

**INTEGRATED CONSERVATION-DEVELOPMENT: AN ANALYSIS OF POLICY AND  
PRACTICE IN NORTHERN MAPUTALAND.**

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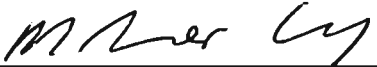
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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Masters of Art in Geography  
in the Department of Geography, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

## DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is my own original work and has not been submitted for a degree at any other university.

  
Megan Sumner Curry

FEBRUARY 2001

## ABSTRACT

The thesis examines the genesis and implementation of integrated conservation-development and associated projects in northern Maputaland during the 1980s and 1990s. The premise upon which this study is based is that there has been a worldwide paradigmatic shift in conservation policies and practices during the 1980s and 1990s. The extent to which initiatives in Maputaland reflected these trends is examined.

In formulating a conceptual and theoretical framework for the study, the developments within the discipline of geography as well as the paradigmatic shifts within the broader sphere of conservation and development thinking, are discussed. Traditionally geography focuses on the nature of the relationship between human beings and their environment. Working within this tradition, the relationship between geography and conservation policy and practice is identified and applied to South Africa.

Analysis of the process of integrating conservation and development in Maputaland is informed by both the broader international debate surrounding conservation and development and by local history and place specific conditions. The key geographical concepts of process and place are viewed as interdependent factors influencing one another.

Within this framework and drawing on the concept of sustainable development, the experience of implementing the new conservation paradigm in Maputaland is recorded and analysed. The case study examples are associated with Ndumo Game Reserve. Sources of data and methodologies include primary sources (published books and journals), secondary sources (unpublished reports), participant-as-observer status with conservation liaison committees and the Ndumo Environmental Education Centre, key informant and focus group interviews and Participatory Rural Appraisal with the Ndumo Environmental Education Centre Management Committee.

The study indicates that the Maputaland initiative did represent a considerable paradigm shift in the conservation policies guiding the general practice of conservation in Maputaland. The conservation agency did attempt to initiate Integrated Conservation Development Projects (ICDPs) during the 1990s, but this has been a complex process, fraught with tensions and suspicions. The practise fell short of the ideals and there is a long road to be travelled before reconciliation between conservation and community development is reached.

***Dedicated to the memory of***

my grandfather,

**'Rautey' Rautenbach**

who shared his love of Maputaland with me

*and*

my mother

**Diana Claire Sumner**

who believed

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***PTL***

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## **ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS**

<b>ADMADE</b>	<b>Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas (Zambia)</b>
<b>AFRA</b>	<b>Association for Rural Advancement</b>
<b>ANC</b>	<b>African National Congress</b>
<b>CAMPFIRE</b>	<b>Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (Zimbabwe)</b>
<b>CBO</b>	<b>Community Based Organisation</b>
<b>CBPW</b>	<b>Community Based Public Works Programmes</b>
<b>CLC</b>	<b>Conservation Liaison Committee</b>
<b>CORD</b>	<b>Centre for Community Organisation, Research and Development</b>
<b>ICDP</b>	<b>Integrated Conservation Development Project</b>
<b>IIED</b>	<b>International Institute for Environment and Development</b>
<b>IPS</b>	<b>Integrated Planning Services</b>
<b>IUCN</b>	<b>International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources</b>
<b>KBNR</b>	<b>KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources</b>
<b>KDNC</b>	<b>KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation</b>
<b>KWS</b>	<b>Kenyan Wildlife Service</b>
<b>MCLC</b>	<b>Mathenjwa Conservation Liaison Committee</b>
<b>NEEC</b>	<b>Ndumo Environmental Education Centre</b>
<b>NGO</b>	<b>Non Government Organisation</b>
<b>PRA</b>	<b>Participatory Rural Appraisal</b>
<b>RDP</b>	<b>Reconstruction and Development Programme</b>
<b>WCS</b>	<b>World Conservation Strategy</b>
<b>WWF</b>	<b>World Wide Fund for Nature</b>
<b>UNEP</b>	<b>United Nations Environment Programme</b>
<b>UNP</b>	<b>University of Natal Pietermaritzburg</b>

## CHAPTER ONE: RESEARCH OUTLINE

Nature is one of the many positive attributes Africa has to offer the world ... Our challenge is to find ways to turn this to the advantage of our people and for posterity.

President Nelson Mandela, 1994<sup>1</sup>

### **Chapter Summary:**

*During the late 1980s and early 1990s in South Africa, integrated conservation-development projects (ICDPs) were widely mooted as one way in which 'nature' could be turned to 'the advantage of our people'. The thesis examines the genesis and implementation of integrated conservation-development policies and strategies by the conservation agency in northern Maputaland. Chapter One introduces the research context and objectives. It concludes with a brief description of the case study area and the organisation of the study.*

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION

The relationship between human beings and their environment has historically been a subject of study and debate both within and outside of geography (Johnston *et al*, 1981; Knill, 1991; Gregory, Martin and Smith, 1994; Mannion and Bowby, 1992; Williams, 1994). During the late 1980s and early 1990s this relationship resurfaced as a topic of concern and interest to scientists (including geographers) and lay people alike (Brooks, 1992a; Fuggle, 1992). Concerns centred around environmental deterioration and the perceived consequences of the depletion of resources that 'ultimately sustain life on earth' (Fuggle, 1992, p1). This concern was expressed in a resounding call for sustainable development, in other words development in a manner which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (WCED, 1987). During the 1980s, sustainable development emerged as a 'unifying approach to concerns over the environment, economic development and quality of life' (Soussan, 1992, p21).

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<sup>1</sup>

Special message to the delegates of the IUCN Africa Working Session: The Future of Protected Areas in Africa, in Robinson, 1995.

Scholarly recognition of the need to address environmental concerns found expression in the design and implementation of new policies and strategies - both internationally and locally - aimed at conserving the world's natural resources while promoting concomitant socio-economic development. During the 1990s principles of sustainable development permeated a wide spectrum of environmental and developmental issues at global, national and local levels. Translating the principles into policy and practice has therefore embraced, for example, the setting of international standards for pollutants (*ibid*, p29), the drafting of new legislation on environmental management<sup>2</sup> and a myriad of local initiatives aimed at sustainable resource utilisation<sup>3</sup>.

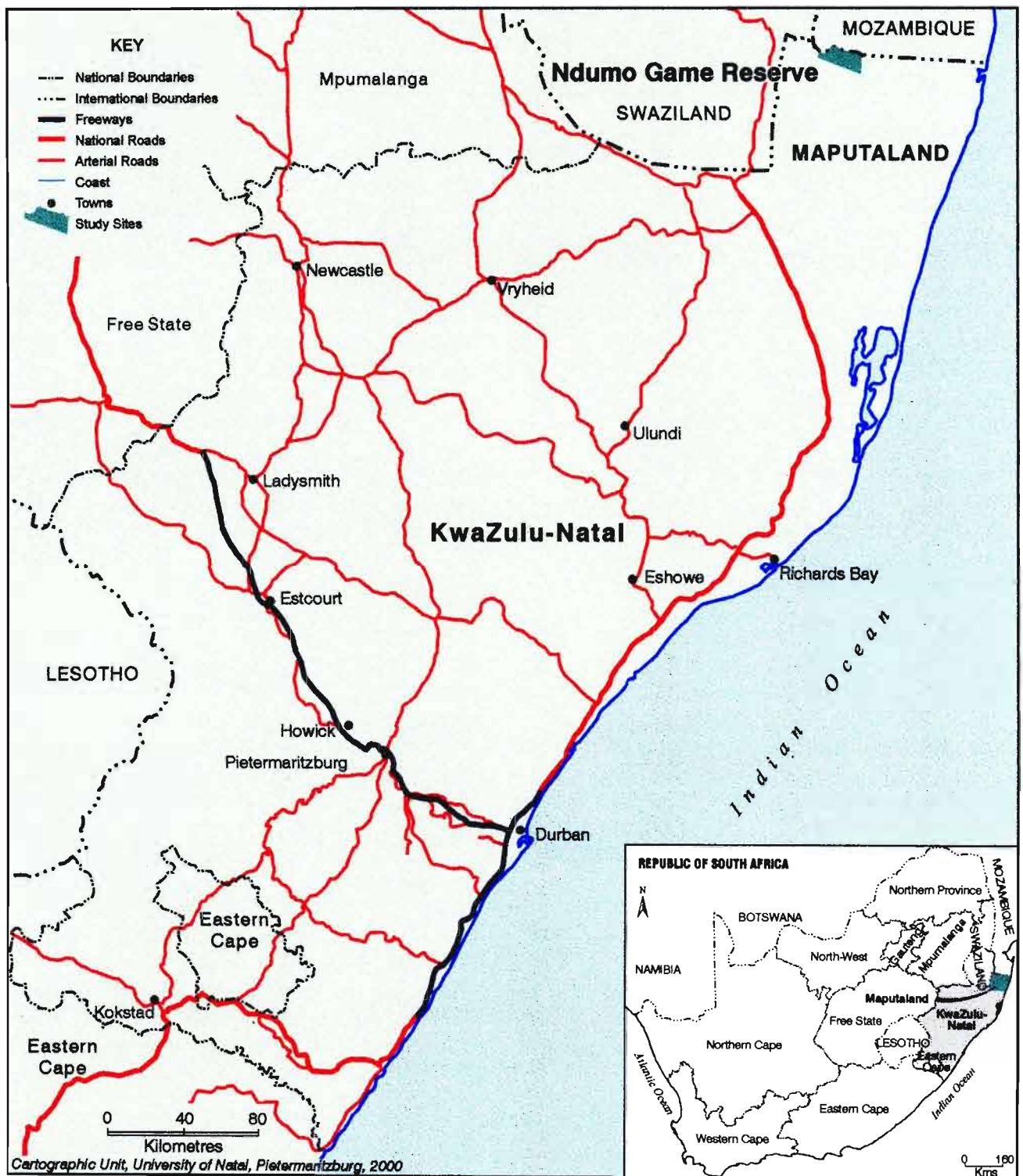
This emergence and subsequent implementation of sustainable development principles also impacted on the conceptualisation of the role and functions of protected areas in wider society. At the beginning of the 1980s many protected areas across the world were facing increasing pressure. Population growth among neighbouring communities was associated with increasing demands for natural resources and a pressing need for local socio-economic development. Such protected areas found that they had become 'islands' as the land around them developed alternative, often incompatible, land use patterns (Wells, Brandon and Hannah, 1992).

By the late 1980s there was growing recognition that the traditional perspectives of the role and function of protected areas had to be reassessed. This thesis examines the shift in the paradigm guiding protected area management during the 1980s and 1990s. The discussion is illustrated by an analysis of the experiences of protected areas in Maputaland, in Northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. This includes a critical discussion of the policies and practices of the conservation agency charged with responsibility for protected areas in Maputaland (the KwaZulu Bureau of Nature Conservation [KBNR], later the Department of Nature Conservation [KDNC]).

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<sup>2</sup>For example, the South African *National Environmental Management Act 107 of 1998* (Government Gazette, 1998b).

<sup>3</sup>Examples of local level initiatives aimed at sustainable resource utilisation include the gill netting project at Kosi Bay Nature Reserve (Moloi, 1994), the Africa Tree Centre outside Pietermaritzburg (Natal Witness Supplement November 27, 1991) and initiatives associated with Pilanesberg National Park (Wells, 1995).



Map 1 Locality Map

'Maputaland' is the common name for the wedge of land in northern KwaZulu-Natal, sandwiched between the Indian Ocean in the east and the Lebombo mountains in the west and between St Lucia Marine Reserve in the south and the Mozambique border in the north (Map 1). The area extends between the southern latitudes 28° - 29° and between 32° - 33° East. Situated within this area are a number of conservation areas, including *inter alia* the Coastal Forest Reserve, Tembe Elephant Park and Ndumo Game Reserve (Map 2).

An analysis of the genesis and implementation of the conservation agency's policies and strategies in Maputaland during this time demonstrates that contemporary conservation policy and associated projects in Maputaland developed in response to two issues, namely;-

- current international thinking about conservation and development; and
- the social and spatial legacy of past policies.

This analysis is thus informed by both the broader international debate surrounding conservation and development needs and by local history and place specific conditions. 'Process' and 'place' - two key geographical concepts - are thus viewed as interdependent factors influencing one another.

## 1.2 RESEARCH CONTEXT

The basis of emerging conservation strategies during the mid 1980s was that 'conservation' and 'development' could not be separated but were in effect "two sides of the same coin" (Quinlan, 1991, p2 ). In essence a new ethos began to emerge, based on the belief that successful conservation of the environment and socio-economic development could not be attained in isolation. The two should work together in order to ensure that development is sustainable<sup>4</sup>. The response to this call for sustainable development has been a set of new initiatives, including those introduced by Wells, Brandon and Hannah (1992) as "integrated conservation-development projects" (p ix). Understanding such projects, according to Wells *et al* (1992, p ix) is dependent upon;-

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<sup>4</sup>Section 5.2, below, examines the emergence of the concept 'sustainable development'.

understanding the evolution in conservation thinking toward a greater emphasis on the broader societal role of protected areas and their potential contributions to sustainable development.

Early in the 1980s the conservation agency of the former homeland of KwaZulu, the then KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources (KBNR)<sup>5</sup>, expressed recognition of the 'broader societal role of protected areas'<sup>6</sup>. Elements of this are reflected in their mission statement:

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 individual 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 support and encourage environmentally appropriate socio-economic development* (own emphasis).

(KBNR. Mission Statement. Undated).

The policies and functions supporting this mission statement are recorded in a report prepared by Integrated Planning Services (IPS) for the KBNR in 1991. This document records the shift in KBNR policy from the 'conservation island mentality' to greater

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<sup>5</sup>The KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources (KBNR) became known as the Kwa-Zulu Department of Nature Conservation (KDNC) in 1994.

<sup>6</sup>This thesis indicates that the KBNR mission statement and subsequent policies and projects appeared to advocate the ICDP principles. However, the KBNR received wide-spread criticism, particularly during the early 1990s, from the NGO sector (for example AFRA, 1990a and 1990b) and from the popular press (for example Echo, November 1, 1990; The Star, February 26, 1991; Sunday Tribune, January 5, 1992; Weekly Mail and Guardian, September 22, 1995). The analysis of the policies and practises of the KBNR and later the KDNC, in Northern Maputaland draws on this material.

awareness of the need for a more integrated community-orientated approach. It was during the 1990s that the Bureau made attempts to put these 'new' policies into practice.

The Mission Statement was retained when the Bureau became a KwaZulu government department (the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation [KDNC]) in 1994 (Pollock, 1995). In the same year, they commissioned a report from the University of Natal Department of Geography documenting the 'emergence of a process of conservation development in....Maputaland' (Department of Geography UNP, 1994). Maputaland, like many other rural areas, has experienced unprecedented pressure on natural resources, due primarily to poor socio-economic circumstances and a growing population (Mountain, 1990; IPS, 1991). Concern about these socio-economic circumstances and associated environmental impacts had led to the recognition by the conservation agency that an integrated and sustainable conservation development programme in Maputaland was critical to ensure concurrent socio-economic upliftment and sustainable natural resource management.

This process of attempting to implement an integrated and sustainable conservation development programme was known as the Maputaland Initiative. Its objectives and ideals are recorded as follows;-

- to uplift the subregion economically and socially by the application of sound ecological principles aimed at safe-guarding its unique character; and
- to follow an integrated, community orientated approach to development in order to generate independent, internally driven development programmes (Department of Geography UNP, 1994).

These objects and ideals thus reflect the conservation agency's recognition that policies supporting the mission statement had to be put in to practice. The KDNC began to embark on an attempt to integrate conservation and development in Maputaland. In effect, the conservation agency appeared to be picking up the challenge expressed by President Mandela to the IUCN Africa Working Session and attempting to 'find ways to turn [nature] to the advantage of [the] people and for posterity' (Robinson, 1995, p1).

Such projects aimed at integrating conservation and development have become a general feature of international conservation strategy. Examples of integrating conservation and development principles include the CAMPFIRE project in Zimbabwe (IIED, 1994); the ADMADE programme in Zambia (*ibid*); conservation initiatives in Namibia (Ashley and Garland, 1994), Latin America (Wells *et al*, 1992) and Asia (*ibid*); and the South African Richtersveld Project (Wells, 1995).

### 1.3 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study demonstrates the world-wide change in conservation management practices which accompanied a paradigmatic shift in conservation policies during the 1980s and 1990s. The discussion which follows demonstrates that the Maputaland Initiative reflected these international trends and represented a considerable paradigm shift in the conservation policies guiding the general practice of conservation in Maputaland. The process of implementing these principles shall be analysed in order to answer the questions;-

- How have the policies associated with this paradigm shift been put into practice?
- What has been the outcome of the attempt to implement the "new" policies?

The objectives of the research are therefore as follows:

- i) To demonstrate the paradigmatic shift in conservation policies and associated practices;
- ii) To link this shift with changes in geographical thinking in order to place ICDPs within the context of geographical thinking and the evolution of conservation policies;
- iii) To analyse conservation-development initiatives in Maputaland during the 1980s and 1990s;
- iv) To assess the outcome of the Maputaland Initiative, with particular reference to projects associated with Ndumo Game Reserve (Map 3); and

- v) To identify some lessons learned from the experience of implementing conservation-development projects around Ndumo Game Reserve.

#### 1.4 CASE STUDY: LOCALITY AND RATIONALE

The case study focuses on projects associated with Ndumo Game Reserve in Maputaland (Map 2: Maputaland Protected Areas). Ndumo Game Reserve is a proclaimed conservation area of 10 000 hectares situated within the Pongolo flood plain, on the border of KwaZulu-Natal and Mozambique. It was demarcated as a game sanctuary in 1924 in an attempt to preserve some of the natural heritage from the wholesale slaughter resulting from the Nagana campaign. Today the Reserve is considered to be critically important to biodiversity conservation in South Africa (personal communication, N. Steele, 1995). This view is based on the fact that there are a variety of habitats contained within the Reserve and that it represents the southern-most range of many tropical and east African bird species, which do not occur elsewhere in southern Africa (Mountain, 1990).

From a socio-political perspective, Ndumo has been the focus of dissent between local people, who have been historically excluded from the Reserve, and the conservation agency. Further, conservation agency plans to amalgamate the Tembe and Ndumo Game Reserves have met with strong resistance from local people. An outcome of this dissent has been an official land claim for the eastern banks of the Pongola river, lodged with the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights (Government Gazette No 19109 of 07/08/89, Restitution of Land Rights). This has resulted in a controversial decision by the Commission to make 200ha of the Park available to local people for agricultural purposes.

Faced with an acknowledged conservation imperative and increasing socio-political and economic pressure from neighbouring communities during the 1980s, the conservation agency attempted to secure the future of Ndumo Game Reserve through the implementation of a number of programmes and projects. Ndumo Game Reserve thus appears to represent a microcosm of the pressures facing reserve management during the 1980s and the subsequent integrated conservation development efforts to deal with the situation. The case study includes an investigation of the following (Map 3);-

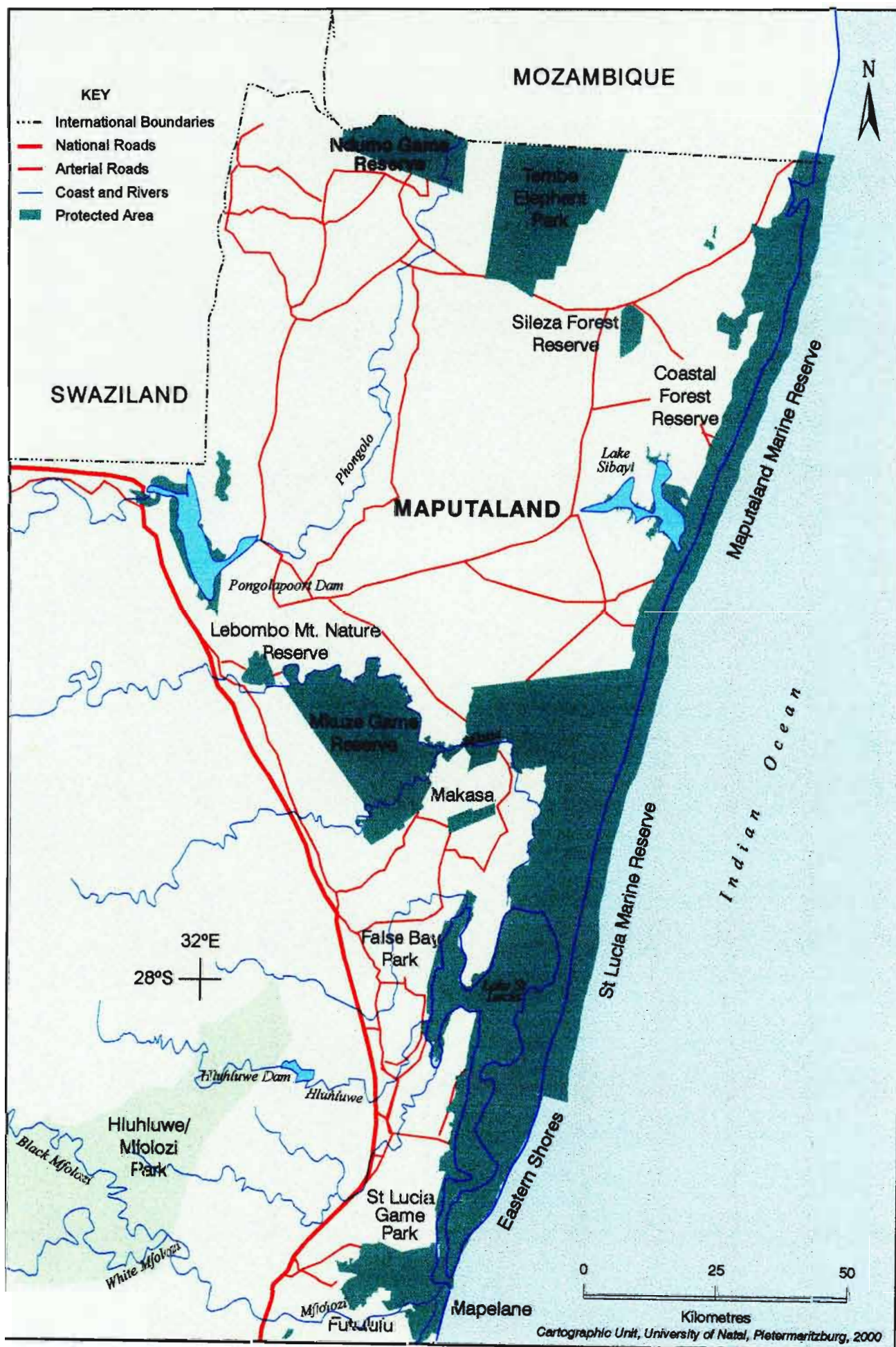
- **Conservation liaison committees (CLCs):** CLCs comprised of community representatives and conservation officials. The purpose of these committees was to provide a forum for communication, understanding and project planning. In particular the case study focuses on the CLC which was established with the Mathenjwa Tribal Authority. The Mathenjwa Tribal Authority has traditional jurisdiction over the Ndumo area<sup>7</sup>.
- **The Ndumo Caravan Park:** a planned community based tourism project located at the gate of the Reserve. This Caravan Park was to be owned and managed by the local community;
- **Ndumo Environmental Education Centre:** it will be demonstrated that the principles supporting the establishment of this Centre were based on the paradigm adopted by the conservation agency during the 1990s. The locality issues and management experiences of this project highlight several important lessons for ICDPs.
- Reference is also made to Ndumo Wilderness Lodge (locally known as **Banzi Lodge**): a project located within Ndumo Game Reserve and representing a three-way partnership between the local community, a private investor and the conservation agency.

The above projects associated with the Reserve highlight different components of the Maputaland Initiative. In analysing the implementation of these projects, it is possible to gain a broad picture of the experience of integrated conservation-development in the area.

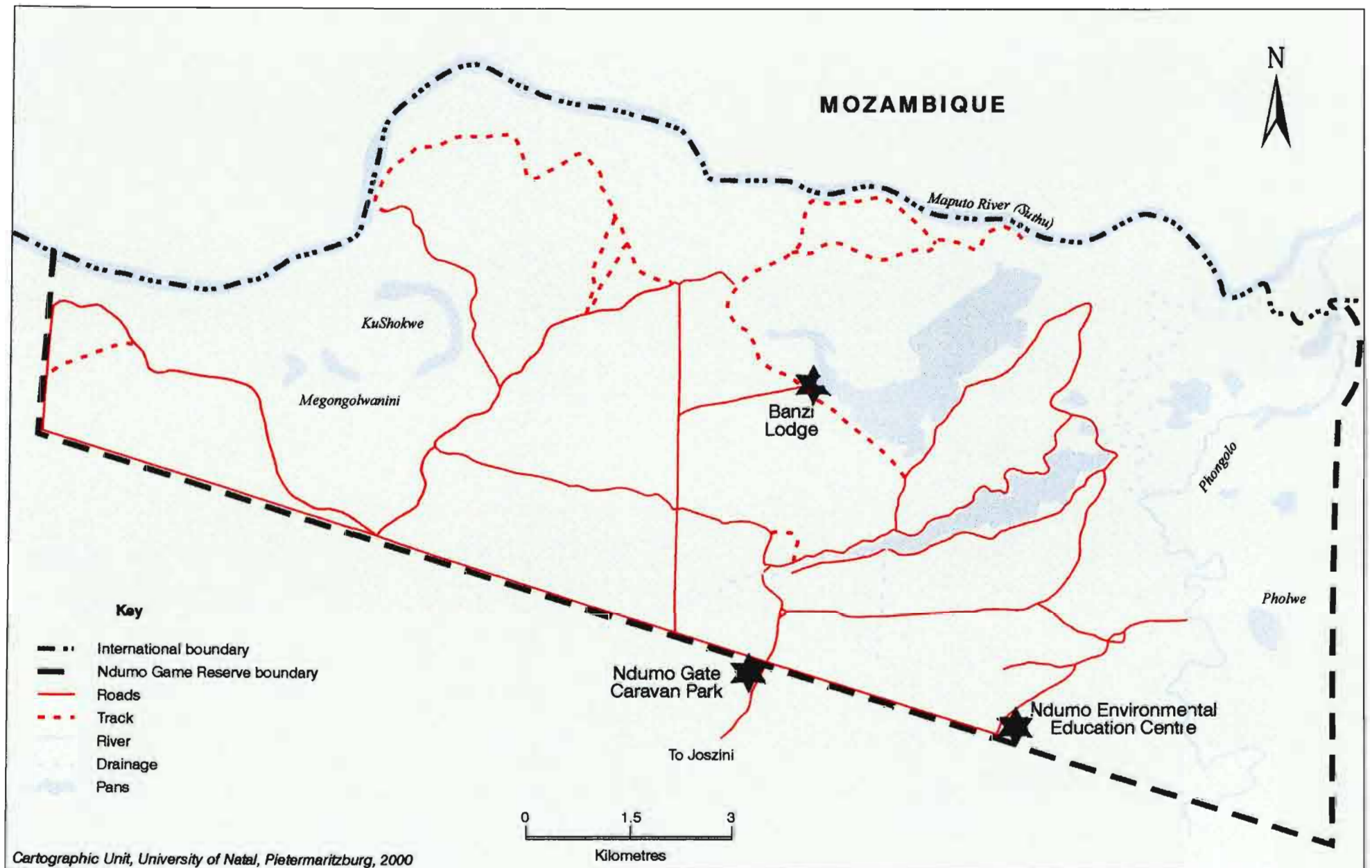
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Attempts to obtain an accurate map of tribal authority boundaries failed. The Department of Environmental and Traditional Affairs in Ulundi are currently undertaking an exercise to demarcate traditional boundaries using GPS. This is a laborious process involving a great deal of local consultation and mediation. The uThungulu Regional Council which has local government responsibility for the area, has gone some way in mapping Tribal Authority boundaries on a GIS, but the accuracy of these boundaries has not been verified. Boundaries remain an emotive issue in the area, and the demarcation process prior to the 2000 local government elections lead to increased tensions in this regard. However both local Tribal Authority structures (Mathenjwa and Tembe Tribal Authorities) are in agreement that Ndumo falls within the jurisdiction of the Mathenjwa (pers. comm., community leaders, 1995).



Map 2 Maputaland Protected Areas



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1.5 ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

The study demanded a structure which builds a thorough understanding of the place-specific experiences and lessons of ICDPs in Maputaland within a broader context. As a starting point **Chapter Two** provides an overview of key concepts. Definitions of the following concepts are discussed;-

- environment and environmentalism;
- development;
- conservation;
- protected areas; and
- integrated conservation development.

In order to formulate a theoretical framework for the study, **Chapter Three** discusses environmentalism as a domain of geographical scholarship. The international evolution of conservation policy is explored in parallel with developments in the discipline of geography. This enables the process of attempting to integrate development and conservation in Maputaland to be placed within the context of geographical thinking and the evolution of conservation policies.

**Chapter Four** outlines the conceptual framework and research design. Drawing on the plurality of research methodologies and approaches debated in human geography over the past two decades, an eclectic epistemology is designed. A matrix guiding the research is formulated and outlined. This matrix provides the research framework and accounts for the five interrelated factors contributing to an understanding of ICDPs in Maputaland, namely;-

- the political economy (including colonialism, capitalism and apartheid);
- place (geographical locality and the biophysical environment);
- processes (land interventions, socio-economic factors and development interventions);
- conservation policy (international and local); and
- conservation practice in Maputaland.

The transition which has taken place in conservation during the last two decades is discussed in **Chapter Five**. The emergence of 'sustainable development' principles, the

changes in protected area management and the popularisation of Integrated Conservation Development Projects (ICDPs) are discussed. Chapter Five closes with a summary of the general paradigm shift in conservation and development.

Guided by the matrix developed in Chapter Four, the Maputaland context is discussed in **Chapter Six**. The chapter opens with a description of the place 'Maputaland' and the impact of geographical and biophysical features on socio-economic processes. In turn, the impact of broad social processes (the political economy) on the environment of Maputaland are identified. **Chapter Seven** provides a brief history of conservation and its impacts in Maputaland. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the need for change in local conservation policies and practices in the early 1980s.

**Chapter Eight** outlines the policy of the conservation agency in the 1990s. Several different sources are accessed in order to identify and understand the policy framework. The broad policy principles are established and the parallels with Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs) are highlighted.

The projects associated with Ndumo Game Reserve are analysed in **Chapter Nine**. The stated objectives of these projects reflected ICDP principles, namely;-

- to improve park neighbourhood interaction;
- to promote social and economic development among neighbouring communities; and
- to ensure participation and empowerment of local people through joint involvement in project design and implementation.

The process of implementing the projects and the levels to which they attained these stated objectives is assessed.

In **Chapter 10** Ndumo's experience of integrated conservation development projects is assessed. This includes a discussion of organisational structure, environmental education, the role of a conservation agency as a development agent and working within the local context. Some lessons and considerations for future conservation development planning conclude the study.

## CHAPTER TWO: CONCEPTUAL OVERVIEW

We feel that some form of conceptual framework is necessary to break the impasse of merely criticising existing research methodologies and calling for new styles of thinking, research and action.

Wulfson, 1989, *in* CORD, 1989

### Chapter Summary:

*The development of a conceptual framework for the study is dependent on a clear understanding of key concepts and terms related to the study of conservation development.*

*In Chapter Two these concepts and terms are identified as:-*

- *environment and environmentalism;*
- *development;*
- *conservation and protected areas; and*
- *integrated conservation development.*

*Definition and discussion of these concepts in Chapter Two provides the basis for the formulation of a relevant theoretical and conceptual framework in Chapters Three and Four.*

### 2.1 THE ENVIRONMENT AND ENVIRONMENTALISM

Einstein defined the environment simply as 'everything that isn't me' (*in* Bayless-Smith and Owens, 1994, p113). The difficulty, however, is that 'everything' is interpreted in different ways by different people. As such, 'environment' means different things to different people (Fuggle, 1992). This is well illustrated in the Maputaland case study where Reserve neighbours and conservation officials demonstrate differences in the meaning they ascribe to the environment (Chapter Seven, below). As Bayless-Smith and Owens (1994) point out, the difficulty is 'understanding the social meaning of environment, and...disentangling the influence of different interpretations on the perception and definition of environmental problems' (p113). They quote Western's definition that 'the environment is much more than "nature"; it is the social, political, economic and physical world in which we live' (p2). This definition is supported by Fuggle (1992, p4), who highlights the multidimensional nature of the concept 'environment';-

... when applied to *human beings* (my emphasis) the single term relates to the totality of objects and their interrelationships which surround and routinely influence the lives of human beings'.

While there is wide agreement that the environment is a multidimensional concept (Mannion and Bowlby, 1992; Bayless-Smith and Owens, 1994), it is possible to differentiate between those interpretations which are broadly anthropocentric and those with a bioethical basis (Bayless-Smith and Owens, 1994). Anthropocentric interpretations view the environment as a provider of life support, resources, healthy surroundings and aesthetic satisfaction. The concerns of this philosophy focus on survival, resource depletion, health and amenity. Anthropocentric views are often associated with the premise that 'environmental problems can be solved by resource management' [that is] the judicious use of natural resources so that they can provide maximum benefit for humankind' (Bayless-Smith and Owens, 1994, p114). This can be regarded as a utilitarian perspective of the environment whereby the environment has a use value. Conservation policy linked to anthropocentric interpretations of the environment is based on the belief that 'environmental conservation will produce the greatest amount of good for humankind' (Fuggle, 1992, p 8).

In contrast, bioethical interpretations of the environment articulate an environmental 'existence value' which holds that the 'non-human world has interests and moral significance quite independent of its social utility' (Bayless-Smith and Owens, 1994, p115). It is within this school of thought that conservation agencies have pursued the preservation of wilderness areas, for example.

Environmentalism on the other hand, refers to the 'ideologies and practices which inform and flow from a concern with the environment' (Johnston *et al*, 1981, p107). Conservation itself can be regarded as an ideology and practice within the broader sphere of environmentalism. This study of integrated conservation development policy and practice in Maputaland therefore falls within the broad scholarship of environmentalism. It examines the evolution in environmental concern and the 'ideologies and practices' of conservation and development which have resulted. The focus is on more than merely 'nature' - it is argued that the totality of objects (social, political, economic and physical) and their

interrelationships are all affected by the adopted ideologies and practices of conservation and visa versa.

## 2.2 DEVELOPMENT

The term development is 'subject to a bewildering variety of meanings in academic and popular usage' (Smith, 1987, p26) and a comprehensive discussion of development studies falls outside of the scope of this study. Nevertheless, a definition of the concept of 'development' enables a critical understanding of integrated conservation development policy and practice.

At its simplest level, development can be regarded as both a process of change and as a potential state of being (Johnston, *et al*, 1981). As a *process* it implies improvements and hence progress towards a desired state, while as a *state* it is synonymous with concepts such as standard of living, quality of life and social well-being (Smith, 1987). There appears to be an implicitly euro-centric assumption within this definition that a westernised level of production and consumption should be the objective of development. For example, Viner (*in* Agarwala and Singh, 1973) argues that development should primarily emphasise increased per capita levels of living. In comparison to the Viner argument, A'Bear (1993) defines development as:-

...the deliberate engineering of self-sustaining integrated economic growth and social change, by the constituents, so that the creative potential inherent in the consistency unfolds to the benefit of the majority of the inhabitants (p1).

This definition reflects both economic and sociological components of the concept 'development'. It expresses a commitment to democratic and participative development processes while acknowledging that there may be place specific potentials within a particular "constituency". It therefore recognises a subjective and multidimensional nature to development and moves away from a simple measurement and comparison of per capita income.

Wilson and Ramphela (1989), who strongly support development as integrated process

further explore this shift in the understanding of 'development'. In their view, the development process should maximise the opportunities, capabilities and resources of individuals and communities for common social, economic and political benefit. Such a multidisciplinary understanding of the development process also informed the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) introduced by the African National Congress in 1994. The RDP recognised the imperative to meet the basic needs of all South Africans while increasing economic output: 'the programme will both meet basic needs and open up previously suppressed economic and human potential ... in turn this will lead to increased output...' (ANC, 1994, p6). Essentially the RDP proposed linking reconstruction with development in order to achieve peace and security (physical, financial and emotional) for all (*ibid*, 1994).

Development in South Africa in the 1990s thus encompasses a plethora of concepts, meanings and issues. In geography, development studies have tended to be associated with development economics<sup>1</sup> and sociology<sup>2</sup>, the difference of course being the spatial approach adopted by geographers. As historical events have unfolded so have understandings and interpretations of the process of development evolved. The growth of development studies in so far as they relate to conservation development is briefly discussed in Chapter Three. The definition of development supplied by Todaro (1981, p70) summarises the concept as it is used for the purposes of this study;-

[development is] a multidimensional process involving major changes in social structures, popular attitudes, and national institutions, as well as the acceleration of economic growth, the reduction of inequality, and the eradication of absolute poverty. Development ... must represent ... change by which the entire social system, tuned to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups within that system, moves away from a condition of life widely perceived as unsatisfactory and towards a situation ... regarded as materially and spiritually "better".

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<sup>1</sup> See for example Lloyd and Dicken, 1972; Johnston, 1979; Barbier, 1989.

<sup>2</sup> Hoogvelt, 1978.

## 2.3 CONSERVATION AND PROTECTED AREAS

A broad definition of conservation is 'the saving of natural resources for later consumption' (Passmore, 1974, *in* Johnston, *et al*, 1981). This definition refers to species conservation, habitat conservation and conservation as an attitude to land use. The modern concept of conservation on the other hand refers to the wise maintenance and utilisation of the earth's resources (MacKinnon, MacKinnin, Child and Thorsell, 1992). Essentially conservation is about people, the manner in which humans manage and use resources, and the legacy that is left for future generations (Breen, 1990). From this definition it is clear that conservation does not mean 'fossilising' habitats (IIED, 1994, p6). Rather it emphasises the management of biological diversity as a foundation for the future as well as the maintenance of wildlife populations for the benefit of human beings and the sustainable use of species (*ibid*).

Over time the practice of conservation has taken different forms (discussed in Chapter Three, below). During the 1900s for example, the dominant form of conservation was *preservationist* conservation. Passmore (1974, *in* IIED, 1994) defines preservation as 'the saving of natural resources from use'. In Africa preservation focused on guarding natural resources from uses which the colonists and ruling elite considered 'inappropriate'. Selected species were preserved in protected areas and wildlife was shielded from alleged exploitation by local people.

The establishment of protected areas thus can be regarded as the spatial manifestation of the concept of conservation, as interpreted by a particular political economy. As the political economy has changed over time, so have the roles and functions of protected areas. The literature shows that academic studies of conservation and protected areas in the African context are fairly recent. Brooks (1992b) cites the interdisciplinary seminar series held in Cambridge in 1987 as an important contribution to the scholarship. This has been followed by a wealth of studies on the policies, ideologies and practices of wildlife conservation<sup>3</sup> in the African context. This body of work informs the discussion in the

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<sup>3</sup> See for example *inter alia* Khan, 1990; Quinlan, 1991; Ramphole and McDowell, 1991; Von Riesen, 1991; MacKinnon *et al*, 1992; Mannion and Bowlby, 1992; Wells, *et al*, 1992; A'Bear, *et al*, 1993; Crush, 1993; McNeely, 1993; Munasinghe, 1993; Newmark *et al*, 1993; Ashley, *et al*, 1994; IIED, 1994; Moloi, 1994;

following chapters.

In order to understand the concept of protected areas today, the objectives of these areas should be clarified. Ten primary objectives for protected areas are identified by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), (*in* Hanks and Glavovic, 1992), namely;-

- i maintain essential ecological processes and life-support systems;
- ii preserve genetic and biological diversity;
- iii protect aesthetic values and natural ecosystems;
- iv conserve watersheds and their production;
- v control erosion, sedimentation and soil depletion;
- vi maintain air quality;
- vii protect the habitat of representative as well as rare and endangered species;
- viii provide opportunities for ecotourism and recreation;
- ix provide opportunities for research, education and monitoring;
- x contribute to sustainable use and eco-development;
- xi protect the natural and cultural heritage; and
- xii retain future options.

These primary conservation objectives go beyond the traditional preservationist concept of national parks. They incorporate anthropocentric interpretations of the environment, emphasising benefits to humankind, such as ecotourism, education, development and future options. It is recognised that protected areas fulfill the above objectives in different ways and to different degrees. As such different types of protected areas have been identified, including;

- Scientific reserves and wilderness areas
- National Parks and equivalent reserves
- Natural monuments (outstanding natural and cultural features of particular scientific and educational interest)

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Robinson, 1995; Wells, 1995; Makilya *et al*, 1996; Binns, 1997; De Beer and Elliffe, 1997.

- . Habitat and wildlife management areas (for example private nature reserves)
- . Protected land-/seascapes (ecosystem conservation areas)

Each category has distinct conservation and management objectives and criteria for selection (these are described in more detail in Chapter Five, below).

## 2.4 INTEGRATED CONSERVATION DEVELOPMENT: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

Based on the above definitions, integrated conservation development projects (ICDPs) retain the core preservationist and bioethical principles of conservation but focus on the 'broader societal role' (Wells, *et al*, 1992. p ix) of protected areas. As Chapter Five explains, ICDPs emerged during the 1980s and 1990s in response to the top-down, authoritative management approaches of the past decades' preservationist conservation. On the whole such approaches had been unsympathetic to the needs of local people. They had ignored traditional ways of life and relationships with the land and in many cases had decreased the food security of local people (IIED, 1996). In contrast ICDPs attempt to 'ensure the conservation of biological diversity by reconciling the management of protected areas with the social and economic needs of local people' (Wells, *et al*, 1992. p ix). The objective is to effect change 'tuned to the diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups ... towards a situation ... regarded as materially and spiritually "better" (Todaro, 1981, p70).

On this basis, ICDPs can be regarded as embodying the principles of sustainable development, as articulated by the initiative *Caring for the Earth, a strategy for sustainable living* (Munro and Holdgate, eds, 1991). As such, they promote the principles of respect and care for the community of life, conservation of the earth's vitality and diversity, changing personal attitudes and practices, and enabling communities to care for their own environment.

In the latter half of the 1990s this approach became broadly known as "community conservation". Community conservation approaches represented a broad spectrum of new management arrangements and benefit sharing partnerships. They were aimed at ensuring

the conservation of natural resources, while enhancing the well being of local communities (Rural Extension Bulletin, 1996). ICDPs as a community conservation approach are discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

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'Integrated conservation development', 'conservation' and 'protected areas' are core concepts in the analysis of conservation policies and practices in Maputaland. The development of a conceptual and theoretical framework for this analysis (Chapter Four) is dependent on a clear understanding of these concepts. The framework is further informed by the tradition of environmentalism in geography, outlined in the following chapter. In addition Chapter Three briefly considers development theory within the discipline, as a basis for understanding of the emergence of sustainable development principles upon which ICDPs are based.

## CHAPTER THREE: TOWARDS A THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK: FOCUS ON THE ENVIRONMENT/ DEVELOPMENT DIALECTIC

One thing all social theories<sup>1</sup> have in common ... is that they all in time, become obsolete as historical events unfold along lines no theory could have possibly anticipated...

Rousseas, 1979, *in* Gregory *et al*, 1994.

### **Chapter Summary:**

*Chapter Three indicates that the formulation of a theoretical and conceptual framework for the study necessitates a discussion of the developments within the discipline of geography, as well as the paradigmatic shifts within the broader sphere of conservation and development thinking. These shifts in conservation and development thinking have to a large extent occurred across and outside of academic disciplines in response to 'historical events'. However, parallels between the developments within geography and shifts in conservation thinking can be identified. It is argued that the particular milieu of contemporary human geography provides an opportunity for the development of a theoretical and conceptual framework within which conservation-development can be analysed.*

### **3.1 OVERVIEW**

Environmentalism in geography has a 'rich and varied tradition ... and is perhaps the oldest in the discipline' (Brooks, 1992a, p2). This tradition has not been immune to the process Rousseas (1979, *in* Gregory *et al*, 1994) describes in the quote at the head of this chapter. As 'historical events unfolded' and social theories were reconstructed to meet the

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<sup>1</sup>Human geography can be regarded as 'that part of **social theory** (my emphasis) which focuses on the spatial patterns and processes underlying the structure of everyday life' (Brooks, 1994, p5). In addition, Allen and Massey (1995) describe the objective of human geography as "understanding and interpreting...local and global worlds. It is about the interpretation and meaning...of all things environmental" (p2). These definitions place this analysis (interpretation and understanding) of the process of integrated conservation development in Maputaland, within the realm of human geography.

challenges of history, so environmentalism in geography has evolved.

A comprehensive discussion of environmentalism in geography and its philosophical tenets is beyond the scope of this study. However, an understanding of 'environmentalism' and its place within the discipline of geography provides the foundation and rationale for an investigation of conservation-development by a geographer. Parallels can then be identified between the evolution of environmentalism in geography and shifts in conservation policy. This in turn contributes towards the formulation of the theoretical and conceptual framework guiding the research and the methodologies adopted.

The remainder of this chapter traces environmentalism as a domain of human geography scholarship<sup>2</sup>. Reference is also made to development theory in so far as it elucidates the concept of conservation development. Broad parallels are drawn between dominant conservation policies and contemporary geographical thinking, thereby contributing towards an understanding of the paradigmatic shifts in conservation policies.

### 3.2 LITERATURE REVIEW: ENVIRONMENTALISM AS A DOMAIN OF GEOGRAPHICAL SCHOLARSHIP

Human geography is about 'understanding and interpreting ... local and global worlds...it is about the interpretation and meaning...of all things environmental' (Allen and Massey, 1995, p12). Interpretation and meaning ascribed to the environment by geographers has unfolded from 'a somewhat disreputable past, tainted with the excess of environmental determinism' (Gregory *et al*, 1994, p113) to a situation where geographers at the turn of the century are exploring relationships between culture and nature/people and the environment. Brooks (1994) describes these relationships as 'a profoundly postmodern concern' (p12) - a concern with 'space and geography, with synchronic rather than diachronic differences' (Blackwell, 1993, p388). Postmodernism in social sciences thus questions (among other issues) how human behaviour is constituted through time and space.

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<sup>2</sup>

Brooks (1992a) describes environmentalism in geography as one of the 'major domains of scholarship' (p2).

The following brief discussion traces environmentalism within geographical thinking from the early 1900s to the present day and indicates linkages with conservation policy. The discussion is divided into four broad phases, namely;-

- Pre-World War I: Environmental Determinism and Regionalism;
- Post 1945: The Positivist Paradigm;
- Alternatives to Positivism: 1960s and 1970s; and
- Geography and environmentalism since 1980

These phases evolved as historical events unfolded and geographers began to test and question existing interpretations of the environment. The phases are not discrete nor did they occur in a neat chronological order, but generated debate and breakaway factions within the discipline. Indeed today the positivist paradigm is kept alive and well by physical geographers - many of whom scorn the tenets of postmodernism, for example. For the purposes of the discussion in this chapter, the four broad phases are discussed separately, below.

### 3.2.1 Pre-World War I

One of the first and certainly more influential contributions to the people-environment-development debate was Thomas Malthus' 1798 *Essay on the Principle of Population* (Binns, 1997). Malthus postulated a universal tendency for the population of a country to grow more rapidly than food supply and advocated 'checks' on population growth (Todaro, 1981). He argued that the tension between population and resources was the fundamental cause of poverty and misery for much of humanity, as it forced people to live at subsistence levels of income (Binns, 1997). This tension between population and resources is a common thread that has run through conservation and development studies to the present day. A century after Malthus published his theory, the study of human environment relationships focused on regionalism and environmental determinism (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991).

## a) Regionalism

Regionalism was the study of the distribution of phenomena on the surface of the earth in natural groups, not as isolated phenomena (Cloke *et al*, 1991; Gray, 1996). It was characterised by exhaustive identification, documentation and regional descriptions, chiefly through colonial expansion. Crush (1993) interprets such colonial expansion as an 'act of geographical violence through which space was explored, reconstructed, renamed and controlled' (p61). It has been argued that the object of the colonial expansion was to secure resources for the rapidly growing population and economy 'at home' (Randall, 1987). This supports Malthus' argument of tension between growth and available resources - as populations grew so countries searched for resources elsewhere. In doing so, the colonists came into contact with new environments which they attempted to identify, describe and classify from a biophysical perspective.

The environmentalism of the colonist thus included the 'categorisation of biological phenomena and their evaluation in terms of their economic utility to the colonial settler population' (Quinlan, 1991, p5). However, there was also recognition of the need to preserve these biological phenomena. Initial moves were made towards the preservation of animal species with the signing of the first international conservation treaty - the Convention for the Preservation of Animals, in London in 1900 (IIED, 1994). This became the basis for most colonial wildlife legislation in Anglophone Africa. Based on an anthropocentric interpretation of the environment, land was demarcated for national parks and game reserves to protect large animal species. To a large extent this was undertaken without 'consideration of traditional land use systems and without the consent of the local communities whose lives would be affected' (*ibid*, p12, see also Grove, 1987). Activities in Maputaland at the turn of the last century provide a succinct example of the colonial ideology and practice of the time. This includes the 'discovery' of Nyala, the attempted eradication of the Tsetse fly in Maputaland<sup>3</sup> and the proclamation of Ndumo Game reserve in 1924 (see Chapter Six, below).

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For as long as the Tsetse Fly kept vigil in Maputaland, the area remained closed to colonisation. In an attempt to realise the land's use value to the colonist, a wide scale Tsetse eradication programme was instigated.

## b) Environmental Determinism

The second strand of geography at the turn of the century, environmental determinism, held that the environment in which people lived had a profound impact on them, both physiologically and in the way they related to one another and to their environment. Fredrich Ratzel (1844-1904) pioneered determinism in geography and was strongly influenced by concepts of social Darwinism, which suggested that those societies and groups that are best able to adapt to the environment would become dominant (Mannion and Bowlby, 1992).

The principles of environmental determinism were first discussed by an Anglo-American scholar in the 1911 work *Influences of Geographic Environment on the basis of Ratzel's system of Anthro-Geographie* (Semple, 1911, p33). This work claims that;-

Certain geographical conditions, more conspicuously those of climate, apply certain stimuli to which man [sic], like the lower animals, responds by an adaptation of his organism to his environment. Many physiological peculiarities of man are due to physical effects of environment...

Although environmental determinism was adapted during the early half of the twentieth century, criticism mounted and, in the words of Stea and Blaut (1973, p53), geography began to finally recover from the 'trauma of environmental determinism'.

### 3.2.2 Post 1945: Positivist Paradigm and the Quantitative Revolution

The positive paradigm developed across academic disciplines and was based largely on Modernism and its Judeo-Christian premise that there exists a fundamental, supreme order to the universe (Gray, 1996). The epistemology of modernism is that knowledge of this universe can be gained by the ordered and rational process of intellectual enquiry. Positivism thus introduced an inherently western paradigm based on quantitative research methods and empirical analysis - commonly known as the Quantitative Revolution.

This quantitative revolution in geography resulted in criticism of environmental determinism

and regionalism as unscientific and unverifiable. Geographers began to focus on aerial differentiation and the construction of formal theories. These theories could be empirically tested and verified, thus serving as the 'proof' upon which the identification of universal laws could be based (Gregory, *et al*, 1981). During the 1950s and 1960s the discipline became characterised by the quest for universal spatial laws governing the way in which the world works (Gray, 1996). Geographers developed theories and normative models to explain the world, for example Christaller's Central Place Theory was one of the earliest locational theories devised by a human geographer (*in* Lloyd and Dicken, 1972, p29). Positivism clearly became the underlying philosophy of geography during the 1960s.

At this time, development studies within geography expanded under the influence of the quantitative revolution and the sub-discipline of economic geography became well established. The focus of academic pursuit by geographers included the identification of a series of variables representing social and economic change, which could then be statistically manipulated to produce maps of the spread of 'modernisation' (Johnston, 1979). Linked to this was the formulation of 'stages of economic growth models' (Todaro, 1981) including Rostow's Stages of Growth Model and Von Thünen's model of agricultural location.

Environmentalism and conservation were also profoundly influenced by the positive paradigm. The Preservationist Phase of conservation in which a scientific rationale supported efforts to conserve natural resources (Quinlan, 1991), was entrenched in the early part of the Twentieth Century. Its legacy remains with us in the form of national parks and reserves that were created 'on the grounds of the need for biological conservation and [as the] means to study 'natural' environments' (*ibid*, p5). This purpose was ratified at the 1933 Africa Convention and was linked to concern about environmental degradation and the perceived need to preserve wilderness areas. Associated with this concern was a prevalent belief that local people were a threat to wildlife and forests (IIED, 1994). The leading conservationists were foresters from the Imperial Institute of Forestry at Oxford, United Kingdom. Their management philosophy emphasised that "the public good was best served through the protection of forests and water resources, even if this meant the displacement of local communities" (McCracken, 1987, *in* Pimbert and Pretty, 1995, p1). The contemporary management strategy was therefore to prevent all human interference

in the protected area. The result was a virtually uniform model of protected areas and national parks across the world.

The post World War II period thus witnessed a shift in the ideology and practice of conservation (shifts in 'environmentalism') from the anthropocentric and utilitarian interpretations of the environment, towards a greater emphasis on the bioethical interpretations - an emphasis that continued through the 1960s and 1970s to the present day. The spatial impact of this preservationist phase in Maputaland for example was immense - as conservation areas were proclaimed so people were moved out and fences erected. The fences served to demarcate 'no-go' zones for local people and thus to preserve the area's wilderness nature. The result was a patchwork of conservation 'islands' (von Riesen, 1991; Wells *et al*, 1992), effectively separated physically, socially and economically from surrounding communities (Map 2).

### 3.2.3 Alternatives to Positivism: 1960s and 1970s

Geographers began to question spatial-scientific formulations during the late 1960s and 1970s (for example Harvey, 1973; Gregory, 1978; Johnston, 1979). Positivism was accused of producing 'sterile and narrow commentary on the human-environment context' (Lammas, 1992, p67). Critics claimed that positivism represented people as rational economic actors, with little attention being given to their individual and emotional responses to the world (Smith, 1987; Lammas, 1992; Walmsley and Lewis, 1993; Gregory *et al*, 1994). Within development studies and economic geography there was a growing awareness that 'value-free' research revealed little about the process of development (Johnston, 1979). Positivism, critics claimed, obliterated human meaning, value and significance and limited 'opportunities for gaining insight into the richness and variety of geographical experience and behaviour' (Lammas, 1992, p69).

Such criticisms lead to the rise of a number of alternative approaches to the study of human-environment relationships within geography, lead chiefly by Marxist critiques (Gray, 1996) and followed by the Humanist movement. Marxist critique of positivism pointed out that the spatial scientific agenda disregarded the structural conditions of social existence, including the influence of local and national policies and the actions of large financial

institutions. A political economy approach to the study of geography emerged, based on the work of Marx (1818-83) and Weber (1864-1920). This approach examined how power relationships influenced patterns of development and spatial organisation within society (Mannion and Bowlby, 1992). Today this approach encompasses the power relationships associated with class, race and gender. A political economy approach to environmentalism suggests that to understand people-environment relationships 'it is necessary to examine how the social relationships of power... relate to the control and use of natural resources' (*ibid*, 1992, p15).

Humanism, on the other hand, emphasises sensitivity to place and the role of human agency in geographical studies (Lammas, 1992). Humanistic researchers emphasise personal geographies and the importance of human consciousness, experience and interpretation. Place is 'characterised and understood from the perspectives of the people who gave it meaning' (Tuan, 1974; *in* Lammas, 1992, p69). Humanistic geography does not have a single focus, but has influenced a number of approaches, including structuration theory and the realist approach. Its influences are felt in the sub-disciplines of geography such as historical geography, cultural geography and transport geography.

Humanists found fertile study ground during the turbulent decades of the 1960s and 1970s. Many countries in Africa experienced wars of independence against colonial regimes; new electoral processes and governments; and a withdrawal of expatriates from previously dominated government positions. For conservation in Africa it became a time of flux. Throughout colonialism few African people had been trained in conservation and wildlife management<sup>4</sup>, and there were thus few people in positions of authority in conservation agencies (IIED, 1994). International fears over the future of wildlife preservation in Africa lead to the formation of several conservation organisations, including the African Wildlife Leadership Foundation and the World Wide Fund for Nature. Many African countries have however, retained the legislation and tenure systems introduced during colonial times and there continued to be support for protected areas. The IIED (1994) report suggests that

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This refers to the western ideology of conservation. As both IIED (1994) and Davion (1995) point out, traditional and indigenous conservation has been ignored by the practice of western conservation in Africa. Brooks (1992b) identifies the dearth of studies in the nature and changing practice of indigenous conservation ideologies as a 'glaring omission' (p166).

this was a result of interventions from Western governments and donors as well as African dependence on external support and advice, enabling Westerners to continue dominating 'the conservation arena according to their own priorities' (p12).

During the following decades support for conservation and protected areas within African countries resulted from their growing contribution to the tourist industry. An economic imperative for the continued existence of protected areas ensued. This was based on a growing understanding that protected areas could and should play a wider role than pure preservation of natural resources. However, it would be another decade before this was translated into policy. The period prior to the 1980s saw the continuation of preservationism as a conservation policy and practice, particularly in Africa. A practice characterised by the exclusion of people from local areas, top-down management approaches and state ownership of resources.

It is not surprising that the preservationist approach resulted in considerable conflict over access to resources between conservationists and reserve neighbours. It was recognised that in order for protected areas to continue to survive as preservers of biological diversity, this conflict had to be resolved<sup>5</sup>. The resulting shifts in conservation as an ideology and practice of environmentalism are recorded below within the context of geographical studies.

#### 3.2.4 Geography and Environmentalism since 1980

The preceding description of the discipline of geography illustrates progress 'not [as] a function of a series of isolated events, but a much more broad-ranging and inter-related affair' (Cloke, Philo and Sadler, 1991; p1). Just how broad ranging and inter-related, is demonstrated by the diversity of directions geography has taken over the last two decades (Cloke *et al*, 1991; Rogerson and McCarthy, 1992; Crush, 1993; Brooks, 1994). Contemporary human geography is characterised by a 'unprecedented liveliness to the engagement with issues of method and theory' (Cloke, *et al*, 1991, p1).

Internationally, social theory has been grappling with the questions raised by

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<sup>5</sup>Chapter Five discussed the crisis in conservation during the 1980s.

postmodernism - which stands out as one of the 'rallying cries of the 1980s and 1990s' (Benko and Strohmayr, 1997, p27). Postmodernism in the social sciences challenges the underlying assumptions about the nature of knowledge, it has 'drawn attention to the complex set of practises and thought patterns that characterize modernity' (Brooks, 1994, p4) and questions how human behaviour is constituted through time and space. Postmodernism challenges the modernist assumption that there is a degree of order or rationality governing the way in which the world works (Cloke *et al*, 1991). It rejects 'grand theories' such as Marxism and humanism and emphasises difference and uniqueness. Human geography, with its focus on the spatial patterns and processes underlying the structures of everyday life, has been challenged to investigate modernity with newly acquired postmodern sensitivity (Cloke *et al*, 1991; Gregory *et al*, 1994; Brooks, 1994). As Cloke *et al* (1991, p171) state, the postmodern emphasis on difference requires geographers to;-

... respect the myriad variations that exist between the many 'sorts' of human being studied by human geographers ...and to recognise (and in some way represent) the very different inputs and experiences these diverse populations have into and of 'socio-spatial' processes.

Geography should thus become sensitive to culture as well as to space, the past, and to the changing spatial configuration of power (Harris, 1991; Brooks, 1994). The need for this sensitivity is demonstrated by Brooks (1994) referring to North American cultural geography and drawing on the work of Crush(1993, p9);-

A postmodernist sensibility, ... suggests that scholars take much more seriously the question of the location of power. Native peoples may have been deprived of their land by legislation and ... agents. But behind these agents lay powerful cultural assumptions derived from modern European society ... The taken-for-granted assumptions of modernity, worked out in this particular spatial context, created a very particular society...Geographers located in, or interested in, parts of the globe that form the "peripheries of western power, are particularly sensitive to the postmodern challenge...Modernist assumptions were, after all, the assumptions transplanted in the process of colonisation to other parts of the globe...

South African geographers engagement with the question of power; the calls for a 'reorientation of the discipline away from "first world" to "third world" theory; and the development of a "people's geography" (Crush, 1993, p62) is well recorded (Rogerson and McCarthy, 1992; Crush, 1993; Smith, 1995). Geography in South Africa has witnessed a 'broadening of disciplinary horizons' (Rogerson and McCarthy, 1992, p3) and a shift towards a more politically aware geography. The 1980s saw the engagement of many South African geographers with 'geographies of protest' (Rogerson and McCarthy, 1992, p3) and reconstructing the historical geography of the 'common people' (Rogerson and Parnell, 1989), including the mapping of 'unknown' areas of apartheid cities<sup>6</sup>

In South Africa during the 1990s there was a shift from these 'geographies of protest' to engagement with applied development issues. Crush (1991, 1993) in particular has documented this growth as a 'post-colonial geography'. He suggests that some of the aims of a post-colonial historical geography might be to unveil geographical involvement in colonial domination over space, to analyse geographical representations in colonial discourse and to recover hidden spaces occupied by the colonial or subaltern underclass (*in* Rogerson and McCarthy, 1992).

The literature indicates a twofold challenge for South African geographers during the past two decades. Firstly to develop 'its own indigenous and eclectic synthesis' (Crush, 1993, p63); and secondly to focus on applied and developmental issues (Rogerson and McCarthy, 1992; Smith, 1995); thereby erasing the boundaries between 'campus and community' (Crush, 1993, p63). There is an emphasis on issues of social justice (for example Smith; 1995); local participation in planning and development (Khan, 1998, Kraak, 1998) and sustainability (for example Makhanya, 1997), as South African geographers explore an emerging post-colonial, applied geography<sup>7</sup>. It is within this milieu that the

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<sup>6</sup>The effectiveness of these efforts have been critically questioned by a number of geographers, including Pirie (1985), Mabin (1989) and Bozzoli (1990) *in* Rogerson and McCarthy (1992)

<sup>7</sup>

The establishment of the Pizza Planners group in Pietermaritzburg in 1996 demonstrates a local move towards closing the gap between theoretical planning and community. The impetus for the formation of the group came primarily from land reform beneficiary communities who approached NGOs for support in selecting and engaging with planners. A voluntary group of public and private sector town and regional planners, development workers and NGO representatives began to meet to discuss methodologies which would bridge the gap between planners (largely geographers by training) and communities. They met in after work hours for dinner - hence the name 'Pizza Planners' (MIDNET *et al*, 1996; Pizza Planners, 1996).

opportunity for the development of a theoretical and conceptual framework within which conservation-development can be analysed is explored in the following chapter.

### 3.3 SUMMARY OF ENVIRONMENTALISM IN GEOGRAPHY

The brief literature review of environmentalism as a domain of geographical scholarship indicates the dynamic nature of the discipline. In attempting to understand and interpret the environment, geographers have responded to unfolding historical events with critical enthusiasm. The resulting “ideologies and practices which [conformed and flowed] from a concern with the environment” (Johnston, *et al*, 1981, p107), are mirrored by the paradigmatic shifts in conservation policy over the past century.

As the above discussion indicates, conservation policy has to a large degree been influenced by contemporary interpretations of the environment, in turn leading to the application of particular concepts and methodologies. The parallels between phases in geographical thinking and shifts in conservation policy as identified and discussed above, are summarised in Table 1. The history of environmentalism in geography provides a rich context for the development of a conceptual framework and research design in the following chapter.

**Table 1: Summary of the parallels between phases in geographic thinking and shifts in conservation policy**

<b>T i m e Period</b>	<b>Geographical Thinking</b>	<b>Methodologies</b>	<b>Conservation Policy</b>	<b>Concepts applied to studies in Conservation and the Environment</b>
Early 1900s	Regionalism and Environmental Determinism	Exploration, Discovery, Identification, description and categorisation.	Colonial exploitation (Quinlan, 1991) and initial movements towards preservation	"Categorisation of biological phenomena and their evaluation in terms of their economic utility to the colonial settler population" (Quinlan, 1991, p5)
1940s	Positivist paradigm	Empirical Analysis Scientific study Tabulation Mapping	Preservationist Phase (Quinlan, 1991)	Quantitative Research Biological conservation (fencing of reserves)
1960s - 1970s	Marxist critique (role of the political economy). Rise of Humanism (role of Human Agency).	Stresses human consciousness, experience, perception, interpretation.		Qualitative Research Importance of Place and Human Agency
1980s and 1990s	Plurality of Approaches Postmodernism	Characterised by a search for new methods of research and project implementation. Participatory Rural Appraisal Postmodern Deconstruction and Reconstruction	Transition Phase. Integrated Conservation Development	"...recognition that the emphasis on preservation helped to create an artificial distinction between conservation and 'development' to the detriment of conservation efforts" (Quinlan, 1991, p5). * Public Participation * Community Empowerment * Sustainable development

## CHAPTER FOUR: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN

An appropriate conceptual framework should be able to demonstrate alternative research methodologies.

(Wulfsohn, 1989, in CORD, 1989)

One of the most obvious characteristics of contemporary human geography is its diversity of approach. Within human geography today there is an unprecedented liveliness to the engagement with issues of method and theory. Rarely, if ever before, has the subject seen such a plurality of research methodologies and encompassed such a broad sweep of topics of investigation

(Cloke *et al*, 1991, p1).

### **Chapter Summary:**

*In Chapter Four a theoretical and conceptual framework within which conservation-development can be analysed is formulated. This is informed by the concepts defined in Chapter Two and by the understanding of environmentalism in geography developed in Chapter Three. In addition, analysis of the conservation-development process has to take account of place specific experiences. As a result an eclectic epistemology is designed. Based on this, a matrix for the analysis of ICDPs in Maputaland is created and explained. The chapter closes with an explanation of the methodologies adopted in the research process.*

### **4.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK**

Drawing on the 'plurality of research methodologies' and approaches debated in human geography over the past two decades (Cloke *et al*, 1991, p1), an eclectic epistemology is designed and adopted for the investigation of integrated conservation and development in Maputaland. The approaches and methodologies selected are based, firstly, on the need to understand the broad paradigmatic shift in conservation policies and associated practices in South Africa during the late 1980s and 1990s; and secondly, to assess the particular outcome of implementing the 'new' conservation paradigm in Maputaland.

The analysis of integrated conservation development in Maputaland is informed by both the broad international debate surrounding conservation and development and by local history and place specific conditions. Consequently a research design which allows an analysis of the *process* of conservation and development while taking account of the *place* specific experiences is necessary.

This dual demand of the research design presented a challenge. Conservation policies implemented locally have been strongly influenced by international thinking and practices, as well as by local socio-political processes. Analysis of this process places the research within the historical materialist mode of analysis. By drawing on the body of theory rooted in historical-geographical materialism<sup>1</sup> the influences of the broad social processes of colonialism, capitalism and political power struggles (Grant, 1992) are used to contextualise conservation development policies and their implementation. The political economy approach is thus used to understand the 'interplay of environment and society' (Mannion and Bowlby, 1992, p15).

The necessity to account for place specific experiences on the other hand, is acknowledged through the use of a realist-based social-scientific discourse which is sensitive to space and time and shows that *people* and *places* make a difference (Gregory, *et al*, 1994). This places the study within the broad field of 'locality studies' (see for example Cloke *et al*, 1991) which involve the study of localities in terms of their uniqueness and individual social and political processes. The focus of attention is the local political environment and the local state. Use of locality studies in conjunction with the historical materialist tradition enables an understanding of the links between the broader political economy and how these are played out at the local level.

A pragmatic approach has therefore been adopted to the research process. Figure 1a, below, is a diagrammatic representation of the theoretical and conceptual framework. The diagram indicates that the conceptual framework is influenced by two approaches. Firstly, the political economy approach is used to understand how the broad social processes impact on both the place (Maputaland) and the processes at work within the place. In this

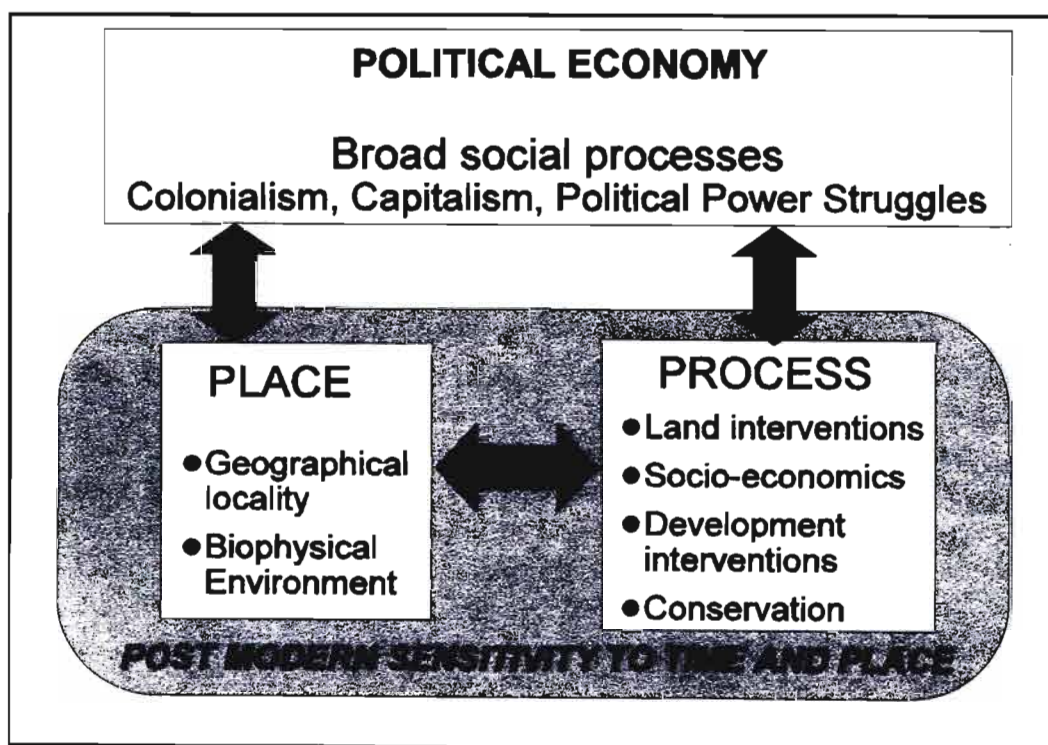
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<sup>1</sup>See Harvey, 1984; Mannion and Bowlby, 1992.

way the political economy approach is used to analyse how the social relationships of power relate to protected areas and the control and use of environmental resources (Mannion and Bowlby, 1992).

Secondly, a postmodern sensitivity to place and time is of primary importance in understanding the process of implementing conservation development projects in Maputaland. It will be shown that in many ways Maputaland is a unique place - unique in its biophysical environment, its socio-economic history and in the conservation processes that have played themselves out over time. The postmodern emphasis on difference enables the recognition of the 'different inputs and experiences ... diverse populations have into and of "socio-spatial" processes' (Cloke, *et al*, p171).

The arrows in the diagrammatic representation of the theoretical framework (Figure 1a) indicate that the political economy, the place and the process are all interdependent factors in understanding the experience of ICDPs.



**Figure 1a:** Diagrammatic representation of the theoretical framework

The incongruence of applying two such divergent approaches (political economy and post modernism) is recognised. Postmodernism stands in 'celebration of difference and disavowal of grand or totalising theory' (Cloke, *et al*, 1991), while the political economy approach (based on Marxism - a 'grand theory') suggests that to understand people-environment relationships and processes of change within a society it is necessary to examine the nature of the economy and how the social relationships of power relate to the control and use of environmental resources (Mannion and Bowlby, 1992).

Furthermore, a narrative presentation is adopted to explain and analyse the process of implementing integrated conservation and development. Harvey (1969) holds that such explanations involving temporal asymmetry, are one of the most persuasive forms of explanation possessed by geographers. This form of presentation allows for the systematic exploration of features and relations of social, political and economic structure (Gregory *et al*, 1994), issues which the case study indicates have impacted on the process of implementing integrated conservation development in Maputaland. However, postmodernism is critical of such an approach as it 'risks imposing order and *indifference* upon the subject matter' (Cloke *et al*, 1991, p198).

This risk is consciously adopted, based on Gregory *et al*'s (1994, p10) perspective that;-

Just as individuals need cognitive maps of their cities to negotiate their spatial environment, so we need maps of society to intelligently analyse...social process. Synoptic or macroconceptualisations are vital to the elucidation of contemporary society: its organisation, its constitutive social relations, practices, discourses and its structures of power...

Thus a research design which creates a map or matrix for the analysis of ICDPs in Maputaland is adopted. Figure 1b, below, indicates the matrix which guides the analysis of ICDP genesis and implementation in Maputaland. It provides the conceptual framework for the research and imposes order on the subject matter. Its use, however, lies in the recognition of the interrelated nature of the analysis while acknowledging the 'difference' or uniqueness of the Maputaland experience.

<i>The shaded boxes of the matrix contain a single variable in relation to itself and are therefore not considered</i>	<b>POLITICAL ECONOMY</b> colonialism, capitalism, political power struggles	<b>PLACE:</b> geographical locality and biophysical environment	<b>PROCESSES:</b> socio-economics, sustainable development	<b>CONSERVATION POLICY</b>	<b>CONSERVATION PRACTICE</b>
<b>POLITICAL ECONOMY</b> colonialism, capitalism, political power struggles		<i>The impact of the political economy on place</i>	<i>The impact of the political economy on process</i>	<i>The impact of the political economy on conservation policy</i>	<i>The impact of the political economy on conservation practice</i>
<b>PLACE:</b> geographical locality and biophysical environment	<i>The impact of place on the political economy</i>		<i>The impact of place on the process</i>	<i>The impact of place on conservation policy</i>	<i>The impact of place on conservation practice</i>
<b>PROCESSES:</b> socio-economics, sustainable development	<i>The impact of process on the political economy</i>	<i>The impact of process on place</i>		<i>The impact of process on conservation policy</i>	<i>The impact of process on conservation practice</i>
<b>CONSERVATION POLICY</b>	<i>The impact of conservation policy on the political economy</i>	<i>The impact of conservation policy on place</i>	<i>The impact of conservation policy on process</i>		<i>The impact of conservation policy on conservation practice</i>
<b>CONSERVATION PRACTICE</b>	<i>The impact of conservation practice on the political economy</i>	<i>The impact of conservation practice on place</i>	<i>The impact of conservation practice on process</i>	<i>The impact of conservation practice on policy</i>	

**Figure 1b:** Conceptual and theoretical matrix guiding the analysis

As indicated in the matrix (Figure 1b), five interrelated factors, important in understanding ICDPs in Maputaland are identified, namely;-

- Political economy; including colonialism, capitalism and political power struggles;
- Place: geographical locality and biophysical environment;
- Processes: sustainable development, socio-economic factors (including land and development interventions);
- Conservation policy; international and local; and
- Conservation practice in Maputaland.

For example, it will be shown that the political economy impacts *on* and is also influenced *by*, the particular biophysical environment, the socio-economic processes and conservation policy and practice. Likewise, conservation policy has impacted *on* and is influenced *by*, the political economy, the biophysical environment and socio-economic processes in Maputaland. Thus drawing on the definitions of 'environment' and 'development' in Chapter Two, the totality of objects and their interrelationships are examined. This matrix therefore provides the framework, or cognitive map, for the analysis of the policy and practice of conservation in Maputaland.

The theoretical and conceptual framework is further informed by two conceptual issues, namely;-

- i) *the paradigmatic shifts within the broader sphere of conservation and development thinking.* As stated in section 2.1 environmentalism refers to 'ideologies and practices which inform and flow from a concern with the environment' (Johnston *et al*, 1981, p107). Conservation can thus be regarded as an ideology and practice within the broader sphere of environmentalism. Chapter Five traces the progress of conservation development during the 1980s and 1990s.
- ii) *the emergence of sustainable development as a key concept in protected area management.* Protected areas are a spatial representation of

conservation. It will be shown that sustainable development principles have influenced the objectives and management of these protected areas. The study therefore draws on the concepts of sustainable development to analyse the process of conservation development in the specific locality of Maputaland.

The case study methodology was selected in response to the need to assess the impacts and achievements of ICDPs in Maputaland. The literature during the early 1990s records a great deal of work in planning and implementing community participation in conservation (for example Wells *et al*, 1992; MacKinnon *et al*, 1992; Munasinghe, 1993; Ashley *et al*, 1994, 1994; IIED, 1994; Robinson, 1995). The case study provides a contribution to the assessment of these policies and projects at the beginning of the Twenty First Century. The sources of data and information along with the particular methodologies adopted in the study are outlined in section 4.2, which follows.

## 4.2. SOURCES OF DATA AND METHODOLOGIES

Based on the conceptual framework, the research design incorporates methodologies that allow for an investigation of integrated conservation development within broader societal processes. Concomitantly, however, it was necessary to analyses how these processes have played themselves out and been experienced in Maputaland. The methodology is thus washed with a postmodern sensitivity to time and place.

Sources of data and information along with the methodology used, include the following (refer to Table 2 for a summary of the primary data sources);-

- Interviews (primary data source)
  - Key informant interviews. Semi-structured interviews were held with key actors in the conservation development projects. The selection of interviewees was either through their direct involvement in the projects or through their reputation as key roleplayers in the area.

- Focus group interviews on the history and development of ICDPs were held with the Ndumo Environmental Education Centre staff.
- Participant-as-observer (primary data source)

Participant-as-observer status was held in the Mathenjwa Conservation Liaison Committee (MCLC) and Ndumo Environmental Education Centre (NEEC). The researcher assisted the conservation agency's consultant in a secretariat capacity for the MCLC during 1994 and 1995. This included attendance at meetings and compilation of minutes and notes. In addition, the researcher engaged with the NEEC staff in an advisory capacity during 1995 and 1996.

This methodology is supported by the general theoretical model of realism which holds that 'knowledge can come from *participation* as well as from observation' (Cloeke *et al*, 1991, p136). Participation enhanced access to information and opinions, thereby enriching the research process.

- Participatory Rural Appraisal (primary data source)

Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) techniques have been used in order to obtain information from local roleplayers and to enhance understanding of local experiences of ICDPs. Internationally, these techniques developed out of disillusionment with conventional development approaches which had failed to meet the needs of disadvantaged people. PRA provides alternative methods for the planning of research and development initiatives (Bishop and Scoones, 1994). The techniques are based on 'interactive learning, shared knowledge and flexible yet structured analysis' (*ibid* p4).

A strong plea for the use of PRA was made in *Whose Eden* (IIED, 1994). The techniques were initially used by development agencies and NGOs in rural areas of developing countries (Chambers, 1992). PRA has been used to develop understanding of resource management, agriculture health and food security

issues<sup>1</sup>. Geographers, however, appear to have made little use of PRA and its offshoot Participatory Rural Learning, in the study of conservation development. In the case of this research into conservation-development in Maputaland, they PRA methods offer a valuable tool for the investigation of place specific processes and local roleplayers' experiences.

In contrast to traditional formal questionnaires the PRA techniques involve local people in visual sharing of information through historical profiles, time lines and flow diagrams ('visualised analysis'). This allows all participants to debate and refine the information until there is agreement amongst participants. The technique makes use of 'visual literacy' and therefore does not exclude those who cannot read or write (Bishop and Scoones, 1994). Use of these techniques recognises that postmodern influences within human geography have 'opened up valuable space for creative and innovative enquiry' (Gregory *et al*, 1994, p10).

- Minutes, reports and internal documentation.

Historical information contained within the minutes of meetings, reports and internal documentation were analysed in terms of the conceptual framework (Figure 1b). In other words an attempt was made to analyse information in terms of the matrix in order to understand its importance, relevance and impact on the genesis and implementation of ICDPs in Maputaland.

- Newspaper, reports and press announcements.

It is acknowledged that use of newspaper reports and press announcements can be problematic due to bias, lack of context and selective reporting. However, verification of wider processes over time and by key roleplayers in interviews, helps mitigate against some of these biases. Information from the press also served to assess the information obtained from the conservation agency itself, which it is

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Examples include the Child Survival Project at Bergville South Africa (personal communication Monika Holst, 1997), the work of AFRA and MIDNET, and several planning initiatives for land reform projects.

acknowledged, may also be accused of bias and selective reporting.

- Secondary data sources concerning Maputaland, environmentalism and conservation and development were reviewed and analysed.

**Table 2: Primary Data Sources: methodology and target**

VISUALISED ANALYSIS		INTERVIEWING AND DIALOGUE		GROUP AND TEAM DYNAMICS		PRINTED MATERIAL
	Target		Target		Target	
Historical profiles and trend analyses	NEEC Manco	Semi-structured key informant interviewing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Members of CBOs,</li> <li>Members of the Tribal Authority,</li> <li>Members of NEEC Manco and staff</li> <li>Conservation Agency Officials,</li> <li>Development Planning Consultants,</li> <li>Legal Consultants,</li> <li>Members of the TCLC and MCLC</li> </ul>	Participant-as-observer	NEEC Manco Meetings, MCLC Meetings.	Minutes reports and internal documentation
Time-lines and chronologies	NEEC Manco, Conservation Agency Staff			Buzz sessions and reviews	NEEC staff	Newspaper Reports and Press announcements
Systems and flow diagrams	NEEC Manco	Focus group interviews	NEEC Manco	Self-corrected notes and diaries		
		Oral histories	Members of NEEC Manco			

**CHAPTER FIVE: CONSERVATION IN TRANSITION**

Sustainable development ... is the truth commission in the development debate

(Munslow, FitzGerald and McLennon, 1995, p4).

**Chapter Summary**

*Based on the discussion in the previous chapters, the characteristics of the transition within the practice of conservation during the 1980s and 1990s are identified and analysed in Chapter Five. The emergence of the concept of sustainable development and its application in South Africa is outlined. The impact of preservationist conservation and the subsequent changes in the conservation paradigm are discussed. The chapter closes with an explanation of Integrated Conservation Development Projects (ICDPs). This provides the context for the discussion of the Maputaland Initiative in the following chapters.*

**5.1 OVERVIEW**

The research indicates that the transition within the practice of conservation during the 1980s and 1990s has three broad characteristics, namely;-

- the emergence of the application of the concept 'sustainable development';
- changes in protected area management; and
- the popularisation of Integrated Conservation Development Projects (ICDPs).

**5.2 THE EMERGENCE OF 'SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT'**

In western society, attitudes to the natural world have 'centred on the subjugation of nature for human benefit' (Mannion and Bowlby, 1992, p1). Before the 1970s natural resources were seen as plentiful and there to be exploited as cheaply as possible. The 1980s, on the other hand, were characterised by growing pressure on natural resources, illustrated by the large scale destruction of South American rain forests, global warming effects, the hole in the ozone layer and the eradication of numerous plant and animal species (World Commission on Environment and Development - WCED, 1987). In addition, natural

disasters such as the drought in Ethiopia and man-made disasters (for example the nuclear explosion in Chernobal during 1986), added to the increasing clamour around environmental deterioration and a growing world-wide concern about poverty and the health of the environment.

This concern contained disturbing echoes of Malthus' 1798 theory which had hypothesised that the tension between population growth and available resources was the fundamental cause of poverty. The 1980s saw increasing concerns with poverty issues and a re-evaluation of humankind's relationship with the environment. Emphasis was placed on issues of resource use and environmental management.

### 5.2.1 The call for sustainable development

In 1980 the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) joined forces in the publication of the *World Conservation Strategy*. This seminal work warned that "humanity had no future unless nature and natural resources were utilised wisely" (Yeld, 1993, p6) and emphasised that effective conservation depended on sensible development to alleviate poverty.

The subsequent world-wide call for 'sustainable development' was articulated by the influential report *Our Common Future* (WCED, 1987) - the so called Bruntland Report. 'Sustainable development' was defined as 'development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (p43). The way in which such development could be achieved was outlined in the second major collaborative exercise by the IUCN, UNEP and WWF - the worldwide initiative *Caring for the Earth, a strategy for sustainable living* (Munro and Holdgate, eds, 1991). *Caring for the Earth* proposes several principles for building a sustainable society, namely;-

- i) Respect and care for the community of life;
- ii) Improve the quality of human life;
- iii) Conserve the earth's vitality and diversity;
- iv) Change personal attitudes and practices;

- v) Enable communities to care for their own environments;
- vi) Provide a national framework for integrating development and conservation;  
and
- vii) Create a global alliance.

The emphasis on sustainable development which intensified during the 1980s and 1990s contains both a bioethical and utilitarian perspective. This new thinking did not view human development and environmental protection as disparate activities but rather as 'two sides of the same coin' (Quinlan, 1991). Further, it stresses the need to secure a widespread and deeply held commitment to an ethic for sustainable living (Fuggle *et al*, 1992, p2). This ethic was popularised at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development held in Rio de Janeiro in Brazil in 1992 (commonly known as the "Earth Summit"). The conference can be regarded as a watershed in environmentalism as it marked widespread political agreement on the need for 'equilibrium between the world's basic resources and their continued exploitation by a growing world population, whilst not jeopardising these resources for future generations' (Binns, 1997, p13).

### 5.2.2 Sustainable development in action

Governments represented at the Earth Summit adopted a comprehensive programme of action, known as Agenda 21, which emphasises the link between environment, population and development. The emerging principles of biodiversity conservation, integrated development, community participation and empowerment and the interdependence of all life on earth began to take centre stage in world development. The late 1980s and 1990s thus saw the development of what Brooks (1992b, p158) calls a "revitalised environmentalism" (see *also* Fuggle and Rabie, 1992; Binns, 1997).

Development theory too began to move away from the 'narrow, albeit important, concern with economic growth *per se*, to considerations related to the quality of that growth' (Munslow, FitzGerald and McLennon, 1995, p3). Sustainable development is concerned with improving the overall quality of life as well as meeting basic human needs and it implies self-reliant, cost effective development and people centred initiatives (*ibid*). To this end it can be regarded as the 'truth commission in the development debate'.

The broad principles of sustainable development began to permeate development initiatives world-wide. The guidelines to Agenda 21 for example, place the cause of most development problems at the door of the development process 'or in its failures and inadequacies, and it is only through better management of this process that these problems can be addressed' (Binns, 1997, p13). In an effort to better manage the process of development in South Africa, sustainable development principles are reflected in the Environmental Policy of the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC is committed to "an integrated approach to environmental concerns that relates to all sectors of society" (ANC policy guidelines adopted at the National Conference, 28-31 May 1992). Further, the principles of sustainable development contributed towards the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the resultant water and housing programmes (among others). Sustainable development principles are also apparent in the implementation of the government's Community Based Public Works Programmes (CBPWP) and the project cycles of the Department of Land Affairs' various land reform programmes.

In addition, much of the recently promulgated legislation in South Africa has been influenced by sustainable development principles. Examples include the Water Services Act No 108 of 1997 and the National Environmental Management Act No 107 of 1998. much of the new legislation in South Africa, together with various state development programmes, stresses issues of equity and social justice in access to resources. For example, the Water Services Act highlights the right of all citizens to access clean, safe drinking water. The White Paper on Land Policy identifies 'social justice' and 'economic viability and environmental sustainability' as fundamental principles of land reform. The tenets of sustainable development have thus begun to permeate the sphere of the political economy.

The ideal of sustainable development is not without its critics, however. One of the chief criticisms is that, like the concept 'environment' sustainable development means different things to different people and is thus open to many interpretations (Ngobese and Cock, 1995). It is argued that this is due to the 'looseness of operational definition' and the resulting lack of meta-theoretical grounding, leaving the concept open to political manipulation (*ibid*, p260). Pimbert and Pretty (1995) argue that clarifying what is being sustained, for how long and to whose benefit involves assessing and trading off values and

beliefs. The results will always be open to interpretation and any assessment of the sustainability of development will thus always be controversial.

### 5.3 CONSERVATION IN CRISIS

Conservation and protected area management have not been immune to the influence of sustainable development principles. During the 1980s and early 1990s protected areas, which can be regarded as the spatial expression of conservation policy (and therefore of environmentalism), began to look towards the principles of sustainable development for answers to their own beleaguered state.

Early recognition by conservationists of the need for the inclusion of sustainable development principles in conservation policy and practice was contained within the *World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN, WWF, UNEP, 1980) and recognised by the 1982 World Congress on National Parks in Bali. This congress highlighted the need to increase support offered to protected area neighbours (Wells *et al*, 1992). The proposed methods of such support included education, revenue sharing, participation in decision making and appropriate development schemes. Conservationists began to search for mechanisms to link conservation with development, make 'sustainable development' work and ensure that conservation became more people orientated.

#### 5.3.1 Preservationist conservation: an African perspective

During the 1980s protected areas throughout the world found themselves in crisis due to growing pressures from human activities (Wells, Brandon and Hannah, 1992). In many cases their surrounding areas were being converted to 'alternative and often incompatible', (*ibid*, p ix) land uses. Further, local demands for natural resources increased with increasing populations.

Within Africa, the most common protected area managerial problems cited by conservation agencies during the 1980s included population increase on land adjacent to protected areas and perceived unauthorised harvesting of resources within the protected areas (*ibid*). Conservation was however, reaping the results of historical preservationist conservation

policies and practices. These had been strongly influenced by the positivist paradigm and by the particular political milieu within which they were implemented. Pimbert and Pretty (1995) argue that the positivist paradigm determined the basic values and assumptions of conservation professionals and produced 'a mode of working that has systematically missed the complexity of ecological and social relationships at the local level' (p13). As a result conservation scientists and field officers viewed ecosystems from a narrow and specialised perspective. Conservationists believed that there was an inverse relationship between human actions and the well-being of the natural environment (Pimbert and Pretty, 1995). There was a prevalent belief that environmental degradation was a result of local misuse, for this reason the conservation authorities adopted 'people-out' approaches to the management of protected areas. These approaches are spatially symbolised by the construction of fences along protected area boundaries.

The experience of protected area management in Africa has also been strongly influenced by the particular political economy within which it has functioned. Colonialism and subsequently Apartheid in South Africa, were characterised by the subjection of indigenous people and the exploitation of resources for the benefit of the ruling class. The classic conservation management approach during the colonial years in Africa was top-down and characterised by the enforcement of wildlife legislation, the assumption of ownership of resources by the state and the exclusion of people from protected areas (IIED, 1994). While this contributed to the conservation of biodiversity and generated foreign exchange earnings, it also had social and ecological costs, identified by Pimbert and Pretty (1995) as:-

- i. the exclusion of local people from protected areas;
- ii. the neglect of indigenous knowledge and management systems;
- iii. the suppression of local institutions and social organisation;
- iv. the neglected value of wild resources;
- v. the neglect of different ways of satisfying human needs; and
- vi. the high cost of preservation.

In order to maintain the protected area, the preservationist approach thus required an essentially 'militaristic defence strategy' (Machlis and Tichnell, 1985, quoted in Wells *et al*,

1992) and created considerable tensions between conservationists and communities. White colonists appeared to regard the 'African landscape as an Eden needing European protection from the depredations of blacks' (Communication Director of the National Parks Board, quoted in the *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, May 26, 1995). Pimbert and Pretty (1995) point out that the attainment of conservation in Africa through enforcement and transfer of 'western' conservation approaches has had social costs for local people. Not only did they become alienated from the natural resource base upon which they historically relied, but they also suffered an erosion of indigenous knowledge and management systems. Local people faced restrictions on historical common property resources such as medicinal plants, grazing, fishing, hunting and collection of wood.

In sum, protected areas and conservation suffered from 'island mentality' (von Riesen 1991). They deliberately separated themselves physically, socially and economically from the surrounding sea of population pressure and resource depletion. This separation was clearly demarcated in space through the physical removal of people from protected areas and the erection of game fences. Preservationist conservation thus impacted physically on the environment as a whole, way beyond park boundaries. The consequent lack of food security led to increasing rates of poverty and environmental degradation in areas surrounding many protected areas. Such a situation ultimately undermines conservation objectives and threatens the survival of protected areas (Pimbert and Pretty, 1995). This phenomenon is discussed in more detail with reference to Maputaland in chapters Six and Seven.

### 5.3.2 Preservationist conservation in South Africa

Conservation in South Africa was 'relentlessly subordinated to the demands of apartheid and cynically manipulated by the state' (Khan, in the *Weekly Mail and Guardian*, November 7, 1997). Apartheid legislation made access by blacks to protected areas extremely difficult. Discriminatory land legislation, such as the Group Areas Act of 1950, severely restricted their movement resulting in their 'alienation from the land' (*ibid*). Even though the National Parks Act of 1926 stated that national parks had been established for the benefit of the nation, this was interpreted to mean the white nation. Many black people in South Africa thus found themselves removed from land for conservation purposes and then

refused access to the land on racial grounds.

The tensions associated with preservationist policies were further exacerbated by the geographical location of many protected areas in under-resourced rural areas. Apartheid policies resulted in the establishment of quasi-independent states ('homelands' or Bantustans) for black South Africans. These areas were, on the whole, characterised by low economic growth, few opportunities and little access to development capital. In contrast the protected areas appeared well resourced with infrastructure, communications, water and sanitation (Breen, Mander, A'Bear, Little and Pollett, 1992). A community representative attending the People and Parks Conference held in KwaZulu-Natal in 1995 summed up the situation (Weekly Mail and Guardian, May 26, 1995):-

Even if a local person has work in a camp inside the reserve, he can drink fresh water there, but when he goes home, he only has raw water to drink. You find people with guns looking after the game inside the parks, while people outside are dying from crime and violence, but there are no police.

Breen, *et al* (1992, p2) provide a succinct illustration of the general discontinuity between the situation inside and outside of protected areas in South Africa in the early 1990s. Table 3, below, summarises their findings.

**Table 3: A generalised comparison of the situations inside and outside protected areas in South Africa (Breen, *et al*, 1992, p2)**

INSIDE	OUTSIDE
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– many resources (natural, infrastructure, trained people);</li> <li>– high economic activity and relative wealth;</li> <li>– many opportunities;</li> <li>– increasing resources, immigration with skills;</li> <li>– economic growth;</li> <li>– access to development capital;</li> <li>– sustainable land use.</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>– few resources (natural, infrastructure, trained people);</li> <li>– low economic activity and poverty;</li> <li>– few opportunities;</li> <li>– declining resources, emigration with skills;</li> <li>– impoverishment;</li> <li>– little access to development capital;</li> <li>– unsustainable land use.</li> </ul>

Given these disparities between parks and surrounding areas; the top-down management approaches to protected areas and the subsequent pressures on protected areas, it is not surprising that conservation agencies came into conflict with neighbouring communities (recorded in South Africa for example by AFRA, 1990a and 1990b; Khan, 1990; CORD, 1991; Cock, 1991; Davion, 1995; and Khan, 1998). The 'crisis' of protected areas in South Africa was also closely linked to land needs and land claims - a tension that is playing itself out in the contested space of Maputaland, for example, through the land claim by the Mbangweni Community and Tembe Tribal Authority for a portion of Ndumo Game Reserve (Government Gazette Notice 1555 of 1998). One hundred and fourteen households, previously evicted from Ndumo Game Reserve, lodged a claim with the Commission on Land Restitution in 1996 for the east bank of the Pongola River which falls within the Reserve.

Traditional approaches to protected area management had clearly been unable to resolve the issues they were facing and may even have exacerbated them. Recognition was growing that effective long-term management of protected areas depended on the co-operation and support of local people (Wells, *et al*, 1992). Further, there was increasing awareness that it was neither ethically justifiable nor politically feasible to exclude the poor from protected areas without proving alternative means of livelihood (*ibid*).

### 5.3.3 New Categories of protected areas

Conservation agencies in South Africa and across the world thus began to engage with issues of the broader societal role of protected areas and approaches to park management (see for example CORD, 1990; Fourie, 1991; McNeely, 1993; Robinson, 1995). In an effort to establish a co-ordinated approach to protected area management the IUCN classified protected areas into five categories in 1990, outlined in Table 4 (after Hanks and Glavovic, 1992, p691-696). The objectives of this system of classification were to facilitate the following;-

- legislation for protected areas;
- planning and management strategies;
- appropriate management decisions;

- control of type and intensity of use; and
- justifying the benefits claimed for the protected area policy (Hanks and Glavovic, 1992).

The categories proposed by the IUCN range from Category 1 Scientific Reserves and Wilderness areas, to Category 5 Protected land/seascapes. Category 1 protected areas are based on bioethical interpretations of the environment and highlight the importance of 'untouched' wilderness areas the preservation of biodiversity. At the other end of the spectrum, Category 5 protected areas are multi-zoned eco-development areas which may include the other categories as zones (Table 4). This new credo implied that protected areas should be managed in ways that "sustain both local livelihoods and the conservation of nature' (Pimbert and Pretty, 1995, p2).

The identification of a range of protected area categories thus facilitated the development of a flexible management approach, absent from previous preservationist approaches. Responsibility for certain categories could also be delegated to provincial authorities, non-government organisations or the private sector (*ibid*, 1992). Such flexibility seemed to be becoming critical as Newmark *et al* (1993) noted 'virtually all major managerial problems facing protected areas today have a human component' (*ibid*, p177). The classification of protected areas into five categories, each with different objectives and management tools, provided a framework within which conservationists could explore different conservation models. As such, the ridged boundaries of traditional preservationist conservation policies began to dissolve.

**Table 4: The five IUCN categories of protected areas (after Hanks and Glavovic, 1992, p691-696)**

IUCN CATEGORY	INTRODUCTION	OBJECTIVES	CRITERIA FOR SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT	SOUTH AFRICAN SCHEDULE
<i>Category I: Scientific reserves and wilderness areas</i>	Areas primarily free from human intervention and available for scientific research, environmental monitoring and non-disruptive forms of ecotourism.	To preserve biological diversity and representative examples of the undisturbed natural environment for the maintenance of genetic resources. Wilderness areas are pristine natural areas protected by legislation so that future generations will have an opportunity to seek understanding in undisturbed areas. They have a bioethical basis and are linked to issues of spiritual well-being.	Outstanding and representative ecosystems, features or species of flora and fauna of scientific importance. Important to conservation of genetic resources. Research areas closed to public access. Wilderness areas do not provide for mechanised recreation and tourism. Control and ownership by government, foundations, universities or institutions with a research or conservation function.	Special Nature Reserves Wilderness areas (for example the Drakensburg wilderness area)
<i>Category II: National parks and equivalent reserves</i>	Natural features or areas warranting exceptional consideration with respect to their protection and management - spiritual, scientific, recreational or economic reasons. Range of functions – managed through zoning systems.	To protect natural and scenic areas of national / international importance. To perpetuate representative samples of physiographic regions, biotic communities and species. Contribute to sustaining society by maintaining essential ecological processes, preserving genetic and biological diversity and providing spiritual, social and economic opportunities through tourism.	Large areas which contain representative samples of major natural regions, features or scenery. Not materially altered by human exploitation and occupation. Managed so as to sustain tourism and education on a controlled basis, in a natural state. Culling for management purposes accepted.	National Parks Provincial or regional parks (eg Ndumu) Regional or provincial nature reserves

IUCN CATEGORY	INTRODUCTION	OBJECTIVES	CRITERIA FOR SELECTION AND MANAGEMENT	SOUTH AFRICAN SCHEDULE
<i>Category III: Natural monuments</i>	Outstanding natural and cultural features of scientific and educational interest without special national recognition. May be natural or cultural. Due to uniqueness they deserve protection for scientific reasons and for public enjoyment.	To protect and preserve outstanding features because of their special interest, unique or representative characteristics and provide opportunities for interpretation, education, research and public appreciation.	Not of the proportions of a national park, do not contain diversity of features. Area be only big enough to protect integrity of the site. May be owned or managed by central or other government agencies, non-profit trusts or corporations.	National monuments Botanic Gardens Zoological gardens Natural heritage sites Sites of conservation significance
<i>Category IV: Habitat and wildlife management areas.</i>	Manipulative management techniques are applied to guarantee stability/survival of certain plant or animal species.	To assure the natural conditions necessary to protect significant species, biotic communities or physical features where these may require specific human manipulation for their perpetuation.	Variety of areas and sizes. Primary purpose the protection of nature and the survival of species. Production of harvestable, renewable resources may play a role in management. May require habitat manipulation	Private nature reserves Indigenous state forest
<i>Category V: protected land-/seascapes (ecosystem conservation areas)</i>	Most complex category. May be extensive, multi-zoning and eco-development areas. May include other Categories as zones. Incorporate rural agriculture, towns. Recreation and tourism significant. Product of the harmonious interaction of people and nature.	To maintain significant areas characteristic of the harmonious interaction of nature and culture while providing opportunities for public enjoyment and supporting the normal lifestyle and economic activities of the area. Maintenance of biological and cultural diversity for science and education.	Scope and character broad. May demonstrate cultural manifestations (customs, beliefs, social organisation as reflected in use patterns). Scenically attractive or aesthetically unique settlement patterns, traditional practices.	Protected natural environments Natural resource areas Scenic landscapes Urban landscapes.

### 5.3.4 Changes in the conservation paradigm

The IUCN classification of protected areas was both a reflection of and a contribution to, the growing international emphasis on utilitarian management of protected areas. This led among other things to an increasing focus on the economics of protected areas and in particular the economics of tourism and resource economics (*for example* Tisdell, 1991; Breen, *et al*, 1992; MacKinnon, *et al*, 1992; McNeely, 1993, IIED, 1994; Munasinghe and McNeely, 1994). Economic values were placed on wild lands and wildlife, and benefits from tourism came to be regarded as a key tool for building local support for conservation and sustainable natural resource use (Ashley and Garland, 1994). It was believed that tourism must provide direct benefits to local people in order for conservation to receive community support. Conservation agencies began to collaborate with the private sector in order to access their business expertise and maximise the benefits of conservation. For example Ndumo Wilderness Camp (locally known as Banzi Lodge) in Ndumo Game Reserve is the result of a three-way partnership between the conservation agency, a private investor and the local community.

Wells *et al* (1992) noted that conservation thus required 'a perspective that stretches well beyond park boundaries and involves national policies as well as programs affecting rural communities' (p ix). The call for participation of 'communities' in development initiatives was resounding. The Secretary General of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, has stated that 'experience increasingly shows that the imperative transition to sustainable development cannot be made without the full support of the community and the participation of ordinary people at the local level' (in Ghai and Vivian, 1992, p xiii). In other words, a basic tenet of sustainable development was the inclusion of local conditions and social issues at every stage of a planning process. This in turn was only achievable with the full participation of local people as equal planners in the planning process.

In many cases, however, it is difficult to define the concept of 'community'. Communities can be considered in spatial terms (people living in and using the same place), economic terms (groups who share interests and control over particular resources - often referred to as 'stakeholders') and socio-cultural terms (groupings of people linked through kinship ties)

(*ibid*, 1994). In reality what may appear to be a community may be deeply divided in relation to power structures, access to and control of resources and opportunities. There is a need for conservation agents to carefully assess who 'The Community' is with whom they should be working.

Despite this difficulty, community conservation initiatives have become a feature of the new conservation paradigm. Community conservation represents 'a broad spectrum of new management arrangements and benefit sharing partnerships which enhance the conservation of natural resources and the well-being of local communities' (editorial, Rural Extension Bulletin, 1996, p4). There are a number of examples of such projects worldwide and they have generated a great deal of literature (see for example Wells, *et al*, 1992; MacKinnon, *et al*, 1992; McNeely, 1993, IIED, 1994; Rural Extension Bulletin, 1996; de Beer and Elliffe, 1997). One such project is the CAMPFIRE<sup>1</sup> project in Zimbabwe. Based on a 'philosophy of sustainable rural development that enables rural communities to manage and directly benefit from indigenous wildlife' (IIED, 1994, p92), it has succeeded in creating a positive relationship between rural communities and conservation of wildlife (de Beer and Elliffe, 1997). Three principles supporting CAMPFIRE can be identified. Firstly, the empowerment of communities through providing them with access to, control over and responsibility for natural resources. Secondly, the active promotion of community-level decision making regarding natural resources and thirdly, local communities must receive benefits from the exploitation of natural resources (IIED, 1994).

Similarly the ADMARE (Administrative Management Design for Game Management Areas) in Zambia endeavours to guarantee that revenues generated from wildlife resources return to local people in the form of employment and community development initiatives (IIED, 1994). The COBRA (Conservation of Biodiverse Resources Areas) project of the Kenya Wildlife Services (KWS) likewise promotes socio-economic development through conservation and sustainable management of natural resources (Makilya, Lembuya and Ntiati, 1996). This is achieved through the following inputs;-

- KWS management support by establishing of a Community Wildlife Service Unit with qualified staff;

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<sup>1</sup> Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

- training of KWS staff on participatory approaches to working with local communities; and
- the establishment of a community and enterprise development fund and modest levels of commodity assistance (eg vehicles for the Community Wildlife Service).

In order to engage local people effectively in conservation, agencies identified the need for community empowerment in terms of environmental education. This was based on the principle that local communities would be encouraged to practise conservation (in western terms) if they understand its importance (IIED, 1994).

These projects illustrate that the transitions in conservation and protected area management during the 1990s, Four primary objectives characterising these projects can be identified, namely;-

- engagement between conservation authorities and protected area neighbours;
- community participation in wildlife management;
- focus on the economics of environmental conservation; and
- an emphasis on environmental education.

The initiative by the conservation agency in Maputaland during the 1980s and 1990s shared these objectives. The question is however, how these objectives were implemented and what the outcome of the implementation process has been.

#### 5.4 ICDPs EXPLAINED

Emerging from sustainable development initiatives and subsequent protected area management strategies (including community conservation), were a series of programmes aimed at integrating conservation and socio-economic development. Among these were Integrated Conservation Development Projects (ICDPs) as introduced by Wells *et al* (1992). Such projects attempt to 'ensure the conservation of biological diversity by recognising the social and economic needs of local people' (p ix). The central concern of the ICDP

approach is to integrate the social and economic development of communities adjacent to protected area boundaries with conservation practises.

ICDPs vary considerably in scope and scale (*ibid*, p3). To achieve their objectives, they engage in three types of operations, namely;-

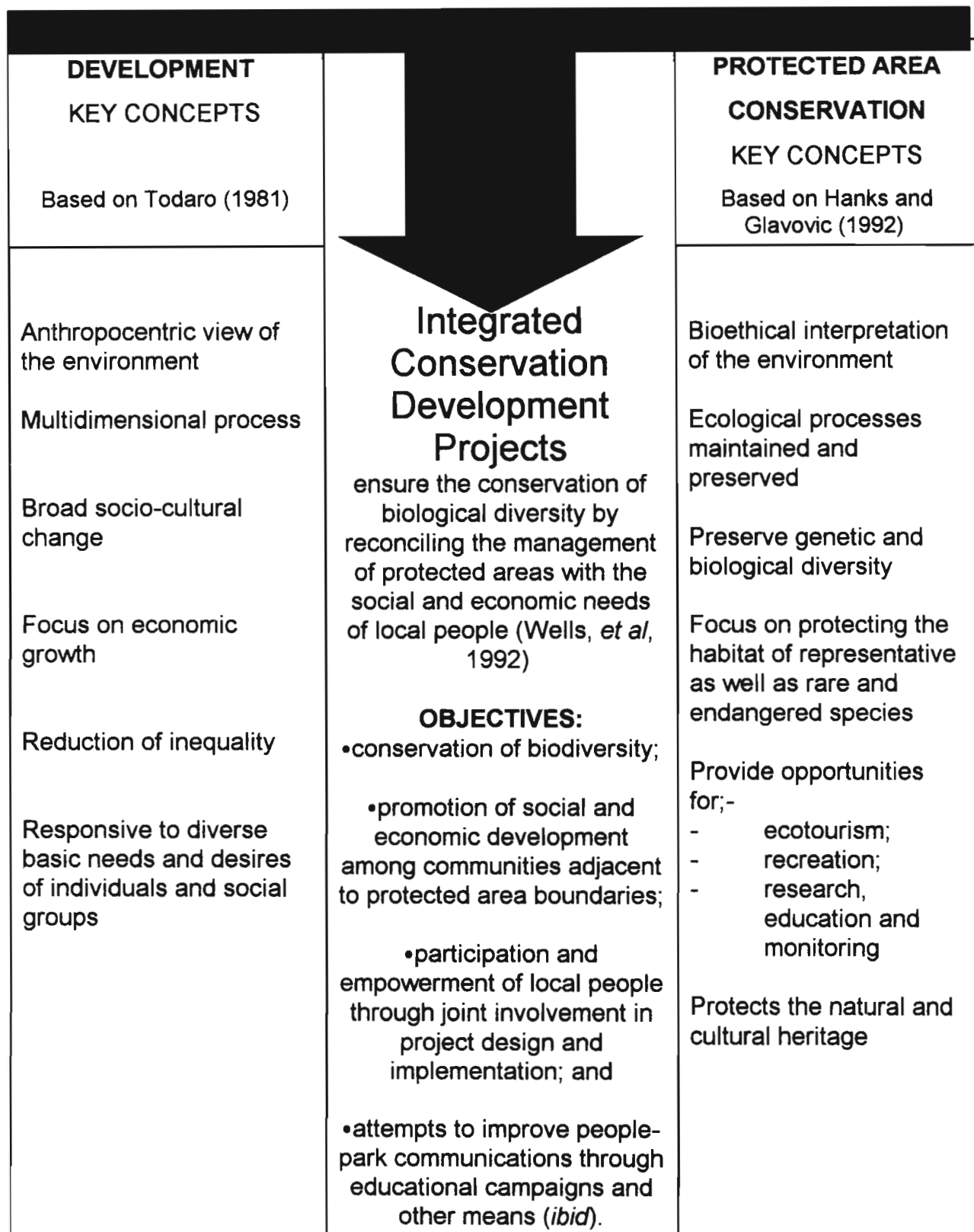
- i) *Protected area management* activities which include biological resource inventories and monitoring, patrols to prevent illegal activities, infrastructure maintenance, applied biological research, and environmental/conservation education. These activities are preservationist and scientific (i.e. positivist) ideologies.
- ii) Some ICDP try to establish *buffer zones* around protected areas. While the concept has 'strong intuitive appeal, there are many difficulties in trying to put it into practice' (*ibid*, p ix). The literature provides few examples of successful buffer zones in practice. Possible exceptions in South Africa include the biosphere attempts (for example the Thukela Biosphere Reserve) and activities associated with Pilanesburg Nature Reserve.
- iii) *Local social and economic development*: this makes use of approaches similar to those adopted in rural development projects, or approaches that rely on compensation and substitution strategies.

Objectives of ICDPs include the following;-

- conservation of biodiversity;
- promotion of social and economic development among communities adjacent to protected area boundaries;
- participation and empowerment of local people through joint involvement in project design and implementation; and
- attempts to improve people-park communications through educational campaigns and other means (*ibid*.)

ICDPs thus attempt to integrate key development concepts with the concepts of protected area conservation. Figure 2 illustrates the integration of conservation and development concepts in ICDPs. As illustrated, in theory ICDPs attempt to bridge “development” and protected area conservation. In other words, ICDPs aim to ensure the conservation of biological diversity by reconciling the management of protected areas with the social and economic needs of local people (Wells, *et al*, 1992). In this way they incorporate the development imperatives of broad socio-cultural change, economic growth, reduction of inequality and responsiveness to diverse basic needs and desires of individuals and social groups (as defined by Todaro, 1981). There is thus a shift away from the purely bioethical interpretation of the environment contained within preservationist conservation towards broader understanding of the role protective areas can play in the environment as a whole.

The conservation imperative of maintaining ecological processes and preserving genetic and biological diversity is retained in ICDPs, however broader opportunities for engaging with local communities and promoting development are actively promoted. In other words ICDPs attempt to resolve the discontinuity between the situation inside and outside of protected areas as illustrated in Table 3, above .



**Figure 2: Integration of conservation and development concepts in ICDPs**

## 5.5 THAT WAS THEN, THIS IS NOW: SUMMARY

Table 5<sup>2</sup> summarises the general paradigm shift in conservation policy and practice over the past two decades. This has been a gradual and incremental change, however the publication of the *World Conservation Strategy* (IUCN) in 1980, can be regarded as the watershed year.

**Table 5: Summary of the general paradigm shift in conservation policy and practise**

<b>PRESERVATIONIST CONSERVATION</b>		<b>NEW CONSERVATION PARADIGM</b>
Bioethical interpretation of the environment	<b>Point of Departure</b>	Both anthropocentric and bioethical interpretations have a place in conservation practice and policy
Exclusion of local people from conservation and protected areas Top-down management	<b>Approach</b>	Participation of local people in integrated conservation development initiatives Communication with local people. Possibilities of joint management explored
Centralised: ideas originate in headquarters	<b>Locus of decision making</b>	Decentralised: ideas originate locally.
Design by 'expert' professionals. Little understanding of the needs and perspectives of local people.	<b>Design approach</b>	Evolving design with involvement of local people. Recognition of the social and economic needs of people living adjacent to protected areas.
Reductionist - natural science bias	<b>Analytical assumptions</b>	Systematic, holistic
Central funds and technicians	<b>Main resources</b>	Local people and assets
Vertical: orders down, reports up	<b>Communication</b>	Lateral: mutual learning and sharing experiences.
Local people powerless	<b>Relationships</b>	Empowerment of local people through participation ICDPs
Benefits accrue to external interests	<b>Beneficiaries</b>	Local people have become more actively involved in the generation and distribution of benefits (IIED, 1994)
Little recognition of a community's rights to ownership and tenure	<b>Ownership and tenure</b>	Recognition of rights to ownership and tenure
Little recognition of indigenous systems of knowledge and natural resource use	<b>Indigenous conservation</b>	Criticism of Western conservation's exclusion of indigenous knowledge bases.
No collaboration between public sector, private sector and communities	<b>Inter-sectoral Collaboration</b>	Projects based on collaboration between the public sector, private sector and communities.

<sup>2</sup>Table 5 is adapted from the work of Breen, *et al*, 1992 and Pimbert and Pretty, 1995.

**CHAPTER SIX: THE MAPUTALAND CONTEXT**

The fascinating interplay between the geological foundations of Maputaland, the rich fauna and flora which have developed on those foundations and the intricate web of human involvement within that environment, provides an absorbing story about one of Africa's almost forgotten regions.

Mountain, 1990, p2.

**Chapter Summary:**

*Having discussed the transition in conservation and development thinking in the previous chapter, this chapter describes the context for the analyses of conservation policy and practice in Maputaland. As such the chapter opens with a description of the Maputaland environment - both the 'place' and the processes at work therein. The influences of political and institutional dynamics on the policy and practice of conservation are then discussed. The impact of conservation policy and practice on communities adjacent to protected areas is highlighted. This provides a context for the analysis of conservation in Maputaland prior to 1990, in the following chapter.*

**6.1 BACKGROUND**

As stated in Chapter One, 'Maputaland' is the common name for the wedge of land in northern KwaZulu-Natal which lies between the Indian Ocean in the east and the Lebombo mountains in the west, and between St Lucia Marine Reserve in the south and the Mozambique border in the north (Map 1). It is a place in which islands of pristine wilderness are juxtapositioned with commercial forestry; modern ecotourism with the poverty of third world Africa and conservation with a pressing need for development (Department of Geography, 1994). These processes shaping contemporary Maputaland are the products of the interrelationship between the geographical locality, the socio-cultural history and the biophysical and social environment of Maputaland. This complex environment forms the context for the attempt by both the conservation agency and the people of the region to balance real development needs with conservation of the rich biological diversity of the region.

Based on the conceptual and theoretical matrix formulated in section 4.1, three broad and inter-related threads weaving through the 'intricate web' of Maputaland are identified, namely;-

- i) the particular biophysical environment of Maputaland (the '*place*');
- ii) the influence of the political economy of the state on the landscape and on local development; and
- iiii) processes of land intervention and socio-economic development.

Attempting to separate the strands may weaken the understanding of the Maputaland context because together they have created a unique environment in which conservation and development issues are playing themselves out. 'Environment' in this sense is a multi-dimensional concept, referring to elements of the physical, social, political and economic world. As indicated in section 2.1, the concept 'environment' relates to the 'totality of objects and their interrelationships which surround and routinely influence the lives of human beings' (Fuggle, 1992, p4).

In addition to these interrelationships, there is a continual dialectical relationship between place and process<sup>1</sup> - between the biophysical features and responses to them, and between the evolving landscape of Maputaland and decisions made by those in positions of power. Conservation policy and the resultant practises are closely linked to developments in the political economy and are an intrinsic part of the fabric of the Maputaland environment.

## 6.2 BIOPHYSICAL FEATURES AND THE POLITICAL ECONOMY

Maputaland has a total area of about 8 000 square kilometres. With the exception of the Lebombo Mountains the average altitude seldom reaches more than 100 metres above sea-level (Mountain, 1990). The climate is influenced by the warm south-ward flowing, off-shore Mozambique current and is a continuation of the tropical climate of the low-lying Mozambique coastal plain, not found anywhere else at this latitude (IPS, 1991). It is an ecologically unique area in southern Africa, characterised by great natural diversity and a

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<sup>1</sup> Soja (1980) in Grant (1992)

mosaic of varied ecological zones (Tinley and van Riet, 1981; Department of Geography, 1994). Six ecological zones have been identified, running west to east parallel with the Lebombo mountain range (Tinley and van Riet, 1981). They are the Lebombo Zone, Pongola Zone, Sand Forest Zone, Mozi-Palm Zone, Coastal Lake Zone and Coast Zone. These zones were identified with "a view to ensuring that a remnant of them would be conserved for the nation" (KBNR [KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources], 1990, p1). As a result of these unique ecological zones, the area has been attracting the attention of conservationists since the turn of the century.

### 6.2.1 Place and the political economy

The geographical position of Maputaland between the mountains, a lake system, the sea and the South Africa/Mozambique border, has its own tale to tell within the 'absorbing story' of Maputaland. The northern border was hotly contested by the Portuguese and British colonial powers and in 1875 the president of France was appointed to mediate the boundary dispute. The result was a political compromise - a line arbitrarily drawn on a map separating Portugal's Mozambique and Britain's Zululand (Mountain, 1990). This supremely arrogant move by the colonial powers far removed from Africa and without consultation with the people who had historically lived there, had a profound and lasting impact on the environment of Maputaland.

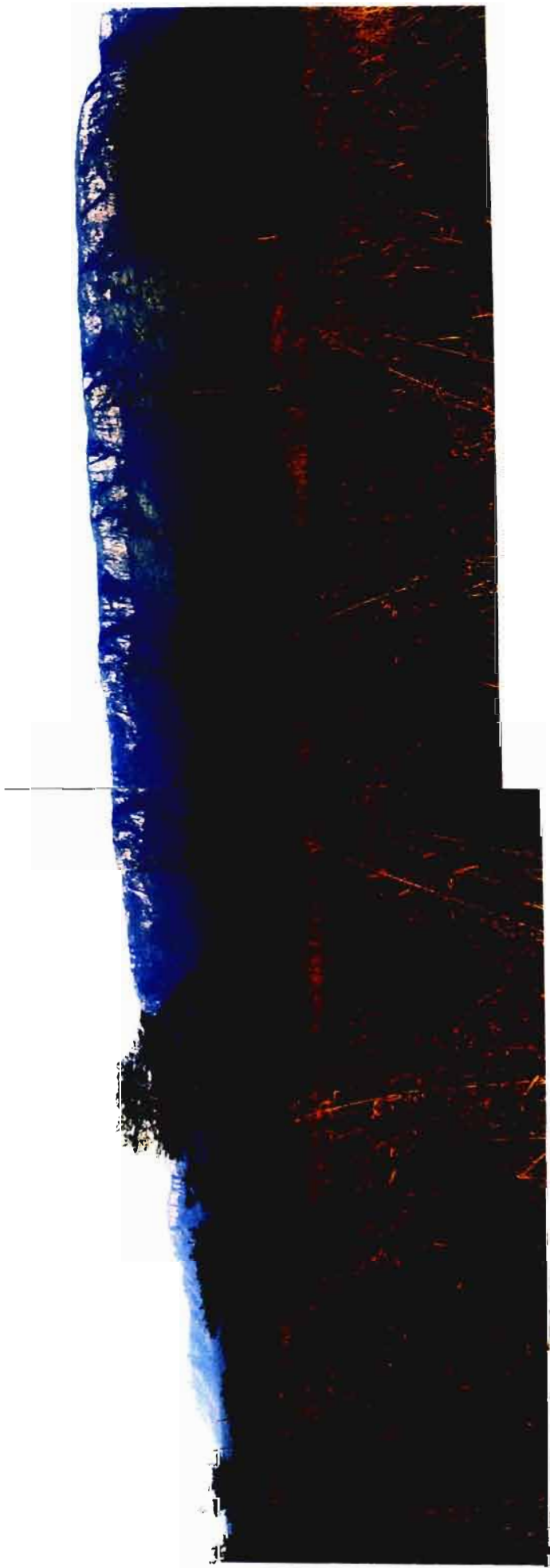
One of the most lasting impacts stemmed from the lack of consideration given to Maputaland as part of the traditional homeland of the Thonga people (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, c1970; Mountain, 1990). This historical homeland extended across the line drawn on the map - a line which survives to the present day as the South Africa/Mozambique international border. The division of the land between the colonial powers effectively divided the Thonga people, who came to the slow realisation that a spatial-political wedge had been driven between clans and that ancient trade and travelling routes were restricted (von Riesen, 1991). The creation of this boundary between Mozambique and South Africa demonstrates colonialism as an 'act of geographical violence through which space was explored, reconstructed, renamed and controlled' (Crush, 1993, p61). In settling the boundary dispute the colonial powers were reconstructing and ultimately controlling the Maputaland environment with scant regard for the indigenous

spatial patterns and local political economy. With a stroke of the pen, families and tribal allegiances were split in half, trading partners and routes were cut off and established socio-economic systems were disrupted. The landscape was redrawn as the ruling powers attempted to establish a controlled and impenetrable border fence.

That this division has remained unacceptable to the Thonga people is demonstrated in the 1996 report submitted to the Land Claims Commission on the Thembe-Thonga restitution claim for the Mbongweni Corridor (between Ndumu Game Reserve and Tembe Elephant Park – Map 2). In this report it is claimed that links between the chiefs on either side of the border remain strong (Department of Land Affairs, 1998).

Prior to the advent of such European colonialism there had been very little 'outside' impact on the area. The *Mfecane* initiated by the Zulu King Shaka at the turn of the nineteenth century, while having a major socio-spatial impact on Southern Africa largely bypassed the Maputaland area (Morris, 1966; Centre for Applied Social Sciences, c1970). The imposing Lebombo Mountains rising up to 700m above the plains (Figure 3), together with the seemingly infertile and fever-ridden lowlands of Maputaland, formed a 'natural defence' (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, c1970; Mountain, 1990, p14). The land did not attract Shaka's imperialistic expansion and as a result the remained largely outside of the events of Zululand's turbulent history. Zulu socio-political dominance over the region was established from the 1820s when a 'tribute collection' system was instituted (AFRA, 1990b).

Maputaland's 'natural defence systems' which deterred Shaka, have proved to be both a blessing and a curse to the people living there. It was a blessing in that contrary to the rest of South Africa, Maputaland was never formally conquered by either African or European powers (AFRA, 1990b). However, the prevalence of malaria and nagana disease (sleeping sickness in humans) was as much of a barrier to outsiders as the Lebombo mountains themselves. The presence of these defence systems contributed to the effective isolation of Maputaland from much of the mainstream development of the province. This left a legacy of underdevelopment manifested in poorly developed infrastructure, low incomes, high rates of unemployment and poor community health (see A'Bear, nd; AFRA, 1990, Mountain, 1990). For generations therefore, local people have had little support and resource input from outside of Maputaland.



Photographer: M. Sumner Curry

**Figure 3: The Lebombo Mountains: Part of Maputaland's natural defence systems**

In addition, the sandy soils found over much of the eastern areas of the region have low agricultural potential (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, c1970), with the exception of the Pongola flood plain and parts of the Lebombo mountains. As a result the area is characterised by an historical and continuing reliance on the utilisation of natural resources to ensure livelihoods and food security (*ibid*). It has been postulated that in the past low impact resource utilisation maintained the biodiversity of the area (Department of Geography, 1994, p9, see *a/so* Mountain, 1990). In other words, low population densities in the past enabled ecological systems to recover naturally in spite of human exploitation. The investigation undertaken by Pimbert and Pretty (1995, p7) indicates that disturbance by people is increasingly acknowledged as critical for the maintenance of biological diversity. Professionals have however, often failed to 'build on indigenous knowledge and techniques, either through ignorance or cultural myopia'. CORD has made similar criticisms of organisations and institutions working in Maputaland (1991, p65);-

...local communities, undermined though they have been, still possess a great deal of practical knowledge about the environment in which they live and are likely to be the best judges of how to sustain it. Local knowledge is often overlooked...

Developments in South Africa's political economy during the 20th Century, particularly Apartheid, brought about changes which disturbed the application of this local knowledge. One of the consequences was the disruption of the historical balance between resource utilisation and recovery (IPS, 1991). These changes included a variety of external interventions in the form of imposed land transactions and legislation, western conservation practices and a series of imposed 'development' projects, discussed below.

### 6.2.2 Land and legislation

The resolution of the international boundary dispute between the Portuguese and British colonial powers was the first of a host of territorial and political transactions within Maputaland. These transactions appear to demonstrate the colonial government and later the South African government's, attempt to dominate the spatial environment. For example, in the period prior to the 1899 Anglo Boer War Maputaland was one of the pawns in the

political power game between the Boers and the British (von Riesen, 1991). The Transvaal Republic attempted to annex land along the Lebombo Mountains in the hope of obtaining a route to the sea. This plan was foiled by the formal British annexation of Maputaland in November 1879. In the years that followed a series of Acts were invoked by the political powers to manage the land and the resident people. These are listed below in order to demonstrate the scale of land transactions in Maputaland.

- i. The 1904 proclamation of 'Crown' lands in sections of Maputaland (Act to Crown Land Act No 41 of 1880) by the Zululand Delimitation Commission resulted in people living on state owned land (Department of Land Affairs, 1998);
- ii. The Natives Land Act 27 of 1913 prohibited black people from buying land and restricted them to certain areas in South Africa. This included most of Maputaland, with the exception of proclaimed conservation areas and towns;
- iii. The delineation of tribal boundaries and areas of jurisdiction in terms of The Black Administration Act (No 38 of 1927) and the Black Authorities Act (No 68 of 1951) resulted in tribal structures and physical areas of jurisdiction being regulated by the state. Much to their bewilderment, Proclamation No 539 (18 April, 1958) imposed tribal structures on the Thonga people (*in* Department of Land Affairs, 1998);
- iv. By Proclamation 82/1970 the area was vested in the South African Development Trust (Department of Land Affairs, 1998);
- v. In 1976 the tribal areas were placed under the jurisdiction of the former KwaZulu National State (Proclamation 222/1976), then by Proclamation 232/1986 the land was vested in the KwaZulu Government (*ibid*). The area was administered by the KwaZulu Government until 1994, when South Africa was united under one central democratically elected government<sup>2</sup>.

Through implementation of the above Acts and other Apartheid legislation<sup>3</sup> the national

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<sup>2</sup> Through operation of section 3 of the KwaZulu Ingonyama Trust Act 3 of 1994, the land currently vests in the Ingonyama Trust.

<sup>3</sup>For example the Group Areas Act (1950); the Population Registration Act (1950); the 1952 Pass Laws, and the Separate Amenities Act (1953) among others.

government effectively divided South Africa spatially, administratively and socio-economically. The resultant quasi-independent KwaZulu homeland (of which northern Maputaland was part) was expected to develop separately and independently from the rest of the country.

This policy of separate development did not prevent the national government from using the area as a bargaining chip when it once again suited them. In 1982 Maputaland was almost the victim of one of the more audacious plans of the apartheid government when a unilateral decision was made to offer Swaziland a portion of Maputaland in exchange for various political favours (von Riesen, 1991). Such a deal would have ensured that Swaziland had access to the sea and a possible harbour at Kosi Bay, in exchange for Swaziland's co-operation in ousting the African National Congress from within its borders. In a familiar pattern of autocratic decision-making by the political powers, neither the people of Maputaland nor the KwaZulu Government were consulted about the potential change in nationality and jurisdiction. Furthermore, the conservation fraternity raised objections to plan on the basis of the ecological importance of the Kosi Bay Lake System. The resultant uproar caused the South African government to abandon the idea.

Land was not the only issue at stake in Maputaland. The colonial power and later the South African government intervened socio-politically and economically in the area. The following section explores some of these interventions.

### 6.2.3 Interventions in Maputaland

The first major impact on Maputaland after the international boundary dispute was resolved to the satisfaction of the colonial powers, was the Nagana Campaign of 1917. The intervening years had seen hunting activity and some trading in the area, including a landmark visit by the famous hunter-naturalist Frederick Courtney Selous in 1896 (Mountain, 1990). Working within the genre of Regionalism, he collected previously unknown Nyala specimens for the British Museum. He can be regarded as Maputaland's first 'conservationist', albeit a colonialist conservationist - preoccupied with identification, documentation and regional descriptions.

Despite this early colonial recognition of the unique importance of the fauna of the area, the post-union government had no patience with another of Maputaland's defence systems - the tsetse fly. The fly is the carrier of trypanosome *brucei rhodesiense*, a parasite which causes Nagana sleeping sickness in humans and is lethal to cattle (*ibid*). Its existence in Maputaland had effectively prevented earlier colonial settlement in the area, however in 1917 the government was intent on opening the area for settlement by white farmers. It had been discovered that tsetse flies were infected with the disease by feeding on game animals, which were carriers of the disease, and then passing it on to humans and domestic livestock. It was argued that if the game animals were eradicated the disease would cease to exist and Maputaland could be opened up to settlers. In a further act of 'geographical violence' a campaign to rid the area of the dreaded disease was instituted in 1917. This 'sad and shameful saga' (*ibid*, p15) resulted in the wholesale slaughter of thousands of animals and continued through the 1920s. The tsetse fly episode in Maputaland is another example of the powerful elite attempting to control geographical space.

Fortunately the Minister of Lands at the time, Deneys Reitz, had the foresight to realise that unless a game sanctuary was demarcated little would remain of the natural heritage of Maputaland. In a move consistent with the preservationist policies of conservation at the time, an area of approximately 10 000ha at Ndumu was demarcated as a game sanctuary in 1924.

The Nagana campaign and subsequent demarcation of protected areas in Maputaland can be regarded as an example of the 'geographical violence' (Crush, 1993) practised by the colonists in Maputaland during the early part of the Twentieth Century. Such manipulation of the environment for the benefit of an elite group of people (white settlers) indicated the extent to which colonialists reconstructed and controlled the Maputaland space. This took place with little recognition of local people, customs, practices or needs.

Many of South Africa's ecological problems are linked to such social engineering processes pursued by successive governments, which exploited the country's resources for the white minority (Ramphela, 1991). An example was the construction of a dam on the Pongola River in the 1960s. This aptly illustrates the autocratic nature of 'development' and

environmental manipulation in Maputaland during the past century. The Pongolapoort Dam was constructed in order to provide irrigation to a group of “poor white” farmers identified by the Nationalist government in the 1950s as requiring state assistance (CORD, 1991). The construction of the dam changed the river’s flooding regime and thereby impacted on the historical agricultural practices of local inhabitants. The flood plain had been previously characterised by a series of flash floods during the summer rainy season and an efficient system of flood plain agriculture had evolved (Heeg and Breen, 1979; CORD, 1991). The actions of the state in constructing a dam for the benefit of an elite minority had a fundamental effect on those people who had relied on the natural flooding regime of the Pongola River as an essential component of resource use and livelihood security in Maputaland.

During the mid-1980s community development advocates and NGOs (primarily CORD) brokered an agreement between local representative Water Committees and the Department of Water Affairs. This resulted in the implementation of an agreed simulated flooding programme for the Pongolo River system. It represented an agreement between agents of the state and previously powerless local people to share control of natural resources (albeit modified natural resources). This was important in that it indicated to local people that through organising themselves they could challenge the power of the state. The Pongolapoort Dam experience also highlights a further feature of the Maputaland environment – that of the work undertaken by NGOs and development agents. Section 6.2.5 briefly outlines this work.

#### 6.2.4 Place and process impacts on local socio-economics

For many years Maputaland was isolated from mainstream development initiatives in the province (Mountain, 190; IPS, 1994). This was partly due to its geographical locality, but also because of the Apartheid government’s policy of separate development. The tribal areas were placed under the jurisdiction of the former KwaZulu National State from 1976 to 1984. Thereafter the land was vested in the KwaZulu Government until the democratic election in 1994. The economic indicators for the area record the resultant discrepancies between these KwaZulu areas and the rest of the province.

The DBSA (1991) review of Region E (within which Maputaland falls) indicates that in 1990 the GGP per capita in the former Natal districts was R13 636, while in the KwaZulu areas it averaged a mere R778. The unemployment rate shows equal discrepancies with a rate of 2.4% in Natal and 30.9% in the KwaZulu districts.

The census statistics indicate that the Ngwavuma Magisterial District within which Ndumo is located, lagged far behind the rest of the province in terms of socio-economic development. The illiteracy rate was a horrifying 62.3% in 1990 (DBSA, 1991) - by far the highest in the province. Likewise the dependency ratio was amongst the highest in the province with an average of 5.6 dependents per wage-earner. In 1987 research indicated that the unemployment rate was 52% for men and 89% for women (AFRA, 1990b). Linked with a high population growth rate of over 2%, it is clear that by the early 1990s Maputaland was rapidly losing its ability to support its population and the levels of poverty were increasing.

Further, there was little investment in economic development in Maputaland. Commercial forestry has been successful in places, however the products are not processed locally and there is therefore considerable financial leakage from Maputaland. Commercial forestry has also proved to be a poor generator of employment opportunities. In addition, the sugar farming irrigation scheme of the Makhatini Flats has had limited success in generating economic growth (A'Bear, nd) and attempts at tobacco and rice cropping have failed.

Apartheid policies of separate development ensured that infrastructure such as roads, railways and telecommunication bypassed the black homelands, including Maputaland (AFRA, 1990b). There was little investment or economic activity in the area (A'Bear *et al*, 1996). However South Africa's mining and manufacturing sectors exploited the homelands as 'labour pools' resulting in migration from the rural areas to the urban areas (AFRA, 1990b). As a consequence the area not only suffered from a lack of development and investment, it also suffered a loss of economically active people. Rural homeland areas in South Africa become 'impoverished and dependent on resources from outside the area for survival. In this way ... regions such as Maputaland, which started off as undeveloped, became underdeveloped by industrial capital' (AFRA, 1990b, p50).

This 'legacy of underdevelopment' (IPS, 1994, p1) created a situation where the people of Maputaland has continued to be reliant on natural resources to meet their basic needs. Historically their livelihoods and food security had been sustained through natural resource harvesting and subsistence agricultural practices (Mountain, 1990; IPS, 1994). However the growing population, the lack of development investment and the change of land use to preservationist conservation and commercial forestry in some areas, placed increasing pressure on the natural resources.

It is not surprising therefore that local people began to look at the resource rich conservation areas to meet their growing needs<sup>4</sup>. This resulted in growing tension between the conservation agency and reserve neighbours throughout the 1980s and 1990s

Mountain eloquently (1990, p3) sums up the situation in Maputaland at the close of the 1980s;-

Maputaland ... has one of the most interesting, valuable and diverse biotas in southern Africa. But this natural heritage is subject to unprecedented pressures from a rapidly growing population and consequent reduction in available resources, from changing expectations, aspirations and values and from the vicissitudes of poverty that inherently follow these changing circumstances. Maputaland is a vivid example of an area that is steadily losing its ability to support an adequate standard of living for its inhabitants.

The dilemma facing Maputaland has consistently drawn the attention of a range of Non-government Organisations (NGOs) and other development agents. The following section briefly outlines the work of these development agents.

#### 6.2.5 The work of development agents in Maputaland

A'Bear *et al* 1996 claim that communities in Maputaland were hamstrung in their attempts to initiate community development because of harassment by the authorities, extremely

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<sup>4</sup> Refer to Table 3, Chapter 5 for an explanation of the discrepancy between the situation inside and outside of protected areas in South Africa.

limited access to resources and limited expertise and experience of managing their own affairs. The Apartheid government had effectively ensured that black people remained dependent and institutionally weak. One of the ways in which locally driven development could proceed was for non government organisations (NGOs) to act as intermediaries on behalf of communities. The Maputaland environment is particularly characterised by the interventions of NGOs and other development agents in the region.

A number of projects and programmes have been initiated by NGOs, Universities and other development agencies in Maputaland, these include *inter alia*:-

- a great deal of environmental and agricultural research, initially sponsored by the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research (Breen, 1989);
- the Maputaland Integrated Rural Development Programme, initiated in 1989 by the Institute of Natural Resources acting as development agents for Siyazisiza Trust. The original goals were;
  - i) To stimulate sustainable development on a regional basis;
  - ii) To equip the people of Maputaland to participate in and direct the development process; and
  - iii) To facilitate the emergence of urban and rural centres which could service the needs of the inhabitants of Maputaland Component parts – small urban centre sub-projects<sup>5</sup> and a networking sub-project (A'Bear, *et al*, 1996);
- the work of CORD, including the Mboza Village Project (a small scale economic enterprise project based a Mboza village) and the Resource Planning and Development Programme among the Kosi South communities (CORD, 1990, 1991); and

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These included the Mbazwane small urban centre (incorporating Thembalihle Early Learning Centre, Mbazwane Resource and Training Centre, Community Gardens and Mbazwane Water Scheme); other small urban centres; cattle projects and Methane Gas Digesters and Stoves.

- the advocacy work undertaken by AFRA in response to evictions from proclaimed conservation areas (AFRA, 1990a and 1990b).

To a large extent these interventions appear to have been based upon an understanding of the local political economy. In particular the work of CORD and AFRA criticised local power relationships and their influences on development and spatial organisation within Maputaland (AFRA, 1990b).

Programmes have also been initiated by a variety of government departments, including for example;-

- the Department of Economic Affairs (KwaZulu Government); Structure Plan prepared by VARA (1986) upon which the KwaZulu Government's White Paper on Maputaland was based;
- the 1999 Rural Service Centre Project Based at Mbazwane and initiated by the Provincial Department of Local Government and Housing; and
- the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative - an ambitious development project supported by the governments of Swaziland, Mozambique and South Africa to generate economic growth in the Maputaland area (LSDI, 1999).

Considering the amount of work and research done by development agents, it should not be surprising that local people expressed frustration at 'talk' (personal observation). "People come here and talk" stated one community member at Ndumu in 1995, expressing his perception that promises are made and not fulfilled. During the course of this research on conservation development in Maputaland it was noted that such 'development agent fatigue' or 'research fatigue' was strong amongst some local people. This jaded attitude towards proposed developments has an impact on development projects in two ways. Firstly, there appears to be an inherent lack of trust for development agents and/or consultants. A number of community members reflected with resignation that consultants or researchers came to see them 'but then they left and we did not see them again'

(personal communication, 1995). According to the consultant who worked with the KDNC during the 1990s, this meant that both the initial stages of a development project and the delivery phase were critical in reassuring local partners of the commitment of the development agent.

The second impact of 'development fatigue' was a perception of apathy on the part of local people, as perceived by development agents and conservation agency officials. The conservation agency officials interpreted this as a lack of interest and commitment (personal communication; 1996), while the local people themselves were saying that all they saw were empty promises and little action.

### 6.3 SUMMARY

By the 1980s the sub-region was experiencing rising levels of population, unemployment and concomitant poverty. The consequence was been "an increase in environmental, social and political tensions" (IPS, 1994, p10). These tensions are a result of the interplay between the biophysical environment, the political economy of the state and local socio-economic processes, all of which also impacted on the policy and practise of conservation in the region. In the special report on conservation and removals in Maputaland, AFRA (1990b, p53) sums up the situation;-

The poverty levels of the people of Maputaland are the product of complex environmental, economic and political factors... the political economy which dominates the region can be restructured. Conservationists and development planners will have to tackle all these factors if they wish to preserve and develop the region to its full capacity.

Table 6 summarises the inter-relationships and impacts of these complex factors. The following chapters examine the need for and attempts to, restructure Maputaland's conservation-development dynamic.

**Table 6: Summary of the impact of the political economy, place and process**

	POLITICAL ECONOMY	PLACE	PROCESSES (socio-economic):
<b>POLITICAL ECONOMY</b>		<i>Impact of the political economy on place:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Nagana Campaign</li> <li>- Colonists create an artificial border between South Africa and Mozambique</li> <li>- Development of Pongolapoort Dam</li> <li>- Lack of capital investment</li> <li>- Lack of infrastructure</li> </ul>	<i>Impact of the political economy on processes in Maputaland:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Administration of Northern Maputaland vested in the KwaZulu National State (1976) then the KwaZulu Government (1986) as part of the Apartheid governments separate development strategy</li> <li>- Separate development resulted in low levels of socio-economic development compared to the rest of South Africa.</li> </ul>
<b>PLACE</b>	<i>Impact of place on the political economy:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Large scale colonisation effectively prevented by the inaccessibility of the area. This in turn resulted in the Apartheid government showing little interest in retaining jurisdiction.</li> </ul>		<i>Impact of place on processes in Maputaland:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Place specific 'defence systems' contribute to the isolation of Maputaland from mainstream processes.</li> </ul>
<b>PROCESS</b>	<i>Impact of process on the political economy:-</i> Development Agents act as community advocates in quest for developmental and political change.	<i>Impact of process on place:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Poor socio-economic conditions result in ongoing reliance on natural resources for livelihood and food security. Results in resource depletion</li> </ul>	

## CHAPTER SEVEN: A BRIEF HISTORY OF CONSERVATION IN MAPUTALAND

South Africa has a long history of apartheid-based authoritarian conservation. Successive governments have done much to protect wilderness areas and rare species of plants and animals, but often at the expense of human rights and dignity

(Cock, 1991, p13)

The people of Maputaland have generally experienced conservation as a highly politicised form of state-intervention

(AFRA, 1990 p5)

### **Chapter Summary:**

*Chapter Seven outlines the history of conservation policy and practice in Maputaland prior to 1990. During the Twentieth Century, conservation in Maputaland was characterised by the establishment of a number of protected areas or “reserves”. The establishment of these reserves was based on the preservationist paradigm of conservation, influenced by the prevailing political economy. This resulted in a patchwork of conservation areas - to a large extent separated physically, socially and economically from the surrounding communities. Conservation practice therefore impacted physically on the place ‘Maputaland’ as well as on the socio-economic processes within the region. In turn, conservation practices were influenced by the place and by local and national processes. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the urgent need for change in conservation policy and practice during the late 1980s.*

### 7.1 CONSERVATION DURING THE COLONIST PHASE IN MAPUTALAND

Table 7 summarises the historical interactions and growing tensions between local communities and conservation in Maputaland, 1848 - 1990.

Conservation during colonialism was characterised by exploration and discovery, identification and categorisation (Chapter 3). The vast herds of game to be found in Maputaland attracted hunters and adventurers from all over the world (Mountain, 1990). In 1840 the first elephant hunting business was established in Maputaland. Hunters who managed to penetrate the region's natural defence systems of malaria and

sleeping sickness made a fortune from the sale of ivory, hunted along the Pongolo and Suthu rivers (*ibid*). Due to the growing demand for animal skins and ivory from European markets, colonial settlers in Natal found hunting and trading to be more lucrative than farming (AFRA, 1990b, Mountain, 1990). The exploitation of colonial resources for financial gain demonstrates the colonialist interpretation of the environment in terms of its economic utility. A few years after the advent of hunting, George French Agnes, a naturalist, hunter and artist, visited the area and shot the first nyala known to science. However, it was not until 1896 when Frederick Courtney Selous visited the Ndumo area that the first Nyala specimens were collected for a museum. They were shipped to the British Museum where they formed part of the growing collection from colonies all over the world.

Both Angus and Selous worked within the genre of Regionalism and were preoccupied with the identification, documentation and description of the region and its fauna. There were other hunters and naturalists active in Maputaland during the 1800s. John Dunn's activities, for example, lead to the killing of over one thousand each of hippopotami and buffalo, as well as several hundred elephants (Ballard, 1981). W.H. Drummond showed a greater regard for the recording and documenting of the fauna of the region. He was the author of a comprehensive account of the game that existed in Maputaland prior to 1875. His book *The Large Game and Natural History of South and South-East Africa* (1875) records the variety and quantity of game found during his exploration of the region. For example, the *Herald Cutter* reportedly sailed from Delagoa Bay (Maputo) in 1856 with 2500 lbs of rhinoceros horn and 1800 lbs of ivory on board. This represents the large scale of colonial exploitation of natural resources (Drummond, 1875).

As indicated in Chapter Six, this early colonial recognition of the unique fauna of the area did not prevent the large scale slaughter of game in an attempt to rid Maputaland of the tsetse fly. This fly causes Nagana sleeping sickness in humans and is lethal to cattle (Mountain, 1990). Its existence in Maputaland had effectively prevented earlier colonial settlement in the area. It was argued that if the game animals were eradicated the disease would cease to exist and Maputaland could then be opened up to colonial settlement in the area. A campaign to rid the area of the disease was instituted in 1917

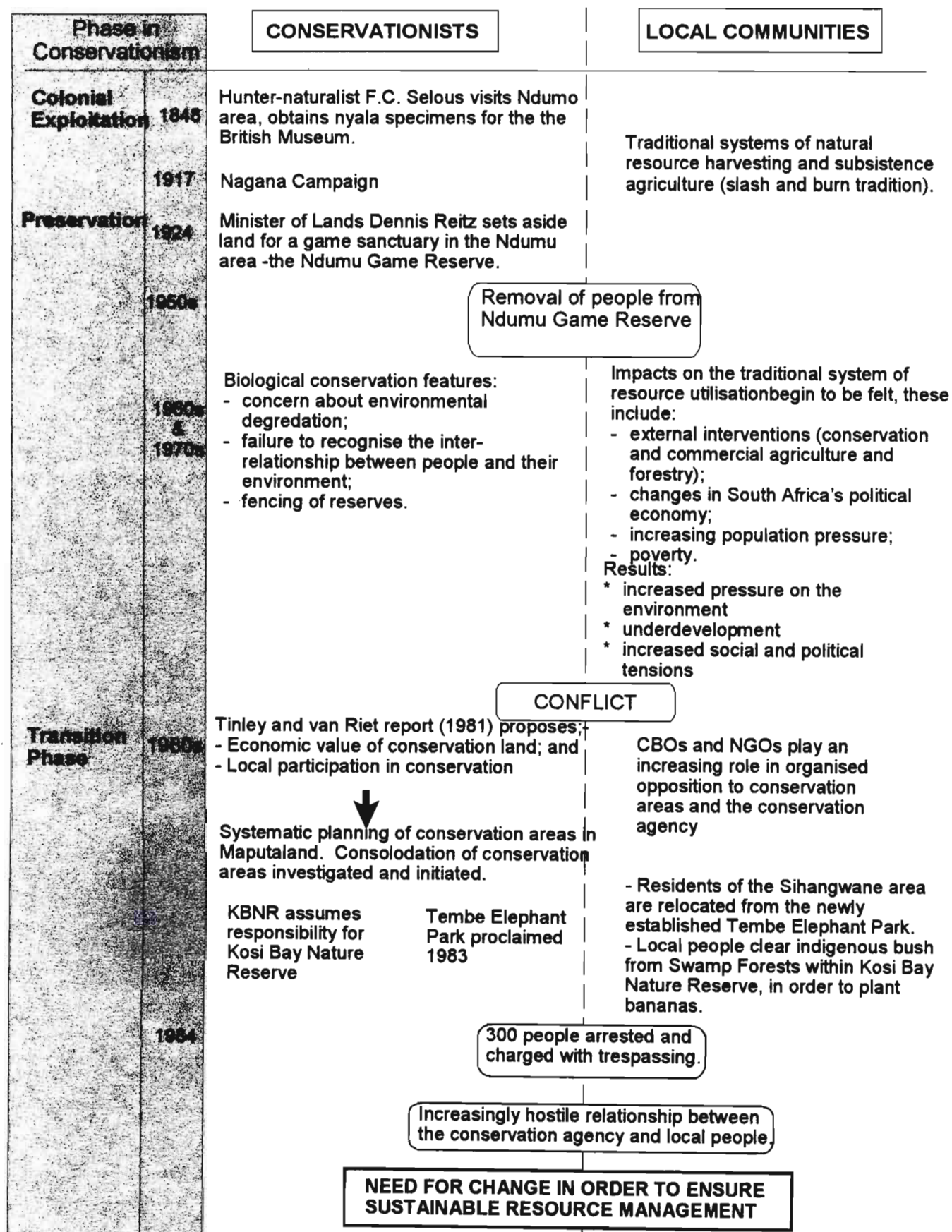
and 'thousands and thousands of animals were wantonly destroyed in the name of civilisation and progress' (Mountain, 1990, p15) .

Fortunately, a number of early 'preservationists' began to lobby against the destruction of wild animals (*ibid*, 1990). Amongst them was the Director of the Natal Museum who campaigned for a more rational and scientific approach to the problem of nagana. He was joined by Dr G. Campbell, the chairman of the Natal Wildlife Society from 1929 to 1941, who mobilised public opinion against the 'futility and sheer brutality' (Mountain, 1990, p16) of the nagana campaign. In the end a scientific solution was discovered to the problem when Dr J.S. Henkel identified that tsetse flies make use of restricted and permanent breeding sites. Aerial spraying of chemicals during late 1940s and early 1950s resulted in the virtual elimination of nagana from Maputaland. However, the use of chemicals proved to have a range of negative environmental impacts on ecosystems as a whole and they were later banned from aerial spraying.

This colonial attitude towards the environment, illustrated by the hunting expeditions and the nagana campaign, gave little consideration to the historic and indigenous patterns of natural resource use and management. Methods of subsistence agriculture and resource use were regarded as destructive and inferior to colonial land use (AFRA, 1990b). Colonial conservationists exploited the natural resources for their own gain with little understanding of the existing natural resource management, land tenure systems or organisational structure of the inhabitants of the land. Over the following century, this narrow minded approach was shown to have had detrimental effects on the long term existence and support of protected areas (MacKinnon, MacKinnon, Child and Thorsell, 1992). Local people did not understand preservationist conservation and viewed protected areas and conservation agencies with distrust. In general local people believed preservationist conservation had been imposed on them without consultation (CORD, 1989).

The demarcation of Ndumo game sanctuary in 1924 marked the beginning of preservationist conservation in Maputaland (Table 7). Today Ndumo and Mkuze reserves are the last sanctuaries of the herds of game which used to roam Maputaland. The following section records the impact of preservationist policies on Maputaland.

**TABLE 7: MAPUTALAND CONSERVATIONIST AND COMMUNITY INTERACTION PRIOR TO 1999**



## 7.2 PRESERVATIONIST CONSERVATION IN MAPUTALAND

Preservationist conservation has a long and contentious history in Maputaland. Since the proclamation of the first game sanctuary in 1924 until after the proclamation of Tembe Elephant Park almost 60 years later, conservation in the region has been characterised by:-

- the establishment of protected areas by the colonial and subsequent Apartheid governments;
- the relocation of resident people;
- top-down management practices;
- increasing discontinuity between the situation inside and outside of protected areas, and
- growing tension between the conservation agency and local people.

### 7.2.1 The proclamation of protected areas

Based on the positivist paradigm and working within preservationist conservation policies, several protected areas or 'game reserves' were proclaimed in Maputaland during the late 1800s and the 1900s. The spatial impact on the environment is clearly indicated by the patchwork of conservation 'islands' (von Riesen, 1991; Wells *et al*, 1992) in Maputaland (see Map 2). These protected areas include the following:-

- St Lucia Game Reserve, proclaimed in 1897;
- The Ndumo Game Reserve proclaimed in 1924;
- Mkuze Game Reserve proclaimed in 1925;
- St Lucia Park, proclaimed in 1939;
- Kosi Bay Nature Reserve, within the coastal lake zone parallel to the northern stretch of the Maputaland coast. This reserve was originally a 20ha area on the western shores of Kosi Bay (proclaimed 1950). It was managed by the Natal Parks Board until 1983 when the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources was established;
- Malangen Forest, south of Kosi Bay, proclaimed in 1950;

- Costal Forest Reserve, proclaimed in 1952 (later linked with the St Lucia Marine Reserve)
- St Lucia Marine Reserve, proclaimed in 1979. The Marine Reserve was later extended to almost the entire Maputaland coast;
- Tembe Elephant reserve proclaimed in 1983;
- Sileza Nature Reserve proclaimed in 1983; and
- The extension of the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve to include the whole of the Kosi system and the Malangen Forest in 1988.

The establishment of proclaimed conservation areas, based on the preservationist paradigm, had a fundamental impact on the Maputaland environment. Fences were erected where previously there had been free access to resources, people were relocated from within the conservation areas and traditional land use patterns were forced to change. These conservation 'islands' were effectively separated physically, socially and economically from surrounding communities. As indicated in Table 7 above, the proclamation of Ndumo Game Reserve resulted in the eviction of resident people. This contributed to increasing tension between local people and the conservation agency.

The interests of local people were to a large extent neglected in the pursuit of preservationist conservation (Cock, 1991; Von Riesen, 1991; Ashley, Barnes, and Healy, 1994,). The aim of conservation agencies and park managers was to keep local residents outside the park fence and the animals inside, rather than facilitate the development of a mutually beneficial relationship between the two. Moreover, in many cases, the way in which the Parks were created was authoritarian and top-down (Cock, 1991). As such local communities had little or no say in establishing parks. In some cases protected areas reduced the welfare of local people through lost access to land and productive natural resources or through losses suffered as a result of park animals damaging their crops or livestock (Grant, Mander and Sumner Curry, 1995). One community in Maputaland claimed to have lost their water supply which "was taken for use in the park" (personal communication, community member, 1995). In addition, roads, water and electricity were provided for parks but not for local communities.

Conservation thus came to symbolise loss of control over resources and was perceived as an élitist activity for the benefit of the white population only (Grant *et al*, 1995). A member of the Environmental Advisory Unit at the University of Cape Town (Fareida Kahn, quoted in Ramphela and McDowell, 1990, p61) captures the sentiments of those marginalised by such policies:-

If conservation means losing water rights, losing grazing and arable land and being dumped in a resettlement area without even the most rudimentary infrastructure, this can only promote a vigorous anti-conservation ideology among rural communities.

This 'anti-conservation ideology' was aggravated by the fact that most of the employment opportunities created by the Parks and Reserves were low-paying, servile positions, with very little transfer of skills or capacity building occurring (Grant, *et al*, 1995). In addition, the bulk of the economic benefits of game parks and nature reserves accrued to urban-based and largely white owned private enterprises or to central or regional government which limited local investment and spending. This process has historically undermined local people's motivation to conserve biodiversity and has created considerable suspicion and conflict around conservation (Kahn, 1990). It is not surprising therefore that one of the legacies of authoritarian conservation practices has been "the negative environmental perceptions and attitudes of many black people, ranging from apathy to hostility" (*ibid*, 1990, p36).

Conservation practices did not change significantly when the Bureau of Natural Resources was established by the KwaZulu Government in 1983 and charged with responsibility for protected areas in Maputaland. As stated in Chapter Three, the preservationist approach required an essentially 'militaristic defence strategy' (Machlis and Tichnell, 1985, p96 *in* Wells *et al*, 1992) and created considerable conflict over access to resources between conservationists and communities. This conflict in Maputaland was heightened by persistent allegations that the South African National Defence Force was conducting training exercises in conservation areas (personal communication, community member, 1995; Weekly Mail and Guardian, September 22, 1995; Weekly Mail and Guardian, January 31, 1997). This allegation was strongly

denied by the conservation agency, however in the minds of local people the allegations aligned the conservation agency with the powerful ruling class. Local people did not draw a distinction between conservation officials and security members. They were collectively referred to 'amarubbers' - those who wear army boots (Sunday Tribune, January 5, 1992). In the eyes of local people, the conservation officials defended the protected areas - they carried guns, patrolled fences and regulated human movement in the reserve. The similarities with Defence Force personnel defending the international border were thus drawn. In many instances they regarded the conservation agency with fear, leading to decreased levels of trust and greater polarisation between the parties. The history of removals from land in Maputaland contributed to this polarisation.

### 7.2.2 Removal of people from protected areas

There is a long history of forced removals in Maputaland. Research conducted by CORD during the 1980s indicated that one out of every three people in the region had been removed at least once during their lives (CORD, 1989). A number of these removals were associated with the proclamation of protected areas. The following table (Table 8) summarises the extent of removals in northern Maputaland<sup>1</sup> (based on AFRA, 1990a and 1990b);-

**Table 8: Summary of removals in Maputaland**

Date	Removed from	Reason	Number of people resettled
1924	Ndumo Game Reserve	Removed from proclaimed protective area for preservationist purposes (Category 1: Scientific Nature Reserve).	114 households (approximately 1140 people)

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<sup>1</sup> This summary includes removals that occurred north of Mkuze Game reserve and East of the Lebombo mountains (Northern Maputaland). It therefore excludes people removed from the St Lucia area. It should also be noted that many of the people currently living in Maputaland were resettled there from other areas of the former Natal. This occurred as part of the Apartheid government's separate development and group areas scheme.

1974	West of Kosi Bay	KwaZulu Department of Agriculture's development of a coconut project (later abandoned).	30 households (approximately 300 people)
1980	Makathini Irrigation Scheme	Declared state land in 1904. Agricultural scheme of 2600ha.	Estimated 5000 people
1983	Tembe Elephant Park	Proclamation of Game Reserve (Category 1: Scientific Nature Reserve)	32 homesteads (approximately 320 people)
1988-1990	Malangeni Forest Reserve	Category 1: Scientific Nature Reserve	52 (approximately 500 people)
1988	Kosi Bay Nature Reserve	Category 1: Scientific Nature Reserve	The KBNR stated that in 1990 there were a total of 242 families within the reserve (KBNR, 1990). It is unclear how many moved from the area. Currently families remain living within the boundary of Kosi Bay Nature Reserve.

As can be seen, the largest single removal of people was the result of a planned agricultural project not conservation. However, this does not excuse the evictions that occurred as the result of preservationist conservation nor lessen the hardships experienced. Removal of people from within protected areas has been the cause of a great deal of controversy and debate (see for example CORD, 1989; AFRA, 1990a; AFRA, 1990b; CORD, 1990; KBNR, 1990; Natal Mercury, May 30, 1990; CORD, 1991; Daily News March 10, 1992; Natal Mercury, May 18, 1992; Curruthers and Zaloumis, 1995 ).

The consequences of land dispossession were manifold for local communities (AFRA, 1990a, 1990b; CORD, 1990, 1991; IIED, 1994). Dispossession does not only mean physical eviction and deprivation from cultivation and grazing rights. It also includes the conversion of land to another use in which they have no part and the denial of access to land and its resources. Personal interviews and review of investigations

undertaken in the region, indicate that the impacts of land dispossession can be loosely divided into economic and social-cultural impacts.

a) *Economic Impacts of resettlement*

The primary economic impact has been the loss of access to the traditional natural resource base (personal communication, MCLC members, 1995; see also AFRA, 1990a, 1990b; CORD, 1990, 1991; Curruthers and Zaloumis, 1995 ). The loss of access to resources had a impact on the domestic income of households. Whereas households previously supplemented their income by harvesting resources from their environment, this become increasing difficult for many people who had been resettled. As a result there was a growing need for households to generate cash incomes.

Resettlement from historically occupied areas is not the sole reason for resource depletion. The population of Maputaland increased during the 1980s and 1990s, partly due to in-migration from Mozambique (IPS, 1991). In addition, high inflation and retrenchments in wider South Africa had a detrimental effect on those households who were dependent on a cash income from migrant wages (AFRA, 1990b). Increased pressure on the natural resource base has therefore not been solely due to resettlement, the wider political economy of southern Africa also impacted on the ability of households to sustain themselves. However, removal from protected areas has had several economic impacts on local people, discussed below.

■ **Loss of water resources**

Eviction from Ndumo Game Reserve during the 1950s and from Tembe Elephant Park in 1984, resulted in the loss of easily accessible water supplies (personal communication, MCLC members; AFRA, 1990b; Department of Land Affairs, 1998). People evicted from Ndumo Game Reserve settled in the Mbangweni Corridor between Ndumo and Tembe Elephant Reserve. This area has limited natural water resources (IPS, 1991), leading to considerable hardship for those people who resettled there. This was one of the primary motivations of the land claim for the east bank of the Pongola River, inside Ndumu Game Reserve (Department of Land Affairs, 1998).

## ■ Loss of productive land

People who were removed from proclaimed protected areas also experienced loss of productive land and cultivated fields. This included, for example, gardens in the swamp forests of Kosi Bay and cultivated land along the Pongola River. One woman who had to move from Tembe Elephant Park reported;-

We were moved [from Tembe] during the ploughing season and left cultivated fields as well as marula and uMnwebe trees<sup>2</sup> behind (Weekly Mail, 1988).

Frustration with the loss of productive land when Kosi Bay Nature reserve was fenced, led local people to cut the game fence and clear swamp forest in order to cultivate bananas in 1989. The conservation agency immediately had 300 people arrested for trespassing. This further soured relations between the two parties.

## ■ Loss of homesteads and building supplies

Many people also lost homesteads and building supplies when they were removed from proclaimed conservation areas. The comprehensive community research conducted by AFRA in the late 1980s<sup>3</sup> indicated that people did not feel that they had been adequately compensated for the loss of their homesteads (see also Mountain, 1990). The conservation agency claimed that compensation had been negotiated through a Compensation Committee and the Swamp Forest Committee (KBNR, 1990). According to the conservation agency, these committees had been established by the KwaZulu Government 'to resolve the land use issue in this part of the Tembe Tribal Ward' (*ibid*, 1990). The Compensation Committee was constituted of officials from the Department of Justice (the senior magistrate, who was also the chairperson), members of the tribal authority and members of the conservation agency. The document released by the

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<sup>2</sup> uMnwebe trees are harvested for wild fruit as a food supplement.

<sup>3</sup> AFRA [Association For Rural Advancement], 1990b, Maputaland Conservation and Removals, Special Report No 6, AFRA, South Africa.

conservation agency (KBNR, 1990) in response to the special report by AFRA on conservation and removals in Maputaland (AFRA, 1990b), stresses that the Committee was heavily weighted with tribal members.

Relying on the Tribal Authority as representatives of the community proved to be faulty reasoning by the conservation agency. Despite public statements that they would negotiate with local people and implement 'community orientated conservation policies' (Sunday Tribune, January 5, 1992; Daily News, March 10, 1992), communication with the tribal authority did not result in adequate negotiation. The problem seemed to lie in the lack of communication between the tribal structures and local people.

The research undertaken by Felgate in the 1960s indicates that the tribal authority system had been corrupted by the British colonial government (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, c1970). This is supported by the research undertaken by AFRA twenty years later. AFRA found that the 'Bureau's belief that it has consulted the community by working through the formal channels is in many instances misplaced' (AFRA, 1990b, p8). This is supported by personal observation. In a meeting held with the Mthenjwa Conservation Liaison Committee on 4 August 1994, members of the committee claimed to be ignorant of the annual 25 percent of reserve revenue paid to the Tribal Authority (see also 9.2.2). This indicated that communication between the Tribal Authority and its constituents was very poor. In order to adequately communicate with local people, the conservation agency needed to consult more broadly.

■ Loss of access to firewood for domestic fuel purposes.

The apparent reduction in available fuel wood was a complaint heard from people in the Ndumo area. Women stated that they had to travel further from home to locate fuel wood supplies. This was taking increasing amounts of time and energy out of their day. They were feeling increasing resentment against nearby protected areas, which they perceived as well resourced with firewood and from which they had been evicted (personal communication, community members, 1997).

■ Loss of access to indigenous, natural food resources

The loss of food resources was a commonly heard issue from people removed from protected areas. Felgate's research in the 1960s in Maputaland (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, c1970) revealed that a 'striking feature of Thonga [sic] subsistence activity is that food-collecting and agriculture play an equally important part in the Thonga subsistence economy. Thonga cannot be described as purely agriculturalists' (p45). This was supported by CORD's research in the 1980s that found the nutrition status of Maputaland people to be higher than in most rural areas (Sunday Times, January 5, 1992). This could be attributed to the variety and quantity of natural resources harvested by local people for domestic use.

Removal from Ndumo Game Reserve in the 1960s deprived people of access to fish in the pans, wild food resources and traditional medicinal plants (personal communication, MCLC member, 1996). For example, members of the Mathenjwa Conservation Liaison Committee (MCLC) felt strongly about the loss of traditional fishing rights in the pans located in Ndumo Game Reserve (MCLC meeting, August 4, 1994).

b) *Social and cultural impacts of resettlement*

Relocated people experience 'cultural dislocation, widespread suffering ... from the ... instances of dispossession and forced removals ...in order to protect wildlife and their habitat' (F. Kahn, writing for the Weekly Mail and Guardian, November 7, 1997). Land dispossession hits the hearts and souls of relocated people. Removal from protected areas frequently results in the loss of traditional ways of life and relationships with land (IIED, 1994). For example, access to traditional burial grounds was lost when people were forced to move from Ndumo Game Reserve. This is reflected in a statement by one of the resettled people, recorded by AFRA (1990b, p33);-

We are not happy that our place was given to the elephants. I feel sore that the elephants are there at the place of our ancestors.

The importance of ancestral graves in the culture of local residents, was not considered

when the conservation areas were fenced<sup>4</sup>. This is a further example of the 'geographical violence' imposed on Maputaland. Preservationist conservation ignored the culturally significant spaces of local people and imposed a spatial pattern of its own making and for its own particular purpose, on the land. In doing so, the long established indigenous land management systems were also damaged (CORD, quoted the Sunday Tribune, January 5, 1992). It could be argued for example, that the forced movement of cattle from traditional grazing areas, very often to less environmentally optimal areas outside of protected areas, contributed to environmental degradation (*ibid*).

### 7.2.3 Increasing tensions

The history of land dispossession and loss of access to natural resources, coupled with the growing disparity between the situation inside and outside of the protected areas, lead to a great deal of tension between the conservation agency and the local people. This came to a head in 1990 with the publication of AFRA's Special Report on conservation and removals in Maputaland. The report was based on field work undertaken in the area during 1989. AFRA had received complaints from people living in the area about evictions and their treatment by the conservation agency (KBNR at that time). The research included numerous interviews with local people and stakeholders as well as extensive historical research.

Drawing on this report as well as on the work undertaken by CORD and interviews held with roleplayers, the following conclusions about conservation in Maputaland in 1990 are reached;-

- Rumours of resettlement due to conservation practices resulted in 'voluntary' relocation. The KBNR viewed such voluntary movement as support for their conservation policies (KBNR, 1990). However, AFRA (1990b, p19) pointed out that South Africa has a history of 'voluntary' relocations due to fears that they will be forcibly moved at some future date;-

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<sup>4</sup> More recently the conservation agency negotiated access to reserves for traditional cultural ceremonies (personal communication, conservation agency official, 1996)

Living in a state of uncertainty about when one is to be moved, is a devastating experience for communities: it destroys any individual or community organised development, and eventually forces individual homesteads to relocate themselves 'voluntarily' simply to find a more stable environment ... this has been a common cause of population relocations in Maputaland.

- People who had been resettled due to the activities of conservation felt a great sense of loss. They had also suffered materially and did not believe they had been adequately compensated.
- People experienced conservation as a 'highly politicised form of state intervention' (*ibid*, p5). This created a sense of powerlessness and a lack of trust in the conservation agency.
- The KBNR had made attempts to move towards a more enlightened conservation policy, however there were 'disturbing differences between declared policy and actual practice' (AFRA, 1990b, p45).
- Lack of co-ordination between development and conservation planning had a negative impact on Maputaland.
- Successful conservation would have to develop 'grass root' support.

The reaction of the KBNR to the AFRA research, is recorded in a response document 'Conservation in Maputaland: the facts' (1990) and in press reports (for example, Natal Mercury, May 18, 1992; Sunday Tribune, January 5, 1992). This reaction highlights several issues. Firstly, the KBNR stated that they had provided 'ample' warning to people who were damaging Swamp Forests in proclaimed conservation areas, however all attempts to 'appeal for a halt to the destruction were simply ignored' (KBNR, 1990). The conservation agency was in no doubt that if they had not prosecuted the farmers then the swamp forest would have been destroyed. Their motivation, they claimed, was the conservation of the fragile ecosystem from the threat of over-exploitation.

Secondly, the conservation authority stated they played no role in the selection of tribal members to the Compensation Committee nor to the Swamp Forest Committee. The fact is, however, that they had worked exclusively through the tribal authority structures. In doing so they failed to recognise that a community is not homogenous and may be

deeply divided in relation to power structures, access to and control of resources and opportunities (as indicated in Chapter Three).

The conservation agency could see no fault with this process. This in itself indicated their support for the prevailing political economy and existing power relations.

The KBNR emphasised that many people continued to harvest natural resources in protected areas. This was undertaken in a sustainable manner, as determined by KBNR scientific staff. Resources harvested within protected areas included reeds, palms, fish, shellfish and medicinal plants. The Director believed that the Bureau had been misrepresented and misunderstood. He also believed that this constituted a 'calculated political strategy to destabilise KwaZulu' (Sunday Tribune, January 5, 1992). In other words, the political nature of conservation in Maputaland was implicitly recognised by the leadership of the conservation agency. The conservation agency was an arm of the KwaZulu government, which in itself was a construct of the Apartheid government and Traditional Authority structures - not a democratically elected institution. As such the inequalities and power struggles of the wider political economy were playing themselves out in the sphere of conservation (discussed further in relation to the MCLC in section 9.3, below).

This did not appear to be an auspicious time in the history of conservation in Maputaland to launch a consolidation plan for conservation areas. However in the late 1980s the conservation agency began to investigate the consolidation of protected areas in Maputaland.

#### 7.2.4 Consolidation Plans

Conservation consolidation plans were based on the work undertaken by Tinley and van Riet (1981) who proposed an economic value to conservation and suggested the need for community participation in conservation. The objective of the proposed consolidation plan was to ensure that representative areas of the ecological zones were conserved, and that species could freely move between the areas. The Director of the conservation agency also believed passionately that such a park would ensure the 'economic and environmental salvation' of Maputaland (Natal Mercury, May 18,

1992). He was quoted as saying;-

Because of the rapid depletion of natural resources ... managed resource utilisation involving the full participation of the local people will prove to be the most effective buffer against poverty in the future.

The Director thus had a vision of local people supporting the consolidation of conservation areas, based on the premise that this would result in economic growth in the region. In order to achieve this, the conservation agency proposed that the following areas be consolidated (KBNR, nd);-

- A proposed community owned conservation area in the Suthu gorge west of Ndumo;
- The proposed Ndumo and Tembe complex, incorporating the land between the two reserves known as the Mbangweni Corridor;
- A potential biosphere reserve between Tembe Elephant Park and Kosi Bay Nature Reserve; and
- Areas adjacent to the Coastal Forest Reserve and Lake Sibiya.

In order to link Tembe and Ndumo the conservation agency proposed to 'acquire' the 4500ha Mbangweni Corridor between the two protected areas. This corridor links the Pongola ecological zone to the Sand Forest Zone in the Tembe Elephant Park. The Tembe Elephant Park is very dry and large areas are unavailable for grazing during the dry season. Inclusion of this zone into the protected areas would allow the movement of game between the ecological zones and would ensure the even distribution of game through different habitats. It would however also mean that people living in the area would have to be relocated.

This proposal caused an outcry when it was first publicly mooted in 1990. The conservation agency realised that if protected areas were to survive intact in Maputaland there would have to be fundamental changes to the way they were operating in the area. For this reason there was a move towards consolidating their policy and implementing integrated conservation development projects during the 1990s.

**Table 9: The impact of the political economy and socio-economic processes on conservation policy and practice.**

	CONSERVATION POLICY	CONSERVATION PRACTICE
<b>POLITICAL ECONOMY</b>	<i>Impact of the political economy on conservation policy:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Preservationist conservation</li> <li>- Policy of restricted access to protected areas for black South Africans</li> </ul>	<i>Impact of the political economy on conservation practice:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Establishment of Protected areas.</li> <li>- KBNR assumes responsibility for protected areas on behalf of the KwaZulu Government.</li> <li>- Attempts by the conservation authority to improve communication with local people through the Tribal Authority structure fail.</li> </ul>
<b>PLACE</b>	<i>Impact of place on conservation policy:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Ecologically unique area in southern Africa - attracting environmentalists and conservation plans since the late 1800s</li> </ul>	<i>Impact of place on the practice of conservation:</i> <p>Attempts to preserve examples of all ecological zones in Maputaland; proposals to consolidate protected areas</p>
<b>PROCESS</b> (socio-economic)	<i>Impact of process on conservation policy:</i> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Need to adapt conservation policy to local socio-economic needs and resource demands.</li> </ul>	<i>Impact of process on conservation practice:</i> <p>Growing tension between the conservation agency and reserve neighbours.</p> <p>Practice of conservation needed to take account of the poverty and resource needs of local people.</p>

## CHAPTER EIGHT: CONSERVATION POLICY IN MAPUTALAND: THE 1990s PARADIGM

The [KwaZulu] Department of Nature Conservation decided, however, to extend its policies beyond the conventional and create a model that would strengthen the conservation effort ...

Pollock, 1995, p49

### **Chapter Summary:**

*The previous chapter indicates the extent of tensions between the conservation agency and local people. Chapter Eight describes the policy of the conservation agency in Maputaland that emerged during the 1990s. This policy does not seem to be recorded in a single document. Therefore, several different sources were used to identify and understand the framework within which the KBNR began to practice in the 1990s. The components of the policy are identified and the parallels with Integrated Conservation Development Projects (ICDPs) are highlighted. This provides the framework for the analysis of the case study in the following chapter.*

### **8.1 POLICY RECORDS**

The operational policy of the conservation agency in the former KwaZulu areas (the KBNR, later the KDNC) does not appear to be contained within a single policy document. This is supported by Davion (1995) who identified, for example, that the extension programme of the KDNC was not carried out under any unified policy other than the original KBNR mission statement. As such, several different sources were used to identify and analyse the policy guiding the activities of the conservation agency during the 1990s. Two undated internal documents, namely 'Conservation and Tourism: the 1990s and beyond' and 'The Environmental Policy Statement' provide the basis of an understanding of KBNR/ KDNC policy. Further information on the policy has been obtained from the following sources;-

- interviews with key officials and stakeholders;
- proceedings of national and international conferences;

- additional internal documentation;
- official newsletters; and
- press statements.

Collectively, this information facilitates an understanding of the policy of the conservation agency. The use of these sources enables an understanding of the policy as viewed by the policy makers themselves. There is a danger however, that the use of primary and "in-house" conservation agency sources and public statements, reveals a biased and partisan view of the policy. It is felt that this is a necessary process as it allows an understanding of the policy vision of the conservation authority itself. The application of this policy in Maputaland must then be analysed to assess whether it held true in practice and whether the outcomes reflected the policy statements (Chapter Nine).

## 8.2 KBNR POLICY

The KBNR defined itself in 1990 as 'a modern 3rd [sic] World conservation body with a realistic natural resources utilization policy' (KBNR, 1990, p16). This policy, they claimed, would ensure the conservation of KwaZulu's pristine areas while guaranteeing the 'rural advancement of its economically deprived people' (*ibid*, p16). In his opening address to the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources' Eighth Annual Conservation Week held in 1990, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu said (Buthelezi, 1990, p1):-

... the BNR's (sic) most challenging task is to reconcile it's conservation policy with the daily needs of the people. In this sense it has opted for a low profile law enforcement strategy and a maximum consensus strategy. In the current political climate this is not easy for a conservation organisation, because central to its policy is the need to conserve those areas of the highest conservation value for current and future generations.

This statement showed the KBNR's recognition that, firstly, the continued conservation of protected areas was linked to the livelihoods ('daily needs') of local people. Secondly, the statement recognises the need for clear and unambiguous

communication and agreement between all parties involved ('maximum consensus strategy'). Finally, the Chief Minister made it clear that the conservation agency's core business was the preservation of 'areas of the highest conservation value'. These three issues continued to dominate the policy of the KBNR/KDNC for the remainder of its tenure as the conservation agency in KwaZulu.

The policy was clearly influenced by the principles of sustainable development. This is indicated in the KBNR/KDNC Mission Statement (see Chapter One) and in the Environmental Policy Statement (KDNC, nd). The Mission Statement pledges to '...make environmental integrity directly beneficial to the widest possible range of people ... through a management programme which ... allows for the wise and sustainable use of the resources of that environment'. The Environmental Policy Statement (KDNC, nd, p2) echoes this in its stated objective;-

... [the promotion of] 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.

This Policy Statement identified the most important issue in framing the policy of KBNR (the conservation agency) was the 'Third World context' within which it found itself. It stated that the historical deprivation of the people living in the KwaZulu homeland resulted in widespread reliance on local natural resources for survival. The Mission Statement also recognises this '...fundamental interaction of people, resources and the environment'.

In an interview in 1995, the KDNC Secretary stated that the KDNC acknowledged the inalienable connection of people to the land (Davion, 1995). This included their historical rights to proclaimed conservation areas. He said that since the inception of the conservation agency it had sought to achieve three main objectives, namely;-

- Redress of the colonial conservation legacy that separated people and conservation;

- To enable communities to benefit from protected areas; and
- The improvement of relations between communities and protected area management (Davion, 1995, p55).

The KBNR's conservation philosophy was summarised by the Chief Minister of KwaZulu as 'The ABC of conservation' (Mountain, 1990, p115). The 'A' stood for 'alternatives'. This was based on the KBNR's belief that developing societies place stress on the environment. Thus, they reasoned that the provision of alternatives would reduce stress on the physical environment and thereby limit environmental degradation. For example, the provision of a woodlot would reduce the stress placed on indigenous forests.

The 'B' represented the 'bottom line'. The Chief Minister said that conservation could not be divorced from the culture and economy of the region in which it practised. As such, if the requirements of conservation result in changes to lifestyle and culture, there should be 'tangible and sustainable benefits accruing to the communities involved' (Mountain, 1990, p116). In other words there should be a profit for people if they are going to support conservation practices and make the required changes. Finally, the 'C' stood for 'communication'. The KBNR held that the benefits of conservation must be communicated clearly and unequivocally. In other words they believed that conservation programmes would be likely to fail without clear communication about the programme's objectives and actions. Further, they recognised that people should stand to gain something before their co-operation and support could be elicited.

To reach these objectives, the conservation agency developed a 'working policy'. This working policy was spelt out in the first issue of the KBNR Newsletter, Isigijima (1992, p4). The article indicated the Bureau's recognition that in drafting a conservation policy for KwaZulu there was a need to recognise local reliance on natural resources;-

Most of KwaZulu's people live in rural areas, depending on nature to provide them with the food and raw materials used in their day-to-day life. To proclaim nature and game reserves and shut local people out of them could not be

considered. KwaZulu's situation called for a whole new approach to conservation ... reserves and conservation areas had to benefit the local communities ... What developed from this is a unique conservation policy which is becoming known as a "policy of sharing".

In practice this policy of sharing had two main components or actions (KBNR, nd: Conservation and tourism: the 1990s and beyond). Firstly, reserve neighbours were allowed to harvest natural resources within the reserves in a controlled and sustainable manner (defined by the conservation agency's scientific staff). This included the harvesting of reeds, firewood, traditional medicinal plants, fish and other resources for domestic and retail use.

The second component of the KBNR 'policy of sharing' was the sharing of revenue from protected areas. According to the KwaZulu Conservation Act (No 8 of 1975), 25 percent of gross protected area revenue was given to the local tribal authority in whose Ward the protected area was situated. The intention was for the money to be used for social upliftment (see also, Echo, September 28, 1989). In other words, direct financial and material benefits from reserves would accrue to local people<sup>1</sup>.

The Director of the KBNR described this as a "utilitarian approach" (Daily News, March 10, 1992). The aim of this approach was to 'ensure that local people directly benefit from use of natural resources where the key to sustainability lies in on-going management' (*ibid*). This was based on an anthropocentric interpretation of the environment as a provider of life support, resources, healthy surroundings and aesthetic satisfaction. As stated in Chapter Two, anthropocentric views are often associated with the premise that '...environmental problems can be solved by resource management, the judicious use of natural resources so that they can provide maximum benefit for humankind' (Bayless-Smith and Owens, 1994, p114). This perspective assumes a use value of the environment and is a fundamental principle of the policy adopted by the conservation agency in the 1990s.

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<sup>1</sup> For example, at the close of the 1998/1999 financial year R213 253 was paid to the Tembe and Matherenjwa Tribal Authorities.

The conservation agency's policy contained an inherent dichotomy. While the anthropocentric approach was publicly mooted as its conservation policy, it was formulated by individuals who held strong bioethical beliefs about the environment. Bioethical approaches articulate an environmental 'existence value' which holds that the 'non-human' world has interests and moral significance quite independent of its social utility' (Bayless-Smith and Owens, 1994, p115). The Director of the conservation agency during the 1980s and 1990s showed bioethical roots to his thinking and approach to conservation. This was a long held belief, in 1968 he had dedicated his book *Game Ranger on Horseback* to the Wilderness Leadership School 'in the hope that all who pass through it will understand that without wild country the World would be a poorer place' (Steele, 1968). During an interview in 1995 the Director discussed his belief that wilderness and the wilderness experience are important to both the developing psyches of individuals and to the nation as a whole (personal communication, 1995).

It would appear therefore that the policy adopted by the conservation agency in the 1990s was a pragmatic response to the tensions and perceived threats of the previous decade. By the mid 1990s the 'policy of sharing' was extended to include a 'farsighted ecotourism strategy ... an ecotourism development initiative' (Pollock, 1995, p49). The KDNC presented an 'African model of ecotourism development' at the IUCN Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas African Regional Working Session, held at Kruger National Park during October 1994. This model was based on three-way partnerships between the conservation agency, private developers and the 'local community' (Pollock, 1995). The partnership included joint ownership and sharing of profits. The KDNC stated that such development would achieve the following benefits:-

- fostering a sense of ownership and accountability for the environment among communities;
- involvement beyond resource harvesting and job creation;
- improved communication between reserve managers and local communities;

- stimulation of secondary entrepreneurial opportunities; and
- capacity-building and empowerment of people through the ability to participate in local decision-making processes (*ibid*, p51).

Achieving these benefits was essential to fulfilling their vision. In the long term the KDNC planned to transfer all existing ecotourism facilities into joint venture partnerships with the local community and the private sector. In addition it was envisaged that all secondary service facilities associated with the hospitality industry should become the responsibility of local people. Examples provided at the Working Session included field guiding, safari operations, laundry service, airport shuttle service and garden service (*ibid*, p52).

This vision had been clearly articulated in the Mission Statement;-

...recognising the link between rural poverty and environmental degradation the Bureau will support and encourage environmentally appropriate socio-economic development (KBNR, nd).

In conclusion, the KDNC believed that it had developed an 'ecotourism model based on the needs of host communities living in association with protected areas ... it provides the African solution to sustainable conservation' (*ibid*, p52). The conservation agency thus presented an ideal for conservation in KwaZulu. However, the test of this policy lay in the implementation of integrated conservation development projects.

### 8.3 PARALLELS WITH ICDPs

Drawing on the above, the policy of the conservation agency can be summarised into four main components. These include the following;-

- the conservation of natural resources and the maintenance of 'environmental integrity';

- the fostering of sustainable development;
- communication between the conservation agency and local people; and
- community participation in conservation initiatives.

Parallels between this policy and the 'objectives' of ICDPs can be identified. As indicated in Chapter Three, the objectives of ICDPs include the following;-

- conservation of biodiversity;
- promotion of social and economic development among communities adjacent to protected area boundaries;
- attempts to improve people-park communications through educational campaigns and other means; and
- participation and empowerment of local people through joint involvement in project design and implementation (Wells *et al*, 1992).

The projects associated with Ndumo Game Reserve during the late 1980s and 1990s share many of these characteristics. Table 10, below, summarises the parallels between ICDP objectives, the policy of the conservation agency and associated examples from the Ndumo case study.

**Table 10: Summary of the parallels between ICDPs, KDNC policy and associated examples.**

ICDP objectives (Wells et al, 1992)	Components of KDNC policy	Case Study Examples (Ndumo Game Reserve)
Conservation of biodiversity	The conservation of natural resources;	Core business of Ndumo Game Reserve
Promotion of social and economic development among communities adjacent to protected area boundaries	Fostering sustainable development initiatives;	- Revenue sharing - Ndumo Gate Caravan Park
Attempts to improve people-park communications through educational campaigns and other means	Communication between the conservation agency and local people	- Conservation Liaison Committee - Ndumo Environmental Education Centre
Participation and empowerment of local people through joint involvement in project design and implementation	Community participation in conservation initiatives.	Banzi Pan Lodge

The Director of the KBNR said in the first issue of *Isigijima* (1992, p3):-

All conservation efforts are doomed to fail if there are not tangible benefits for the people involved. This is especially true in a Third World situation such as ours. We believe that our policy of sharing will continue into the future because it was developed with people in mind.

The implementation of this policy, however, proved to be challenging and controversial, as illustrated by the Ndumo case study in the following chapter.

## CHAPTER NINE: POLICY IN PRACTICE IN MAPUTALAND SINCE 1980: THE EXPERIENCE OF NDUMO GAME RESERVE

Maputaland represents a microcosm of the great dilemma that faces the new South Africa. It has one of the most interesting and diverse biotas in southern Africa. But this natural heritage is subject to unprecedented pressures ...

Mountain, 1990

My father's grave is right here in the reserve. As we talk, a buffalo is standing on top of it.

Community member, 4 August 1994

### Chapter Summary

*Chapter Nine analyses the attempts made by the conservation authority to implement Integrated Conservation Development in Maputaland during the 1990s, with particular reference to the experiences of Ndumo Game Reserve. The first objective of ICDPs is the conservation of biodiversity, an objective that Ndumo Game Reserve has put into practice. Further examples of ICDPs associated with Ndumo Game Reserve are the Conservation Liaison Committees, Banzi Pan Lodge, the Ndumo Gate Caravan Park, and the Ndumo Environmental Education Centre. The outcome of these projects is assessed and lessons and recommendations are identified in the final chapter.*

### 9.1 CONSERVATION OF BIODIVERSITY

The first objective of ICDPs is the conservation of biodiversity. Ndumo Game Reserve (NGR) was proclaimed as a nature reserve in 1924 with the purpose of preserving examples of the fauna of the area. Today the primary objective of the reserve is to maintain biological diversity and representative examples of the undisturbed natural environment. It is categorised as a scientific reserve and wilderness area (Category I Protected Area) in terms of the IUCN categorisations.

Ndumo Game Reserve is situated at the confluence of the Suthu and Pongola floodplain systems on the South African/Mozambique border (Map 3). The Reserve covers a total area of 10 114ha and is characterised by two major semi-permanent floodplain pans (Banzi and Nyamithi) as well as many smaller ephemeral pans (South African Wetlands

Conservation Programme, 1996). The Reserve is home to a diversity of animal and bird species, many of which are classified on the IUCN Red List as threatened species<sup>1</sup>. For example, two Red List fish species and eleven Red List amphibians occur in the area (*ibid*). At least 415 bird species have been recorded in the reserve, of which 73 are rare. One of the reasons why Ndumo is so rich in birdlife is because of the variety of habitats that exist within the Reserve's boundaries (Mountain, 1990). These range from the aquatic environment of the pans and rivers to dry sand forest, riverine forest and sandveld. This creates a unique diversity of habitats which suits a multitude of bird and other species (South African Wetlands Conservation Programme, 1996). In addition, Ndumo represents the southern boundary of many tropical and east African bird species which do not occur elsewhere in South Africa (Mountain, 1990). For these reasons the Ndumu Game Reserve has been declared a wetland of international importance.

The conservation of biodiversity is thus a critical objective of the Reserve. When it was transferred from the Natal Parks Board to the KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources in 1988, the Chief Minister of KwaZulu identified the long term objective of NGR as being the continued protection of the area's 'integrity and wilderness atmosphere, while at the same time integrating it into the local economy' (Mountain, 1990, p40). One of the first mechanisms proposed for this integration was sharing of Reserve revenue with local people.

## 9.2 REVENUE SHARING

### 9.2.1 Policy

As part of the 'policy of sharing' the conservation agency committed itself to donating twenty-five percent of the Reserve's annual revenue to the Mathenjwa Tribal Authority,

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The Red List has for many years been compiled for IUCN by the World Conservation Monitoring Centre (WCMC). According to the WCMC web site, [www.wcmc.org.uk/species/animals/overview.html](http://www.wcmc.org.uk/species/animals/overview.html), the Red List provides taxonomic, conservation status and distribution information on species that have been evaluated using the new IUCN Red List Category System. This system is designed to determine relative risk of extinction, and the main purpose of the Red List is to catalogue the species that are regarded as threatened at global level, ie. at risk of overall extinction.

within whose tribal ward the Reserve is situated. This policy was legislated in the KwaZulu Conservation Act (No 8 of 1975). As indicated in Chapter Eight, the intention was for direct financial and material benefits from reserves to accrue to local people for development purposes.

### 9.2.2 Policy in practice

Unfortunately the policy encountered problems in practice. AFRA reported that people did not have any control over the way this money was spent by the Tribal Authority (AFRA, 1990b). It was claimed that the money was not used to meet needs that the community itself had identified. It also appears that many people living adjacent to NGR were not aware of the policy. At a meeting of the Mathenjwa Conservation Liaison Committee (MCLC), held on 4 August 1994, the KDNC officials stated that they would like to know how the money has been used and what progress had been made. A local teacher expressed disbelief at the policy as he had never heard of it before (personal observation, 1994). It was for this reason that AFRA (1990) had suggested that the conservation agency needed to find more effective methods or even alternative methods to the tribal authority system for the dispersal of revenue to the local community.

The conservation agency argued that they were 'obliged' to hand the money over to the tribal authority of that area (Natal Mercury, May 18, 1992). The role and jurisdiction of the tribal authorities was so firmly entrenched in the minds of the conservationists and the KwaZulu government structure, that they did not seem able to contemplate any other mechanism of facilitating development in the area. The KDNC subsequently decided to deliver the money to the tribal authorities at public meetings so that the community could witness the handovers. This would be accompanied by a public announcement of the amount of money handed over. The same procedure has been followed in the successful CAMPFIRE project in Zimbabwe (IIED, 1994).

The conservation agency's 'policy of sharing' twenty five percent of its revenue with local people was a sincere attempt to contribute to the development of the region. From this perspective it is in line with the ICDP policy of promoting social and economic development among communities adjacent to protected areas. However the mechanism

used to facilitate this ideal could not deliver real benefits to people on the ground. The fact that many people were unaware of the conservation agency's policy of sharing indicated that serious questions needed to be asked about the relationship between the tribal authority and local people. This required an understanding of the contribution of the political economy to local dynamics.

The responses to the tribal authority's role in receiving the community's share of the Reserve revenue, demonstrated the complex impact of the broader political economy on the local socio-political processes. As indicated in Chapter Seven, the British colonial government had manipulated the tribal authority system. This had been achieved through the appointment and support of people whom they had identified as loyal to the colonial power. Felgate's research (Centre for Applied Social Sciences, c1970, p153) indicates that;-

..political unity is only maintained ultimately because of European backing. Ngwanase and his followers were settled in Tongaland [Maputaland] by the British government [in 1897] in the face of bitter local opposition. This opposition has persisted through the years and would certainly become militant were it not for the continued European backing that the chief enjoys.

This 'European backing' was continued by the Apartheid government. As indicated in Chapter Six, the tribal areas were placed under the jurisdiction of the former KwaZulu-Nation State in 1976 and vested in the KwaZulu government by proclamation 232/1986. The Apartheid government had effectively established the KwaZulu government to administer the KwaZulu National State as part of the drive for separate development. They then abdicated responsibility for development in the homelands to 'independent' traditional leaders. The policy of establishing such quasi-independent homelands had the effect of legitimising the local tribal authority systems. These leaders were not democratically elected and wielded considerable authority over the people living within their area of jurisdiction. In effect Apartheid assisted in perpetuating the tribal authority system, which consequently gained greater political legitimacy as the representative of 'the people'.

The conservation agency was itself a product of this feature of the political economy. It was an agency of the KwaZulu government and as such was politically impelled to work through the tribal authorities. In a newspaper article in 1992, the Director of the KBNR stated that much of the criticism levelled at the conservation agency was from people who were aligned with 'separatist, republican leanings' (Sunday Tribune, January 5, 1992). He further stated that the 'attacks' constitute a 'calculated political strategy to destabilise KwaZulu' (*ibid*). The conservation agency thus supported and was supported by, the historical and contemporary political economy within which it functioned.

During the early 1990s, the conservation authority appeared to make little attempt to explore alternative ways of functioning. However, the idea of establishing conservation liaison committees was mooted in an attempt to improve communication with local communities. As indicated in the following section, the experience of these committees was haunted by the local history of conservation and by socio-economic and political dynamics that had played out over time.

### 9.3 CONSERVATION LIAISON COMMITTEES

#### 9.3.1 Establishment

As indicated in the previous chapter, the conservation agency realised that communication with local people had to improve if protected areas were to survive in Maputaland. There were high levels of bitterness following the proclamation of Kosi Bay Nature Reserve and Tembe Elephant Reserve, the resettlement of people from protected areas and the subsequent loss of resources. Constructive engagement and communication with local people thus became a priority of the conservation agency (KBNR, 1992). This was partly motivated by a wish to communicate 'the truth' about conservation and protected areas to local people (*ibid*).

The conservation agency first began to formally engage with community structures in 1991 and 1992 when a proposed joint project for the development and management of a small proclaimed area (Sileza Nature Reserve) in Maputaland was discussed. Discussions with a community based organisation, the Mputaland Development Organisation (MDO) were

also instituted in an attempt to improve the relationship between the conservation authority and local people. Review of the minutes of meetings at this time indicates a substantial lack of trust between the parties. Community representatives emphasised their pain at the loss of access to natural resources and sites of cultural meaning in the protected areas, for example the community member who expressed his anguish that a buffalo had greater access to his father's grave than he had (4 August 1994). There was also a deep suspicion of the conservation authority due to the relocations from Maputaland protected areas. In some ways the meetings could be described as mini Truth and Reconciliation Commissions on conservation in Maputaland. Conservation officials listened to stories of the life experiences of their neighbours. At the same time local people were exposed to explanations of conservation policy and actions by the officials.

An example of this is contained within the minutes of the meeting between the conservation agency and the Mathenjwa Tribal Authority, held on 19 January, 1994. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the establishment of a conservation liaison committee. The minutes of this meeting record the recent history of relations between NGR and local people -

[The conservation official] indicated that there had been problems in the past between the KBNR and the Mathenjwa over conservation related issues ... Over the past 18 months [KBNR] staff and members of the Mathenjwa Tribal had met regularly ... these meetings had served to overcome suspicions associated with poor communication in the past. Improved communications have led to improved relations...

The meeting acknowledged the importance of communication between the parties. However it also recognised that the improved communication presented opportunities to discuss the past and plan together for the future;-

[Another KDNC official] ... indicated that in the past the Mathenjwa people and the KBNR had not really known each other and this had led to suspicion. Today we need to ... find ways of dealing with the future.

A community member responded that many problems had been identified around the KBNR and conservation in the past. He hoped that the liaison committee would help to deal with these issues in the future. The meeting resolved to establish the Mathenjwa Conservation Liaison Committee (MCLC) which would meet on a monthly basis. The committee was comprised of representatives of the tribal authority, the conservation agency and the community (in the form of representatives of the local development committee).

The MCLC was the second liaison committee to be established by the KBNR in Maputaland. In the adjacent Tembe tribal area, the Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee (TCLC) had been inaugurated in 26 March 1993. The minutes of this meeting record the commitment of the director to the process of engagement with local people;-

Mr Steel indicated that his attendance at this inaugural meeting was to demonstrate support for it from the Bureau. He went on to say that since this meeting was intended to deal with matters pertaining to KwaTembe regional staff of the KBNR would attend all future meetings. They would work alongside the Tembe Tribal Authority in identifying problems and development opportunities in this area. Mr Steel went on to emphasise the importance of this Liaison Committee as a mechanism for negotiation through difficult issues. He felt that the members should attempt at all times to keep communication channels open.

The success of the MCLC as a 'mechanism for negotiation' was varied. As indicated in the following section, it proved to be an effective means for negotiating a range of small-scale NGR-related issues. In terms of 'development opportunities', however, the MCLC appears to have been less successful.

### 9.3.2 Operation

Review of the minutes of the meetings of the MCLC, personal observation and interviews with key role players, indicate mixed successes for the MCLC as a 'communication channel'. In terms of the problems local people were experiencing with NGR itself, the MCLC was effective in negotiating a range of small issues, including;-

- access to the pans within the reserve for traditional fishing “funja” drives on a controlled and organised basis;
- the distribution of meat from culled animals to local people in terms of a negotiated system of distribution;
- harvesting of reeds; and
- access to the reserve for cultural purposes.

While these issues were negotiated and resolved by the MCLC, the committee’s ability to deal with development issues met with less success. This was succinctly demonstrated at a heated meeting between the representatives of the Mbongweni Corridor and the conservation agency in March 1996. The purpose of the meeting was to discuss the proposal to consolidate Tembe Elephant Park and NGR, thereby relocating people from the Mbangweni corridor. A member of the Mbangweni community stated;-

...all the people in the corridor had been badly misled by politicians at the time of the elections. They were led to believe that they would get their land back since the proclamation occurred during the apartheid era and were therefore no longer valid.

This indicates that in the two years since its establishment very little real information about the benefits of ecotourism and the conservation policy itself, had been communicated to local people. The value of NGR was clearly not recognised by many people and the MCLC failed to negotiate a solution to the land claim, which was resolved in 1999 by the Land Claims Commission in favour of the claimants. The conservation agency had intended the MCLC to be a forum for promoting social and economic development, linked with conservation. This provided some success in the establishment of Banzi Lodge (Ndumo Wilderness Lodge), but proved more difficult in other proposed developments such as the Ndumo Gate Caravan Park.

## 9.4 BANZI LODGE AND NDUMO GATE CARAVAN PARK

### 9.4.1 Background

Prior to the development of the Ndumo Wilderness Lodge (locally known as Banzi Lodge), accommodation at NGR was provided in a camp consisting of seven three-bedded bungalows with shared ablution and cooking facilities. In 1993 the conservation agency recognised that Ndumo had greater potential to attract tourists and generate income for conservation. They began to investigate the possibility of developing a more up-market facility in the reserve (personal communication, Reserve Manager, 1996). This was guided by two main considerations, firstly, the neighbouring community should benefit from the eco-tourism development in a tangible manner, and secondly, the wilderness integrity of Ndumo had to be preserved. The subsequent development of the Lodge provides an example of the KDNC 'taking steps to enable the local people to benefit from eco-tourism' (Craib, 1995, p53). It demonstrates some of the opportunities available for tourism development, based on the community having a significant equity share and decision making responsibilities (De Beer and Elliffe, 1997).

The result was a 16-bed luxury safari lodge situated on Banzi Pan in the wilderness area of NGR (Pollock, 1995). The Lodge was completed in April 1995 following intensive planning and negotiations. It differed from other KwaZulu-Natal tourism operations in that it represented a three-way partnership between the conservation agency, local people and the private sector (De Beer and Elliffe, 1997). In order to implement this partnership a Development Company and an Operating Company were established during 1994.

### 9.4.2 Establishment

The Lodge was situated on state land which was controlled and managed by the conservation agency (the KDNC). The capital required to develop the Banzi Lodge and a similar lodge within the Coastal Forest Reserve amounted to R2,5 million (Pollock, 1995). The KDNC realised that it did not have the financial capacity to establish the lodges as their budget had suffered severe cut-backs (personal communication, Reserve Manager, 1996). In addition, they did not have the hospitality skills nor the business

experience to maximise the potential of a lodge in NGR. For these reasons the conservation agency began to investigate the possibility of partnerships with the private sector.

The KDNC leased the land on a 99 year head lease to its commercial arm, Isivuno ('To Harvest'), a Section 21 company incorporated not for gain. Board members were KwaZulu-Conservation trustees and senior KDNC officers (Pollock, 1995, p53). The role of Isivuno was threefold;-

- firstly, to manage the process of ensuring that eco-tourism development in protected areas was financially viable;
- secondly, to generate income for redistribution to either tourism development or conservation projects under the auspices of the KwaZulu Conservation Trust; and
- thirdly, to create a mechanism for the establishment of joint projects with local communities and the private sector.

In order to create a mechanism for the establishment of a joint project at NGR, Isivuno established a development company - Banzi (Pty) Ltd (De Beer and Elliffe, 1997). Isivuno holds 43.5% of the shares. The KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation owns 42% and the Mathenjwa Tribe 14.5% (through the Mathenjwa Tourism and Development Association). Isivuno then sub-leased the land to Banzi (Pty) Ltd for a twenty year period. Banzi (Pty) Ltd subsequently facilitated the establishment of the Lodge.

An operating company (Banzi Safari Lodge) was formulated to take responsibility for the management of the Lodge. This company was structured to involve a private tour company, Wilderness Safaris, who invested so as to acquire 50% of the operating company. The conservation agency owned 37.5% and the local community 12.5% (Pollock, 1995). Banzi (Pty) Ltd on-leased the facilities to the operating company for twenty years.

The Mathenjwa community is thus represented on two decision making boards - the development company, Banzi (Pty) Ltd and the operation company, Banzi Safari Lodge. This has provided them with experience in the development and construction of a luxury lodge, as well as the management and operation of a viable eco-tourism business. Banzi Lodge thus achieved the objectives of ICDPs in that it promoted participation and empowerment of local people through joint involvement in project design and implementation. The experience led the community to engage the conservation authority in the possibility of developing a community based tourism facility in the Usutu Gorge, outside NGR (Craib, 1995). In contrast to the antagonism towards conservation displayed in the late 1980s, community structures thus began to identify the possibilities and benefits of tourism. In this way another objective of ICDPs was achieved in that the Banzi Lodge promoted efforts to achieve social and economic development among communities adjacent to reserve boundaries. Another such effort was the Ndumo Gate Caravan Park.

#### 9.4.3 Ndumo Gate Caravan Park

The Ndumo Gate Caravan Park was a 'community based ecotourism initiative' situated at the entrance of NGR (Pollock, 1995, p50). The objectives of the caravan park were fourfold. Firstly to provide the camping and caravanning market with overnight facilities within easy access of NGR (*ibid*). This would supplement and complement the existing facilities. A range of tariffs and recreation options would then be offered to tourists and thus the base of visitors to the reserve would be broadened. The second objective was to conserve the biophysical environment adjacent to the NGR gate and provide opportunities for environmental education of local people. Thirdly, the Caravan Park would provide a safe parking facility for visitors to Banzi Lodge, from which they would be ferried in a four-wheel drive vehicle (Pollock, 1995). The Caravan Park would be paid for this service. Lastly, the Caravan Park would provide support services to Banzi Lodge, including a laundry service (Craib, 1995).

Initial reactions to the proposed caravan park were very favourable. Funding was obtained from Operation Jumpstart. In terms of the funding agreement, this would be administered by the Caravan Park Committee as part of a community empowerment process. A committee consisting of local people and the conservation agency was

subsequently established to managed the development of the caravan park. This committee was not a legal entity, however, leading to problems of accountability when allegations of mismanagement arose.

In 1994 the community donated 500ha to the project. This was cleared of bush and construction was initiated. The project was then plagued by several problems. Development of the Caravan Park required secure land tenure, however the Permission to Occupy Certificate which would have secured the tenure was delayed by the bureaucratic system of the government (minutes of MCLC meeting, 4 August, 1994).

In addition there were problems with the administration of funds. It appears that correct accounting procedures were not followed and funds were unaccounted for. No written record of these problems could be found, however information from local roleplayers indicated allegations of corruption and mismanagement (personal communication, 1995, 1996). The committee was not a legal entity and could therefore not be held legally responsible. There was also a strong feeling among local people and the conservation agency that insufficient attention had been given to building the capacity of committee members in order for them to adequately manage the project. As a result there was reluctance on the part of funding agencies to invest further in the project. In consequence, the Ndumo Gate Caravan Park never reached operational stage and is today a sad and derelict monument to poor planning and implementation. It stands in sharp contrast to the adjacent Ndumo Game Reserve gate (Figures 4 and 5).



*Photographer: M. Sumner Curry*

**Figure 4:** *Entrance to Ndumo Game Reserve*



*Photographer: M. Sumner Curry*

**Figure 5:** *The derelict entrance to Ndumo Gate Caravan Park*

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#### 9.4.4 Outcomes

The lodge at Banzi Pan has proved to be financially sustainable (De Beer and Elliffe, 1997) and occupancy has remained consistently high (personal communication, NGR staff, 1999). However, there are two potentially weak aspects of the model (De Beer and Elliffe, 1997). Firstly, it is a very small operation with only 16 beds and this will limit the extent of benefit flows to the community who live outside the fenced reserve. Secondly, the public sector (in the form of the conservation agency) took responsibility for the development and maintenance of infrastructure and facilities. Private sector investment was thus 'crowded out to a significant degree' (*ibid*, p23). This limited the possibilities for additional finance and investment.

The experience of establishing Banzi Lodge and attempts to establish the Ndumo Gate Caravan Park highlight several important issues;-

- One of the key success factors of a conservation-development project based on eco-tourism, community participation and private sector involvement is the establishment of an unambiguous, legally constituted organisational structure prior to project implementation.
- One of the ways in which joint conservation-development projects can provide tangible benefits to local people, is for them to hold equity in the development and operating companies.
- Community empowerment should be facilitated through an equity stake, representation on decision making boards and appropriate training.
- Development and operation of eco-tourism facilities should be undertaken by entities with the relevant business and hospitality skills, linked to strong local empowerment and capacity building initiatives.
- Small and medium economic enterprises such as the Ndumo Gate Caravan Park will fail without appropriate and adequate planning and support programmes.

The Ndumo Gate Caravan Park was an attempt to promote local socio-economic development and empowerment of local people. Its failure and the concomitant success of Banzi Lodge provided important lessons for the conservation agency in the implementation of the Ndumo Environmental Education Centre.

## **9.5 NDUMO ENVIRONMENTAL EDUCATION CENTRE (NEEC)**

### **9.5.1 Background**

In 1993 the conservation agency recognised a pressing need for environmental education amongst local communities in Maputaland. The idea of establishing an environmental education centre at NGR was mooted by the then director of the KDNC, Mr Nick Steele. He believed that environmental education had a critical role to play in achieving sustainable development and support for protected areas (personal communication, KDNC Director, 1996). As such, the proposed Centre had a dual purpose, firstly to foster greater local understanding of the objectives and purposes of conservation and secondly, to facilitate sustainable use of natural resources and local socio-economic development. The Director was of the opinion that this would contribute towards local support for protected areas and also promote sustainable economic growth based on integrated conservation-development projects.

A funding proposal for the development of an environmental awareness and community resource centre at Ndumu Game Reserve was subsequently submitted to WWF-SA in September 1994. The intention was for the proposed centre to meet the needs of both the community immediately surrounding the reserve and the wider community of Northern Maputaland, in so doing 'forge links between the traditions of conservation and community development' (Enviro-Ag Services, 1994, p4).

According to the subsequent Plan of Implementation (Enviro-Ag Services, 1995, p1) the aim of the centre was to work towards providing people of all ages with:-

'sufficient environmental knowledge and wisdom, as well as practical skills, to both value and effectively manage their natural resources in a sustainable manner so as to derive significant economic return on an ongoing basis'.

In 1995 the proposal was favourably received and funded by WWF-SA (Gold Fields Benefactors Scheme) for an initial amount of R 447 950, to cover construction of the centre and initial operating costs. This phase of the project also included detailed project and operational planning, with full participation of all key staff members and support of both the Management Committee and Advisory Working Group<sup>2</sup>.

The conservation agency allocated two staff members to the project on a full time basis and a consultant was appointed to assist with the establishment of the environmental education centre. Detailed project and operational planning commenced with a series of public meetings in 1995. The purpose of these meetings was three-fold:-

- to explain the project to the wider Ndumo community;
- to identify environmental education needs; and
- to set up a joint management committee.

Meetings took place with the Matherijwa Conservation Liaison Committee, local development committees and in public fora. The project planning methodology used to facilitate this process was an adaption of goal orientated project planning (GOPP or ZOPP). This methodology follows principles aimed at ensuring maximum ownership and implementation responsibility of the project implementation team (Enviro-Ag Services, 1995).

The author joined the consulting team at the beginning of the implementation phase in 1996. The objective was for the author to play an advisory role and provide the link between NEEC and the conservation agency. In addition, the author had the responsibility of recording the progress of the centre and reporting on a six monthly basis

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<sup>2</sup>The procedure followed in establishing NEEC has been reconstructed with the help of Centre staff, members of the Project Manco, Reserve Staff and internal documents and correspondence.

to the conservation and funding agencies. Much of the research was conducted during the process of recording the progress of NEEC.

### 9.5.2 Project planning and community response

The research identifies several outcomes of the planning process leading to the establishment of NEEC. Through focus group sessions with NEEC staff and Manco and interviews with key roleplayers, the following outcomes have been identified;-

- resolution of the debate regarding the location of the centre;
- identification of community needs;
- establishment of a joint conservation agency-community organisational structure; and
- formulation of an implementation plan.

#### a) Location of the Centre

The first major hurdle faced by the project was the community insistence that the Centre be located outside of the NGR fence. This issue was raised repeatedly at public meetings held in the tribal authority areas during early 1995. While there was support for the concept and establishment of an environmental education centre, the reserve neighbours did not believe it would benefit them unless they had unrestricted access to the Centre (personal communication, Manco member, 1996). Their reasoning was that they did not envisage access to the Centre should it be placed within the Reserve boundaries. This attitude appears to have been based on the history of exclusion from the Reserve. Neighbours did not trust the conservation agency to allow them access and physical access was considered a key factor in attaining any benefits from the Centre.

The conservation agency on the other hand was equally insistent that the Centre should be located within Reserve boundaries. They held a strong commitment to environmental education and wilderness experiences and believed that in order for environmental education to be implemented effectively they needed to retain responsibility for the Centre's operation. They feared that the location of the Centre outside of the Reserve

would diminish their control over its mission, activities and the quality of environmental education offered. There was also a legal imperative to retain expenditure control in terms of the agreement with the funding agency. The debate between the conservation agency and the community about the location of the centre appears to be rooted in their historical relationship. The resettlement of resident people from protected areas during the 1980s, linked to lingering fear of an association between the conservation agency and the South African Defence Force led to a lack of trust in the conservation agency.

A locally negotiated compromise was reached when the Centre was constructed just inside the Reserve fence, the construction of a gate directly to the centre and the erection of a fence between the Centre and the rest of the Reserve ensured that local people would have access to the buildings on an unrestricted basis. The resolution of this debate laid good groundwork for future negotiation and communication between the conservation agency and the local community.

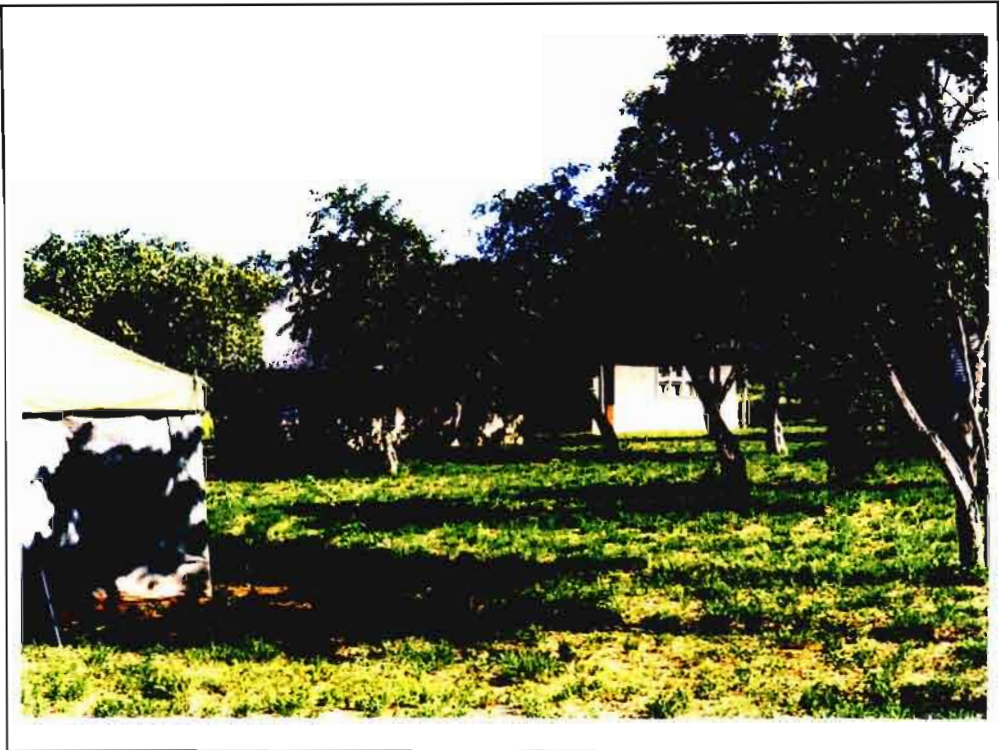
b) Identified community needs

A series of participative workshops was held with local development committees, schools and the tribal authority in order to conduct a needs analysis (Enviro-Ag Services, 1994). These workshops indicated widespread support for the establishment of an environmental centre at Ndumo Game Reserve. A strong need for school curriculum and educational support was identified. An overwhelming majority (95%) of the people who attended the workshops wanted the Centre to be available to school children (*ibid*). They felt that the Centre should include a large hall, furnished with chairs and tables and equipped with television, video and overhead project. There was also a strongly expressed need for a fully equipped laboratory which could be used for the teaching of biology and science.

The workshops also indicated that there was a local need for access to a library and other resources such as maps and wall charts. Other requests were for a weather station, telephones, vegetable gardens, recreational facilities and access to a photocopier and typewriter. Activities suggested for the Centre included lessons in cooking, sewing, craft work and vegetable production (*ibid*, 1994)

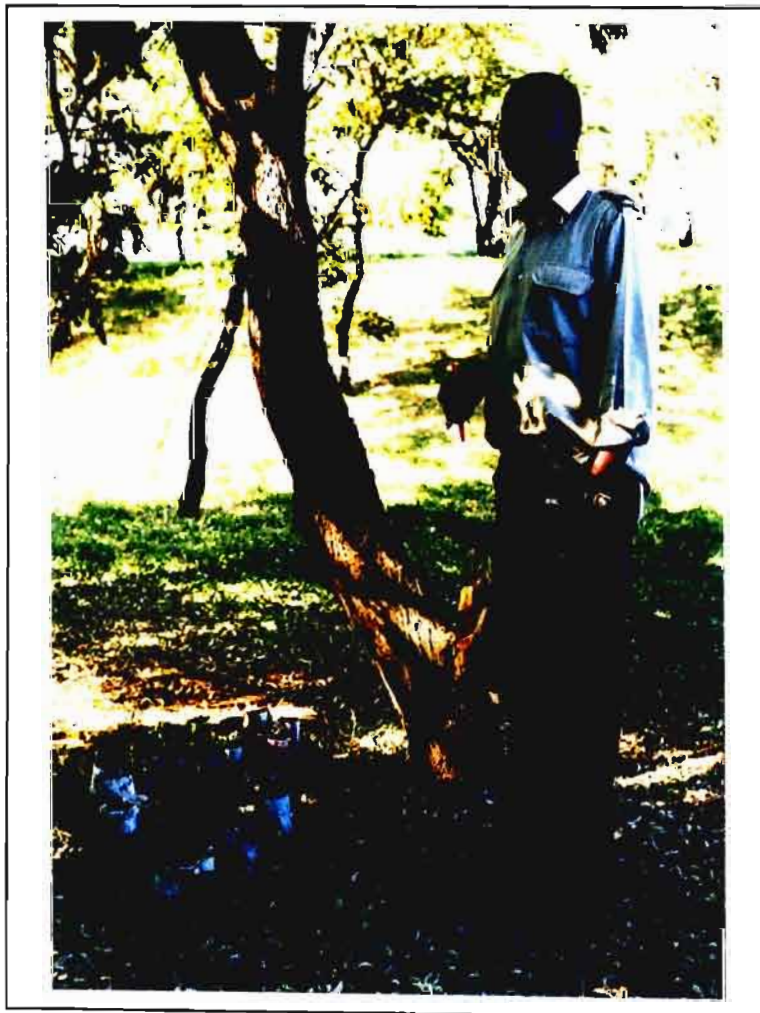
The people attending the workshops also suggested that the Centre provide overnight accommodation. This was later implemented and accommodation for 40 people was provided in tents (Figure 6). The request for gardens was partially met through a programme to promote the cultivation of medicinal plant seedlings (Figure 7). This is discussed in more detail in section (d), below.

The needs analysis indicated the dearth of local education resources and support materials. It also highlighted the lack of telecommunication and electronic resources (such as a photocopier). The expectations of the local people were very high and not all related to environmental education. In establishing the implementation plan, the KDNC and the consultant had to take account of these expressed needs, while ensuring that the conservation agency's objective on environmental education was met. For example, it was suggested that the Centre could develop a programme to support local teachers (*ibid*, 1994).



*Photographer: M. Sumner Curry*

**Figure 6: Ndumu Environmental Education Centre**



*Photographer: M. Sumner Curry*

**Figure 7: NEEC Manager with medicinal plant seedlings**

## c) Establishment of an organisational structure

Before local educational needs could be met, a management structure had to be established. Working within the principles of community participation and ownership (Environ-Ag, 1995), a management structure with three main tiers was established during the planning phase (Figure 8);-

- The **project staff** were responsible for the daily running of the centre, for the facilitation of Centre activities and for the formulation of plans and modules. The Project co-ordinator was also responsible for the purchasing of equipment and goods for the centre<sup>3</sup>. Project staff were all permanent employees of the conservation agency (personal observation and communication, 1996).
- The project staff reported to the **Management Committee** (Manco). Members included representatives of the neighbouring community, the Tribal Authority and the conservation agency. This committee was set up as the decision making body through which all decisions (financial and operational) were channelled. The Management Committee met once a month.
- An **Advisory Board** was established with the function of guiding and advising the project process where necessary. Members included representatives from other conservation agencies, experts in environmental education, representatives of community development organisations and the funding organisation.

The project staff also had the support of a consultant who provided the link with the funding agency and the conservation authority. The author assumed responsibility for this role in 1996.

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<sup>3</sup>The accounting firm Deloitte and Touche were responsible for the funds received from the WWF-SA, which were deposited into the Conservation Trust.

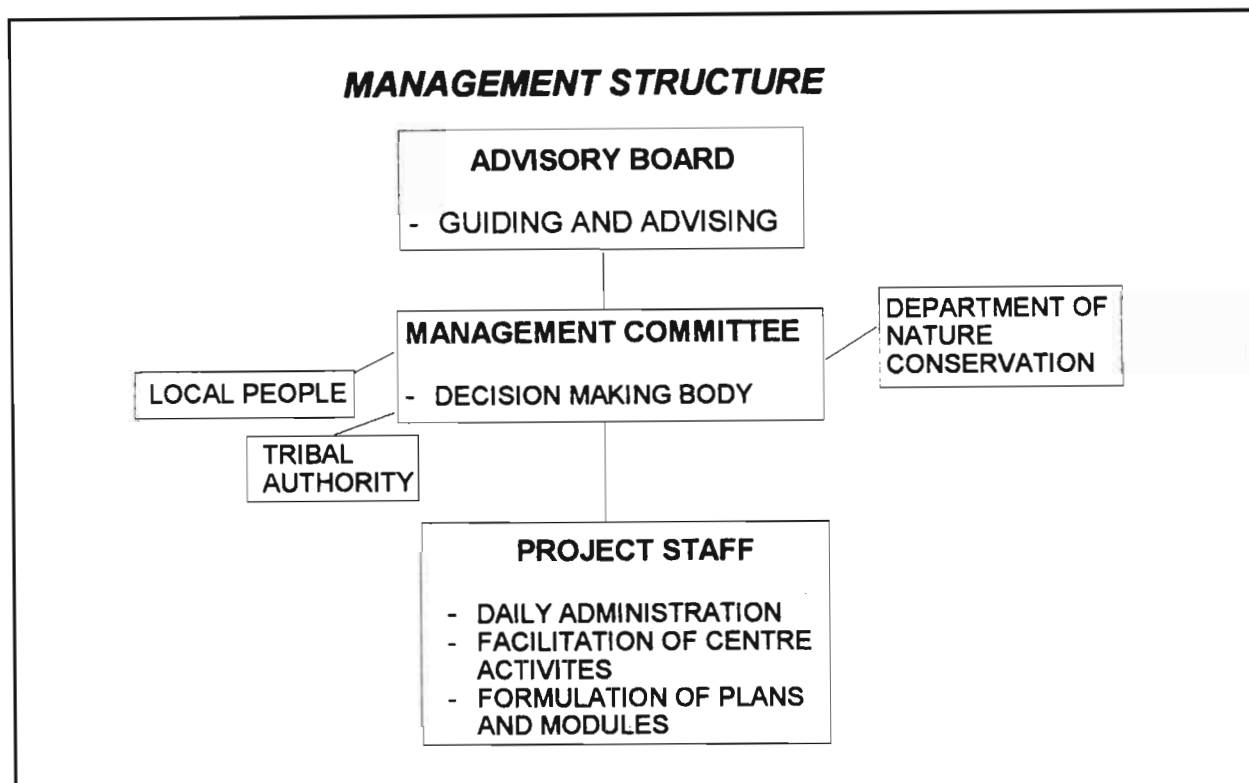


Figure 8: Initial Organisation Structure of the Ndumu Environmental Education Centre (flow diagram constructed with NEEC staff)

d) Formulation of an implementation plan.

A series of participatory workshops aimed at formulating detailed operational plans were held by the consultant with the staff of the Centre. Based on the needs identification workshops held with members of the community, these operational plans were divided into four project programmes, further sub-divided into activities and sub-activities. A Project Planning Matrix was produced which indicated the goals, results and activities of the project until the end of 1997 (Enviro-Ag Services, 1995). Based on this matrix, detailed operational plans developed. These were divided into four components, as follows:

- **Schools Programme:** activities included the production and sourcing of environmental education resources, learning aids and materials; a demonstration garden at a local school; a conservation award programme; wildlife experiences in Ndumo Game Reserve; and workshops for teachers.
- **Adult Learning Programme:** activities included workshops in administration, organisational and management skills; adult literacy; community activities for Environmental Day and other campaigns; and

support for external development programmes/projects.

- **Conservation Outreach Programme - Ethnobotany:** activities included, workshops on medicinal plant propagation and nursery management; and assisting herbalists to establish their own nurseries.
- **Ecotourism:** activities included the establishment of small-scale eco-tourism projects; training field guides and tourism communication officers; facilitating the development of funding proposals; and establishing a local tourism association.

The research indicates that a great deal of sound theoretical and planning work was undertaken at this stage. The detailed Operational Plans were indicative of the high motivation and thorough planning of the project staff who also felt a sense of ownership and implementation responsibility. They recognised that planning could not stand on its own and that there was a pressing need for implementation. They further recognised that in order for the project to succeed, the plans needed to be implemented in a cost effective and responsible manner (personal communication, NEEC staff, 1996). There were however, a number of fundamental flaws which became apparent as the plans were implemented through the latter half of 1996 and 1997. These flaws presented several challenges to the centre, they included;-

- problems with the organisational structure;
- conceptual misunderstandings;
- omissions in the original proposal;
- staff capacity; and
- early operational difficulties.

### 9.5.3 Challenges

#### a) Organisational structure and capacity

Funding for the Centre had been forthcoming from the South African branch of the World Wildlife Fund (WWF-SA). A legal contract in this regard had been finalised between the donor organisation and the conservation agency (KDNC). The money was held in trust

by the conservation agency and administered by an independent firm of accountants. The Manco had been set up as the management structure and decision making body for the centre. All financial and operational decisions were channelled through the Manco. They took responsibility for expenditure and budget decisions. However, the Manco was not constituted and the legal responsibility and accountability for the funding rested with the KDNC (IPS, 1996).

An anomaly therefore existed whereby the body set up as the management structure for the Centre could not be held accountable. In addition, during the early stages of implementation, it became clear that the Management Committee lacked budget experience and the necessary capacity to manage a construction process (personal observation, 1995). In order to remedy this the responsibility for budget control and the construction of the Centre was placed in the hands of the conservation agency (IPS, 1996), while operation responsibility remained with Manco. Legal support was then obtained for the drafting of a constitution and trust for the Management Committee (Manco). This was discussed at length with the Manco and other stakeholders such as the Tribal Authority. It was at this stage that the Centre received public support from the Mathenjwa Tribal Authority. The Chief attended Manco meetings and other members of the Tribal Authority expressed their support to Centre staff. This was a breakthrough in terms of establishing credibility and support for the Centre and its management structure (personal observation, 1996).

b) Conceptual misunderstandings

The language of PRA and participatory development caused some conceptual misunderstandings. The initial consultant appointed to undertake the formulation of the funding proposal and operation plans had stressed the principle of 'community ownership' of NEEC. This was interpreted by community members and the Manco as physical ownership of the Centre's resources - including the building and equipment (personal observation, 1995). When they were informed that ownership of the land, buildings and resources rested with the state, they felt that the conservation agency had once again reneged on their word and were retaining all power and control. This led to bitterness and resentment, particularly when the faults in the organisational structure emerged. The

explanation that the community should own the *process* of centre development in order to ensure that real community needs were met, was in the eyes of local people, a poor substitute for 'real' ownership of the Centre assets (personal communication, 1995).

This situation was resolved to some extent when the construction of the Centre began in early 1996. The Manco facilitated the process of identifying the local people who were employed to construct the Centre. During the construction process the workers received certified training in building skills, in addition to their wages. The success of this process mitigated against the anger at the perceived loss of 'ownership' of the Centre and indicated the role that the Manco could play in negotiating between development agents and the local community. Further resolution of the tension was associated with the establishment of the development and operating companies for Banzi Lodge. It was felt that the establishment of these companies brought the tribal authority structures into a more equal partnership with the conservation agency.

There was a similar debate about the concept of 'free access' to the Reserve through the Centre. 'Free access' did not mean uncontrolled access - the conservation agency limited the number of children who could attend the wildlife trips on a daily basis. This was resented, as the Manco and other roleplayers felt that they had been assured of unrestricted access through the Centre (personal communication, 1995). The control of the number of visitors on a daily basis continued to be resented by local people (personal communication, NEEC Co-ordinator, 1999).

Another element of free access related to the payment for services from the Centre. Local people did not feel that they should pay for services, however there was a strong push for the Centre to generate income in order to become less reliant on donor funding (personal communication, reserve manager, 1996). It was resolved that people living in the Mathenjwa Tribal Authority area should pay a minimal amount. People coming from further afield would pay a higher fee.

The experience of these conceptual misunderstanding indicates the importance of skilled and experienced facilitation in the implementation of ICDPs. Facilitation needs to be sensitive, humble and observant in order for it to be effective (AFRA, 1993) and avoid the

pitfalls of conceptual misunderstandings.

c) Omissions in proposal

The implementation phase of NEEC incorporated the development of courses and course materials as well as the construction of the buildings to house the centre. This phase exposed several weaknesses in the original proposal and planning phase. Chief among these were omissions associated with the construction of the centre. No budget allocations had been included for infrastructure, including:-

- upgrading the road to the Centre's gate;
- water supply and reticulation;
- telecommunications installation and operation; and
- electricity supply and operation.

The budget for construction had been underestimated. Ultimately the Advisory Board suggested that a construction and skill development firm be appointed to undertake only the first phase of construction (IPS, 1996). This consisted of an administration building, a library, a lecture/dining room and ablutions. Construction and training of local people in building skills occurred concurrently. The Manco was instrumental in facilitating and resolving this process of worker identification. The process of construction was thus an example of how a conservation-development project began to achieve community participation and empowerment through the establishment of an environmental education centre.

d) Staff capacity and conservation agency support

Centre staff displayed high levels of motivation and enthusiasm for the development of the Centre (personal observation, 1996; IPS, 1996). They were hard working and committed people, however they appeared to be ham-strung by the bureaucracy of the conservation agency, by the lack of support from NGR management and by their own limited management experience. The conservation agency had appointed them to the NEEC posts, but then appeared to fall short in supporting them (personal observation, 1996).

For example the NGR management indicated that they could not provide accommodation for the staff prior to the construction phase as they required the space for Reserve staff. Further, the transport provided by the conservation agency was stolen and not replaced. Nor could the Reserve provide water to the construction site (water was later obtained from Ndumo Police Station). These difficulties were based primarily on the financial problems facing the Reserve at the time. Their budget had been severely limited and the fulfilment of core conservation tasks were prioritised.

This resulted however, in a perception that the conservation agency was not supporting the Centre and this demoralised the NEEC staff. The eventual separation of the operation and construction components of the Centre appeared to have enabled the Co-ordinator to focus more creative energy on the operation of the Centre (personal observation). Unfortunately he ultimately resigned his post in frustration with the slow pace of delivery and the perceived lack of support from the conservation agency. At this stage the NGR management took over responsibility of the construction phase of the project, freeing remaining NEEC staff to concentrate on environmental education and activities.

e) Early operational difficulties

Early Centre activities in terms of the implementation of the operational plans was showed little progress. NEEC staff identified two main causes for this slow progress, namely;-

- the lack of physical premises: this hampered the ability of the Centre to run workshops and courses as there was no viable alternative venue for groups. Further, the Centre was "identityless" in the eyes of the local people. Talk of such a centre has been prevalent for some years and there appeared to be scepticism amongst some members of the community as to its existence at all. They would not accept the activities of staff who had no physically identifiable home base (personal observation and communication, NEEC staff, 1995); and
- the lack of suitable vehicles to transport people to and from the Reserve and to enable the staff to communicate widely within the sub-region. This limited

the staff's ability to operationalise the activities identified during the planning phase.

#### 9.5.4 Successes

Despite the difficulties and challenges outlined above, the Centre did achieve early successes. These centred around the credibility of the conservation agency and the empowerment of local people.

- KDNC credibility/negotiated agreement

Once the Centre existed in the form of a physical product (the buildings), it appeared to achieve a broad spectrum of community support, from the Tribal Authority to community based organisations. This was not a small achievement for the conservation agency in the face of the history of conservation in Maputaland. The Centre was thus in a position to "buy" a great deal of credibility for the conservation cause and environmental management (IPS, 1996). Against the odds of the history of tension between conservation and local people, coupled with a lack of trust, problems with the organisational structure and omissions in the original proposal; the Centre managed to achieve active participation by local people and improved communication between the parties. As such, the NEEC began to achieve the objectives of ICDPs (see Figure 2), namely community participation and improved communication.

- Community capacity building and empowerment

Community empowerment appeared to have been achieved at three levels. Firstly, through the Management Committee (Manco) members an understanding of committee functioning, responsibilities and democratic decision making was fostered. This included an understanding of contractual obligations and basic budgeting skills. Throughout the construction phase the Manco played a facilitation role in identifying workers and resolving disputes (IPS, 1996). As a result, the confidence of the Manco members increased as they saw a growing role for themselves in helping to facilitate integrated conservation development.

Secondly, through the construction process workers obtained certificates in block making, block laying, thatching, basic plumbing and basic electrical work. This provided the workers with a sense of pride and confidence in themselves (personal observation, 1996). Lastly, the courses and activities offered by the Centre have contributed to the empowerment of individuals in the community. In particular the ethnobotany programme successfully trained local people in medicinal plant propagation. It is hoped that in addition to acquiring income from the enterprise, the propagation of medicinal plants will also decrease the harvesting of. The eco-tourism programme has been teaching people the fundamentals of tourism and hospitality. This includes training of tour guides and the establishment of local trails outside the Reserve boundaries.

The schools programme has been very popular. This has incorporated the training of teachers in environmental education, the establishment of conservation clubs in local schools and tours of NGR for school groups of up to 60 learners at a time. The NEEC Co-ordinator reported that almost all local schools had experienced at least one trip to NGR since the establishment of the Centre (personal communication, 1999). This has proved to be a great success for the conservation agency-community relationship.

Today the Centre has assumed use of the premises previously occupied by the Anti-poaching Unit, just outside the NGR fence. The Co-ordinator reported somewhat wryly that the debate regarding the location of the Centre proved to be superfluous as they now occupy premises both within and outside of the reserve (personal communication, NEEC Co-ordinator, 1999). These premises have increased the overnight accommodation and facilities available to the Centre. The activities of the Centre remain locally based and this may impact negatively on the longer-term sustainability of the Centre. Casting a wider net in terms of clients will improve the financial base of the Centre. The Centre must not only promote sustainable conservation development, it must itself become financially sustainable.

## 9.6 SUMMARY

**Table 11: Summary of impacts associated with ICDPs in Ndumo Game Reserve**

	<b>Integrated Conservation Development at Ndumo Game Reserve</b>
<b>Political economy</b>	<p><i>Impact of the political economy on ICDPs at Ndumo Game Reserve:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Colonialism and Apartheid entrench the undemocratic tribal authority system - results in poor communication between the tribal authority and local people. Tensions develop when attempts are made to implement ICDPs through the tribal authority.</li> <li>- Conservation agency overtly functions within the prevailing political economy prior to the first democratic elections in South Africa. This alienates many people from the conservation agency and results in a lack of trust in ICDP efforts.</li> <li>- The Apartheid policy of separate development and education resulted in limited local capacity to manage ICDPs</li> </ul>
<b>Place:</b>	<p><i>The impact of place on ICDPs at NGR:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The place has unique biophysical features and is a designated wetland of international importance.</li> <li>- The private sector wants to invest in the area because the unique bio-physical habitat attract a lot of tourists. This facilitates the establishment of partnerships between private and public sector.</li> </ul>
<b>Processes:</b>	<p><i>The impact of process on ICDPs at NGR:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The historical lack of socio-economic development and investment in the area, resulted in the reserve neighbours hoping that NEEC will meet a range of local needs (including social, economic and infrastructure needs).</li> </ul>
<b>Conservation Policy</b>	<p><i>Impact of conservation policy on ICDPs at NGR</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Conservation policy shifted towards a greater emphasis on the needs of protected area neighbours and concomitant development opportunities. ICDPS were viewed as a means of achieving both conservation and development.</li> </ul>

## CHAPTER TEN: LESSONS AND CONCLUSIONS

We were moulded on the anvil, literally...our intentions were always good but we have not always adopted the right approach

Nick Steel, KDNC Director, *in Craib*, 1995, p 53

And what of the future? A brooding holocaust surrounds us..

Mountain, 1990, p3

### Chapter Summary

*The previous chapter explored some of the projects associated with Ndumo Game Reserve. In this final chapter lessons and conclusions from the case study are discussed. The study indicates that there was a considerable paradigm shift in the conservation policies guiding the general practice of conservation in Maputaland. The conservation agency did attempt to initiate Integrated Conservation Development Projects (ICDPs) at Ndumo Game Reserve during the 1990s, but this has been a complex process, fraught with tensions and suspicions. The practice fell short of the ideals and there is a long road to be travelled before reconciliation between conservation and community development is can be reached.*

## 10.1 LESSONS FROM THE NDUMO EXPERIENCE

### 10.1.1 Organisational structure and development

The ICDPs associated with Ndumo Game Reserve had different organisational structures and correspondingly different levels of success. The proposed Ndumo Gate Caravan Park was characterised by an ill-defined organisational structure, reflected in its lack of a constitution and inability to manage the budget or regulate expenditure. The funding organisation had required that local people must manage the project. However, insufficient capacity building on financial management and budget control seemed to have been instituted. Support for the project was intermittent from the conservation agency and the funding organisation. The conservation agency felt that realistically they did not have the development experience to oversee the project (personal communication, NGR staff) and the funding organisation was not locally based. This organisational structure and lack of support seem to have been a major reason for the failure of the project.

In contrast, the Banzi Lodge organisational structure twinned people with business and hospitality industry skills with a strong capacity building programme for community people. This was achieved through a legal relationship between the conservation agency, the private sector and the community. Further, the project was structured in such a way that the development and operation of the project were separated. This allowed for the appointment of people with relevant skills to the different phases of the project. The community held equity through a Trust in the development and operational companies. It was therefore in the interests of sustainable development that a capacity building programme was in place. Without capacity building the partners in the business risked losing their investment.

The organisational structure of NEEC fell between the Banzi model and the unstructured Caravan Park initiative. The NEEC model maximised community participation and 'ownership' of the project through the Management Committee (Manco). However the problem with the NEEC plan of operation is that it tried to be all things and do all things. The Manco had been set up as the decision making and management body for the project. Unfortunately the Manco did not have the expertise or skills to oversee a construction or development process. This problem was identified prior to the construction phase, allowing the organisational structure to be modified before it could impact negatively on the outcome of the project.

The experience of the projects associated with NGR indicates that the organisational structure of an integrated conservation development project must be clearly and legally established in order to provide tangible benefits to both local people and conservation. Based on this experience the following recommendations for successful ICDPs can be made;-

- Clear rights and responsibilities for the organisational structure must be defined.
- The project must include strong capacity building and empowerment components.
- If the ICDP requires a hierarchical or multi-faceted organisational structure (such as the Banzi Lodge project) then the relationships between the components must be clear.

- Partnerships between local communities, the private sector and the public sector have proved to be successful in Maputaland if they are structured within legal framework.
- Community structures should own equity in the ICDP. This gives them a financial stake in the success of the project.
- Business plans for the development and operation components of ICDP projects should be separated.

#### 10.1.2 Role of conservation agency as a development agent

The experience of Ndumu Game Reserve raises the question of whether a conservation agency can and should take on a development agency role in underdeveloped areas. Personal communication with conservation agency staff in Maputaland indicated a deep commitment to the preservation of the natural heritage and biodiversity of the area. This was linked to a concomitant understanding and fear that unless local people have a genuine interest in the maintenance of protected areas, it is unlikely that the areas will be preserved in the long term (see *also* IIED, 1994).

For some Reserve officials the engagement with local people was an intrinsic part of managing the Reserve (protected area). The manager of the Kosi Bay Nature Reserve is an example. Based on his study of natural resource use, he has estimated that the Kosi Bay system would survive for eight months without the controls and management of the conservation agency. Thereafter the system would be irrevocably harmed and over-exploited (personal communication, 1994). Consequently he has taken the challenge of engaging with local people very seriously and has implemented a number of small-scale conservation-development projects. His objective is to ensure that local people obtain resources and economic benefits from the Reserve.

Despite a broad understanding of the necessity for integrated conservation and development, the agency staff based at NGR often gave the impression of floundering with the practice of the new paradigm. As one of them said, "I am a game ranger, not a development worker" (personal communication, 1996). Local Maputaland conservation staff frequently displayed a great deal of frustration, possibly attributed to the following:-

- the wide gulf they discerned between their own bioethical interpretations of the environment and their perceptions of the more anthropocentric interpretations of local people. The perception of this gulf appeared to create a fear on the part of the conservation agency staff that 'all would be lost' through unsustainable resource use, should local people be 'allowed to get too much of a foothold in protected areas';
- the slow pace of community work frequently led to complaints from conservation agency staff that their duties within the Reserve were suffering due to the amount of time they were having to devote to community meetings. "I've got a Reserve to run" was a frequently heard comment; and
- the lack of training, knowledge and experience in rural development and 'social' issues as opposed to scientific and ecological training.

A further problem facing conservation agency staff in is that many were strongly associated in the minds of community members, with forced removals, evictions, or threats of evictions. As demonstrated in Chapter Seven, evictions and removals from land are highly traumatic experiences with far reaching consequences. With the history of the conservation agency, it has proven to be very difficult for a relationship of trust to develop between them and their neighbours. This seems to have compromised the ability of the conservation agency to successfully wear the mantle of 'development'.

Regional and provincial staff of the conservation agency did however, demonstrate a deep commitment to the principles of integrated conservation development. Personal observation of this commitment is supported by the minutes of the MCLC and Tembe conservation liaison committee meetings between 1994 and 1996. The Director of the conservation agency attended early meetings and indicated that all parties should attempt to 'keep the communication channels open'. However some of the local conservation agency staff continued to express frustration and discomfort at the developmental role the new conservation paradigm required of them.

In terms of the role of the conservation agency as a development agent, the following recommendations are made;-

- The capacity of conservation staff on the ground to 'keep the communication channels open' and implement integrated conservation development should be carefully considered in the planning stages of an ICDP. If necessary appropriate skills and expertise should be drafted on to the project management structure.
- The managers of protected areas and their staff should undergo appropriate capacity building and training if they are to meet the challenge of integrated conservation development effectively.
- Should the ICDP be conceived of and planned at a senior management level (i.e. at national or provincial level), the support and co-operation of the local office must be officially obtained. Management must inform the local staff of the roles and responsibilities they will be expected to perform in the project.

### 10.1.3 Environmental Education

The lessons emerging from the experiences of NEEC can be broadly divided into two categories - experiences related to the process of establishing an environmental education centre and experiences emerging from the implementation of environmental education itself.

#### a) The process of establishing the Centre

Research indicates that the 'process of education with people who have been subject to displacement and denied access to resources...is difficult. Many [projects are] initiated in areas where the local population has a history of turbulent relations with conservation authorities' (IIED, 1994, p 31). In addition to dealing with a turbulent relationship between the conservation agency and local people, the NEEC had to contend with;-

- a plan of operation which was short on budget for infrastructure;
- an organisation structure without the capacity to adequately implement the project;

- lack of management and development experience amongst the staff and Manco;
- suspicious local people with little trust that they would actually see any development; and
- little practical support from the conservation agency during the initial stages.

Drawing on the experience of NEEC, the following recommendations for the establishment of an environmental education centre as part of an ICDP initiative can be made;-

- The planning and budget for the ICDP should be integrated into the planning and budget of the parent organisation (conservation agency). The parent organisation should know exactly what would be required from them in terms of resources (manpower, equipment and infrastructure) and funds. For example, integrated planning between NEEC and the conservation agency may have prevented crises about accommodation, water supply, and telecommunications emerging.
- Environmental Education Centres cannot operate in isolation. They must be integrated into the management structures of the conservation agency.
- Local people require a tangible expression of the commitment of the conservation agency to the project. It was not until construction of the Ndumo Environmental Education Centre was initiated that community members began to trust that the NEEC would not be just another development promise that they never saw the results of. The long delay before construction began (almost a year since the submission of the implementation plan) had a negative impact on perceptions of the integrity of the conservation agency and NEEC staff.
- If possible, staff of ICDPs should have a clear career path within the parent organisations. Do to the rural nature of many of these projects, they frequently work in circumstances where they are professionally and intellectually isolated. This may lead to feelings of hopelessness and despondency resulting in staff resignations. For example, the NEEC Co-ordinator resigned to take up a promotion position with another government department. Ensuring that project staff have a career path in the organisation helps to maintain motivation and contributes towards job satisfaction.

- Explicit support from the conservation agency should be forthcoming in terms of attendance at management meetings, support of Centre activities and regular progress meetings with Centre management.
- The rights and responsibilities of the conservation agency and the community structures involved in the programme must be clearly defined and accepted by all parties from the beginning of the project.

b) Implementation of environmental education

The plan of implementation formulated by the NEEC staff and the consultant (Environ-Ag, 1995) attempted to meet the expressed community needs as well as the conservation agency's vision for the Centre. As such the plan of implementation incorporated many different activities and was unwieldy and ambitious. This in itself appeared to immobilise the NEEC staff to some degree - there was just *so much* to do with few resources and little support (personal observation, 1996).

Ursula van Harmelen of the Rhodes University, in a presentation to NEEC staff in 1996 on the factors important for the success or failure of Environmental Education Centres, said 'centres cannot be all things to all people. They should do what they do within their particular context and do it well' (IPS, 1996). NEEC was clearly trying to be all things to all people in an attempt to rapidly establish local support and trust. As a result, progress was slow and staff and local communities became disheartened. Based on the presentation by Ms van Harmelen, the following recommendations are made to ensure that environmental education (as opposed to the institution of an environmental education centre) gains momentum and relevance;-

- Subject matter should be related to the target audience's frame of reference, it should be relevant to their everyday lives.
- The emphasis should be on how the subject matter is taught and not only on the contents of the lessons.
- Environmental education should be linked with extension work and educators should link with extension officers.

- Higher management should communicate with each other and with other staff to contextualise and co-ordinate environmental education. Ms van Harmelen believed that environmental education should be part of everybody's life, from the cleaner to management structures (IPS, 1996). In integrated environmental education with every component of the parent organisation's work, effective environmental management in all facets could be fostered. In this way support for the environmental education centre would grow and the environment itself would benefit.
- Partnerships should be forged with people and organisations that can provide relevant and creative support. This should help prevent staff from becoming intellectually isolated or 'burning out' (IPS, 1996).

#### 10.1.4 Working with the local context

As stated in Chapter Five, the guidelines to Agenda 21 place the cause of most development problems at the door of the development process 'or in its failures and inadequacies' (Binns, 1997, p13). The experience of implementing conservation development projects in Maputaland indicates that the development process must take cognisance of the local context. For example, the failure of conservation liaison committees to deal with broad development issues reflects the failure of the members to understand the context within which they were operating.

The need for ICDPs to work within an understanding of the local context is highlighted by CORD (1990, p2):-

We believe that an appreciation of local socio-economic conditions can contribute towards the organisational design of integrated community development projects that encourage economic growth scenarios without generating increased social and economic distance between the different sectors of the community.

In the use of tribal authority structures for the dispersal of the community's share of protected area revenue, the conservation agency had paid little attention to the socio-economic history or the impact of the political economy on Maputaland. As a result the organisational design of the project had the effect of increasing distance between the

agency and local people because the conservation agency was viewed as aligned with the existing power structures. Many people felt that their developmental needs were not being met and therefore felt excluded from the benefits of the 'policy of sharing'.

The conservation agency failed to recognise the influence of the wider political economy on the practice of conservation. They believed that conservation should sit outside of 'politics', however their ability to effectively implement conservation policies was impacted on by the political economy, local conditions and place specific circumstances. Their approach was, to a large extent, insensitive to the local context. They appeared to lay the blame for difficulties and problems with their policy of sharing at the door of interventions which they regarded as external and irrelevant to conservation. In particular, the conservation agency was of the view that 'political intervention' was to blame for the difficulties they were facing in implementing their policy;-

... the KBNR has been forced to the conclusion that it is the victim, not simply of the people affected by its moves, but of a hitherto covert political movement orchestrated by elements in the area and from without (KBNR, 1990, p5).

In a presentation to the People and Parks conference held in 1995, the KDNC representative (in an address on behalf of the Director), stated the 'realisation of the potential of conservation and a policy of sharing had been severely hampered by a number of factors' (Curruthers and Zaloumis, 1995, p4). He outlined the factors as follows;-

- Political involvement in conservation development;
- Conflict of interests: the recognition that conservation is economically productive led to growing conflict in land use that extended or retarded negotiations prior to resolution (i.e. project implementation);
- Uncoordinated interventions and activities by numerous government and non-governmental organisation at the local level, exacerbated by divisions between local government structures and resident communities. This, he claimed, resulted in a breakdown in land use management and controls; and
- Apathy and the perception that government is the universal provider.

This indicates that the conservation agency sought outside reasons for the difficulties they faced in implementing integrated conservation development. There was a need for the agency to examine their approach to integrated conservation-development and adapt it to the local context. Many ICDPs are implemented in rural areas characterised by high degrees of poverty (Wells, *et al*, 1992). Activities and energies of local people are often primarily directed towards survival and meeting basic needs. The benefits of conservation-development must therefore be tangible to community members and must contribute towards an improved standard of living. In order for this to occur the conservation agency must develop an understanding of basic needs as identified by community members themselves. ICDPs can then be tailored to meet the needs of both conservation and local people.

Drawing on the experienced of NGR the following recommendations are made for future integrated conservation development projects;-

- All ICDPs should be based on a comprehensive understanding of the local context.
- Use should be made of participatory research tools in order to identify local developmental conditions and needs.
- The development process should be monitored on an ongoing basis.
- The development process should be flexible enough to adapt to local and changing conditions without halting the project as a whole.

## 10.2 CONCLUSION

The research indicates that the paradigm guiding the practice of conservation in Maputaland underwent a change during the late 1980s and early 1990s. Previous policies of preservationist-style conservation were replaced with policies that highlighted a utilitarian approach to the environment, sustainable use of resources, economic development and community participation in conservation based projects.

The practices emerging from this change in policy included the implementation of projects that are collectively consistent with the objectives of Integrated Conservation Development

Projects. This is supported by the case studies associated with Ndumo Game Reserve. For example, the case studies emphasise the participation of local people as a key component. The planning phase of NEEC involved a local environmental education needs analysis, while the implementation and operation phases included local people in a joint management committee. Banzi Pan Lodge ensured that the community held an equity share in the operation and development companies, while also including community representatives on the company boards. The establishment of the conservation Liaison Committee on the other hand demonstrated the conservation agency's commitment to engaging in dialogue with local people. The Banzi Lodge and the thwarted Ndumo Gate Caravan Park project were attempts to promote local economic development and empower local people to participate in development projects.

This process of attempting to put the conservation policy into practice proved to be complex and fraught with tensions and suspicions. Preservationist conservation had been characterised by exploitation of the land for the benefit of the ruling elite accompanied by removals from protected areas and subsequent loss of access to land and resources. In effect conservation had been experienced by local people a 'highly politicised form of state intervention' (AFRA, 1990b). The introduction of a new policy by the conservation agency was met with suspicion and disbelief amongst protected area neighbours.

The history of conservation in the area clearly led to a lack of trust between the roleplayers. However, this was not the only issue that impacted on the successful implementation of the conservation policies. As indicated in the research, the local influence of the political economy had created a particular environment within which the conservation agency was attempting to work. In order for integrated conservation development to be successfully implemented, the conservation agency needed to understand these local conditions and adapt to them. However the research indicates that the conservation agency struggled with its role as a development agent in Maputaland. The practice of conservation in Maputaland during the 1990s therefore fell short of the expressed ideals of the conservation agency.

Despite the efforts of the conservation agency, there remains a long road to be travelled before reconciliation between conservation and community development needs is reached.

This has been recently demonstrated by the Land Claims Commission's decision to hand over 200ha of land within Ndumo Game Reserve to the claimants from the local community. Mountain's (1990, p3) 'brooding holocaust' continues to surround Ndumo Game Reserve and uncertainty continues to hang over her future.

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## **MINUTES OF MEETINGS**

Mathenjwa Conservation Liaison Committee, 1995-1996

Ndumo Environmental Education Centre, 1995-1997.

Tembe Conservation Liaison Committee, 1995-1996

## **PERSONAL COMMUNICATION**

R. Davies. Integrated Planning Services, Pietermaritzburg, March 1994 - December 1996

M. Holst. Child Survival Project, Bergville South Africa, January 1997.

P. Rutsch. Legal Resources Centre, Durban. March 1994 - December 1996, thereafter Peter Rutsch and Company - Attorneys.

N. Steele. Director, KwaZulu Bureau of Natural Resources, 1995-1996.

M. Tembe. Endlondweni Community Member. Chairman: Mangusi Community Project. March 1994.

I. Thompson. KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation, Ulundi. March 1994 - December 1996.

Anton Mkabela. Co-ordinator - Ndumu Environmental Education Centre. October 1995 - December 1996.

JJ Mtenjwa. Schools Liaison Officer - Ndumu Environmental Education Centre. October 1995 - December 1996.

Mandla Tembe. Natural gardening/Ethnobotany/Ecotourism Liaison Officer - Ndumu Environmental Education Centre. October 1995 - December 1996. Thereafter Co-ordinator Ndumu Environmental Education Centre, 1997-1999.

Manco [Ndumu Environmental Education Centre Management Committee]. October 1995 - December 1996.

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