve?
9. (Kosi) Why did the KBNR make a reserve at Kosi bay?
10. Are there fewer wild plants and animals in the community area now than there were in your father's time? Than in your grandfathers time?
11. Has the depletion of wild plants and animals in this area made life more difficult for your community? - reduced harvests? Which resources have been particularly difficult to live without? When over the last 40 years has the depletion of plants and animals been most noticeable?
12. Will it be possible for your community to go on living in this area if there continues to be fewer and fewer natural resources?
13. What are some of the old customs and practice the \_\_\_\_\_ people have traditionally employed to conserve wild plants and animals?
14. Have those practices been lost over the years or are they still in operation? Specific examples?
15. Is it important to have areas where wild plants and animals cannot be use by people, nature conservation? Have you always been supportive of nature conservation? Why?

## RESERVE

16. In your opinion what is the function of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve; that is what does it do?
17. Do these activities benefit your community? How?
18. To whom does the land of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve belong? Should your community enjoy certain rights to the reserve not enjoyed by tourists? Such as? Why?
19. What would be the best use of the land that is \_\_\_\_\_ reserve?
20. Should your community be allowed to farm and graze cattle in the reserve? Why?
21. What are some of the issues people from your community come to discuss with you about the reserve?
22. Are there any groups or individuals within your community which benefit especially from the reserve? Which?
23. Since you have been Nkosi / Induna has the presence of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve improved the well being of your community or has it caused problems for them? Why or how?
24. Would you say that over time and particularly over the recent past relations between your community and the reserve have improved, remained about the same or worsened? Why?
25. Do you trust the staff of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? Over the last five years has your level of trust of reserve staff increased, decreased or remained about the same? Why?
26. What is your greatest concern with regard to \_\_\_\_\_ reserve?

## INTERACTION WITH THE RESERVE

27. What kind of relations have you experienced with \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? What kind of relations did your father experience with the reserve? Your grandfather? Did your father and grandfather and the reserve staff have regular contact or did they each lead their own separate lives?
28. You have lived in this area for a long time, does the reserve treat your community differently today from the way it did five years ago?
29. (Kosi) Before his death did your former Nkosi give permission for a reserve to be established at Kosi Bay?
30. What are the benefits \_\_\_\_\_ reserve bring to you and your community?
31. Does your community harvest natural resources from the reserve? How dependent upon harvesting from the reserve are people in your community? How many people from the community harvest the reserve?
32. Are there things \_\_\_\_\_ reserve should be doing for your community it currently is not doing?
33. What should be the relationship between \_\_\_\_\_ reserve and your community?
34. Should the reserve assist your community in meeting its developmental needs?

35. How much of a role does \_\_\_\_\_ reserve play in helping your community to meet basic needs such as water, health services, education? Has the level of reserve activity in this area changed noticeably over the last five years? (Has there been a corresponding shift in attitudes to the reserve in your community?)
36. Has your community faced difficulties as a result of living near the reserve? Such as?
37. What has been the most positive impact the reserve has brought to your people?
38. The most negative?
39. What sort of economic resources or benefit has the reserve brought into your community?
40. Has the level of economic resources or benefit from the reserve into the community grown, been reduced or remained about the same over the last five years?-- analysis
41. How frequently are you in contact with staff from the reserve? Under what circumstances?
42. Are there any individuals within your community that I should speak to in particular about interactions between the community and the reserve?
43. Have you ever attended a meeting with the heads of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? For what purpose?

#### FUTURE RELATIONS

44. Is it necessary for the NPB/KBNR to manage the reserve in order to conserve the natural resources there?
45. Is it important for your community to become involved in the management of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? Why? Should \_\_\_\_\_ reserve be run by your community instead of by the NPB / KDNC? Why?
46. What should be the **nature and level** of input the \_\_\_\_\_ people should have in the management of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? Should all \_\_\_\_\_ people have input in the reserve or only those communities very near the reserve?
47. How should the interests of the community in \_\_\_\_\_ reserve be represented?
48. In a general sense, do you feel it is more important for the reserve to learn how things are done in your community or for your community to learn how things are done in the reserve and adapt accordingly, why?
49. At the moment how are relations between the \_\_\_\_\_ people and staff of \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? Can there ever be truly good relations between \_\_\_\_\_ people and \_\_\_\_\_ reserve? What would it take?
50. Should the \_\_\_\_\_ reserve give land to the community to do with as the community pleases? How much land? Why should this be done?

## 5. Workers trained for projects sponsored by RMBs

1. name, age, duration living in community, employed?

### EXPERIENCES WITH THE JOINT PROJECT

2. What were your responsibilities on the project with the reserve?
3. Did the project provide training for you? Did you acquire any skills? What benefits did your involvement with the project provide you?
4. Since you have finished working on the project have you been able to use the skills you have acquired? How? Have you found employment?
5. Has having the skills has made your life easier? How? Are there any things you are able to do now, that you couldn't do before your worked with the project?
6. How have you used the money you earned from the project?
7. How was the project organized in terms of splitting responsibility between the \_\_\_\_ reserve and community? Who was your boss on the project?
8. What were some of the problems the project experienced during implementation?
9. There are not many jobs available in the area. How did you become involved with the project?
10. Will the project bring benefit to your community? Does it address one of the most important needs facing your community? Besides the main objective of \_\_\_\_\_, what other smaller, less noticeable benefits did the community's involvement in the project bring?
11. How will the project be managed over the long term, will you be involved?
12. There must have been a lot of interaction between the community and the reserve during the project. What did you learn about the reserve as a result of the project that you didn't know before?
13. Do you think the reserve learned things about your community? Such as?

## 6. Inyangas / sangomas

1. name, age, employed, duration living in community?

### INTERACTIONS WITH RESERVE AS A TRADITIONAL HEALER

2. Has \_\_\_\_\_ reserve been of assistance to you in acquiring plants and animals for muthi purposes? How often do you receive muthi materials from the reserve? Since when has this been occurring? Are you allowed to collect muthi plants from the reserve whenever you like?
3. Has the reserve passed any skills along to you in cultivating wild muthi plants at home? In teaching you ways scarce muthi plants can be conserved? Has the reserve sought your knowledge about the properties of wild muthi plants?
4. Do more of your muthi materials come from the reserve or from areas in your community?
5. Without \_\_\_\_\_ reserve, would you be able to obtain the muthi you require to practice healing?

### COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIP WITH AREA NATURAL RESOURCES

6. Over the course of your lifetime has it become more or less difficult to acquire needed muthi materials from areas around your community? Do you rely more upon \_\_\_\_\_ reserve for muthi materials today than you used to?
7. Are there fewer wild plants and animals for the community to use now than in your youth?
8. Has the depletion of once abundant plants and animals in this area made it more difficult to practice your trade?
9. How has it affected the life of the community in general?-- smaller harvests, less cattle fodder?
10. Could you tell me about some of the special old ways and traditions the \_\_\_\_\_ people have followed in their use of wild natural resources? Are these practices still followed? What have been the reasons for their disappearance? Are their special new ways the community seeks to harvest wild natural resources.
11. What can be done to allow the community to have enough wild natural resources? What should people of the community be doing to conserve natural resources?
12. Are certain wild natural resources more important to the community than others? Which ones? Why?
13. Is it important to have areas where wild plants and animals cannot be used by people? Why? Do you feel nature conservation is a worthy objective? Have you always thought nature conservation was a good thing? Why?

## 7. Community Meeting (Kosi)<sup>1</sup>

1. What are some of the greatest needs facing your community? Women's needs?
2. How did the community learn the KBNR intended to make a reserve at Kosi Bay? At the time what consequences did you understand this to have for the community here? Has the establishment of the reserve affected the community? How?
3. Before the KBNR made a reserve, how was the area inside the fence used by the community? In the years before the fence was erected was the area becoming environmentally degraded in terms of there being fewer natural resources or more erosion?
4. Why did the KBNR make a reserve around the Kosi lake system?
5. Is necessary for the KBNR to have a fence there in order for the natural resources on that land to be used sustainably?
6. To whom does the land of Kosi reserve belong?
7. Are there ways your community benefits from the presence of the reserve? Are there ways the reserve can help the community? Jobs?
8. If it were up to your community what would be the best use of the land inside the fence?
9. What are your feelings about nature conservation? Is it worthwhile?
10. Since the fence was put up, have relations between you community and the reserve improved, worsened or remained about the same? Why?
11. Do you trust the staff of Kosi reserve? Why?
12. What should be the relationship between your community and the reserve? Is it important for there to be cooperation now between the staff of Kosi reserve and the communities around it?
13. What opportunities exist for communication between area communities and the KBNR?
14. Do you feel the interests of the community need to be represented in the reserve? Would you like to see your community and the other communities of the area participate in the management of Kosi reserve? How should the interests of the community be represented in the reserve? TCLC awareness?
15. What would have to occur in the future for the community to support the presence of the reserve?
16. Should the reserve give its land to the community to do with as the community pleases? How much land? On what ground should this be done?

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<sup>1</sup> Questions here are phrased as to be specific to the Kosi Bay area. Neighbour meetings conducted in the Giant's Castle area addressed similar issues, with questions being drawn directly from individual interview categories.

## APPENDIX C: QUANTITATIVE INTERVIEW DATA

### KEY

p	=	positive opinion
m	=	mixed opinion
n	=	negative opinion
nc	=	no comment
n/a	=	not applicable

### INTERVIEW DATA GIANT'S CASTLE RESERVE NEIGHBOURS: GROUP<sup>1</sup>

<u>Location and Date</u>	<u>Target group</u>	<u>Organized by</u>	<u>Mediator</u>	<u>Number attending</u>	<u>Number participating</u>	<u>Duration of meeting</u>	<u>No. generally positive comments</u>	<u>No. generally negative comments</u>	<u>Mixed comments</u>	<u>N/A comments</u>
Amahlubi, 9-3-94	Induna councillors	Induna Zuma	Induna Zuma	9	9	2 hrs.				
Amahlubi, 24-3-94	area youth	informal	none	12	12	1 hr.				
Mkhize, 23-3-95	womens group	Nkosi Mkhize	none	13	11	2 hrs.				
<b>TOTAL</b>							<b>13</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>

<sup>1</sup> Subject matter of all "group" interviews was the neighbouring reserve and reserve-neighbour interaction.

**INTERVIEW DATA GIANT'S CASTLE RESERVE NEIGHBOURS: INDIVIDUALS**

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Conservation general</u>	<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour interaction</u>
TA members	1.	17-3-94	63	M	p	p	m
TA members	2.	15-3-94	73	M	nc	n	m
TA members	3.	16-3-94	56	M	p	p	m
TA members	4.	15-3-94	54	M	p	p	p
TA members	5.	6-4-94	65	M	p	p	p
TA members	6.	24-3-94	58	M	p	n	m
TA members	7.	23-3-94	54	M	p	p	p
TA members	8.	22-3-94	62	M	m	m	m
TA members	9.	17-3-94	66	M	p	m	m
Gen. community	10.	16-3-94	30	M	p	p	nc
Gen. community	11.	18-3-94	74	M	m	n	n
Gen. community	12.	18-3-94	70	M	p	p	nc
Gen. community	13.	20-3-94	67	M	p	p	p
Gen. community	14.-16.	22-3-94	53, 34, 35	M	p	m	m
Gen. community	17.	22-3-94	67	M	p	m	m
Gen. community	18.	23-3-94	31	M	p	p	p
Gen. community	19.	23-3-94	65	M	m	m	m
Gen. community	20.	23-3-94	54	M	p	p	p
Gen. community	21.	5-4-94	64	M	p	p	p



<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Conservation general</u>	<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour interaction</u>
Gen. community	22.	5-4-94	49	M	p	m	m
Gen. community	23.	5-4-94	48	M	p	m	nc
Gen. community	24., 25.	5-4-94	29, 29	M	m	n	n
Gen. community	26.	6-4-94	39	M	p	m	p
Gen. community	27.	6-4-94	31	M	m	m	nc
Gen. community	28.	18-3-94	27	M	p	p	nc
Gen. community	29.	18-3-94	20	M	nc	m	p
Gen. community	30.	18-3-94	15	M	m	m	m
Gen. community	31.	18-3-94	25	M	p	p	p
Gen. community	32.	5-4-94	23	M	m	p	nc
Gen. community	33., 34.	24-3-94	22, 28	F	p	p	m
Gen. community	35.	31-3-94	26	M	p	m	m
Gen. community	36.	8-4-94	17	M	p	p	p
Gen. community	37.	8-4-94	18	F	p	m	m
Gen. community	38.	8-4-94	18, 18	F	p	m	m
Gen. community	39.	8-4-94	20	M	p	p	p
Gen. community	40.	8-4-94	22	M	p	p	m
Gen. community	41., 42., 43.	4-4-94	21, 18, 22	M	p	m	n
Gen. community	44.	5-4-94	23	F	p	m	nc
Gen. community	45.	5-4-94	28	F	p	p	nc

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Conservation general</u>	<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour interaction</u>
Gen. community	46., 47., 48., 49.,	30-3-94	32, 60, 54, 47	F	p	m	m
Gen. community	50.	31-3-94	29	F	p	p	p
Gen. community	51., 52.	5-4-94	15, 58	F	p	p	p
Gen. community	53.	6-4-94	30	F	p	p	p
Gen. community	54., 55., 56.	15-3-94	33, 28, 27	F	p	p	p
Gen. community	57., 58., 59.	31-3-94	34, 37, 44	F	m	nc	nc
Gen. community	60.	5-4-94	47	F	p	m	p
Gen. community	61.	5-4-94	46	F	m	n	n
Gen. community	62.	24-3-94	21	F	p	nc	nc
Gen. community	63.	16-3-94	73	F	m	m	n
Gen. community	64.	20-3-94	27	F	p	m	n
Gen. community	65.	21-3-94	35	F	m	p	n
Gen. community	66.	22-3-94	34	F	p	p	m
Gen. community	67.	22-3-94	19	F	p	m	n
Gen. community	68., 69., 70., 71.	21-3-94	64, 73, 72, 69	F	p	m	nc
Gen. community	72.	21-3-94	21	F	p	p	nc
Gen. community	73.	18-3-94	25	F	p	nc	nc
Gen. community	74., 75.	17-3-94	17, 17	F	p	p	p
Gen. community	76., 77.	31-3-94	72, 75	M	p	p	m
Gen. community	78.	7-4-94	64	M	p	m	m

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Conservation general</u>	<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour interaction</u>
Gen. community	79.	24-3-94	77	M	p	p	m
Gen. community	93.	25-3-94	54	M	p	p	nc
Gen. community	94.	25-3-94	74	M	n	m	m
Project / committee leaders	87.	24-3-94	63	M	nc	p	p
Project / committee leaders	88.	7-4-94	83	M	p	m	m
Project / committee leaders	3.	8-4-94	56	M	p	p	m
Project / committee leaders	7.	23-3-94	54	M	p	p	p
Project / committee leaders	84.	20-3-94	52	M	p	p	p
Project / committee leaders	85.	17-3-94	30	F	p	p	p
Project / committee leaders	86.	16-3-94	68	M	nc	nc	p
Project / committee leaders	89.	5-4-94	50	F	nc	nc	nc
Project / committee leaders	90.	4-4-94	35	M	m	m	m
Project labourers	91.	25-3-94	38	M	p	p	p
Project labourers	92.	25-3-94	30	M	p	p	p
Project labourers	95.	25-3-94	29	M	p	p	p

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Conservation general</u>	<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour interaction</u>
Project labourers	96.	7-4-94	61	M	p	p	p
Project labourers	97.	7-4-94	56	F	p	p	p
Project labourers	98.	6-4-94	35	F	nc	p	p
Project labourers	99.	24-3-94	26	M	p	p	m
Project labourers	100.	25-3-94	63	M	nc	p	p
Project labourers	101.	16-3-94	38	M	p	p	p
Area professionals	80.	21-3-94	45	M	nc	nc	m
Area professionals	81.	21-3-94	55	F	nc	p	m
Area professionals	82.	22-3-94	32	M	nc	p	nc
Area professionals	83.	22-3-94	48	F	nc	p	m
<b>TOTAL</b>					<b>p = 58 m = 12 n = 1 (nc = 11)</b>	<b>p = 45 m = 26 n = 5 (nc = 6)</b>	<b>p = 30 m = 28 n = 8 (nc = 16)</b>

**INTERVIEW DATA: NPB STAFF<sup>2</sup>**

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour relations at Giant's Castle</u>	<u>Extension program</u>	<u>The conservation agency</u>
Officers	1.	nc	p	nc
Officers	2.	nc	nc	nc
Officers	3.	nc	nc	nc
Officers	4.	nc	nc	nc
Officers	5.	p	m	m
Officers	6.	p	m	nc
Officers	7.	nc	m	nc
Officers	8.	nc	p	p
Officers	9.	nc	m	n
Officers	10.	nc	m	p
Officers	11.	nc	m	nc
Officers	12.	p	m	nc
Officers	13.	p	m	n
Non-officers	14.	p	p	m
Non-officers	15.	p	nc	nc
Non-officers	16.	n	nc	nc
Non-officers	17.	m	nc	nc

<sup>2</sup> In several cases multiple interviews were held with individual staff members. The attitudes expressed over the course of these interviews are summarized in a single entry.

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour relations at Giant's Castle</u>	<u>Extension program</u>	<u>The conservation agency</u>
Non-officers	20.	p	m	nc
Non-officers	18.	p	p	nc
Non-officers	19.	nc	nc	nc
<b>TOTAL</b>		p = 8 m = 1 n = 1 (nc = 10)	p = 4 m = 9 n = 0 (nc = 7)	p = 2 m = 2 n = 2 (nc = 14)

**INTERVIEW DATA KOSI BAY RESERVE NEIGHBOURS: GROUP**

<u>Location and Date</u>	<u>Target group</u>	<u>Organized by</u>	<u>Mediator</u>	<u>Number attending</u>	<u>Number participating</u>	<u>Duration of meeting</u>	<u>No. generally positive comments</u>	<u>No. generally negative comments</u>	<u>Mixed comments</u>	<u>N/A comments</u>
Mahlungulu (north), 20-5-95	residents of Mahlungulu n.	Induna N. Tembe	Induna councillors	35	18	2 hrs.		 	 	
Mahlungulu (south), 7-5-94	residents of Mahlungulu s.	Induna S. Tembe	Induna councillors	55	22	2.5 hrs.				
Mahlungulu (south), 10-5-94	residents of Mahlungulu s.	Induna councillors	none	12	12	2.5 hrs.		                   		
KwaMazambane, 2-5-95	residents of KwaMazamb.	informal gathering	none	11	10	2 hrs.		 		
KwaMazambane, 14-5-94	residents of KwaMazamb.	Induna J. Tembe and A. Tembe	A. Tembe	33	17	2 hrs.		                   		
KwaGeorge, 4-5-94	Izinduna and councillors	Izinduna	none	8	8	2 hrs.				
KwaGeorge, 9-5-94	residents of KwaGeorge	Izinduna	Induna councillors	45	28	3 hrs.		 		
KwaDapha, 11-5-94	residents of KwaDapha, Nkovukeni, Malangeni	Induna G. Ngubane	Induna G. Ngubane	32	21	2.5 hrs.		 		
KwaDapha, 11-5-94	women employed by KDNC	Induna G. Ngubane	none	11	8	3/4 hr.				

<u>Location and Date</u>	<u>Target group</u>	<u>Organized by</u>	<u>Mediator</u>	<u>Number attending</u>	<u>Number participating</u>	<u>Duration of meeting</u>	<u>No. generally positive comments</u>	<u>No. generally negative comments</u>	<u>Mixed comments</u>	<u>N/A comments</u>
Star of the Sea Mission, 10-5-94	area youth	youth representative	none	18	18	2 hrs.		 	1	
Manguzi, 2-5-94	ISIDIDI members	M. Mtiane	none	5	5	1.5 hrs.				 
KwaDapha, 13-5-94	fishing committee	committee member	none	5	5	1.5 hrs.				
KwaGeorge, 9-5-94	fishing committee	Induna J. Tembe	none	8	8	1 hr.				
KwaMazambane, 16-5-94	fishing committee	G. Manzini	none	4	4	1.5 hrs.				
<b>TOTAL</b>							<b>12</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>108</b>



**INTERVIEW DATA KOSI BAY RESERVE NEIGHBOURS: INDIVIDUALS**

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Conservation general</u>	<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour interaction</u>
TA members	1.	23-4-94, 12-5-94	74	M	p	m	n
TA members	2.	3-5-94, 12-5-94	40	M	p	m	n
TA members	3.	13-5-94	57	M	p	m	m
TA members	4.	6-5-94	71	M	nc	nc	n
TA members	5.	22-4-94	54	M	m	m	m
TA members	6.	17-5-94	56	M	nc	nc	m
TA members	7.	21-4-94	50	M	m	n	n
Gen. community	8., 9., 10., 11.	18-5-94	52, 60, 56, 69	M, F, F, F	p	n	n
Gen. community	12.	9-5-94	31	F	nc	nc	nc
Gen. community	13.	14-5-94	23	M	nc	m	m
Gen. community	14.	14-5-94	18	F	nc	n	nc
Gen. community	15.	19-4-94	69	M	p	n	nc
Gen. community	16.	19-4-94	54	F	p	m	nc
Project / committee heads	17.	5-5-94	41	M	p	p	n
Project / committee heads	18.	17-5-94	34	M	nc	p	m
Project / committee heads	19.	19-4-94	52	M	p	m	m

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Date</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Sex</u>	<u>Conservation general</u>	<u>Reserve</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour interaction</u>
Project / committee heads	25.	26-11-93	45	M	p	nc	p
Project / committee heads	20.	7-5-94	58	M	p	p	nc
Area professionals	21.	7-5-94	63	M	nc	n	n
Area professionals	22.	3-5-94	n/a	M	nc	nc	nc
Area professionals	23.	21-4-94	35	M	p	m	n
Area professionals	24.	12-4-94	36	M	nc	nc	n
<b>TOTAL</b>					p = 11 m = 2 n = 0 (nc = 9)	p = 3 m = 8 n = 5 (nc = 6)	p = 1 m = 6 n = 9 (nc = 6)

INTERVIEW DATA: KDNC STAFF<sup>3</sup>

<u>Group</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Reserve-neighbour relations at Kosi Bay</u>	<u>Extension program</u>	<u>The conservation agency</u>
Officers	1.	n	m	n
Officers	2.	n	m	m
Officers	3.	m	m	m
Officers	4.	nc	m	nc
Officers	5.	m	n	n
Officers	6. <sup>4</sup>	m	n	n
Officers	7.	m	m	m
Officers	13.	nc	m	nc
Officers	14.	nc	m	p
Officers	15.	m	m	m
Officers	16.	m	m	m
Officers	17. <sup>5</sup>	nc	m	m
Non-officers	8.	m	nc	nc
Non-officers	9.	n	nc	nc
Non-officers	10.	m	nc	m
Non-officers	11.	n	nc	nc
Non-officers	12.	n	nc	nc
<b>TOTAL</b>		p = 0 m = 8 n = 5 (nc = 3)	p = 0 m = 9 n = 2 (nc = 5)	p = 1 m = 6 n = 3 (nc = 6)

<sup>3</sup> In several cases multiple interviews were held with individual staff members. The attitudes expressed over the course of these interviews are summarized in a single entry.

<sup>4</sup> former KBNR employee.

<sup>5</sup> former KBNR employee.


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