PROTECTED AREA OUTREACH PROGRAMMES:

A CASE STUDY AND CRITICAL EVALUATION

by

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Submitted in fulfilment of the academic requirements for the degree of PhD (Science) in the Institute of Natural Resources, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, 1998.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my father

THEO VENTER

and my father-in-law

JOHN WILSON

ABSTRACT

Sub-Saharan African conservation authorities are progressively shifting their emphasis away from law enforcement based management strategies, towards management strategies aimed at facilitating local community participation in the management of natural resources. These strategies include Community Based Natural Resource Management programmes, Collaborative Management programmes and Protected Area Outreach programmes. This thesis presents a conceptual framework, the Partnership Forum Framework, for the planning, implementation and evaluation of programmes aimed at integrating protected areas into their surrounding landscapes.

The framework is structured around the progressive establishment and development of a co-management institution (Partnership Forum) responsible for the integration of a protected area into the surrounding landscape. The framework proposes that the establishment and initial development of such an institution can be characterised into three phases, namely, a forming, storming and norming phase. During these phases the preliminary institutional membership and working rules are defined through a progressive objective driven management process. These phases lay a foundation for a long-term (permanent) institutional performing phase during which the institution's members manage the integration of the protected area into the surrounding landscape, and progressively improve the membership and working rules through an ongoing monitoring and review process.

The framework is structured around the following design principles, which need to be explicitly considered during the process of establishing and developing a Partnership Forum, namely:

i. That the forum's membership must include the range of individuals, communities and organisations that either affect or are affected by the interface between the protected area and the surrounding landscape, and that the forum's membership boundaries must be clearly defined and not open-ended.

ii. That these members must actively participate in defining and, where relevant, implementing the working rules which represent the institutional core of the forum's activities.

iii. That the forum's activities should be supported by an ongoing monitoring and evaluation

process which can progressively inform the revision of the forum's membership and working rules.

Four case study descriptions and evaluations of the use of the framework are presented, based on the use of the framework for the development of four Partnership Fora along the western boundary of the Kruger National Park. The case studies are drawn from file notes and minutes which were kept of all public meetings, forum meetings and workshops arranged within the context of the fora between September 1993 and July 1996. The case study material is used to develop a revised process model for the development of Partnership Forum based programmes, and to develop a list of key questions which should be considered during the process of establishing and developing these institutions.

Three key conclusions are drawn from the case studies, namely:

i. The establishment of such programmes need to be supported by enabling legislation which gives these institutions appropriate authority over the management and use of the natural resources represented in the relevant protected area and its surrounding landscape. Within this context, the legislation currently being implemented within KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa) is cited as a useful reference for the development of enabling legislation throughout the rest of the region.

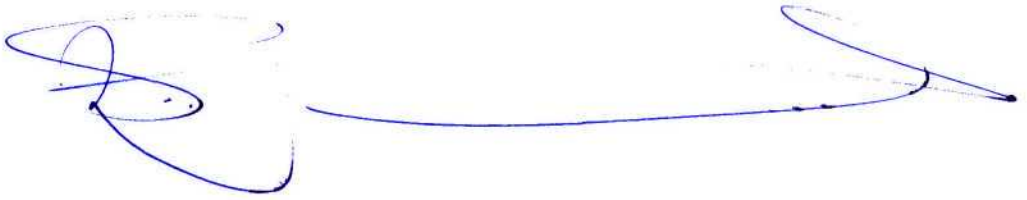
ii. The institutional development of protected area outreach programmes must address the core property rights issues which are characteristic of the interface between most protected areas and the surrounding landscapes in which they are situated. These issues will include access to and ownership of the natural resources that occur both within and around the protected area.

iii. In the short term, the effective establishment of these programmes will rely heavily on collaborative support from southern African non-government agencies to provide the financial and logistical resources required to build the capacity of the forum members to actively participate in the development of a programme.

PREFACE

The work presented in this thesis was carried out in the Institute of Natural Resources, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, from April 1993 to April 1998, under the supervision of Professor Charles M. Breen.

The work represents original work by the author which has not been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any University. Where use has been made of the work of others it is duly acknowledged in the text.



ANDREW KARL VENTER

7 May 1998

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks go the following people and organisations. Their support and guidance made this project possible.

My wife, Andrea Wilson, for her support throughout the project.

Prof. Charles Breen for his supervision of the project and for stretching my mind.

The Green Trust and WWF-SA for funding. In particular I would like to thank Dr John Hanks and Ms. Kim van Wyk for their confidence, guidance and words of wisdom.

Chris Marais and Jenny Botha for their support and enthusiasm.

My brothers, Robert and Stuart Venter, and my mother.

Hilary Wilson for always being there.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

Sub-Saharan African conservation authorities are progressively shifting their emphasis away from law enforcement based management strategies, towards management strategies aimed at facilitating local community participation in the management of natural resources (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Baldus, Krischke, Lyamuya and Ndunguru, 1994; IIED, 1994; Pimbert and Pretty, 1994; Steiner and Rihoy, 1995; Wells and Brandon, 1993). However, the definition of what a local community is and the property rights of these communities varies substantially within the region, including a variety of different attempts at both community based and protected area based Integrated Conservation and Development Programmes (Baldus *et al*, 1994; Banda and De Boerr, 1993; Hunsicker and Ngambesso, 1993; Lindsay, 1987; Kane, Hoffmann and Campredon, 1993; Kiiru, 1996; Kiss, 1990; Mbanefo and De Boerr, 1993; Mwenya, Lewis and Kaweche, 1990; Muhereza, 1996; Pimbert and Pretty, 1994; Wandira, 1996; Wilson, 1993). The diversity of strategies reflects the fact that the principle of local community participation in natural resource management is a relatively new principle, and that the development of appropriate management strategies is still in an experimental phase throughout sub-Saharan Africa. The development of such strategies is being driven by both Government departments, e.g. the Zimbabwean Department of National Parks and Wild Life Management, Botswanan Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Namibian Ministry of the Environment and South African National Parks and Natal Parks Boards, and Non-Government organisations, e.g. World Wide Fund for Nature, African Resources Trust, Centre For Applied Social Science and the International Union for the Conservation of Nature.

Murphree (1996) relates the development of these new management strategies to a progressive change from a scenario he describes as "*conservation against the people*", to a scenario of "*conservation by the people*" (Table 1). He argues that the sustainable development of Africa's natural resources is contingent on the establishment of an institutional framework which supports and facilitates a scenario of

"*conservation by the people*". Under this scenario the various African government and non-government organisations currently involved in the management of Africa's natural resources, would be tasked with providing technical and financial support for "*the people's*" natural resource management initiatives. This shift involves a return in the "ownership" of natural resource management to the communities that use and / or are most affected by the resources.

Murphree's (1996) argument is focussed around the management of natural resources on communal land in a traditional rural African context. However, there are a range of other sub-Saharan African natural resource management scenarios including protected area management, private land game farming and state forests. Within this broader natural resource management context, Barrow (1996) proposes that there are three different categories of community involvement in natural resource management, i.e. community based natural resource management, collaborative management and protected area outreach (Table 2).

Table 1 Murphree's (1996) typology of the evolution of African conservation policy.

Scenario	Definition
Conservation *against* the people	Early colonialists approach of taking large tracts of land away from rural peoples, for the establishment of protected areas, and the removal of their jurisdiction over the natural resources of the land which remained with them.
Conservation *for* the people	Subsequent stage during which growing concerns for the state of the African environment prompted governments to introduce sweeping legislation governing the use of land and natural resources, and the creation of conservation agencies to provide extension services and to enforce good practise.
Conservation *with* the people	Contemporary strategy of co-opting the managing capacity of the local rural communities. This approach is driven by the growing realisation that African governments do not have the capacity to enforce what they in their wisdom had decided was good practise for Africa's real natural resource managers, the millions of small-scale farmers and pastoralists who populate rural sub-Saharan Africa.
Conservation *by* the people	Future vision, where these rural communities are entrusted with the ownership and custodianship of local natural resource management, i.e. their original ownership rights are re-instated.

Table 2 Categories of community participation in sub-Saharan African natural resource management (Barrow, 1996).

Category	Description
Community Based Conservation (CBC) or Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM).	Management strategy where a "community" is allocated ownership or appropriate authority for the management of natural resources which have a local value. The community is tasked with implementing appropriate authority management systems, aimed at allowing community members to benefit from the resource. Underlying assumption is that the community possess traditional knowledge and skills which will allow them to manage the resources sustainably. This knowledge base may be supplemented by external technical and financial support from government and non-government structures.
Collaborative management.	Management strategy where a community and a conservation authority collaborate to jointly manage a resource(s) or area of regional , national or international conservation value. The management of the resource or area is governed by a negotiated framework, which defines the roles and responsibilities of the collaborative partners.
Protected area outreach.	Management strategy aimed at establishing a positive working relationship between protected area staff and their neighbours. Generally centred around two complimentary approaches, namely, (1) the identification and resolution of problem issues to the mutual benefit of the protected area and the neighbouring communities, and (2) the development and use of the resources represented by the protected area, to improve the livelihood of the neighbouring community members.

Within the context of these different categories (Table 2), Murphree's (1996) "*conservation by the people*" is only applicable to community based conservation and collaborative management scenarios. "*Conservation by the people*" is not relevant to a protected area outreach scenario. The management of sub-Saharan Africa's protected area network is the responsibility of provincial or national conservation agencies, and is directed by national and international legislation supporting the establishment and management of a protected area network. The direct involvement of provincial and national government in the management of these protected areas reflects the fact that the areas and resources included within the protected area network have national and international value. Thus, it is inconceivable that the state could simply be tasked with providing technical and financial support for a "*people's*" based natural resource management programme within these protected areas. Rather, the state should be tasked with

promoting a scenario of "*conservation with the people*" (Murphree, 1996). Under this scenario, the various conservation agencies involved in the management of sub-Saharan Africa's protected area networks natural resources would work in partnership with "*the people*" to facilitate the integration, rather than isolation, of the protected area into the local social, economic and environmental systems, i.e. into the surrounding landscape.

Frameworks for community involvement in natural resource management

A framework is a "basic system", where a system is a"structured and systematic method consisting of defined principles and procedures" (Oxford Dictionary, 1992). Thus frameworks for community involvement in natural resource management need to present structures and systematic methodologies that are centred around clearly defined principles and procedures.

There are few documented Integrated Conservation and Development Programme frameworks, and those which have been documented all relate to community based conservation or community based natural resource management, e.g. Zimbabwe's CAMPFIRE programme, Zambia's ADMADE programme, Namibia's LIFE programme and Botswana's natural resource management project (Francis, 1996; Jones, 1995; Murphree, 1994; Mwenya *et al*, 1990; Steiner and Rihoy, 1995). Although a range of collaborative management and protected area outreach programmes have been documented, these are presented in the context of case studies rather than frameworks. However, a number of the collaborative management case studies have been presented as empirical attempts at providing a basis for developing frameworks for collaborative management programmes (Fotso, 1996; Harris, Branch and Wilson, 1996; Hunsicker and Ngambesso, 1993; Ibo and Leonard-Orstom, 1996; Makilya, Lembuya and Mwadzaya, 1996; Mbailenang, 1996; Ousmane, 1996; Turyaho, 1996; Raharimalala, 1996; Wilson, 1993), i.e. they are pro-active attempts at developing a set of principles and procedures for collaborative management of natural resources on state land outside of the sub-Saharan African protected area network.

In contrast, the protected area outreach case studies describe reactive responses to pressures on the integrity of the sub-Saharan African protected area network. The development of protected area outreach projects has been a characteristic of sub-Saharan African conservation since the late 1970's, and there are a number of examples spread across the sub-continent (Banda and De Boerr, 1993; Davion, 1995; Diop, 1996; Lindsay, 1987; Lusigi, 1981; Kane *et al*, 1993; Kijazi, 1996; Mabiala, 1996; Mascarenhas, 1983; Mbaikiri, 1996; Prins, 1987; Sibanda, 1996; Wandira, 1996; Western, 1982; Zeba, 1996). These examples all have one or more of the following activities in common:

i. The establishment of liaison committees to facilitate the resolution of *problems* between the protected area and its neighbours.

ii. The establishment of *consumptive resource use* projects aimed at supporting the day-to-day lives of the local community members, e.g. harvesting of thatch grass, firewood, medicinal plants, etc..

iii. The establishment of *consumptive and non-consumptive resource use* projects e.g. hunting safaris, eco-tourism lodges, levy systems, etc., aimed at generating income to subsidise infrastructural development within the local communities, e.g. grinding mills, schools, clinics, etc..

In the short term, these activities represent attempts at minimising the negative impact, and maximising the positive impact, of the protected area on the communities living along its boundary. Theoretically, these activities lay a foundation for the development of a broader term vision and long-term approach, i.e. the development of a conservation and sustainable development ethic amongst the local community members.

However, these case studies share another characteristic, namely, the passive participation of local community members in decision making processes which directly affect the protected area, i.e. they participate by being told what has happened or is going to happen, and, more importantly, what they can or cannot do. Whilst the community members generally have a say in which resources they would like to harvest, or how they would like to spend the financial benefits accruing to their community, the protected area staff decide how much of particular resource can be harvested and how the financial benefits will be

generated. Against this background, the use of protected area outreach programmes to promote a conservation or sustainable development ethic amongst the local community members is flawed, as the local community members have been excluded from a critical phase of the outreach programme, i.e. they have no understanding of the issues underlying the management and protection of the protected area. Furthermore, the exclusion of local community members from this decision making process, contradicts the argument that the development of protected area outreach projects is aimed at increasing community involvement in natural resource management. The development of these projects may well increase the number of benefits which communities living along the boundaries of protected areas receive from these areas, however, they are still effectively passive beneficiaries and not active participants in a natural resource management project (Davion, 1995; Kane *et al*, 1993; Prins, 1987; Sibanda, 1996; Western, 1982).

Despite growing questioning of the success and value of existing protected outreach programmes (Barrett and Arcese, 1995; Gartlan, 1996; Wells and Brandon, 1993), conservation authorities continue to develop new programmes and support existing ones. The development and support of these programmes is being driven by a combination of political pressure on the protected area management and pressure on the environmental systems which characterise the different protected areas.

The political pressure on the protected areas is rooted in the fact that many of sub-Saharan Africa's protected areas were established in isolation from the local social and economic systems. This isolation was effected and reinforced in a number of ways, including:

i. Land appropriation with little or no consultation with local land owners and minimal compensation for lost users rights. This scenario was commonly accompanied by the prohibition of consumptive natural resource utilisation on the appropriated land. Not only did this further alienate the previous land owners but totally contradicted traditional rural African land-use practises which were centred around the consumptive use of natural resources (Anderson and

Grove, 1987; Kiss, 1990, Kemf, 1993).

ii. Local business and entrepreneurs were commonly excluded from consumable supply contracts, through centralised bulk buying schemes.

iii. Whilst labour and game guard staff were commonly drawn from local communities, management staff were usually drawn from outside the communities bordering on the protected areas, and during Africa's colonial period, management staff were usually European. Thus management staff were effectively foreigners within the local social structures, making it difficult for them to integrate into these structures. This was commonly aggravated by the management staff's arrogant and/or racist attitude towards the local community members, and their social traditions and structures.

The isolation of protected areas from the local social and economic systems has made them "soft" targets for politicians wanting to win support within the communities bordering on the protected areas. Baldus *et al* (1994) illustrate this political pressure as follows ("Selous" refers to the Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania): "*... if I were a politician I would do the following: - in Utete district I would promise free access to fishing in the Selous to the local fishermen. - In Liwale I would promise logging rights within the reserve and cheap game meat for everybody. - wherever I met angry farmers I would promise to organize .458 bullets from the Game Department so that the local game scouts could shoot elephants for crop protection. If I did these things, my chances to be elected would be much greater than if I stood for more protection of wildlife, for stiffer court sentences in poaching cases and for more environmental protection in general* (Baldus *et al*, 1994 - page 5)".

Protected area managers have responded to this pressure by trying to attach a use-value to the protected area by quantifying as many benefits out of their relevant area as they possibly can. Barrett and Arcese (1995) highlight problems with this response, specifically within the context of consumptive use benefits. They argue that protected area managers allow consumptive use projects on the assumption that they

would be able to respond to environmental fluctuations by increasing harvests following "good years" and decreasing them following "bad years". However, while increases might be arranged successfully within the ability to harvest, process and transport additional resources, decreases are likely to be politically unpalatable in a protected area outreach project context (Barrett and Arcese, 1995) as the need for benefits is likely to be higher during "bad years". This scenario is particularly relevant where community members are passive beneficiaries of the benefits, i.e. they are not involved in determining how much of a particular resource can be harvested, how it should be harvested and when it should be harvested.

The pressure on the environmental systems which characterise the protected areas is rooted in the fact that the ecological systems characteristic of a particular protected area are linked to, and dependent on, the systems characteristic of the surrounding landscape. Thus it is impossible to effectively manage the ecological dynamics of a protected area in isolation from the surrounding areas. Rather, conservation authorities need to apply a broader landscape ecology approach (Prins, 1987; Martin, 1993) to the management of protected areas. Within this context, the protected area staff need to work together with the community members to manage the ecological linkages between the protected area and the surrounding areas. In practise, this would imply the establishment of collaborative management systems for monitoring and managing the environmental factors linking the protected area and surrounding area, e.g. fire, water use and run-off, problem animals, alien plants, plant and animal diseases, etc..

The pressures on sub-Saharan Africa's protected areas are a reality and they are likely to increase in the face of growing population pressures (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Baldus *et al*, 1994; IIED, 1994; Newmark, Leonard, Sariko and Gamassa, 1993). To effectively deal with these pressures the relevant conservation authorities and local community members need to begin developing and implementing programmes that facilitate the active involvement of both protected area staff and local community members in planning, co-ordinating, monitoring and evaluating the integration of the protected area into the surrounding landscape.

A conceptual framework for integrating protected areas into the surrounding landscape

If local community members and protected area staff are to work together to facilitate the integration of the protected area into the surrounding landscape, then co-management institutions need to be established to plan, implement and continuously evaluate this integration. An institution is defined as:

> The sets of working rules that determine who is eligible to make decisions regarding the management of a resource, how these decisions will be implemented, monitored and evaluated, what information is required and what pay-offs (positive or negative) will be assigned to individuals or organisations who support or break the rules of membership (modified from Ostrom (1986)).

The terms of reference and activities of these management institutions would be dictated to by the site specific characteristics of the protected area and surrounding landscape, within the context of the range of issues which characterise the interface between the protected area and the surrounding landscape. These co-management institutions would essentially be responsible for *managing the interface* between the protected area and the surrounding local communities (Figure 1). Conceptually, the grouping of individuals which develop these co-management institutions can be referred to as *Partnership Fora* (Figure 1), as the development of such institutions requires the establishment of a *management partnership* between the protected area's staff, neighbouring communities' members and other local natural resource management stakeholders.

The core members of the Partnership Fora would be drawn from the relevant protected area's staff and the communities living within the surrounding landscape. The community membership is likely to include those communities that have land bordering on the protected area and either directly affect or are affected by the protected area, e.g. rural subsistence farmers, commercial farmers, private tourism operators, etc..

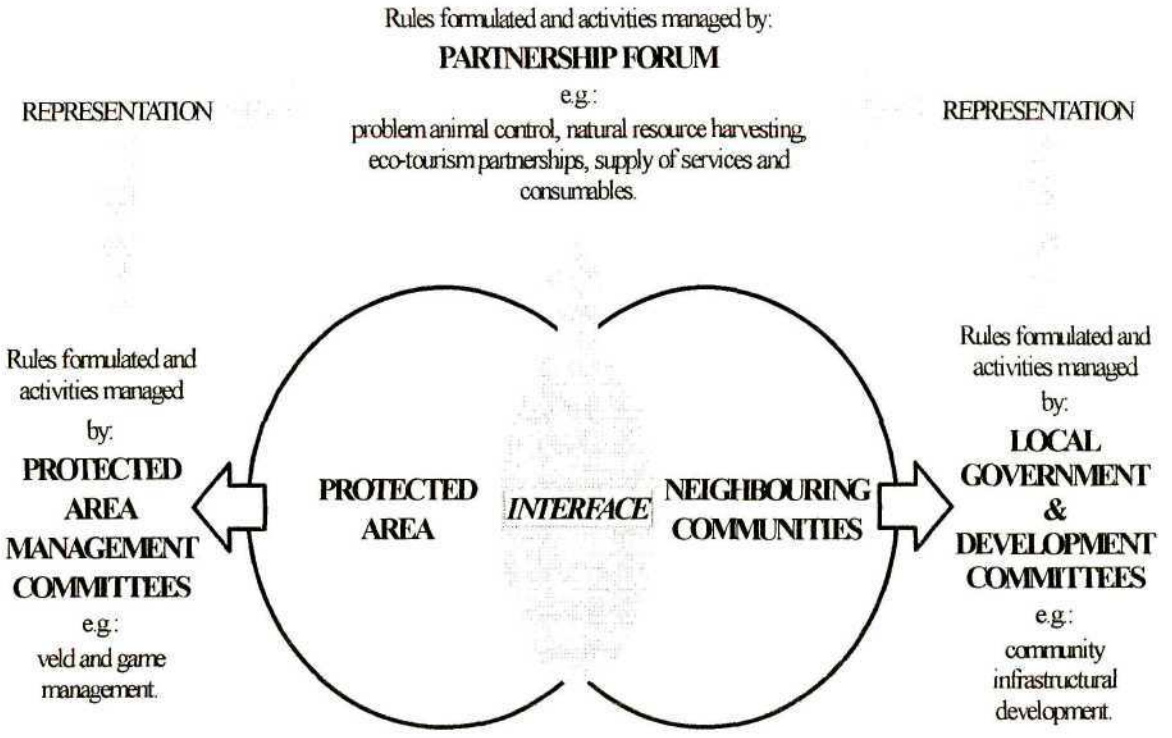

Figure 1 Conceptual representation of the management responsibilities of a Partnership Forum, Protected Area Management Committees and Local Government and community based Development Committees.

Establishment and development of a Partnership Forum

Organisational theory recognises that functional groups of individuals do not simply spring into existence, rather there appear to be at least four phases which they pass through as they progressively develop, namely, a forming phase, a storming phase, a norming phase and a performing phase (Tuckman, 1965; Howell and Dipboye, 1986) (Figure 2). There is also some times a fifth phase, a dissolving phase, depending on the group's role and vision. During the forming phase, the initial group members meet and initiate discussions aimed at developing an understanding of each others needs and expectations. If the group decides to continue working together, the group dynamics enter a storming phase, during which the group begins to polarise around certain tasks and issues, as members divide into opposing camps over task strategies and group leadership. If the group manages to resolve this conflict, the group dynamics enter

a norming phase. During this phase, the group members develop a clear understanding of their respective roles and their contribution to the group activities. The group begins developing into a cohesive entity with a clear vision, as the individual members put emotional and interpersonal conflicts behind them. If this phase progress's well, the group dynamics enter the performing phase, as the group members focus on their specific tasks. At some point the group members may feel that the group has achieved its purpose and the group dynamics enter the dissolving phase as the group members disperse (Figure 2).

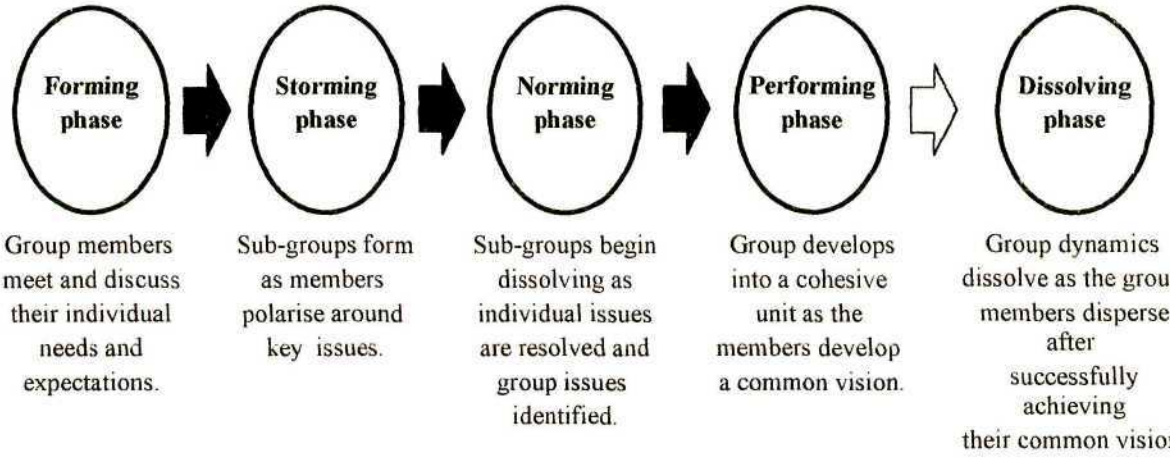

Figure 2 Diagram illustrating the different phases of small group development (adapted from Howell and Dipboye, 1986).

As the group develops, so its vision will progressively develop. During the forming phase, the group's vision is dictated by the individual needs and expectations of each group member. As the group dynamics develop, the vision of the group progressively shifts away from what the individual members want, to what the group, as a unit, wants. The transition between different phases are key stages in a group's development, as it is during these transitional stages that the group dynamics are most likely to falter, either setting back the group dynamics to an earlier phase or leading to the disintegration of the group.

This small group behavioural theory provides a useful conceptual basis for the development of a framework for protected area outreach programmes centred around the establishment and development

of Partnership Fora.

The first step in the development of a Partnership Forum would be a preliminary characterisation of the protected area staff, neighbouring community members and other natural resource management stakeholders active in the surrounding landscape that would be interested in the establishment of a forum. This group of individuals would be familiar with the key issues which characterise the interface between the relevant protected area and the surrounding landscape, and thus they could define the following:

i. Whether there was a need for a Partnership Forum.

ii. Who the neighbouring communities are.

iii. Who should represent these communities, and how they should be elected.

iv. Who should represent the protected area staff.

v. Which other natural resource management stakeholders should participate in the forum.

vi. How these stakeholders should be represented.

These definitions would be specific to the relevant protected area and its surrounding landscape, and would reflect a number of different factors, including, the proximity of settlements to the protected area, the impact of the protected area on the people of these settlements and the involvement of other stakeholders within these settlements and/or the protected area, i.e. Government departments, Non-Government organisations and private organisations, Similarly, the approach taken to identify the various stakeholders and convene meetings between these stakeholders would also be site specific, and would be determined by a number of factors, including the existing relationship between the protected area staff and the neighbouring community members and leadership.

Ostrom (1990) identifies the clear definition of membership boundaries as an important design principle in the development of common property resource management institutions. The membership boundaries define which individuals, communities and or organisations are involved in the institution. In the absence of such boundaries, membership will tend to be open-ended and not selective and thus there will be no

base incentive for members to abide by and enforce the institution's rules. The clear definition of membership boundaries also provides a basis for focussing the forum's activities, as the issues addressed by a forum will be the social, economic and environmental issues that are relevant to the forum's members within the context of the interface between the protected area and the surrounding landscape.

The preliminary characterisation of stakeholders and evaluation of the need for a forum would represent the forming phase in the establishment and development of a Partnership Forum. During this phase, the different stakeholders interests in participating in the development of a Partnership Forum would be shaped by their individual needs and expectations. The protected area's staff would see their involvement in the forum activities as a means of achieving the conservation of the protected area (Figure 3). In contrast, the neighbouring communities members and other stakeholders would see their involvement in the forum activities as a means of improving the development of their community or business interests (Figure 3). Thus, to the protected area staff *local development is a means towards achieving conservation,* whilst to the other stakeholders *conservation is a means towards achieving local development*, and the Partnership Forum's activities will be centred around the issues which characterise the overlap between these divergent interests (Figure 3).

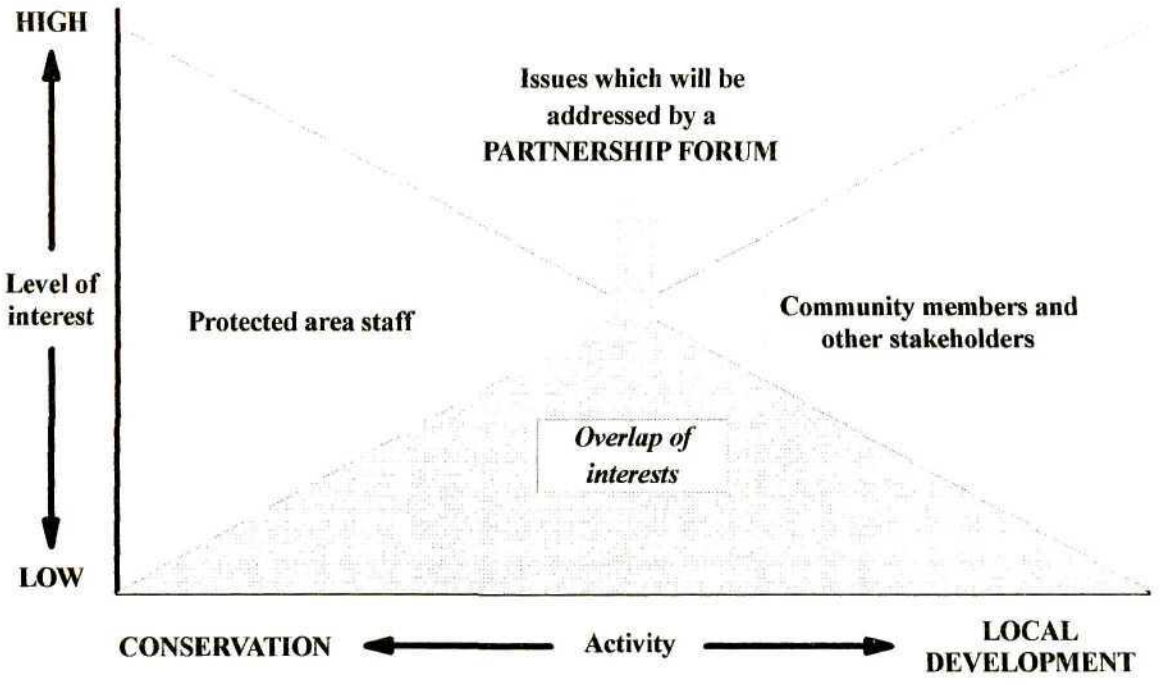

Figure 3 Conceptual representation of the divergent interests which characterises the involvement of protected area staff, local community members and other local stakeholders in a Partnership Forum's activities.

Once the forum members begin discussing and debating these issues, the forum's group dynamics would progressively shift out of a forming phase into a "storming" phase, as the forum members polarise around specific issues (Figure 2). This process is likely to be extremely tense if there is a history of conflict and/or land displacement between the protected area staff and the local community (Carruthers, 1993; Davion, 1995; Kiiru, 1996; Newmark *et al*, 1993; Muhereza, 1996; Pimbert and Pretty, 1994; Turton, 1987; Turyaho, 1996). These issues may go back many years and may either involve specific individuals or the organisations or structures they represent. Within this context, the ability of the forum's members to access conflict resolution mechanisms to resolve conflict and to mediate around deadlock situations may be an important success factor. Ostrom (1990) highlights this issue as an important design principle for common property resource management institutions. Intuitively it also makes sense that these mechanisms could be particularly important during the early stages in the establishment and development of programmes

aimed at integrating protected areas into their surrounding landscapes. During this phase, the forum's core activity would be the resolution of problem issues affecting the relationship between the forum members (Figure 4).

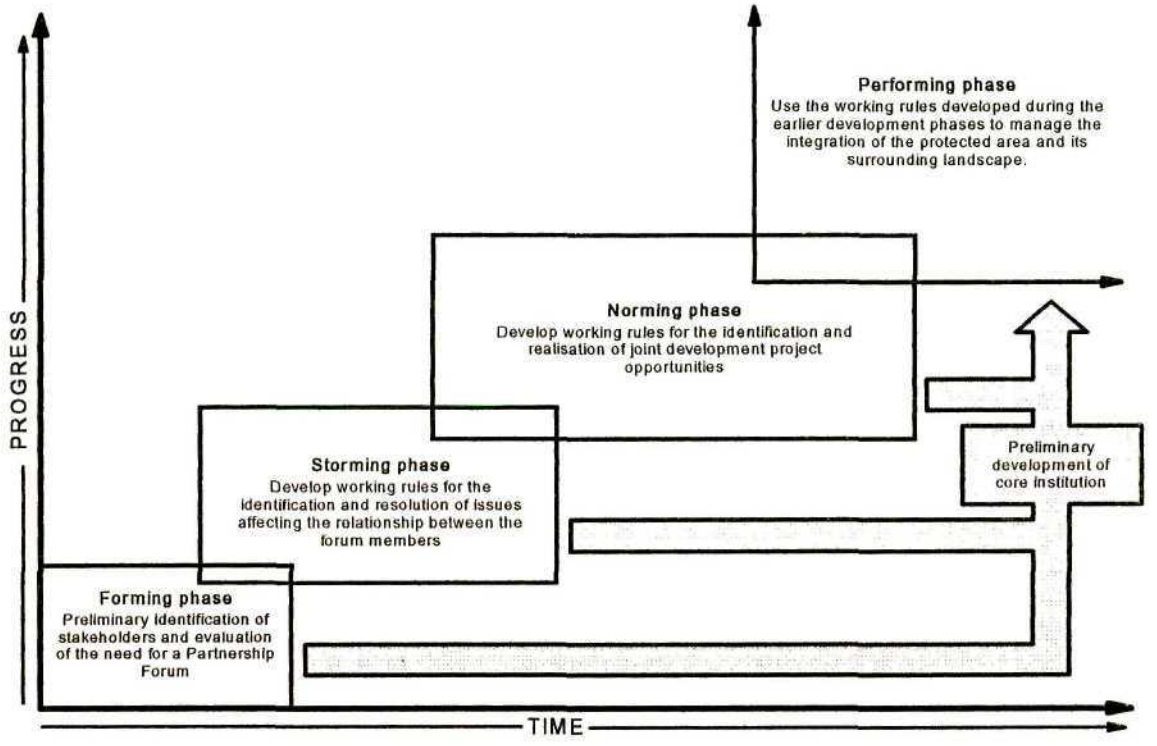

Figure 4 Conceptual representation of the phases in the progressive development of the working rules (institutional framework) which the members of a Partnership Forum will use to manage the interface between the protected area and its surrounding landscape.

Another important success factor for the development of a forum through the storming phase may be the achievement of short term tangible results. Abrahms (1992) refers to the importance of achieving an objective which will provide visual and tangible proof to the cynics of the benefits of a participative development process. If the forum members are able to resolve some of the problem issues, they will begin developing confidence in their own ability, the commitment of other forum members and the capacity of the forum as a unit. Thus, it is important to build on the small successes and keep the forum momentum going. Within this context the role of the outside support organisations is critical, as

development projects commonly fail despite high initial enthusiasm levels, generally as a result of limited capacity and/or resources amongst the group members (Abrahms, 1992). The role of these outside support organisations, e.g. government and non-government structures, consultants, etc., is not to take decisions, but to act as catalysts and intermediaries, i.e. to help relieve tensions and enable constructive debate and discussion (IIED, 1994).

Whilst the vision of the forum during this phase would still be shaped by the needs and expectations of individual forum members, the seeds of a common vision would develop from the successes which the forum manages to achieve, i.e. as the forum members begin to develop an understanding of what they, as a combined unit, can realistically achieve. If the forum members resolve some of the key issues which have polarised the forum, then the group dynamics will start moving into the "norming" phase (Figure 2). If the forum members are unable to resolve the issues affecting their relationship, then the group dynamics are likely enter a deadlock ultimately resulting in the failure of the protected area outreach programme unless outside organisations successfully help mediate a solution to the deadlock. This transitional phase is particularly critical as it will mark the beginning of a change of attitude in terms of the forum's activities, i.e. "your" or "my" activities would start becoming "our" activities.

The norming phase of small group dynamics is the phase during which group members start working together as a unit rather than a group of individuals, i.e. they start developing a common identity and vision (Howell and Dipboye, 1986). Within the context of a Partnership Forum based protected area outreach programme, the core activity of forum members during this phase will be the planning, co-ordination, monitoring and evaluation of pilot development projects (Figure 4). These projects will lay a foundation for the subsequent development of comprehensive partnership projects aimed at facilitating the social, economic and environmental integration of the protected area into the local community. This is an extremely important foundation, as the development of these projects will improve the forum's intra-group levels of trust and understanding, and the capacity of the forum members to plan, develop and

implement individual projects and ultimately a co-ordinated programme. The actual range of pilot projects developed during this phase will vary between programmes, in that they will reflect the specific needs, opportunities and resources of each situation.

During the forming, storming and norming phases the institutional core of the forum is developed, as a preliminary set of working rules for defining forum membership, identifying and resolving problem issues and identifying and realising development opportunities. As the rules are established and the intra-forum trust, understanding and capacity improves, so the forum's group dynamics will progressively move through the norming phase into a "performing" phase. This transition will be gradual and will be reflected through a shift in the forum's activities from an experimental approach, characterised by a diverse range of different pilot projects, to a co-ordinated management approach, characterised by the planning, implementation and evaluation of an integrated development programme (Figure 4). The performing phase in a forum's dynamics will be characterised by the progressive implementation and revision of the working rules developed during the earlier stages. It is thus essential that this process is supported by an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process that can inform the revision of the working rules.

Ostrom (1990) highlights the importance of monitoring and reviewing an institutions working rules, and proposes that the individuals or organisations that monitor the process must either be drawn from the institution's membership, or must be answerable to the membership. Furthermore, Ostrom (1990) proposes that the process of monitoring and reviewing the working rules must be supported by a set of graduated sanctions that can be implemented against members of the institution who default on the implementation of agreed rules. Whilst Ostrom's (1990) design principles are drawn from a slightly different context, i.e. a common property resource management context, they may be relevant within the context of protected area based integrated development programmes. Within this context, the focus of the co-management institution is the management of the interface between the protected area and the surrounding landscape, and not a specific natural resource. Nevertheless, to effectively manage this

interface, a set of management rules need to be developed which are the common property of the members of the institution, and the degree to which the members support and abide by these rules needs to be monitored and where necessary enforced through the application of a graduated sanction system.

It is unlikely that the dynamics of a successful Partnership Forum will ever enter the final dissolving phase of small group dynamics (Figure 2). The establishment of a Partnership Forum represents an attempt at establishing a long-term (permanent) co-management institution with a unique set of working rules that guide the integration of the protected area into the surrounding landscape. Thus, if the forum does dissolve, then it has failed to achieve it's long-term goal.

The progressive development of a Partnership Forum based protected area outreach programme through the forming, storming and norming phases into the performing phase is only likely to occur if the programme participants (forum members) follow a logical and rational management process, that is objective driven (Johnson, 1985; Clark, Ross and Shackleton, 1994), i.e. that is structured around attainable objectives. This is supported by Abrahms (1992) who stresses the importance of using an "action-centred" process, i.e. focuses attention on issues which capture the imagination and enthusiasm of the development participants.

Management process for the Partnership Forum activities

An objective driven management process has the following core components, which are performed on a progressive and iterative basis (Johnson, 1985; Clark, Ross and Shackleton, 1994) (Figure 5):

i. Definition of a common vision, i.e. a broad philosophical statement of intent.

ii. Definition of objectives and associated goals, where the objectives expand on the key elements of the vision and provide a base for defining goals, which are achievable and testable.

iii. Description of management actions, which could possibly achieve the specific goals.

iv. Prediction of the consequences of each of the possible management actions, and an evaluation of

the predicted scenarios, with reference to the specific goals.

v. Selection of specific management options.

vi. Implementation of the selected management options.

vii. Monitoring and evaluation of the success of the implemented management actions, with reference to the specific goals.

viii. Periodic review of the vision, objectives and goals.

Clark *et al* (1994) stress the need for an ongoing assessment of circumstances within which the management process is being developed. This analysis provides a basis for the successful implementation of each of the afore-mentioned steps.

During the forming and storming phases of a Partnership Forum based protected area outreach programme, forum members will meet and exchange ideas, leading to the identification of key short term objectives, which reflect the visions of the various forum members. Subsequent discussion and debate amongst the forum members will provide an initial overview of the existing situation and will lead to the definition of initial objectives, associated goals and the identification, evaluation and selection of a range of possible management actions (Figure 5). These goals will generally be focussed around the identification and resolution of problem issues. It is unlikely that the analysis of the existing situation or the initially defined range of management options will be comprehensive, as the forum members will not have developed a clear understanding of each others needs, circumstances and capabilities. Furthermore, whilst they may have the capacity to define their problems, they may not have the capacity to define management action that could realistically resolve the problems. However, their capacity will progressively improve as they attempt the integrated planning, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of a range of management actions. This progressive process will also characterise the norming phase, or pilot project development phase, i.e. as the forum members attempt the planning, co-ordinated implementation, monitoring and evaluation of development project orientated management actions. This highlights the need for the management process to be an iterative process (Figure 5), building on the

experiences gained through progressive iterations of the process.

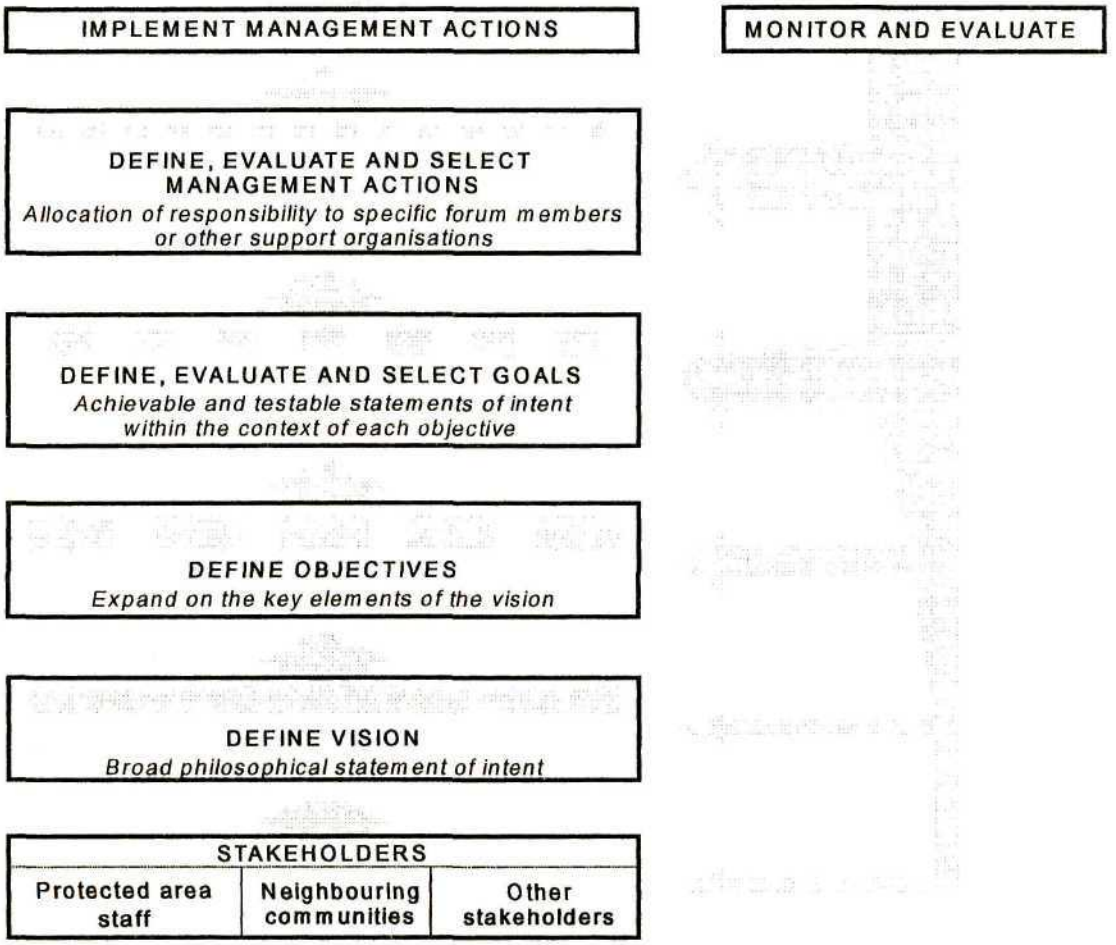

Figure 5 Schematic diagram illustrating an objective driven management process for a Partnership Forum based protected area outreach programme (adapted from Johnson (1985) and Clark, Ross and Shackleton (1994)).

The success of this process will determine the rate at which the outreach programme progresses through the forming, storming, norming and performing phases previously discussed. The forming, storming, and norming phases each represent key learning phases in the development of a Partnership Forum based

Protected Area Outreach programme. As the forum members progressively identify stakeholders and establish a forum (forming phase), solve problems (storming phase) and begin working together on joint development projects (norming phase), the level of intra-forum trust, understanding and development management capacity will progressively improve.

The overall progress of the programme towards the establishment of a co-management institution for the integration of the protected area into the surrounding landscape (performing phase), will be characterised by periods of relatively slow progress during the forming, storming and norming phases, and relatively rapid progress during the transition between these phases (Figure 6). The slow progress during these phases will be a functioning of the trust building and learning components associated with each phase. The rapid progress between the phases will be a function of the breakthrough represented by increased intra-forum trust and understanding and/or development capacity.

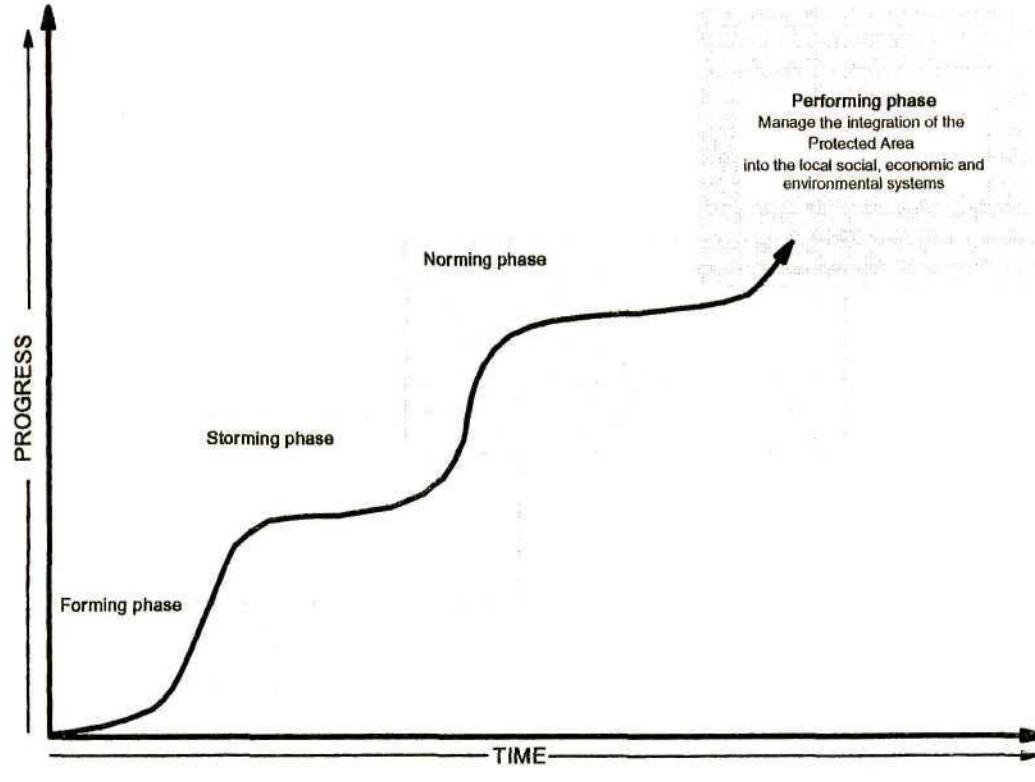

Figure 6 Conceptual representation of the relative progress of a Partnership Forum through the Forming, Storming and Norming phases into the Performing phase of group dynamics.

The ability of the forum members to learn through this process, and to expand their vision, will always be limited by their combined experiences and training. Thus, it is critical that the management process be supported by outside organisations, that can guide forum members through deadlock situations and develop the capacity of the forum members, where specific skills are lacking. These organisations are likely to include a range of conservation and development orientated organisations, and their involvement will also provide a context for the forum's activities within the regional and national conservation and development structures, i.e. the forum will not be operating in isolation from these structures. The range of organisations involved in a specific forum will be determined by the range of problem issues and development projects addressed by the forum.

Summary

Sub-Saharan African conservation organisations are gradually implementing integrated conservation and development programmes, aimed at facilitating local community participation in the management of natural resources. These programmes include community based natural resource management, collaborative management and protected area outreach programmes, and represent a shift away from a scenario of "*conservation against the people*" towards a scenario of "*conservation by the people*" (Barrow, 1996; Murphree, 1996).

The development of the community based natural resource management and collaborative management programmes has been structured around a range of conceptual frameworks, including the Zimbabwean CAMPFIRE and Zambian ADMADE frameworks. In contrast, the development of protected area outreach programmes has been structured around a range of reactive responses to pressures on the integrity of the sub-Saharan African protected area network, and no clear conceptual frameworks for protected area outreach have been presented. The conceptual framework presented in this chapter, the *Partnership Forum Framework*, represents an initial attempt at developing such a framework.

The framework is structured around the progressive establishment and development of a co-management institution (Partnership Forum) responsible for the integration of a protected area into the surrounding landscape. The framework proposes that the establishment and initial development of such an institution can be characterised into three phases, namely, a forming, storming and norming phase. During these phases the preliminary institutional membership and working rules are defined through a progressive objective driven management process. These phases lay a foundation for a long-term (permanent) institutional performing phase during which the institution's members manage the integration of the protected area into the surrounding landscape, and progressively improve the membership and working rules through an ongoing monitoring and review process.

The framework is structured around the following design principles, which need to be explicitly considered during the process of establishing and developing a Partnership Forum, namely:

i. That the forum's membership must include the range of individuals, communities and organisations that either affect or are affected by the interface between the protected area and the surrounding landscape, and that the forum's membership boundaries must be clearly defined and not open-ended.

ii. That these members must actively participate in defining and, where relevant, implementing the working rules which represent the institutional core of the forum's activities.

iii. That the forum's activities should be supported by an ongoing monitoring and evaluation process which can progressively inform the revision of the forum's membership and working rules.

The use of this framework was tested through the development of four Partnership Fora along the western boundary of the Kruger National Park (KNP), South Africa's largest National Park. The results of this empirical analysis are described in Chapters 3, 4 and 5 as a series of case study descriptions and evaluations. The case studies describe and evaluate the procedures used to convene the fora, identify and resolve problem issues, and identify and implement development project opportunities. Emphasis is placed

on the institutional development aspects of the fora, as a basis for reviewing and improving the initial framework. The information presented in these case studies is drawn from file notes and minutes which were kept of all public meetings, forum meetings and workshops arranged within the context of the fora between September 1993 and July 1996. These file notes and minutes can be obtained directly from the author or from the Kruger National Park archives. Chapter 2 presents a brief historical overview of the relationship between the KNP's management and the people within and along the boundaries of the park. Chapter 6 presents a discussion of the results of the case study evaluations and highlights key issues identified through the use of the Partnership Forum Framework as a conceptual framework for the development of the KNP's Outreach Programme.

CHAPTER 2

OWNERS, TENANTS, SQUATTERS, REFUGEES, ... PARTNERS?

Introduction

This chapter presents a historical overview of the changes in the relationship between the Kruger National Park's (Figure 7) management, and the people living within and along the boundaries of park, as a basis for the case study material presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5. Emphasis is placed on illustrating how a law enforcement based management strategy has failed, and how the development of this protected area has contributed to the social and economic disruption of local communities.

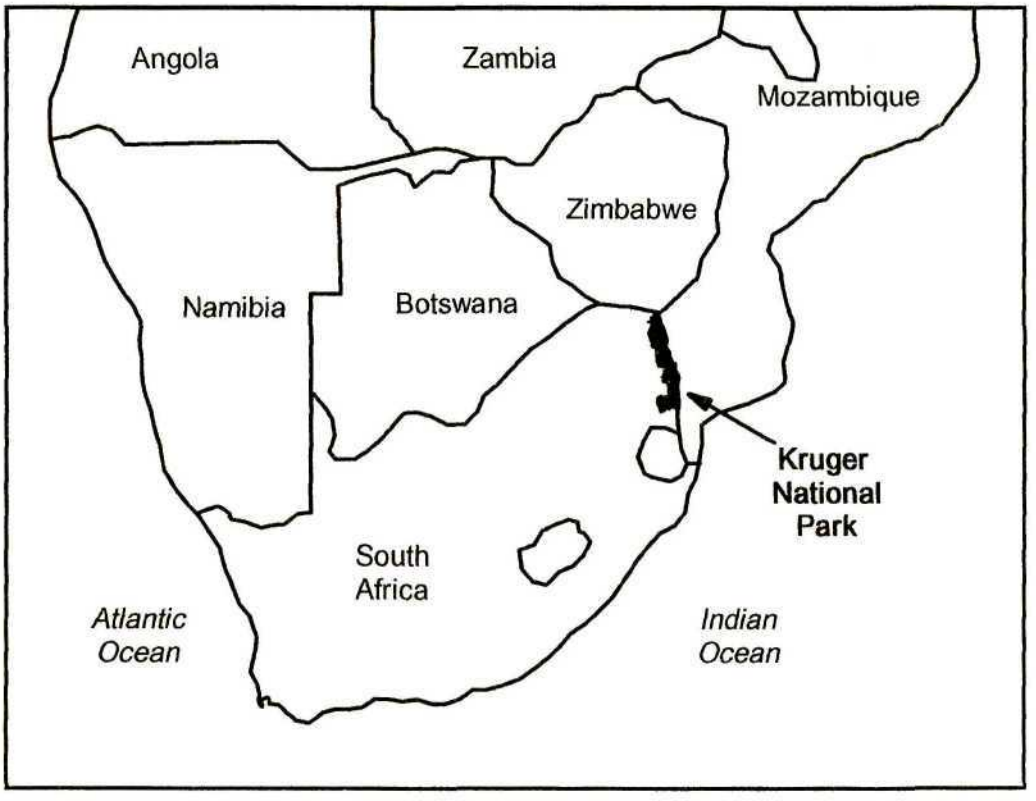

Figure 7 Map illustrating the relative location of the Kruger National Park within the southern African region.

Owners, tenants, squatters...

Although the Kruger National Park was formally proclaimed in 1926, the park was formed through the amalgamation of two provincial game reserves which were proclaimed at the turn of the century, namely, the Sabi (established 1898) and the Singwitsi (established 1903) Game Reserves. These game reserves were proclaimed as wildlife sanctuaries in which various wildlife species, i.e. huntable wildlife, could recover their numbers following near decimation during the South African War, and were established on land which was regarded as disease ridden, and agriculturally and minerally worthless (Carruthers, 1993). The reserves were established against a background of conflict between the local residents and the European hunters moving into the area. This conflict centred around access to the land and its associated natural resource base.

The influx of settlers into the area was accompanied by the introduction of commercial and sports hunting using firearms, which, coupled with traditional subsistence hunting by local residents, decimated local game populations. As the settlers became more established and began introducing new forms of legislation and governance into the region, laws were introduced which prejudiced the local residents' access to the wildlife resources (Carruthers, 1993). The legal status of these resources was defined as *res nullius*, which gave landowners the right to protect wildlife resident on their land against so called "trespassers" (Index der Staatscouranten, 1870; Index der Staatscouranten, 1881). At the same time, the land traditionally owned by the local residents was progressively encroached on by the movement of European settlers into the region. The new laws were introduced against a European cultural background where "subsisting" on game was regarded as "less civilised" than selling it or killing it for entertainment, and where the traditional African hunting techniques were regarded as cruel, despite the fact that the local residents were prohibited by law from possessing firearms (Carruthers, 1993).

Although both the Sabi and Singwitsi Game Reserves were proclaimed on land settled by local African communities, the ownership rights of these communities appear to have been ignored. Rather, while they

were allowed to remain on the land, they were forced to pay rent, either in the form of cash or labour, which was used to subsidise the development of the reserve, i.e. they were regarded as tenants rather than communal land owners. This system only evolved after an aborted earlier attempt to evict the local residents from the Sabi Game Reserve. Stevenson-Hamilton, the first warden of the reserve, was initially instructed by the then Department of Native Affairs (initially responsible for the reserves) to evict the local resident Africans from the game reserve (TA SNA169 NA2063/03). However, the local authorities soon realised that it would be more beneficial to the reserves if the local population was allowed to stay, but forced to pay rent in the form of labour or other financial forms. In exchange, the "tenants" were allowed to conduct agricultural and pastoral activities within the boundaries of the reserves (Stevenson-Hamilton, 1912; KNP, 1928).

Stevenson-Hamilton's attempts at evicting the local residents, earned him the nickname "*Skukuza*" (he who sweeps clean) and earned the reserve a reputation amongst the local communities, that "*the government wants to drive [us] away from the lowveld so as to include these parts in the game reserve*" (TA SNA321 1321/06). Carruthers (1993) describes the relationship between the "tenants" and the KNP management in detail, and also introduces the role which convict labour played in developing the park. It is obvious that while KNP management may have relied on the services of these tenants, the tenants were never consulted or actively involved in management decision making. Thus, the philosophy and ethic which the KNP represented was never embraced by the tenants, who viewed the KNP as a source of work and / or as a threat to their livelihood and lifestyle. The number of tenants resident within the boundaries of the KNP progressively decreased as the tenants were either formally incorporated into the KNP's staff or left the region to find work in other areas. In 1957, the National Parks Board began implementing a programme aimed at actively reducing the numbers of tenants resident within the KNP (KNP, 1957/1958). This programme consisted of two distinct actions:

i. When young tenants got married, they were required to leave the KNP and establish their own kraals (family residential units) outside the park. If these young tenants were supporting their

parents or other family members, these family members were required to move into the newly established kraals (at this stage in the KNP's history, these local residents were referred to as squatters, and no longer viewed as tenants) (KNP, 1958/1959).

ii. No new tenant or *squatter* rights were issued to people wishing to settle in the KNP.

At the turn of the century there were over 3000 people resident within the area currently included within the KNP's boundaries (Carruthers 1993). By 1958 the number of people still resident within the KNP boundaries had been reduced to 405 people, (KNP, 1958/1959), by 1980 there were only 40 residents left and the last of these residents died in 1994 (KNP, 1994/1995).

... Refugees ...

The election of South Africa's first National Party government in 1949, heralded the *Era of Grand Apartheid* (Carruthers, 1993), which was based on a policy of separate development for different races. As the KNP was a National Park, its management policies were dictated to by the government of the day, and while the previous South African governments had showed an obvious bias towards white South Africans, the National Party government progressively instituted a series of laws which actively favoured white South Africans at the expense of other races. The impact of these laws on the Kruger National Park was felt in two distinct ways.

Firstly, before 1949 non-white tourists were welcomed to the KNP and shared facilities with the white tourists. This policy was subsequently changed, on the instruction of the new government. In 1949, the new Minister of Lands, Mr J. G. Strydom, informed the National Parks Board of Trustees that he regretted not only that different race groups shared camps, but that they even shared the roads. He proposed that the KNP should be sub-divided and that a portion should be put aside for the exclusive use of non-white tourists (KNP, 1949). While these extreme recommendations were never adopted, a policy of separate amenities was. During the 1950's, 1960's and 1970's only a few accommodation units were reserved for non-white visitors, the bulk being utilised by white visitors (NPB, 1960/1961 - 1976/1977), this policy

obviously reinforced the local black communities' negative perceptions of the KNP. It was only in the late 1970's that all the KNP's facilities were opened to all visitors, irrespective of race.

Secondly, in 1959 Dr H. F. Verwoed, Prime Minister of the Republic of South Africa, initiated legislation which would lead to the creation of independent "Bantustans", later known as homelands and later still as national states (SAF, 1994). These Bantustans were defined on the basis of different cultures, and black South Africans were moved into the areas reserved for these Bantustans on the basis of their historical cultural identity, e.g. Zulu people were moved into the KwaZulu Bantustan and the Shangaan people were moved into the Gazankulu Bantustan. Through this process, ten different Bantustans were created. Ironically, these ten Bantustans were created on 13% of the total land area of South Africa (15.3 million ha) and yet were supposed to house over 80% of South Africa's population (SA, 1990). Furthermore, these Bantustans were declared on areas that were generally agriculturally and minerally poor, had poorly developed infrastructures and often consisted of a number of small areas which were not geographically linked. These generalisations are well represented by the situation which developed along the edge of the KNP. Although the areas surrounding the KNP were recognised as poor agricultural areas, sections of four of the different Bantustans were declared along the western boundary of the KNP, namely, sections of the Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa and KaNgwane Bantustans (Figure 8). Once the areas were declared, a policy of forced removals was implemented, moving people from other areas of the country into their relevant Bantustan. Thus the population density within these Bantustans rapidly increased, e.g. census figures indicate that between 1980 and 1991 the population of Gazankulu increased by 150% while that of KaNgwane increased by nearly 400% (SA, 1982; SAF, 1994). Thus there was a tremendous increase in the population pressure along the western boundary of the KNP, primarily through the forced relocation of black people or *refugees*.

This increase in population pressure impacted on the KNP in two distinct ways, namely:

i. There was a negative impact on tourist access to the KNP along access roads which passed

through the various Bantustans.

ii. There was an increase in the levels of poaching along the KNP's boundary with the various Bantustans.

Negative impact on tourist access to the KNP

Three of the roads servicing the KNP passed through the Bantustan areas. While there was generally little negative impact on tourists using these roads, tourist traffic along the road serving Numbi Gate was badly affected (Figure 8). The Numbi Gate road winds through the area included in the KaNgwane Bantustan, and during periods of "unrest" and protest, vehicles were stoned along this road. Although there were no serious injuries or fatalities, the negative publicity associated with these incidents of stoning discouraged tourists from using the road. Between 1970 and 1993, the number of tourists entering through Numbi Gate dropped from 212 000 to 81 000 (Figure 9).

The decrease in the number of tourists using the Numbi Gate road was characterised by three noticeable dips, namely, in 1976, 1986 and after 1989 (Figure 9). The 1976 dip corresponds to the general protest associated with the 1976 Soweto riots following the Sharpeville Massacre (NPB, 1976/1977) and the 1986 dip corresponds to a period of intense protest within the KaNgwane region (KNP, 1985/1986). During the 1985/1986 financial year, Orpen Gate (Figure 8) was also closed due to sporadic protests and disturbances within the surrounding region (Gazankulu Bantustan). The general decrease since 1989 corresponded to increased protest and disturbance within the KaNgwane Bantustan, which was associated with the progressive unbanning of the liberation organisations and the lead up to South Africa's first democratic election (KNP, 1991/1992; KNP, 1993/1994). The decrease in visitors using this gate, was also attributable to the increasing popularity of the Paul Kruger Gate (Figure 9), slightly further north, which was opened in 1969 and skirted around the edge of the KaNgwane Bantustan area.

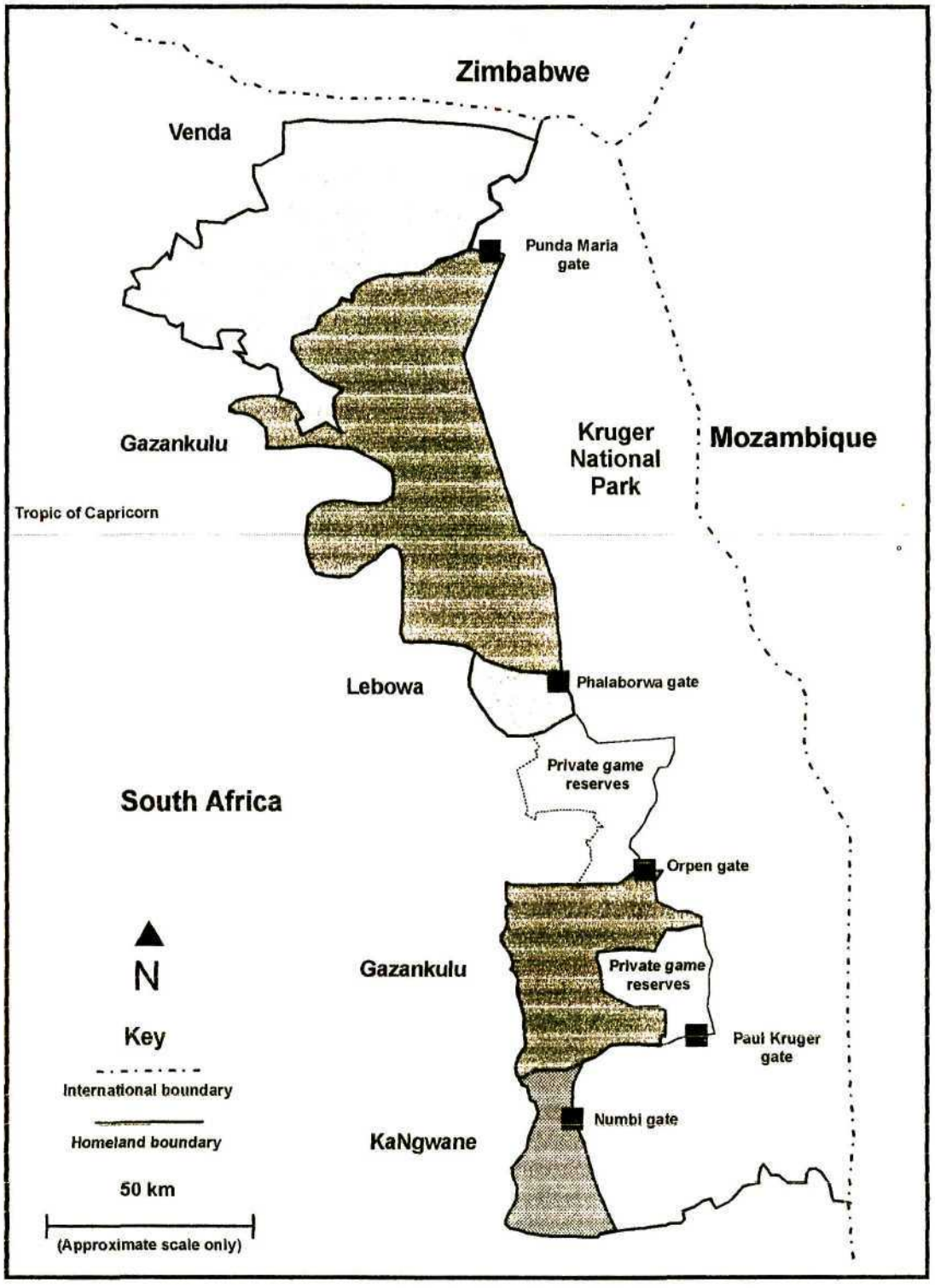

Figure 8 Map illustrating the position of the Bantustan areas that bordered on the Kruger National Park.

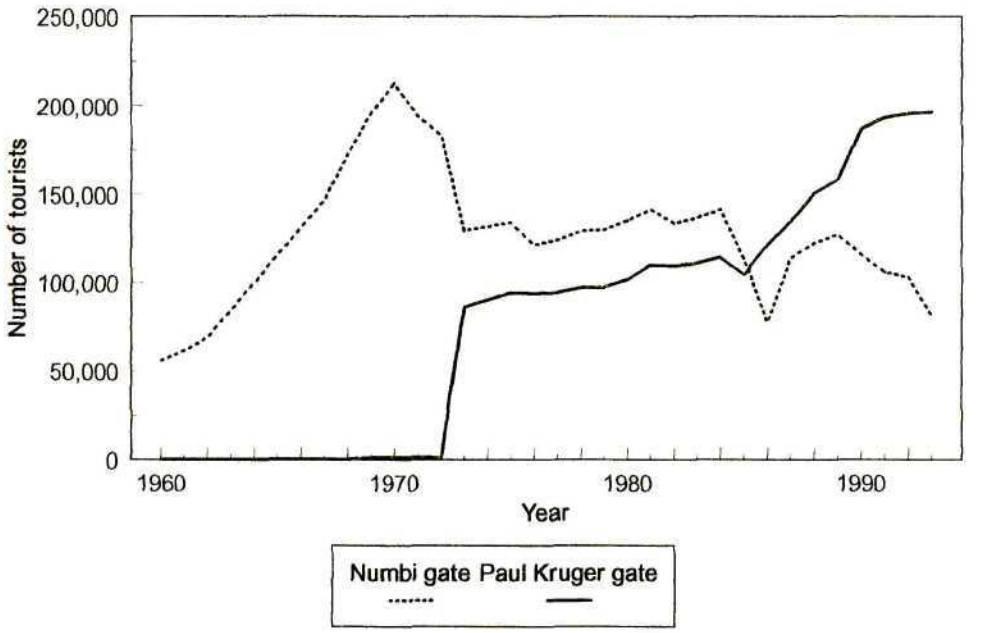

Figure 9 Number of tourists using the Numbi and Paul Kruger Gate entrances between 1960 and 1993 (NPB, 1958/1959 - 1979/1980; KNP, 1980/1981 - 1993/1994).

The various incidents of unrest which characterised both the KaNgwane and Gazankulu Bantustans, were symptomatic of the conditions of social and economic instability that characterised all the South African Bantustans. This instability was hardly surprising given the poor agricultural, economic and infrastructural conditions, and artificially high population growth rate which together promoted the poverty and unemployment that characterised the areas.

Increase in the levels of poaching within the KNP

The original residents in the region lived off the local wildlife resources. As more and more European settlers moved into the area, so competition for these resources increased. As the settlers became more established they introduced laws which made it increasingly difficult for the local African residents to legally utilise these wildlife resources (Carruthers, 1993). With the proclamation of the Sabi and Singwitsi reserves and the introduction of the tenant system within these reserves, these local residents (tenants) were severely punished if they were caught utilising the local wildlife resources, e.g. in 1911 the residents of

several kraals which were suspected of poaching were evicted from the reserve (TA TPB784 TA 3006).

With the proclamation of the KNP, and the associated increased conservation awareness amongst white South Africans, KNP management focussed on protecting the integrity of the park. Thus, local African residents who were caught hunting were regarded as "evil, cruel poachers" whilst the rangers policing the reserve were regarded as "brave and loyal" (Carruthers, 1993). This attitude ignored the fact that the local economic system had been centred around the utilisation of natural resources, and that the establishment of the KNP had impacted negatively on this system, as the local residents were forced to find alternative food sources in an agriculturally poor area with very limited employment opportunities.

During 1958 and 1959, a fence was erected along the southern and western boundaries of the KNP. Ostensibly, this fence was erected to prevent the spread of foot-and-mouth and other contagious diseases from the KNP (NPB, 1958/1959), but subsequent statements suggest additional motivations for such a fence, i.e. "*Since the erection of the fence on our boundaries there has been a definite decline in the poaching activities of the Bantus, except along the Crocodile River where large numbers of Bantus are employed on riparian farms, and this evil will increase as the farms are developed. The fence, however, distinctly defines the boundaries of the park, and this in itself serves to discourage poaching. In the past, poachers camped in the park for a few days, made as much biltong as possible and then transported it from the park. The fence has now put a stop to these activities* (NPB, 1961/1962)"

Despite the fence, poaching increased during the mid-sixties (Figure 10). This increase was attributed to drought related crop failure in the communal land bordering on the park (NPB, 1962/1963; NPB, 1964/1965), and KNP management was not overly concerned by this increase, stating: "*The level of poaching is difficult to assess, but based on the numbers of game caught, no animal is in danger of extinction, or seriously threatened* (NPB, 1968/1969). KNP management philosophy was obviously still centred around maintaining the integrity of the KNP: "*As long as our game rangers, ably supported by*

their Bantu game rangers, can continue to hold the "front line" effectively, there is in actual fact little cause for concern (NPB, 1969/1970)."

During the early 1970's local rainfall was good, and there was a noticeable decrease in poaching (Figure 10). This decrease was attributed to a number of factors, including heavy policing and prosecution, better crops, park inaccessibility (flooded rivers) and the boundary fence (NPB, 1971/1972). However, from 1976 onwards poaching increased again (Figure 10), peaking during the mid 1980's. The increase in poaching was attributed to the rapidly increasing population pressure along the KNP's western boundary due to the forced relocation of Seswati, Tsonga and Sotho people into the adjoining Bantustans, and was aggravated by a serious drought throughout the region (NPB, 1976/1977 - NPB, 1979/1980; KNP, 1980/1981 - 1987/1988). This increase was accompanied, for the first time in the history of the KNP, by organised elephant poaching (Figure 11), with a number of elephants being shot along the park's boundary with Mozambique, which was in the throes of a civil war (KNP, 1982/1983 - 1988/1989).

In response to the increased subsistence poaching, and the organised elephant poaching, KNP management implement a strong policing action with police and army support. This action managed to substantially limit the level of organised elephant poaching, and there was also a noticeable drop in general poaching (Figures 10 and 11).

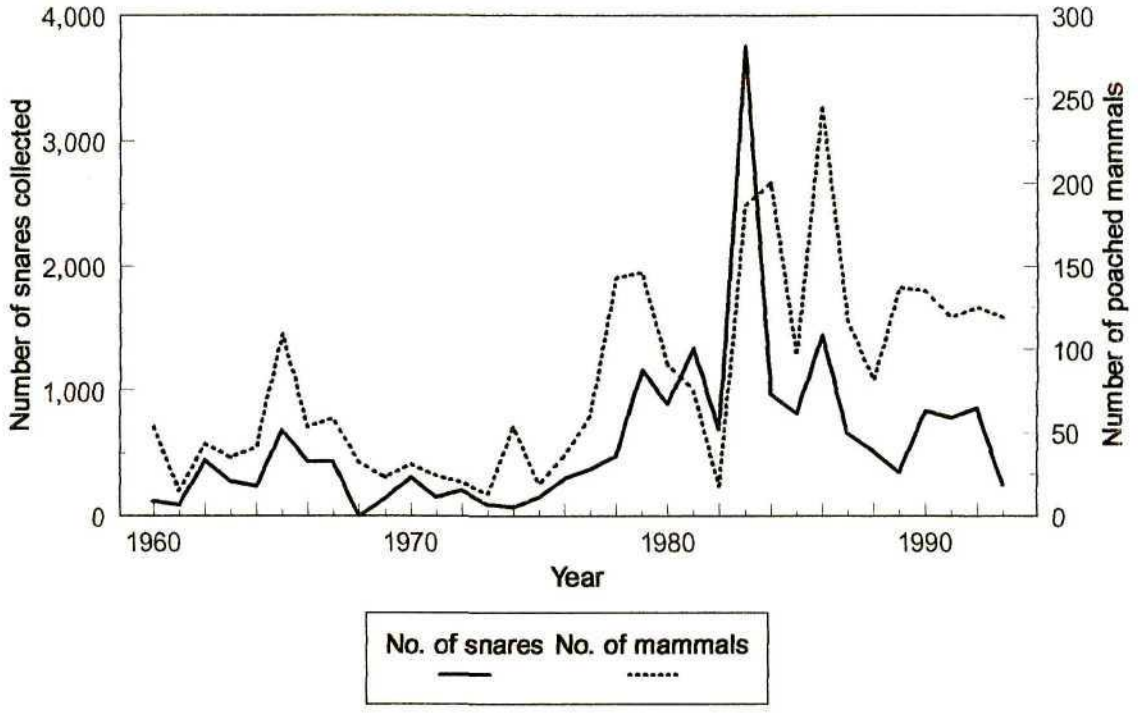

Figure 10 Graph illustrating the general poaching levels recorded by Kruger National Park rangers between 1960 and 1993, based on the recorded numbers of confiscated snares and the poached mammals (excluding poached elephant and rhino) (NPB, 1958/1959 - 1979/1980; KNP, 1980/1981 - 1993/1994).

However, in 1988, for the first time in the KNP's history, park management began looking at alternative ways of addressing these problems e.g. local unrest, increasing poaching, etc.. "*There is a dense concentration of black people on the western perimeter of the KNP in an area where there are few natural resources left. To these people the park is Utopia where basic resources like meat, firewood, thatch grass and traditional medicine are abundant. It is becoming more and more difficult to keep them out of the park and trespassing is on the increase. Elsewhere in Africa it was demonstrated that positive attitudes can be cultivated by allowing such people to share in the resources of the park. The Board decided that, in exchange for assistance from local Chiefs in combatting poaching, some of the meat of elephant bulls killed in culling operations will be made available to neighbouring people. They will also be allowed*

(under supervision) to cut thatch grass and remove firewood obtained from bush clearing programmes. More of their hand work will be sold in the park and finally a special information programme will be launched to win their goodwill (KNP, 1987/1988)".

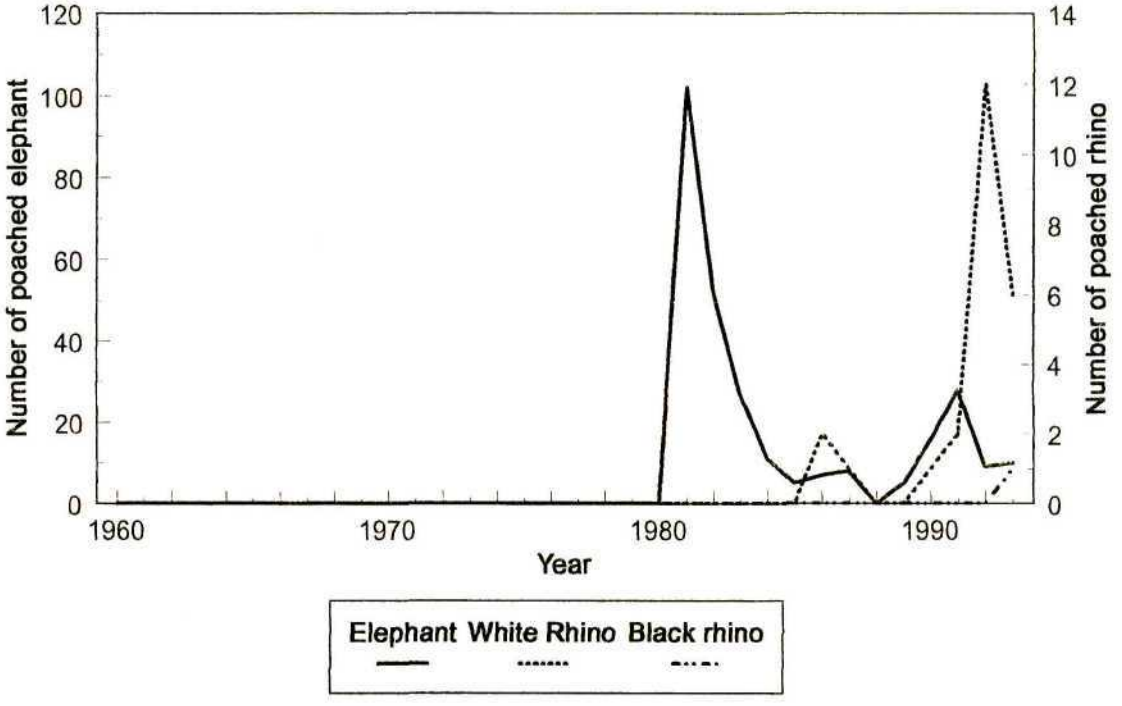

Figure 11 Graph illustrating the number of elephant, white rhino and black rhino poached between 1960 and 1993 (NPB, 1958/1959 - 1979/1980; KNP, 1980/1981 - 1993/1994).

This statement clearly indicates that whilst the Board felt it needed to work with the local community, it still wanted to drive and control the process, i.e." bribe" local leaders to support the Board's attempts at protecting the integrity of the park. There is no mention of the need to integrate the KNP into the surrounding landscape. The Board simply assumed that the local community was still living under more or less the same situation it had been in when the KNP was proclaimed, and that its priority needs would thus be natural resources such as meat, thatching grass, firewood, etc..

... Partners?

Despite the fact that by 1988 KNP management had begun to realise that they needed to collaborate with their neighbours, it took another five years before they began to initiate specific management actions aimed at developing a relationship with these neighbours. During this period, general poaching continued unabated (Figure 10), the first organised black and white rhino poaching occurred (Figure 11) and unrest intensified along the Numbi Gate road, resulting in a sharp decrease in the number of tourists using the road (Figure 9). In addition to these direct pressures, KNP management came under increasing pressure from the media and various liberation organisations e.g. African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-African Congress (PAC). Political statements were made, questioning the relevance of the Kruger National Park in a country where the majority of the population were unable to visit the park never mind derive any tangible benefits from it, and the media raised questions about the role of the defence force in the KNP, the status of the KNP as a play ground for rich white tourists and the relationship between the KNP and its neighbours (KNP, 1993/1994).

Under these combined pressures, and with support from the World Wild Fund for Nature- South Africa (WWF - SA), KNP management eventually initiated the development of a protected area outreach programme in July 1993. The development of this programme was driven by the KNP, who appointed a temporary Community Liaison Manager, and was supported, monitored and evaluated by the researcher.

The initial development of this programme was structured around the establishment of four outreach programme co-management institutions, or *Partnership Fora* (Figure 12), which included KNP staff and management, neighbouring community representatives and other local natural resource management stakeholders, e.g. provincial conservation agencies, State Veterinary Department, etc.. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 provide case study descriptions and evaluations of these fora.

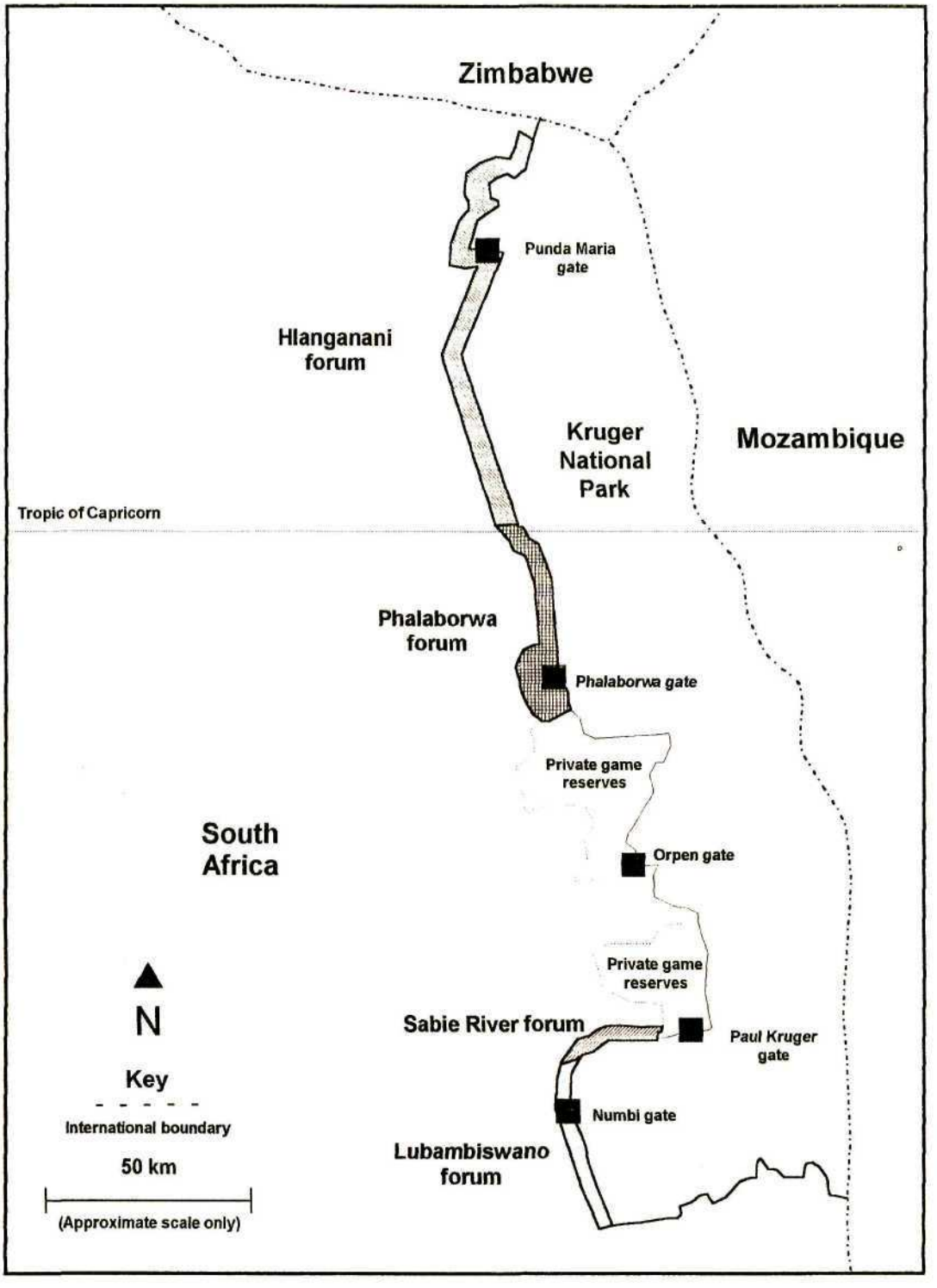

Figure 12 Map illustrating the approximate areas covered by the four Partnership Fora convened along the Kruger National Park's western boundary.

CHAPTER 3

CONVENING THE FORA

The framework presented in Chapter 1 proposes that the first phase in the development of a Partnership Forum would be a forming phase. During the forming phase the need for a forum is discussed with interested and affected stakeholders and, if the idea is supported, preliminary forum membership and representation is defined and a forum is convened. This chapter provides case study descriptions and evaluations of this phase in the development of the four KNP fora as a basis for refining the initial conceptual framework.

Hlanganani Forum

Introduction

The process used to establish the Hlanganani Forum (Figure 12), was centered around the contacts and knowledge of the KNP rangers working along the north-western boundary of the KNP. Prior to the establishment of the Hlanganani Forum these rangers had developed a network of contacts within the communities neighbouring on the park to help them solve KNP poaching problems. The communities neighbouring on this section of the park's boundary fell within the Malamulele and Giyani magisterial districts. The "communities" consisted of a series of isolated rural villages that had communal agricultural and / or grazing land bordering on the KNP.

The local government system within these communities was a mixture of traditional and democratic institutions. Prior to the 1994 elections the local government system consisted of a network of Tribal Authorities. These Tribal Authorities were responsible for allocating land-use rights, adjudicating civil disputes and co-ordinating development. The Tribal Authorities consisted of a traditional Chief (iNkosi), determined by birth right, and a Tribal Council consisting of village headmen (iZinduna) and advisors

(Councillors). The iZinduna and Councillors were nominated by their respective communities and approved by the INkosi. The Tribal Authority structures had been adopted and supported as local government structures as part of the Apartheid Bantustan system. The credibility of these Tribal Authorities had been targeted by the African National Congress who argued that the Tribal Authorities were not representing the interests of the people and should be replaced with democratically elected structures. Following the 1994 elections the Tribal Authorities were retained as local government structures, but their powers were limited to the allocation of residential, agricultural and grazing land-use rights and adjudicating civil disputes. In 1995 local government elections were held to elect a Regional Council for each of the magisterial districts, to promote and co-ordinate development within the district.

The Malamulele and Giyani districts are both extremely poor districts with over 85% of the population having no fixed income (Table 3.) (The 1991 census figures were the most recent socio-economic statistics available for the magisterial districts neighbouring on the KNP). The low income levels can be attributed to a wide range of factors, including the geographic isolation of the communities, and low education and high dependency levels within the communities (Table 3). In 1991, only 3% of the population had a Std 10 or tertiary qualification and over 60% of the population was younger than 20 (Table 3). The low income and education, and high dependency scenarios within these districts has been aggravated by an extremely high population growth rate. Between 1980 and 1991, the Malamulele district's population had grown by 70%, from approximately 112 000 to over 179 000, and the Giyani District's population had grown by 101% (Table 3), from approximately 105 000 to over 211 000, primarily through the forced relocation of Tsonga speaking people into these districts. The relocation of these people was organized as part of the Apartheid systems attempt at creating a Shangaan homeland (the Gazankulu Bantustan). This process further undermined the credibility of the Tribal Authorities, as the relocated people were placed under the jurisdiction of amakosi to whom they had no allegiance

Table 3 Socio - economic statistics for the magisterial districts within which the local communities involved in the various fora were situated (Census 1991) (Percentages are expressed as a percentage of the total population).

Socio-economic statistics		Forum	Hlanganani		Phalaborwa		Sabie River	Lubambiswano
		District	Malamulele	Giyani	Lulekani	Namakgale	Mhala	Nzikazi
Population size:	1980		112000	105000	800	36000	120000	147000
	1991		179000	211000	38000	55000	250000	309000
	Growth (1980 - 1991)		70 %	101 %	4359 %	52 %	110 %	111 %
Length of stay:	4 - 6 years		14 %	14 %	29 %	18 %	18 %	17 %
	More than 10 years		11 %	48 %	4 %	37 %	40 %	44 %
Average household size			5	5.1	4.5	4.2	4.8	5.1
Age distribution:	Under 20		68 %	66 %	6 %	51 %	65 %	58 %
	21 - 60		27 %	30 %	38 %	47 %	30 %	37 %
	Over 60		5 %	4 %	2 %	2 %	5 %	4 %
Education:	No education		48 %	55 %	32 %	28 %	51 %	42 %
	Std 9 or less		49 %	42 %	55 %	61 %	44 %	52 %
	Std 10		2 %	2 %	1 %	9 %	4 %	5 %
	Tertiary		1 %	1 %	3 %	2 %	1 %	1 %
Income:	No fixed income		89 %	87 %	76 %	7 %	88 %	8 %
	Less than R 10 000 / annum		9 %	11 %	11 %	15 %	10 %	15 %
	More than R 10 000 / annum		2 %	2 %	13 %	15 %	2 %	5 %

The KNP rangers had also developed a network of contacts amongst the Provincial conservation agency's rangers that were working within the communities neighbouring on the park. The KNP was a National Park and the legal jurisdiction of the KNP rangers ended at the KNP boundary. The Gazankulu Bantustan had a conservation agency, Gazankulu Nature Conservation, that was responsible for regulating and policing the management of natural resources within their protected areas, and the communal land areas. Whilst the Tribal Authorities were responsible for allocating residential, agricultural and grazing land-use rights, the ownership of the natural resources on the land remained vested in the State (Gazankulu government). Thus community members that harvested resources, e.g. thatch, timber, etc., or defended their crops or cattle against wild animals, e.g. lion, elephant, buffalo, etc., did so illegally, if they were not accompanied by Gazankulu Nature Conservation rangers. Following the 1994 election, Gazankulu Nature Conservation was amalgamated with other conservation agencies operating within the new "Northern province", into the Northern Province Department of Environment Affairs.

Convening a forum

Using the KNP rangers' contacts within the neighbouring communities and Provincial conservation agency, a preliminary meeting was convened in February 1994. The meeting was attended by representatives from all the Tribal Authorities neighbouring on the park within the Malamulele and Giyani magisterial districts, and the Provincial conservation agency's rangers that worked within the areas represented by these Tribal Authorities.

During this meeting the KNP Community Liaison[1] staff proposed the development of a Partnership Forum to *"build a relationship"* between the KNP, the provincial conservation agency and the people resident along the north-western boundary of the park (HF 24/02/94). The KNP Community Liaison staff proposed that this relationship should be developed around the resolution of problems and

1 The KNP's Community Liaison staff were subsequently incorporated into the National Parks Board's Social Ecology Division

development of partnership projects between the afore-mentioned parties. After discussing the proposal, the individuals present at the meeting, unanimously agreed on the need for such a forum and then defined provisional forum membership and representation (Table 4). The forum's membership was defined within the context of the following boundaries:

i. Northern boundary - South African / Zimbabwe border. Identified by the KNP and Provincial conservation agency's rangers on the basis that they had no jurisdiction over natural resource management in Zimbabwe.

ii. Southern boundary - Southern most boundary of the Malamulele and Giyani magisterial districts. Identified by the KNP rangers and supported by the Tribal Authority representatives. The Tribal Authorities representatives felt that the villages south of this boundary were closer (geographically) to Phalaborwa Gate than they were to Punda Maria Gate (Figure 13) and thus they should rather be included in another forum representing the communities around Phalaborwa Gate.

iii. Western boundary - The villages that had residential, agricultural or grazing land bordering on the KNP's boundary. Identified by the Tribal Authorities representatives on the basis that the residents of these villages were the individuals whose day-to-day lives were affected by the KNP through factors such as problem animals, land displacement and poaching related incidents.

iv. Eastern boundary - Sections of the KNP bordering on the area demarcated through the aforementioned northern and southern boundaries. The KNP was divided up into 35 different sections, each of which was managed by a section ranger.

At the end of the initial meeting a date was scheduled for the first formal forum meeting and the Tribal Authority representatives were asked to contact the residents of the different villages and invite them to send representatives. The vision expressed during the meeting was that the Tribal Authority representatives would convene public meetings in each of the villages, and facilitate the election of a "village representative" by the village residents.

Table 4 Summary of the Hlanganani Forum's initial membership and representation (HF 04/03/94).

Member	Representation
Village representatives	1 democratically elected representative from each of the 26 villages bordering on the Kruger National Park within the forum boundaries.
Amakhosi (observer status)	The Amakhosi from each of the 10 Tribal Authorities bordering on the Kruger National Park within the forum boundaries.
Kruger National Park.	The rangers responsible for managing the sections of the Kruger National Park that border on the villages falling within the forum boundaries, and the Community Liaison staff tasked with co-ordinating the Kruger National Park's involvement in the forum's activities.
Provincial Conservation Agency	The rangers responsible for managing the natural resources available within the communal land areas that fell within the forum boundaries.

Evaluating and improving the process used to convene the forum

There are three key criteria that can be used to evaluate the process used to convene a Partnership Forum, namely:

i. Whether the forum's membership boundaries are clearly defined.

ii. Whether the forum's membership included all the stakeholders that either affect or are affected by the interface between the protected area and the surrounding landscape.

iii. Whether the forum members are able to develop working rules for evaluating new membership applications.

The members of the Hlanganani Forum did develop clear membership boundaries. The membership was drawn from a clearly demarcated geographic area, with the membership focus being the boundary between the KNP and the adjacent communal lands. However, the process used to convene the Hlanganani Forum did not identify all the stakeholders that either affected or were affected by the interface between the KNP and its neighbours. The residents of one village (Mashiru), who were

experiencing problems with KNP lions and elephant which were straying into the Mashiru communal lands, were initially excluded from the forum on the basis that their residential and agricultural areas did not border directly on the KNP. A representative of this village subsequently started attending forum meetings at the invitation of one of the other village representatives (HF 04/12/94). Similarly, the South African Police Services (SAPS) were not initially included as forum members. However, when the forum members started trying to address poaching related problem issues the role of the SAPS in combatting poaching was highlighted and thus the forum members felt that they should be included in the forum activities (HF 01/06/94).

During the initial meeting (HF 24/02/94) the KNP, Tribal Authority and Provincial conservation agency representatives had discussed the issue of forum membership and agreed that their proposed forum membership (Table 4) should be viewed as a preliminary membership, which would be evaluated and improved during subsequent forum meetings. This approach was reflected in the forum members flexible approach to village membership and their identification of the need to include the SAPS. However, the issue of village membership was subsequently a topic of intense debate after a number of other villages, whose residential and agricultural land did not border directly on the KNP, started sending representatives to forum meetings (HF 07/02/95; HF 09/03/95). The forum members resolved that the forum's membership should be as inclusive as possible and that the participation of other villages and or local natural resource management organisations should be encouraged. Within this context they adopted specific rules for the identification and inclusion of prospective members, namely (HF 09/03/95):

i. Existing forum members were encouraged to identify and invite prospective forum members to send representatives to forum meetings as observers.

ii. If representatives of a prospective member (stakeholder group, e.g. local village, SAPS, etc.) did attend a meeting, they would be asked to introduce themselves and to present a verbal or written motivation for their involvement in the forum.

iii. The inclusion of a prospective member into the forum's membership was subject to a two thirds majority vote by the existing forum members.

This process may have a long term negative impact on the forum's activities, as these working rules effectively encourage an open-ended membership. However, it is likely that once the forum begins producing tangible benefits for its members these rules will be re-evaluated to limit membership, or new members will have to produce a convincing argument as to what they can contribute to the forum's activities, if they want to achieve the required two-thirds majority.

The KNP and Provincial conservation agency had representation at each of the forum meetings convened during the period documented in this paper (February 1994 - July 1996). However, none of the villages included in the forum boundaries had representation at every meeting and no meetings were convened where all the villages were represented at the same time (Table 5, Figure 13).

Recognising that there were problems with specific village representation, the forum implemented two management actions aimed at improving village representative attendance at forum meetings:

i. Village representatives who regularly attended forum meetings were asked to contact the residents of the villages that didn't have representation at every meeting and encourage them to send regular representation (HF 01/06/94). This action only improved the representation of three villages. Prior to the implementation of this action, these three villages had not been represented at any forum meetings. After village representatives had contacted the relevant villages residents, one of the village's had representatives at all subsequent forum meetings and the other two villages had representatives at 7 of the next 8 meetings.

ii. A task group was appointed by the forum to visit the villages and address public meetings in each village (HF 05/07/94). During these meetings the task group presented the forums goals, described its activities and invited the village residents to send representatives to subsequent forum meetings. Public meetings were held in 11 villages that had previously had irregular

representation at forum meetings. Following the village to village field trip community representation at forum meetings improved (Figure 13). Prior to the field trip these villages had only had representatives at an average of 25% of the forum meetings (1 out of 4 forum meetings). After the field trip, these 11 villages each had representatives at an average of 5 of the next 8 forum meetings.

The fact that the Hlanganani Forum had to implement specific management actions to improve village representation indicates that the process used to convene the forum had not effectively included the village residents. The vision expressed at the end of the first meeting was that the Tribal Authorities representatives would convene public meetings and facilitate the election of village representatives. This had only happened in 5 of the 18 villages visited during the field trip, and the residents of these villages had subsequently had report backs on the forum activities from their representatives. The residents of 4 villages had never been informed of the forum and had never had representation at forum meetings.

Table 5 Summary of the Hlanganani Forum's members' representatives attendance at forum meetings.

Forum members	No of meetings at which the member was represented or present (total of 12 meetings)
Local villages	
Mashiru	5
Nkhavi	8
Matiyani	7
Maphophe	7
Josepha	9
Maviligwe	10
Makuleke	7
Makahlule	8
Bevula	6
Mashobye	9
Magona	3
Govhu	4
Peninghotsa	10
Lombard	7
Altein	6
Plange	6
Muyexe	10
Gawula	6
Mahlati	10
Ndindani	8
Hlomela	8
Mninginisi	7
Nghomu Nghomu	3
Vuyani	5
Savulani	4
Botsoleni	3
	(Average of 15 villages represented at each meeting)
Amakhosi	
Minga	0
Makuleke	0
Nthloveni	4
Magona	0
Muyexe	6
Ndindani	9
Hlomela	8
Mninginisi	1
Mahlati	1
Makhuva	1
	(Average of 2 Amakhosi present at each meeting)
Kruger National Park	12
Provincial Conservation Agency	12

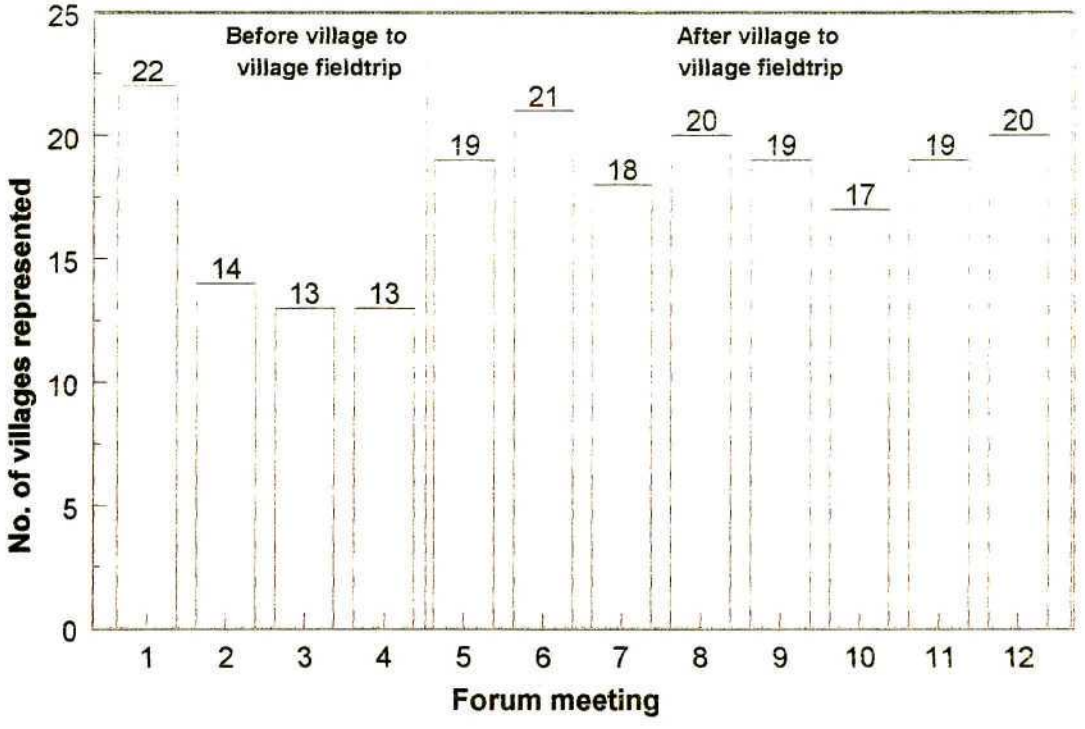

Figure 13 Summary chart illustrating village representation at Hlanganani Forum meetings before and after the village to village field trip.

Finally, none of the residents of the remaining 9 villages had heard about the forum activities despite the fact that there had been individuals attending forum meetings that claimed to represent these villages. Where this was the situation the village residents were outspoken about this poor representation, e.g.:

> "*We hear that there was a representative at the forum, but there was no feedback to the community!*" (Matiyani village resident - HF 25/08/94).
>
> "*The Induna (representative) has left us behind!*" (Makahlule village resident - HF 25/08/94).

During the village to village field trip, the village residents that attended the public meetings questioned the KNP and other forum member representatives on the role of the forum, forum activities and the responsibilities of village representatives. Once these issues had been discussed and debated

there was agreement that the forum should continue and that their village should participate in the forum activities:

> "*We are surprised to here about this forum, we didn't know about this co-operation! We are grateful to see you. Your words are fruitful. In the past we couldn't work with the KNP. When we saw KNP people we had to run away, they were like lions and elephants to us. There was no relationship at all between Matiyani and the KNP*" (Matiyani village resident - HF 25/08/94).
>
> "*Yes, we want a forum. Now you are here we are confident you will help us solve the problems*" (Makahlule village resident - HF 25/08/94).
>
> "*We must be grateful for these visitors. Don't chase them as they are offering us a route out of the dark pit. We know the whites weren't our friends before, now we must not chase them. ... They have beaten us in the past, but lets forgive them*" (Bevula village residents - HF 25/08/94).

The range of issues raised by village residents during the field trip had all been raised by one or more of the village representatives during forum meetings. Thus, although the Hlanganani Forum was characterised by poor village representative attendance during its initial meetings, the village representatives who did attend forum meetings apparently presented a comprehensive overview of the issues which were of importance to the local village residents.

The Hlanganani Forum members have adopted the use of annual village to village field trips as a management procedure for evaluating and improving village representation at the forum. They have also decided to alternate the forum venue between the various villages represented by the forum, so as to give the village residents an opportunity to participate in forum meetings as observers (HF 07/02/95). It was anticipated that this procedure would further help improve village representation and strengthen local community participation in the forum activities.

Lubambiswano Forum

Introduction

As with the Hlanganani Forum the "local community" members of the Lubambiswano Forum were a series of rural villages that had communal land bordering on the KNP. These communities bordered on the south-western boundary of the park, within the Nsikazi magisterial district (Figure 13). The members of these communities were of Swazi origin and spoke Seswati. The local government system within these communities was also a mixture of traditional and democratic institutions, including Tribal Authorities, and a Regional Council, elected during the 1995 local government elections. However, the leadership of these communities was also characterised by the presence of outspoken village based civic organisations. These civic organisations were linked to the South African National Civic Association (SANCO), which was an ANC aligned popular leadership movement aimed at establishing democratically elected local government structures, as an alternative to Tribal Authority based local government structures. These civic organisations had no formal legal standing. However, during the run up to the 1995 local government elections they were extremely active throughout the Nsikazi district, actively lobbying against the Tribal Authorities (*pers. obs.*). The results of the 1995 local government elections subsequently supported the civic organisations claim that they represented the people, as the regional council membership (elected) was drawn exclusively from the ranks of these civic organisations.

The residents of the Nsikazi district were also extremely poor, although fractionally better off than the residents of the Malamulele and Giyani magisterial districts (Table 3). In 1991 approximately 80% of the population had no fixed income, 58% of the population was under the age of 20, 42% of the population had no education and only 6% of the population had achieved a matric. The slight difference between the socio-economic statistics for the Nsikazi district and the Malamulele and Giyani districts can probably be attributed to the proximity of the Nsikazi district to Nelspruit, the largest city in the lowveld, and Hazyview, an important agricultural and tourism hub. As with the

community members of the Hlanganani Forum, the low income and education and high dependency scenarios within the Nsikazi district had also been aggravated by an extremely high population growth rate. Between 1980 and 1991, the Nsikazi district's population had grown by 111% (Table 3), from approximately 147 000 to over 309 000. The exponential population growth in the Nsikazi district was also influenced by the Apartheid regimes forced relocation programme, through the relocation of Seswati speaking people into the district as part of an attempt at creating a Seswati homeland (the KaNgwane Bantustan).

The regional conservation agency responsible for regulating and policing the management of natural resources within the communal land areas neighbouring on the south-western boundary of the KNP, was the KaNgwane Parks Board. The relationship between the KNP rangers and the KaNgwane Parks Board rangers was significantly better than their relationship with Gazankulu Nature Conservation. The KNP's Senior management were represented on the KaNgwane Parks Board's Board of Directors and there were regular liaison meetings between the staff of the two organisations, aimed at improving communication between the two organisations. Following the 1994 election, the KaNgwane Parks Board was also amalgamated with a range of other conservation agencies operating within the new "Mpumalanga" province, to form the Mpumalanga Parks Board. In addition to the Mpumalanga Parks Board the other government organisation instrumental in the establishment of the Lubambiswano Forum was the KaNgwane Department of Agriculture. This department had an active extension program operating in the Nsikazi region, and their extension officers helped arrange and facilitate the forums activities.

Convening a forum

Two complementary approaches were used to convene the Lubambiswano Forum (Figure 13). Firstly, KNP Community Liaison staff presented the Partnership Forum concept at a liaison meeting between KNP staff, representatives of the regional conservation agency and agricultural department, and

representatives from all the Nsikazi district's Tribal Authorities (LB 16/09/1993). This liaison meeting was one of a series of meetings that had been convened at the request of the regional conservation agency, to improve communication between the regional conservation agency and the KNP. The representatives present at this meeting all supported the forum concept and defined preliminary forum membership and representation (Table 6) within the context of the following boundaries (LB 16/09/93):

i. Northern and southern boundaries - The northern and southern boundary of the Nsikazi magisterial district. These boundaries were identified by the Tribal Authorities representatives, on the basis that they included all the Seswati communities living along the south-western boundary of the KNP. The magisterial district north of the Nsikazi district, the Mhala magisterial district, was characterised by Tsonga speaking South Africans of the Shangaan community. The area south of the Nsikazi district was characterised by large commercial farms owned by South Africans of European descent.

ii. Western boundary - The villages that had residential or agricultural land bordering on the KNP's boundary. Identified by the Tribal Authorities representatives on the basis that the residents of these villages were the individuals whose day-to-day lives were affected by the KNP through factors such as problem animals, land displacement and poaching related incidents.

iii. Eastern boundary - Sections of the KNP bordering on the area demarcated through the aforementioned northern and southern boundaries.

Although the representatives supported the Partnership Forum concept they asked the KNP representatives to arrange a field-trip through the villages included within the proposed boundaries, to present the forum concept at public meetings and lobby support from the residents of the villages neighbouring on the park (LB 16/09/93).

In response to this request, the KNP Community Liaison staff addressed public meetings at each of the

Tribal Authorities offices. During all these public meetings, the village residents were both aggressive towards the KNP representatives and explicitly suspicious of their motives. This aggression and suspicion stemmed from the negative relationship which had developed between the KNP and its neighbours since the KNP's establishment. Within this context, the KNP was accused of being, amongst other things, a "*white man's play ground*" and "*a place where animals were more important than people*" (LB 22/11/93). However, despite the negative atmosphere of these meetings, there was general consensus amongst the village residents that the Partnership Forum concept was a good idea and that the village residents should participate in the development and activities of the forum. Thus a date was set for a preliminary forum meeting.

Table 6 Summary of the Lubambiswano Forum's core membership and representation.

Member	Representation
Village representatives	1 democratically elected representative from each of the 16 villages bordering on the Kruger National Park within the forum boundaries.
Amakhosi (observer status)	The Amakhosi of the 7 Tribal Authorities bordering on the Kruger National Park within the forum boundaries.
Kruger National Park.	The rangers responsible for managing the sections of the Kruger National Park that border on the villages falling within the forum boundaries, and the Community Liaison staff tasked with co-ordinating the Kruger National Park's involvement in the forum's activities.
Provincial Department of Agriculture.	Staff responsible for co-ordinating and implementing agriculture development within the forum boundaries.
Provincial Conservation Agency	The rangers responsible for managing the natural resources available within the communal land areas that fall within the forum boundaries.

The preliminary forum meeting (LB 22/11/93) was attended by:

i. Representatives from 4 of the 6 Tribal Authorities and 7 of the 16 villages that fell within the proposed boundaries.

ii. The KNP rangers responsible for the sections bordering on the Nsikazi region and the KNP's Community Liaison staff.

iii. The regional conservation agency's rangers responsible for managing natural resource utilisation in the communal lands falling within the forum's proposed boundary.

iv. Representatives of the regional agricultural department.

During the preliminary forum meeting the various representatives discussed and approved the provisional forum membership and representation (Table 6), listed a number of issues to be addressed by the proposed forum and scheduled the first formal forum meeting. As with the Hlanganani Forum the Tribal Authority representatives were asked to contact the Tribal Authorities and villages not represented during the initial meeting and invite them to attend the first formal forum meeting.

Evaluating and improving the process used to convene the forum

As with the Hlanganani Forum, the members of the Lubambiswano Forum did develop clear membership boundaries, with the membership drawn from a clearly demarcated geographic area focussed around the boundary between the KNP and the adjacent communal lands. The process used to convene the Lubambiswano Forum did not identify all the stakeholders that either affected or were affected by the interface between the KNP and its neighbours. The residents of Msogwaba village and the Masoyi Tribal Authority were initially excluded despite the fact that they were experiencing problems with KNP problem animals. Msogwaba village was excluded on the grounds that the village residential and agricultural land did not border directly on the KNP (LB 22/11/93), and Masoyi Tribal Authority was excluded on the grounds that the tribal authority was not responsible for any villages that bordered directly on the KNP (LB 22/11/93).

Msogwaba village and Masoyi Tribal Authority INkosi were subsequently included as forum members (LB 07/03/95; LB 26/04/95) after formally applying to the forum. The inclusion of Msogwaba village and Masoyi Tribal Authority reflected the fact that during the preliminary forum meetings the Lubambiswano Forum members had also agreed that the proposed forum membership should be as flexible and inclusive as possible (LB 22/11/95). The membership of Msogwaba village and Masoyi

Tribal Authority's INkosi was discussed by the existing forum members who adopted similar procedures to the Hlanganani Forum for including new members into the forum's activities (LB 07/03/95). The only differences between the procedures adopted by the two fora were that the Lubambiswano Forum members decided that written applications had to be submitted by prospective members and that only a simple majority approval was required to authorise the admission of new members.

The KNP, provincial conservation agency and provincial agricultural department all had representation at each of the forum meetings convened during the period documented in this thesis (September 1993 - July 1996). However, as with the Hlanganani Forum, none of the villages included in the forum boundaries had representation at every meeting and no meetings were convened where all 16 villages were represented at the same time (Table 7).

Recognising that there was a problem with village representation, the forum members appointed a task group, consisting of KNP and village representatives, to improve village representative attendance at forum meetings (LB 24/02/95). This task group arranged a field trip through each of the villages, during which they planned to present the goals and activities of the forum during public meetings and then invite the village residents to send representatives to subsequent forum meetings. However, despite the fact that the forum had approved the field trip and that the task group members had repeatedly asked the village and Tribal Authority representatives to arrange meetings in each of the villages, public meetings were only convened in 8 of the 16 villages represented by the forum (LB 20/06/95). This suggested that the village residents were poorly represented at the forum, an observation which was reinforced by the fact that the residents of only 2 of these 8 villages had had feedback from their representatives on the forum activities.

Table 7 Summary of the Lubambiswano Forum's village representatives attendance at forum meetings.

Forum Members	No of meetings at which the member was represented or present (total of 12 meetings)
Village representatives	
Chabalala	3
Sandrivier	4
Mahushu	1
Numbi	8
Nyongane	12
Salubindza	11
Bhekiswayo	13
Makoko	15
Spelenyani	13
Buyelani	10
Mjejane	13
Phameni	14
Luphisi	4
Mpakeni	5
Matsulu B	10
	(Average of 8 villages represented at each meeting)
Amakhosi	
Mhaule	4
Mdluli	6
Mbuyane	4
Nkosi	4
Dlamini	0
	(On average, there was 1 iNkosi at each meeting)
Kruger National Park	16
Provincial Department of Agriculture	16
Provincial Conservation Agency	16

The residents of the other 6 villages were outspoken about the fact that they weren't being informed about the forum activities, but nevertheless supported the continued development of the forum:

> *"We are the ones who killed the rhino, because there was no communication. This Lubambiswano is good, because it means we will now work together."* (Mvagatini community member - LB 01/06/95).

> *"It (forum) is a good thing. In the past if any animal come out, we used to kill it. Now, if we*

have a relationship we will call the right people and they can catch it." (Mvagatini community member - LB 01/06/95)

"*We are willing we just haven't been represented.*" (Salubindza community member - LB 31/05/95)

"*This forum is a good idea, which must be developed.*"(Bhekiswayo community member - LB 31/05/95)

After the field trip, there was an increase in the attendance of village representatives at forum meetings (Figure 14). Prior to the field-trip, these 8 villages had had representation at an average of 3 of the 11 previous forum meetings. After the field trip, they had representation at an average of 4 of the next 5 meetings.

In the villages where public meetings had not been arranged, the task group members met with the local Tribal Authority representatives to discuss the forum and encourage them to arrange for the village residents to nominate representatives and send them to subsequent meetings. However, these meetings did not lead to an improvement in the attendance of representatives from these villages at forum meetings. Prior to the field trip, these 8 villages had had representatives at an average of 5 of the 11 previous forum meetings. After the field trip, they had representatives at an average of only 2 of the next 5 meetings. This result highlighted the importance of communicating directly with village residents (village based civic organisations), and not relying on the Tribal Authority to inform the village residents of the forum activities. The village representatives were mostly members of the village civic association, which caused conflict during a number of forum meetings, as the civic association members used the Lubambiswano Forum as a platform to criticise the Tribal Authorities.

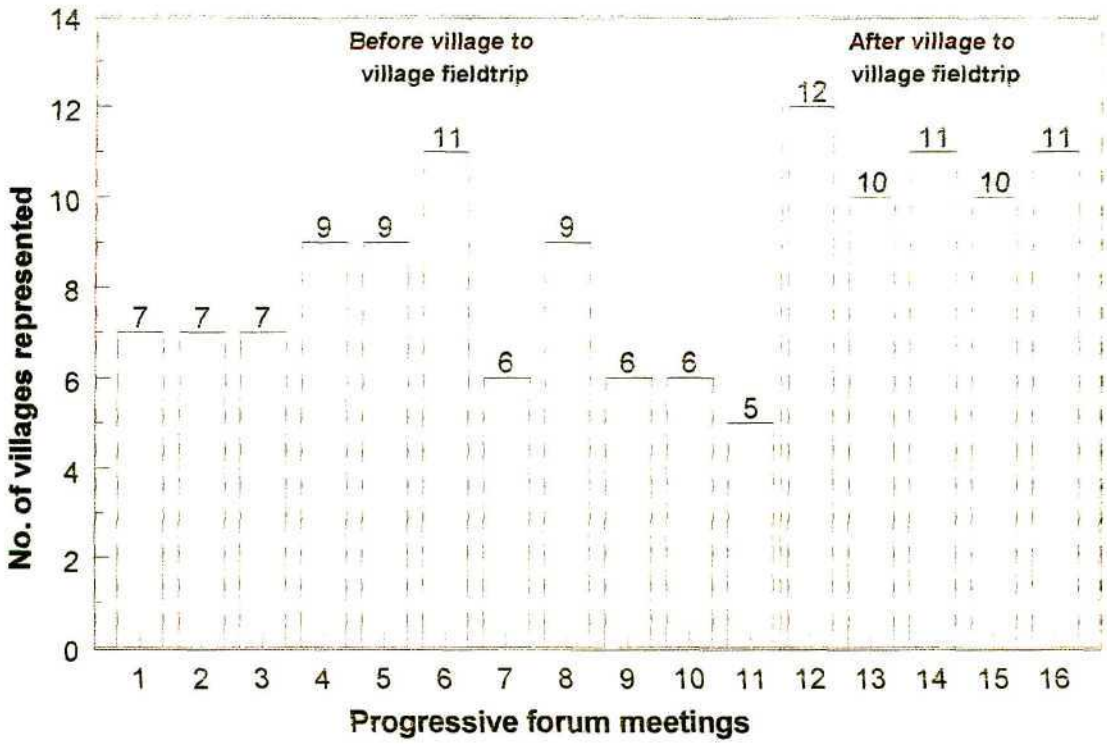

Figure 14 Summary chart illustrating village representation at Lubambiswano Forum meetings before and after the village to village field-trip.

As with the Hlanganani Forum, the Lubambiswano Forum members also decided to alternate the forum venue between the various villages represented by the forum and to organise annual village to village field-trips to try and improve village representation and strengthen local community participation in the forum activities.

Sabie River Forum

Introduction

The "local community" members of the Sabie River Forum were a series of rural villages and informal settlements situated along the Sabie River, north of the communities included in the Lubambiswano

Forum (Figure 12). These communities were situated in the Mhala Magisterial district and as with the community members of the Hlanganani Forum, these communities were of Shangaan origin and spoke Tsonga. The informal settlements had developed around the Mkhulu development node, one of a network of decentralised development nodes established in the Gazankulu Bantustan. The local government systems within these communities were similar to the systems characterising the community members of the Lubambiswano Forum, including, including a Tribal Authority, village based SANCO affiliated civic organisations and a regional council, elected during the 1995 local government elections. However, in addition to the SANCO affiliated civic organisations, the communities involved in the Sabie River Forum were also characterised by village based civic organisations affiliated to the local Tribal Authority. During the run up to the 1995 local government elections the different civic organisations openly opposed each other, both arguing that they represented the "people". However, the 1995 elections clearly showed that the SANCO affiliated civic organisations enjoyed the support of the people, as only their representatives were elected to the regional council. This dynamic had a major impact on the dynamics of the Sabie River Forum, as the KNP staff had supported the Tribal Authority affiliated civic organisations.

In 1991 over 85% of the population in the Mhala magisterial district had no fixed income, 65% of the population was under the age of 20, the average household size was 4.8, 51% of the population had no education and only 5% of the population had achieved a matric (Table 3). These statistics present a similar picture to the socio-economic scenarios of the local community members of the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano communities, namely, low income, high unemployment, high dependency and poor education standards. Similarly, between 1980 and 1991, the Mhala district had also experienced a high population growth rate, growing by 110% (Table 3) from approximately 120 000 to over 250 000.

The provincial conservation agency responsible for regulating and policing the management of natural resources within the communal land areas included in the boundaries of the Sabie River Forum was Gazankulu Nature Conservation. However, they had no staff operating in these areas and thus were not included in the forum as core members.

Convening a forum

The establishment of the Sabie River Forum (Figure 12) followed a series of meetings between Kruger National Park (KNP) Community Liaison staff and community leaders from the communities that had communal land adjoining the Sabie River. These discussions centred around the need for, and possible activities of, such a forum and included the local Chief and both SANCO and Tribal Authority aligned civic organisation leaders. These discussions highlighted the fact that there were problems between the local Chief and some of the civic organisations, notably, the SANCO aligned organisations (SR 24/01/94). These civic organisations stated that "*the Chief was not respected in the community*" (SR 24/01/94). In contrast, the Chief challenged the representation of these organisations, stating that he didn't know "*whether they represented the community or themselves*" (SR 26/05/94). Despite these political undercurrents, the consensus view of all the community leaders was that there was a need for the development of a Partnership Forum, and that the forum activities should concentrate on using the KNP to stimulate local development.

Following these discussions, the KNP's Community Liaison staff scheduled a preliminary forum meeting and invited all the afore-mentioned community leaders (SR 31/03/94). However, the Chief refused to participate in the meeting if the leaders of the SANCO aligned civic organisations were present, and vice-versa. Thus, the process used to convene the forum was deadlocked through the political tension between these two parties. This deadlock was only broken after the immediate need for the establishment of a Partnership Forum was illustrated through two incidents which involved local community members and the local KNP game guards and rangers.

During the first incident a group of local community members were caught fishing within the KNP boundaries and one of the community members was arrested by the KNP's game guards (SR 26/05/94). He was reportedly subsequently assaulted and then locked up overnight by the section ranger. The next morning the section ranger reportedly assaulted the suspect again, stating that although the KNP could not prosecute him, because he had been assaulted by the game guards, they could still teach him a lesson, i.e. by assaulting him again. When the suspect was released he contacted the local Chief and laid a complaint against the KNP. The Chief subsequently tried to contact the section ranger, but when he phoned, he was told that the ranger was watching sport on the television and couldn't come to the phone. The Chief then contacted the KNP's Community Liaison staff and asked them to help resolve the issue. They arranged for the section ranger to meet the Chief and the suspect who was assaulted, and to apologise for his actions and for his game guards actions (SR 26/05/94).

The second incident happened whilst a group of local women had collected firewood along the boundary of the park. These women had been accompanied by two community leaders, to ensure that they did not collect firewood within the KNP's boundaries. However, two of the women were subsequently arrested in their homes by the KNP's game guards and taken to the park, where they were reportedly forced to walk through the crocodile infested river which marked the KNP's boundary (SR 27/10/94). These women subsequently approached the leaders of one of the SANCO aligned civic organisations and laid a complaint against the KNP's rangers. The KNP's Community Liaison staff were once again asked to help and, as with the previous incident, they arranged for the section ranger to meet with these leaders and to apologise for his staff's behaviour (SR 01/08/94).

Following these two incidents, the Community Liaison staff once again invited all the local community leaders to attend a meeting to discuss the possible establishment of a forum. This meeting was attended by representatives of the Chief and the local civic organisations (SR 15/08/94). During

this meeting, the proposed forum was discussed and there was once again consensus on the need for such a forum. However, although the various representatives agreed on the need for the forum and were willing to define preliminary boundaries (Table 14), they were not willing to define forum membership and representation, stating that these issues could only be resolved by the community members themselves. This point was stressed by the leaders of the SANCO aligned civic organisations, who repeatedly stated that the "*people must decide*" (SR 15/08/94). The Sabie River Forum's preliminary boundaries were defined as follows:

i. Northern boundary - Northern boundary of the villages bordering on the KNP with the area represented by the Hoxane tribal authority. Proposed by the various community representatives on the basis that these were the villages that were experiencing problems with the KNP, e.g. KNP problem animals killing livestock, land claims, poacher related incidents, etc.

ii. Southern and eastern boundaries - Sections of the KNP bordering on the area represented by the local Tribal Authority, namely the Hoxane Tribal Authority. Proposed by both the local community representatives and the KNP staff on the basis that these were the sections of the KNP that directly affected the villages included in the forum boundaries

iii. Eastern boundary - Eastern boundary of the area represented by the Hoxane Tribal Authority. Proposed by the various community representatives as this was the local boundary between Zulu speaking Seswati communities (already represented by the Lubambiswano forum) and the Tsonga speaking Shangaan communities.

At the end of the meeting a task group was appointed to visit each of the communities bordering on the KNP within the proposed boundaries. This task group was asked to determine whether "*the people*" wanted such a forum and, if so, who they felt should represent them. There were no KNP representatives included in the task group, as the community representatives felt that they should be allowed to "*sort out their own dirty linen*" before the KNP representatives got involved (SR 15/08/94).

This meeting was historic in that it was the first time that representatives of all the civic organisations had met together with the representatives of the Chief (SR 15/08/94). However, during a subsequent meeting, the representatives of one of the SANCO affiliated civic organisations pulled out of the task group, accusing the other task group members of being autocratic and unrepresentative (SR 23/10/94). This criticism was supported by the fact that, despite agreeing that "*the people*" should determine who should represent them at the forum, the task group members decided amongst each other who should participate in the forum and subsequently presented their forum structure and membership to the KNP as the official "*Sabie River Forum*" (SR 10/11/94). Their proposed forum membership was a civic organisation and individual based membership structure as opposed to a village representative based membership structure, and was biassed towards the local tribal authority, i.e. only included organisations or individuals who supported the local Chief. This structure was in total contrast to the Lubambiswano and Hlanganani Forum's local community membership.

However, given that it had taken a full year to get a forum established for the Sabie River region, the KNP's Community Liaison staff decided to start working with the forum and to try and improve forum representation as the forum progressed (SR 10/11/94). This decision was influenced by the results of both the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora, where local community representation was progressively increased through a combination of management actions, including village to village field trips. The KNP staff assumed that once the forum members started visiting specific communities and addressing community meetings, local community representation would improve.

However, the internal political problems which characterised the communities involved in this forum undermined this process, as the "official members" of the forum subsequently refused to organise any village to village field- trips or other public meetings. The reasoning behind their resistance to any public scrutiny was clearly illustrated during the subsequent local government elections, when none of these self proclaimed community representatives, or the organisations they supported, were elected.

Rather, representatives of the SANCO affiliated civic organisations, that had been excluded from the "official" Sabie River Forum, were elected. This issue was the Achilles Heel of the Sabie River Forum as it undermined the credibility of the forum within the community, eventually resulting in the failure of the forum. This dynamic is explored in more detail in subsequent sections of the thesis.

Phalaborwa Forum

Introduction

The "local community" members of the Phalaborwa Forum (Figure 12) came from a totally different context to the "local community" members of the Hlanganani, Lubambiswano and Sabie River Fora. The community members of these fora were a series of rural villages. In contrast the community members of the Phalaborwa Fora were two large township communities, namely the Namakgale and Lulekani townships. During the 1980's Phalaborwa Town had experienced rapid economic growth as the result of large scale mining operations around the town. This growth had been accompanied by the rapid expansion of Namakgale village into a township and the establishment of a new township, namely Lulekani, as Tsonga speaking workers had moved to the area from the adjoining Gazankulu Bantustan areas.

The original residents of Namakgale had been Pedi (North Sotho), and the community leadership had been through a Tribal Authority. However, with the expansion of Namakgale into a township, a SANCO affiliated civic association had evolved. Similarly, the establishment of the Lulekani township had also been accompanied by the development of a SANCO affiliated civic association. These associations had no formal status until the 1995 local government elections.

Between 1980 and 1991, the population of Namakgale township increased 52%, from approximately 36 000 to over 55 000. Over the same period the population of Lulekani township increased by over 4300%, from approximately 800 to over 38 000. This growth was not structured. Rather, Lulekani

developed as an informal township.

The income and education statistics for these two communities are slightly better than the equivalent statistics for the communities involved in the activities of the Hlanganani, Lubambiswano and Sabie River Fora. In 1991 approximately 70% of Namakgale's population and 76% of Lulekani's populations had no fixed income, compared with between 80% and 89% for the other fora (Table 3). Only 28% of Namakgale's population and 32% of Lulekani's population had no education, compared with between 42% and 55% for the other fora (Table 3). The proportion of the population that had a std 10 or tertiary qualification in 1991 was also higher, with 13% of Lulekani's population and 11% of Namakgale's population having such qualifications, compared with between 3% and 6% for the other fora (Table 3). These differences are probably explained by the income opportunities offered by Phalaborwa's mining and industrial development, and the social conscience investments the mining houses made to facilitate the improvement of education opportunities within these townships.

Prior to the 1994 election, Namakgale township fell within the jurisdiction of the Lebowa Bantustan and Lulekani township fell within the jurisdiction of the Gazankulu Bantustan (Figure 13). However, neither of these Bantustans' conservation agencies had any staff working within these townships. Thus when the Phalaborwa Forum was established, its membership was limited to the KNP and relevant community representation. The community representation was also noticeably different to the community representation on the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora, in that it was drawn from the SANCO affiliated civic organisations, including specific youth, women and education representation.

Convening a forum

The process used to convene the Phalaborwa Forum was centred around an existing development forum, namely, the Greater Phalaborwa Development Forum (GPDF). The GPDF had been established in January 1994 to promote capacity building and co-ordinate development within the

communities included in the Greater Phalaborwa Region (PF 23/02/94). Through the GPDF a meeting was arranged for the KNP staff to present the Partnership Forum concept to a range of community representatives from the local civic organisations, youth associations, teachers associations and Tribal Authorities (PF 23/02/94). These representatives all agreed that there was a need for such a forum, to facilitate the development of social and economic links between the KNP and the Greater Phalaborwa community. However, to avoid possible overlap and duplication of activities by this proposed Partnership Forum and the GPDF, the community representatives suggested that the new forum should be a sub-structure of the GPDF (PF 23/02/94). This suggestion was accepted by the KNP and an inaugural forum meeting was subsequently convened (PF 28/03/94).

During the inaugural forum meeting preliminary forum membership was defined (Table 8). As with the other KNP Partnership Fora, the local KNP ranger and the KNP's Community Liaison staff were nominated as the KNP's representatives. However, the proposed local community representation differed from the local community representation of the Hlanganani, Lubambiswano and Sabie River Fora, as the Phalaborwa Forum's local community representation was centred around community interest group representation, e.g. youth groups, women's groups, civics, etc. (Table 8).

Although there was general consensus on the need for a Partnership Forum, the forum members agreed that before they could define objectives and start working on projects, they needed to develop a better understanding of each others circumstances and the resources they could each contribute to the forum (PF 09/05/94). Thus, they arranged a fact finding field trip through the Greater Phalaborwa communities and the KNP, followed by a Participative Rural Appraisal (PRA) workshop (PF 20/06/94). During the PRA workshop the prospective forum members divided into three groups and each group identified a range of possible partnership project opportunities for the forum, ranging from skills training and job development to projects aimed at promoting community involvement in the KNP's management (Table 9).

Table 8 Summary of the Phalaborwa Forum's initial membership and representation (PF 28/03/94).

Member	Representation
Local communities.	2 representatives from each of the following organisations and interest groups: Civic organisations Youth associations Women's associations Education associations
Amakosi.	The iNkosi from the Namakgale Tribal Authority or a nominated representative.
Kruger National Park.	The ranger responsible for managing the section of the Kruger National Park that borders on the Greater Phalaborwa region, and the Community Liaison staff tasked with co-ordinating the Kruger National Park's involvement in the forum's activities.

Table 9 Range of partnership project opportunities identified during the Phalaborwa Forum's Participative Rural Appraisal orientation workshop.

Resource type	Partnership project opportunities
Human	* Facilitate the development of skills training projects using KNP technical expertise, e.g. natural resource management, building skills, literacy courses, etc. * Facilitate the development of an environmental education programme in local schools.
Natural	* Facilitate the inclusion of local resident representatives in the KNP's management structures.
Cultural	* Facilitate the sustainable utilisation of natural resources within the KNP, e.g. traditional healers project.
Financial	* Facilitate the sustainable utilisation of natural resources within the Greater Phalaborwa region, e.g. effective water management projects. * Facilitate the development of historical and cultural conservation projects around sites within the KNP and Greater Phalaborwa region. * Facilitate the establishment of small business development opportunities, e.g. i. Facilitate the purchase of locally produced consumables and curios by the KNP. ii. Raise funding to establish market gardens, nurseries, and eco-tourism opportunities. iii. Recycling of waste materials, e.g. bottles, cans, paper and plastic. * Facilitate the preferential employment of local residents by the KNP. * Facilitate the establishment of a development fund, using income derived from the KNP's tourism activities.

The groups then designed a KNP Community Liaison structure for the region, which they felt would enable the forum to facilitate the development of the project opportunities they had identified (PF 20/06/94). The community liaison structures proposed by the groups each had the following common elements (PF 20/06/94):

i. The appointment of an experienced or qualified community liaison officer based either at Phalaborwa gate or in the town itself. This position was viewed as critical, as the group members felt that they didn't have the training or experience necessary to facilitate the development of the project opportunities.

ii. The appointment of apprentice community liaison officers that would be based in their home communities. These positions were viewed as trainee positions, aimed at providing a annual cohort of local youth with community development and environmental education skills. It was anticipated that these apprentices would work under the guidance and mentor ship of the senior community liaison officer.

The groups agreed that the KNP should fund the senior community liaison position and that donor funding should be obtained to fund the apprentice positions. The KNP field and management staff that participated in the workshop supported the recommendation that the KNP should fund the senior community liaison officer's post, and there was general agreement that the identification and appointment of this officer should be the priority short term goal of the forum (PF 20/06/94).

This workshop laid a foundation for a series of follow-up forum meetings during which the forum members attempted to facilitate the establishment of the proposed Community Liaison structure and the realisation of the identified project opportunities. These activities are described in detail in the subsequent sections of the thesis.

Summary

The working rules and management procedures developed by the members of the four fora, to convene the fora and to review and improve forum membership and representation, provide an institutional foundation for the integration of the KNP into the surrounding landscape. The lessons learnt through the development of these rules and procedures, also provide a basis for developing a refined process model that can guide future attempts at convening Partnership Fora.

Ideally, the first step in convening a forum would be a preliminary stakeholder analysis, aimed at identifying the range of stakeholders that either affect or are affected by the interface between the protected area and the surrounding landscape (Figure 15). On the basis of this preliminary analysis, discussions should be initiated with the various stakeholders to determine whether they feel there is a need for a forum and who else they feel should be involved. Where-ever possible these discussions should be followed by formal participatory planning workshops aimed at defining a preliminary constitution, including a vision for the forum, forum membership and representation, and an overview of the forum's core constitutional working rules. Once the representatives and / or leadership of the various stakeholder groups agree on these issues they should then be presented at public meetings for broad public review, and only then should a forum be convened (Figure 15).

Once a forum is convened it is essential that the forum's vision, membership and representation is still periodically reviewed through a public review process, as the range of stakeholders interested in the management of natural resources will vary over time in response to changes in the local environmental, social and economic systems. Within this context, the development of working rules for improving forum membership and representation can help streamline the process of adopting new members by cutting out unnecessary and repetitive debate, and maintaining the focus of the fora. Ostrom (1990) highlights this issue, arguing that for a group of diverse organisations and / or individuals to have a minimal interest in jointly managing a common property resource, membership

must be selective not open-ended as selective membership provides a base incentive for members to abide by and enforce the institutions rules (Ostrom, 1990). In the context of the KNP fora, the common property is the interface between the KNP, the local communities and other local stakeholders. The effective management of this interface could benefit both the KNP and these local stakeholders, and it is the prospect of these benefits that is the incentive behind the participation of the various members in the fora.

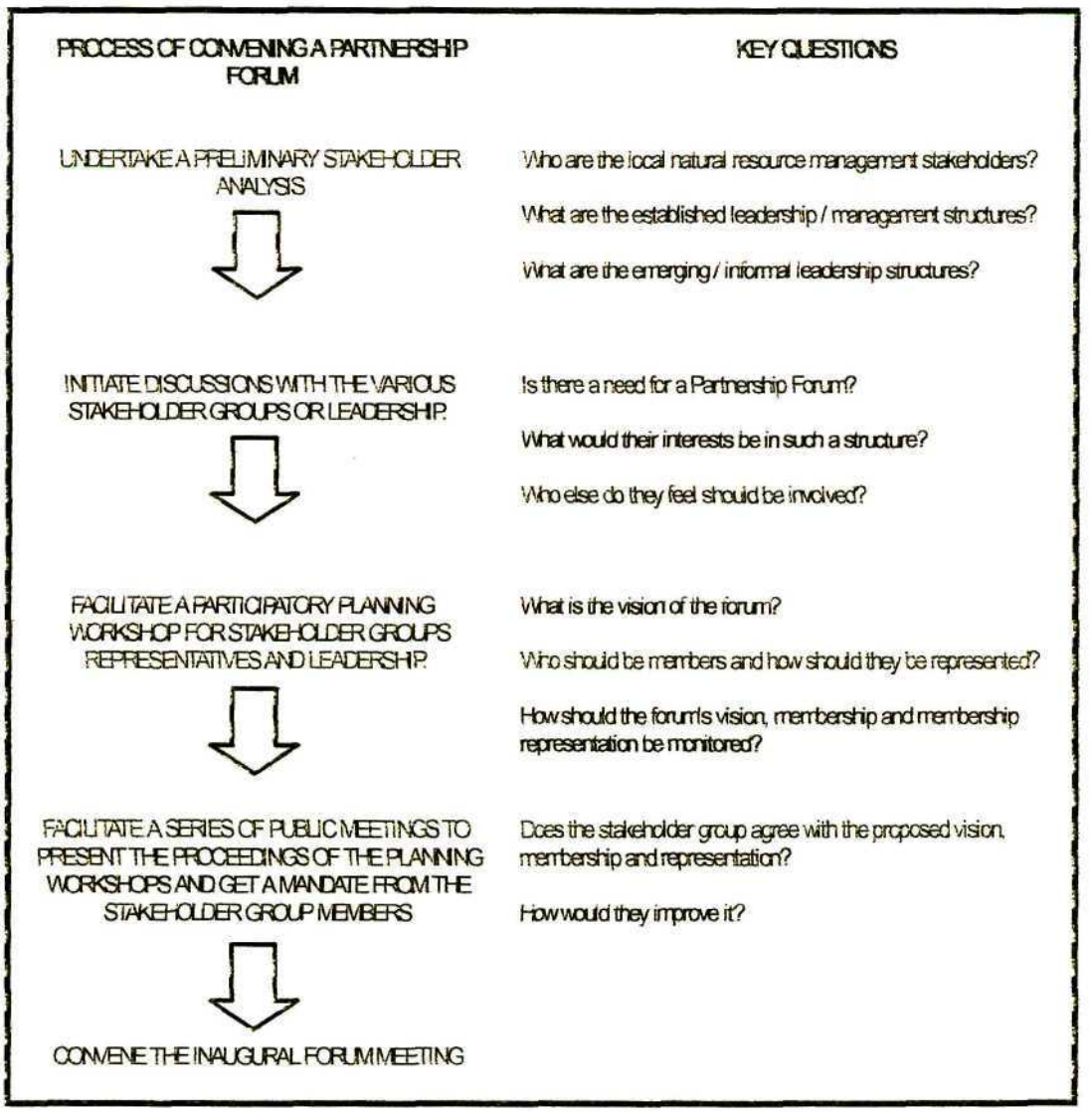

Figure 15 Refined process model for convening a Partnership Forum.

The membership boundaries of the Hlanganani, Lubambiswano and Sabie River Fora were focused on the interface between the KNP and its neighbours, with village membership being limited to the villages that either had land neighbouring directly on the park boundary or were affected by KNP problem animal issues. These boundaries represent a functional definition of the level of landscape management which was relevant to the various forum members during the fora's forming phase. The membership boundaries of the Phalaborwa Forum were more inclusive, as they were not focused around the problem issues affecting the relationship between the KNP and its neighbours. Rather they were focused around realising joint development opportunities which had a broader level of impact on the surrounding landscape. This difference suggests that as the members of a Partnership Forum progressively resolve problem issues the landscape level at which the forum activities are focused may gradually expand.

In comparison to the refined process model (Figure 15), the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora were effectively blindly convened. The vision, membership and representation of these fora was discussed and debated through an informal participatory planning process. However, the individuals involved in this process were not selected on the basis of a preliminary stakeholder analysis. Rather they were either self-nominated or nominated by the Tribal Authorities, provincial conservation agency or the KNP. The other forum members had little or no insight into the local community leadership structures and thus were not in a position to evaluate the merits of the so called "community representatives". The initial vision, membership and representation of these fora were also not verified through a public review process before the fora were convened. The danger of not doing this was graphically illustrated during the subsequent village to village field- trips were it emerged that the majority of the village "representatives" that initially attended these fora's meetings were not elected by their communities and / or were not reporting back to their constituencies.

In contrast, before the Sabie River Forum was convened, time and effort was put into identifying the

local stakeholders and discussing the need for a forum with these stakeholders. However, this information was subsequently ignored, when the decision was taken to proceed with the establishment of a forum despite knowing that the forum was not representative and had possibly been hijacked by individuals pursuing personal interests. This was a poor decision which highlighted the importance of not rushing the process for expediencies sake.

The difficulties experienced by the Hlanganani, Lubambiswano and Sabie River Fora with achieving effective village representation highlights another design flaw in the original framework, namely, the absence of any guidelines concerning the issues of financial compensation and sustainability. When the fora were convened, no budget was allocated to cover the logistical and time costs incurred by those forum members that did not have formal organisational support, specifically the neighbouring villages. Rather, the KNP staff that had facilitated the establishment of the fora assumed that the village residents would, or could, subsidise the involvement of their representatives. Furthermore, although this issue was raised by the village residents during the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora's village to village field trips, it was played down and referred back to the residents. Whilst it may have been ideal for the village resident to subsidise their representatives cost, it was not practical as they generally did have the finances. Thus the process of improving village representation was flawed.

The process used by the KNP staff to convene the Phalaborwa Forum provides a good example of how to possibly convene a forum properly. Firstly, the Phalaborwa Forum was only established following a series of meetings aimed at identifying who the stakeholders were, and secondly, the membership and forum activities were planned through a participatory planning process. However, the forum's vision, membership and representation were not verified through a public review process, which the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora's subsequent village to village field-trips highlighted as an essential component of any initiative that has a representative based membership.

The Phalaborwa Forum's formal link with the existing regional development committee highlights another point which should be considered when convening fora. Although the role of local development committees was never raised by any of the community representatives of the other three fora, it may, in retrospect, have been more appropriate to have drawn the community representation of these fora from the existing development committees. This would have avoided any possible overlap in activities and / or conflict over roles and responsibilities. By default, rather than design, many of the community representatives involved in these fora did serve on local development committees and thus there was an informal link, which may account for the fact that there was no obvious conflict or overlap of activities (the development activities of the fora are described in detail in Chapter 5).

CHAPTER 4

IDENTIFYING AND RESOLVING ISSUES AFFECTING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FORUM MEMBERS

The Partnership Forum Framework presented in Chapter 1 proposes that agreement on the need for a forum and identification of forum membership and representation, lays a foundation for the identification of problem issues affecting the relationship between the forum members. This shift in the forum activities corresponds to a shift in forum dynamics from a forming phase into a storming phase, during which forum members discuss, debate and reach agreement on the various problem issues, and attempt to identify and implement problem solving management procedures.

The case study descriptions and evaluations presented in this chapter cover this phase in the development of the four KNP fora, as a basis for improving the basic framework and identifying key issues that should be considered or anticipated during the storming phase in the development of a Partnership Forum.

Hlanganani Forum

Defining issues affecting the relationship between the forum members

During the first forum meeting the common vision expressed by the forum members was the resolution of issues affecting the relationship between the KNP, the regional conservation agency and the local community (HF 04/03/94). Within this context, a number of issues were identified, including land claims, problem animal control, assault of suspected poachers, local community access to the KNP (Table 10). The forum members discussed each of these issues and agreed that they should try to resolve all of them, as they all negatively affected the relationship between the KNP, regional conservation agency and the neighbouring community. Thus the resolution of each of these issues was adopted as a specific objective (Table 10).

The forum members also agreed that the forum should try to facilitate the establishment of projects aimed at stimulating local development, using the combined resources of the KNP, regional conservation agency and the village residents (HF 04/03/94). However, the village representatives stated that they wanted to see progress towards the resolution of the issues affecting their relationship with the KNP before they were willing to spend time and effort on development projects. This statement is characteristic of the storming phase of small group dynamics, with the group members polarised around the different problem issues.

Table 10 List of the issues affecting the relationship between the Hlanganani Forum members (identified between February 1994 and July 1996).

	Issues
1.	The resolution of community land claims against the KNP.
2.	The KNP's employment of Mozambican citizens.
3.	Local schools request for free entry permits into the KNP.
4.	The confiscation of cattle that had wandered into the KNP.
5.	The conditions under which suspected poachers are kept in custody and the assault of these suspects.
6.	The local village residents wanted subsidised access into the KNP.
7.	The KNP was not advertising its vacancies within the local villages.
8.	The trial of suspected poachers outside the magisterial districts where the lived.
9.	The local amakosi and izinduna's request for free access to the KNP.
10.	Compensation for problem animal related livestock and/or crop losses.
11.	The killing of live stock and destruction of crops in the communal lands by KNP problem animals.

Defining, selecting, and implementing actions to address the identified issues.

During subsequent forum meetings the members identified a range of actions which could possibly address these issues, and then selected and implemented specific actions. The forum's attempts at solving the problem animal issue illustrate the process used by the forum to identify, select and implement actions.

Prior to the inception of the forum, KNP lions, hyaena, elephant and buffalo had been breaking through the KNP's boundary fence and causing damage in the adjacent communal lands (HF 04/03/94). When

village residents tried to do something about these problem animals they were confronted with the following responses (HF 04/03/94):

i. KNP rangers refused to follow and shoot the animals outside the park as it was outside their jurisdiction, i.e. they could only deal with the problem animals if they were inside the park.

ii. The regional conservation agency's rangers claimed that they were trying their best to deal with the problem animals but had limited manpower. However, the village representatives disagreed, accusing them of being inefficient and unwilling to help.

The village representatives accusations against the regional conservation agency's rangers were subsequently reinforced by the village residents during the village to village field trip:

> "*In the past we called Gazankulu Nature Conservation to shoot a lion. They sent another man who didn't shoot. He said it was "donker" (Afrikaans for dark). This confused the community because they didn't know what "donkey" he was talking about*" (Gawula village resident - HF 25/08/94).
>
> "*We are crying from our side. We are crying about the lion. We have lost a lot of our stock. We went to Gazankulu Nature Conservation in February 1992, but they told us to wait. When we tried to kill the lion we were caught and fined. It doesn't seem right. We paid a lot of money for the cattle. When we asked to be allowed to trap the lions, we were told that they had cubs which would be motherless. The cattle are our bank, we seldom sell them to upgrade ourselves*" (Mahlati village resident - HF 25/08/94).

The KNP and conservation agency's responses, and village representatives comments, highlight the fact that the problem animal issue was actually a property rights issue. The people directly affected by the problem animals were the village residents. Yet the existing legal system prohibited them from dealing with the problem animals despite the fact that the animals were damaging their property. This system had theoretically been developed to protect the wildlife resident within the communal land areas. Yet the

> *"The KNP and Gazankulu Nature Conservation have said that if a lion is killed, the skin and carcass of the lion will go to the person whose cattle were killed, as compensation. But I have heard that a few weeks ago Gazankulu Nature Conservation killed a lion, and the skin and carcass were taken away? ..... Please realise if a cow is killed it is the loss of many calves as well. I used to go to the forum all the time, but I can see the forum is not solving these problems."*
>
> (Chief Muyexe - HF 25/08/94).

In response, the KNP and provincial conservation agency blamed each other for the lack of progress (HF 06/07/94; HF 25/08/94). The interaction between the forum members were all characteristic of the storming phase of small group dynamics, with the group members polarising and striking alliances in an attempt to promote their own interests.

At this stage of the forum's activities the forum had reached a deadlock around this issue and the forum members were polarised into different groups. To break down this deadlock, the Chief Executive of the National Parks Board asked the Premier of the Northern Province to mediate at a meeting between management representatives of the KNP and the provincial conservation agency, and village representatives from the Hlanganani Forum (HF 10/09/94). During this meeting the problem animal issue was discussed and debated and the Premier instructed the KNP and provincial conservation agency to implement the afore-mentioned management actions. He also instructed the village representatives to facilitate village resident involvement in the electrification of the fence and appointment of problem animal monitors, i.e. to ensure that the village residents were actively involved in solving the issue rather than passively involved as observers.

However, once again, these management actions were not implemented. The provincial conservation agency made no effort to train and equip village based problem animal monitors and did not formally

authorise the KNP rangers to work outside the KNP boundary, in support of the provincial conservation agency's rangers. Similarly, although KNP management indicated that they were planning to electrify the fence they made no effort to involve the village representatives in this process and the thus KNP's plans were subsequently rejected by the village representatives:

> "*A number of community representatives rejected the KNP representatives statement, on the grounds that the issues had not been discussed with the forum and thus the communities were being sidelined. They stressed that it seemed as if Skukuza (KNP) only talked to the community when it suited them*" (HF 04/12/94).

Progress towards solving the problem animal issues was only made following a subsequent forum meeting, when, as a desperate measure, the forum members signed a petition authorising one of the KNP rangers to deal with problem animals outside the KNP's boundary (HF 07/02/95). In response to this petition, the provincial conservation agency faxed a letter authorising this action and allocated specific staff to deal with problem animals (HF 07/02/95; HF 09/03/95). Whilst, these management actions did not solve the problem animal issue, i.e. there were still livestock losses reported at forum meetings, the number of problem animals being caught or shot increased (HF 05/05/95).

At the same time the village representatives proposed the establishment of a buffer zone along the north western boundary of the KNP (HF 09/03/95). The buffer zone proposal involved the establishment of a community based conservation area between the KNP and the villages represented by the Hlanganani forum, including both communal land and KNP land. This proposal was essentially aimed at shifting ownership for the control and management of the "problem" animals from the state to the local village residents whose lives were affected by the animals. Thus the proposal addressed the core property rights issue underlying the superficial problem animal issue. The other forum members supported the concept

and a task group was subsequently appointed to investigate the feasibility of the buffer zone. This step signaled the beginning of a shift in the forum dynamics out of a storming phase and into a norming phase. The electrification of the KNP's boundary fence was also put on hold as it was anticipated that if a buffer zone was created, the buffer zone's boundary, rather than the KNP's boundary, would need to be electrified. The task group is in the process of discussing the buffer zone concept with the residents of the villages that could be involved in the project, as a basis for drawing up plans and funding proposals (HF 31/07/95).

Forum's success at resolving the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members

Given the nature of the issues affecting the relationship between the members of the Hlanganani Forum it is unrealistic to expect the forum to permanently solve all these issues, as a number of them could be expected to periodically reoccur, e.g. problem animal and poaching problems. Rather the forum's role would be to identify and institutionalise working rules which can be implemented when these issues arise. As the forum group dynamics progressively develop, these rules would then be combined with the working rules developed to review and improve forum membership and representation (Figure 3).

The Hlanganani Forum members implemented management actions which they felt resolved 8 of the 11 issues which they originally identified (Figure 16), and none of these issues was raised at subsequent forum meetings. However, 4 of these problem issues were potentially recurring issues, i.e. the poacher related problem issues, the problem of cattle losses within the KNP and problems with the employment of local village residents by the KNP (Table 10). Thus the extent to which the forum has resolved these issues will only be determined when these issues reoccur (if they reoccur), i.e. by the relative success with which the forum has developed and institutionalised relevant working rules.

The forum members were unable to resolve 3 of the problem issues, namely, the land claim issue, and the problem animal and compensation issues. After a series of discussions around the land claim issue, the forum members agreed that the land claim should be referred to a government appointed land claims commission, as they felt that the decision making powers necessary to solve the land claim issue were beyond the scope of the forum members. Although the forum had not been able to resolve the problem animal and compensation issues within the period documented in this thesis, the forum's efforts at resolving these issues led to the initiation of a development project opportunity, namely the establishment of a buffer zone management area along the boundary between the KNP and the local communities. This project is in the process of being implemented and may well eventually resolve the problem animal and compensation issues, assuming the core property rights issue is addressed and the forum is able to institutionalise a set of working rules that facilitate the active involvement of the local village residents in the management of the buffer zone.

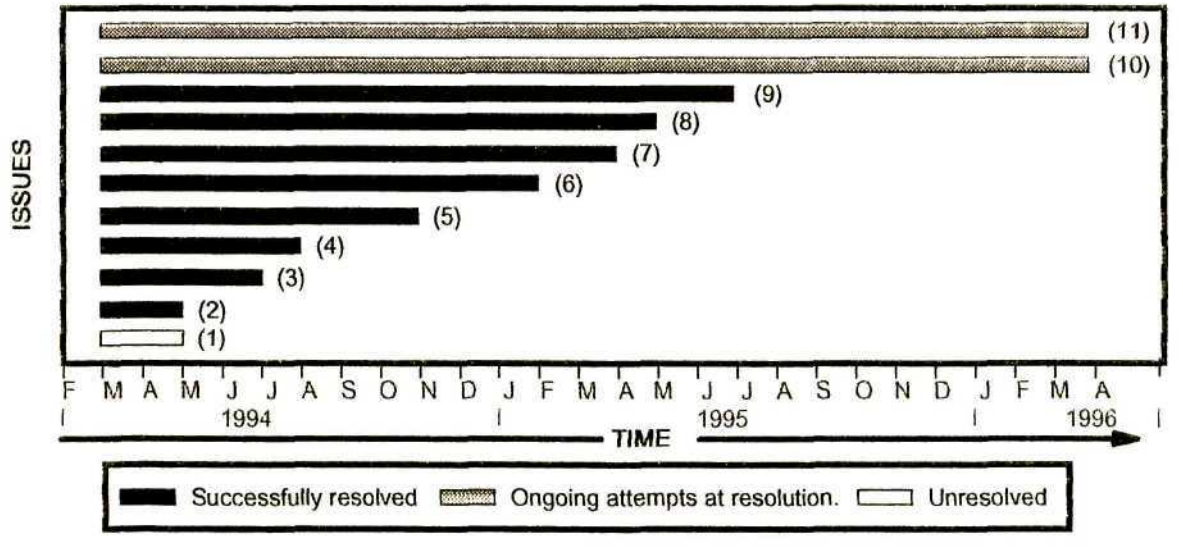

Figure 16 Chart illustrating the temporal progress and status of the Hlanganani Forum's attempts at resolving the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members. (Numbers in parentheses correspond to the issues listed in Table 10).

Lubambiswano Forum

Defining issues affecting the relationship between the forum members

The Lubambiswano Forum's first formal meeting was extremely tense, due to the explicit aggression of the village representatives and amakosi who wanted the KNP to immediately resolve land claim and problem animal issues:

> "*The Kruger National Park erected a fence preventing livestock from drinking water. The community was never consulted when the fence was erected. Furthermore, the game came sometimes from the Kruger National Park to destroy the communities' property and nothing was done about it. ... What is more important, wildlife or livestock? Water is a problem in the area. The Nsikazi river is now fenced off and during the dry season the cattle cannot reach the river! ... The Chiefs were never consulted when the fence was erected. Why are we called together today? You consult us at a very late hour! Will you remove the fence if we ask you to do so? ... My grandfather's grave is inside the Kruger National Park. I have no access to it in order to fulfil my obligations!*" (LB 22/11/93).

As with the Hlanganani Forum, the position of the village representatives and amakosi on these issues were characteristic of the storming phase of small group dynamics. Similarly, the key problem issues, namely the resolution of land claims, problem animal control and access to the Nsikazi river, were all property rights issues.

Given the obvious need for the forum to try to resolve these issues, the forum members agreed that the primary vision of the forum should be to facilitate the resolution of the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members. The forum members then presented a list of the issues (Table 11) and the resolution of each issue was adopted as a specific objective.

Table 11 Summary of the issues affecting the relationship between the Lubambiswano Forum members (identified between February 1994 and July 1996).

	Issues
1.	Local village residents want access to the ancestral graves and sacred sites situated within the KNP.
2.	Local schools request for free access into the KNP.
3.	The KNP rangers had killed a suspected poachers during a firefight in the park
4.	The Mdluli Tribal Authority land dispute with the KNP.
5.	The local village residents request for subsidised entry into the KNP.
6.	The KNP's employment of Mozambican citizens.
7.	The KNP was not advertising its vacancies within the local villages.
8.	The Nsikazi river land dispute.
9.	Compensation for problem animal related livestock and/or crop losses.
10.	The repair and maintenance of railway fencing between Matsulu and Numbi.

Defining, selecting, and implementing actions to address the identified issues.

During subsequent meetings the forum members identified a range of management actions which could possibly solve these issues, and then selected and implemented specific actions. During the first two meetings, the forum members were able to resolve 3 of the issues that were initially listed, namely, the problems experienced by village residents wanting to visit ancestral sites within the KNP, school groups wanting to visit the KNP itself and the killing of suspected poachers by KNP rangers (Table 11). These issues were all simply resolved as a result of improved communication between the village representatives and the KNP:

i. The KNP already had a policy allowing access to sacred sites and ancestral graves. They had simply never bothered to inform the local village residents that they could visit the sites and graves, and what procedure they should follow if they did wish visit the sites.

ii. The KNP already had a policy allowing local school children free access to the park. Once again, they had simply never bothered to inform the local schools of this opportunity and what procedures the schools should follow.

iii. The problem of the KNP killing suspected poachers had arisen after an anti-poaching action

during which a poacher had been shot and killed by KNP rangers, after he had fired on them. This action had angered local village residents:

"*We are grievously concerned by the killing of human trespassers into the Kruger National Park with the intention to poach. ... There are children who regard the perpetrators as breadwinners. Who will pay compensation to the perpetrators' families if they are killed?*" (LB 22/11/93).

However, after the KNP rangers had explained that they had killed the suspected poacher in self-defense and informed the village representatives that the shooting had been formally investigated by the police, the village representatives had accepted that it was an isolated case and that the rangers involved had had no other options.

The forum's major breakthrough was the resolution of the Mdluli land claim, in April 1994 (Table 11). This land claim dated back to 1969, when KNP's boundary with the Nsikazi region was fenced. When the boundary fence was erected, 1 500 ha of communal land (Mdluli Tribal Authority land) had been fenced into the KNP and the local residents living on the land had been forcibly relocated onto another piece of land excised from the KNP. Although the piece of land excised from the KNP was larger (2500 ha) than the piece of land included into the park, the local residents had not been consulted and were paid minimal compensation for the houses which they left behind:

"*We were moved by trucks. There was no choice. We had no alternative but to move.*" (Nyongane community member - LB 01/06/95)

"*The government went and inspected our old houses. They gave us R10 (± US$3), R20 (± US$6), R30 (± US$9) for them. Mr Enoch Nkosi had a 12 roomed house, from where he ran a shop, and he lost everything.*" (Nyongane community member - LB 01/06/95).

"*After the wives had cut the grass, the men came to Nyongane. It was a place with no water. There had been a dam and a river at our old place, where our cattle could drink and graze. Our*

forefathers graves, more than 100, are now in Skukuza. We were the first people to arrive in Nyongane. Afterwards others joined us, who had been moved off farmers land. Later, people came from all over." (Nyongane community member - LB 01/06/95)

Along another section, an important cattle winter water source, the Nsikazi river, was fenced into the KNP and no alternative watering points were established. This had impacted heavily on the local residents, particularly during periods of drought when their cattle started dying through dehydration (LB 22/11/93). Although the local amakosi had repeatedly attempted to resolve these issues since 1969, through discussions with both the KNP and National Government, their attempts had been rejected and ignored (LB 22/11/93).

Following a series of discussions around these issues, the forum members managed to negotiate the return of the Mdluli Tribal Authority land to the Mdluli people (LB 12/04/94). This step was welcomed by all the forum members who saw it as a positive step in the development of a good relationship between the forum members (LB 12/04/94). This breakthrough was followed by the successful resolution of two of the other problem issues initially listed, namely, problems associated with the KNP employing Mozambican citizens and the access of local village residents to the KNP (Figure 19). During the same period, May 1994 - February 1995, the forum began identifying and implementing management actions aimed at facilitating the resolution of the other outstanding problem issues (Table 11). They also began discussing the possibility of initiating a series of joint development projects, indicating the beginning of a shift in the focus of the forum away from the resolution of problem issues towards the stimulation of local and provincial development.

However, the realisation of these project opportunities was delayed by difficulties associated with

resolving the Nzikazi river dispute (Table 11). From the middle of the 1994 dry season, discussions around the Nzikazi river dispute dominated forum meetings, and by July 1996, the issue had still not been resolved (LB 04/05/94 - LB 31/07/97). This dispute involved a strip of land between the KNP's western boundary, marked by a railway line (western boundary) and the Nzikazi river (eastern boundary). Although the Nzikazi river had officially been within the boundaries of the KNP since 1926, when the KNP was proclaimed, the local village residents had been able to water their cattle at the river until 1959 when a veterinary fence was erected along the edge of the river. This fence was erected to prevent the spread of foot-and-mouth disease and anthrax, two diseases carried by KNP game, e.g. buffalo, and was erected in response to international legislation aimed at containing an outbreak of these diseases.

When this issue was raised by the village representatives at the forum, KNP management were faced with three possible scenarios:

i. They could hand the strip of land over to the local residents, together with the river. A scenario that they were unhappy about as, although the Nsikazi river was non-perennial, it was the only river in the southwestern corner of the KNP and did provide some water for game particularly towards the end of the dry season.

ii. They could refuse to hand the strip of land over to the local residents, and refuse to help the community solve their water problem, arguing that it was not the KNP's problem.

iii. They could refuse to hand the strip of land over to the local residents, but then help them solve their water problem.

KNP management initially decided to follow the third route (LB 04/05/94). They refused to hand over the strip of land, using the disease control legislation to justify their stance. However, they then began helping the local residents solve their water problems by drilling boreholes and pumping water from the river .

During this period, the National Parks Board underwent a major restructuring process aimed at developing the organisation into a progressive non-racial organisation, an action driven by the political changes sweeping through the country following the first democratic elections in April 1994. This restructuring directly influenced the KNP, as the KNP Park Warden who had settled the Mdluli land claim and authorised his staff to allocate their time and other resources to resolving the water problem, was replaced with a new Warden thought to have a more liberal view and management approach. The forum members asked the KNP representatives to invite the new Park Warden to attend forum meetings and help them resolve the issue, as the previous Park Warden had done on several occasions (LB 26/04/95; LB 10/08/95; LB 09/10/95). The new Park Warden refused, stating that the National Parks Board had decided that the KNP could not allow the local residents direct access to the river, but would allow them to pump water from the river, but at their own cost, and that there was nothing else to negotiate (LB 10/08/95). The fact that the new Park Warden was not willing to attend forum meetings angered the local resident representatives, who argued that the KNP's management was obviously not committed to building a partnership. Thus the village representatives declared a dispute with the National Parks Board:

> "*They (forum members) insist that they had access to the river up to 1959, when the fence was erected and consider themselves to be the rightful owners of the river. They also stated that they have tried to negotiate a fair agreement with NPB whereby the river could be shared, but after two years of talking they are disillusioned by the 'rigid' approach of the KNP. According to the terms of the forum's constitution they have now declared a dispute with the NPB and have decided to send a delegation to the Premier of Mpumalanga, Mr M. Phosa, to request him to act as a mediator between the NPB and the communities involved.*" (LB 11/10/95).

Thus the appointment of a new Park Warden had serious negative repercussions for the Lubambiswano forum and undermined the trust and goodwill that had begun developing between the KNP and village representatives involved in the forum:

I used to attend every forum meeting, and I raised our problems with the river every time. But the Skukuza (KNP) people refused to help us. Now my people don't believe that I'm trying hard enough, so I've stopped going to the forum. The forum is all talk and no action. Nothing has changed. Skukuza still cares more for animals than it does for people!" (Spelenyane community member - LB 01/06/95).

Following the forum's decision to declare a dispute with the NPB, the KNP Park Warden did visit the communities that bordered on the Nsikazi river and agreed to the establishment of a task team to identify ways in which the Nsikazi river dispute could be resolved. This task team included KNP staff, local community representatives, representatives from the local Department of Agriculture and representatives of a local environmental NGO, namely, ECOLINK.

Forum's success at resolving the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members

The Lubambiswano Forum members implemented actions which they felt resolved 7 of the 10 issues they had identified (Figure 17), and none of these issues was raised at subsequent forum meetings. The forum was also able to identify and implement working rules which made some progress towards resolving two of the other problem issues, i.e.

i. They established a compensation system, which resulted in one local village resident receiving financial compensation for his problem animal related livestock losses (LB 10/08/95)

ii. They established a system for advertising KNP job vacancies within the local villages.

However, both of these problem issues were raised at subsequent meetings, indicating that the pilot schemes had not resolved these issues. The forum members are in the process of reviewing the initial working rules and implementing follow-up actions.

At the end of the period documented in this thesis the task team which was established to resolve the Nsikazi River dispute was still in the process of identifying ways in which the issue could be resolved, including the possibility of raising donor funding for the installation of improved water reticulation systems. However, the core problem underlying this issue is a property rights issue and thus it is unlikely this issue will be resolved unless this property rights issue is resolved. A possible solution to this issue could be the development of a buffer zone or co-management zone for the Nsikazi river, similiar to the development initiated by the Hlanganani Forum.

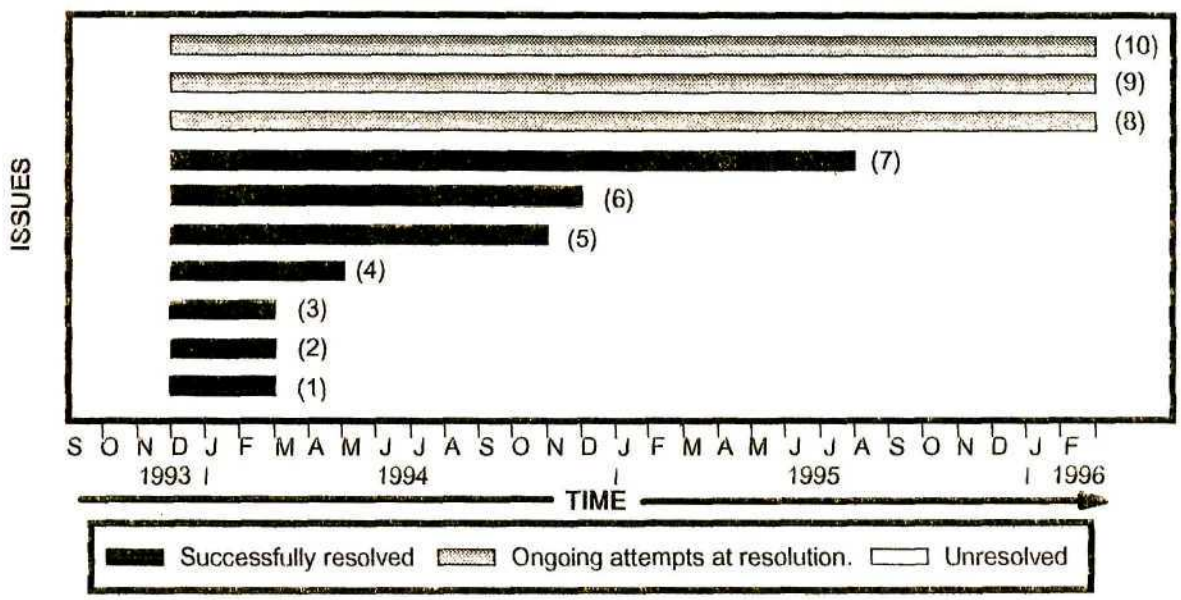

Figure 17 Chart illustrating the temporal progress and status of the Lubambiswano Forum's attempts at resolving the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members. (Numbers in parentheses correspond to the issues listed in Table 11).

Sabie River Forum

Defining issues affecting the relationship between the forum members

The first problem issue identified by the members of the Sabie River Forum, was the problem of KNP animals, e.g. baboons and monkeys, raiding the crops being cultivated by members of the local community along the edge of the KNP (SR 10/11/94). The forum members agreed that this issue was a priority issue, and adopted the resolution of this problem issue as a priority forum objective. However, as the forum members began identifying actions which could possibly resolve the problem animal issue, other problem issues were identified which were linked to this issue, and were having a negative impact on the relationship between the local community members and the KNP rangers (SR 29/11/94), e.g. access to the Sabie River. Thus the resolution of each of these problem issues was also adopted as a specific objective (Table 12).

Table 12 Summary of the issues affecting the relationship between the members of the Sabie River Forum (identified between November 1994 and July 1996).

	Issues
1.	KNP problem animals (baboons and monkeys) destroying crops in cultivated areas along the KNP's boundary with the Hoxane Tribal Authority's land.
2.	That local farmers were not allowed to pump water from the Sabie River.
3.	That local farmers were not allowed to fish for subsistence purposes in the Sabie River.

Defining, selecting, and implementing actions to address the identified issues

Following the identification of problem animal control as an issue, the forum members established a task group to co-ordinate the identification, selection and implementation of appropriate management actions to resolve this problem. The task group consisted of the local KNP rangers and representatives of the farmers that were affected by their problem animals. These farmers worked along the edge of the Sabie

river, which marked the boundary between the KNP and the Hoxane Tribal authorities land. According to the 1926 National Parks act, the official boundary was the high water mark, on the Hoxane tribal authorities side of the river (SR 29/11/94). According to the same legislation, people farming along the side of the river were entitled to pump water and catch fish from the river. However, these farmers had regularly been arrested for fishing in the river and for trespassing along the banks of the river whilst installing and maintaining their pumps (SR 29/11/94). This was an issue that clearly confused and angered the local community members:

> *"I sent my men to clear an area on the edge of the river, for a pump. While they were working, the KNP rangers came and arrested the tractor driver. The other men didn't see it happen. They only found the tractor idling. We thought the driver had drowned. Three days later we heard he was in Skukuza (KNP)."* (SR 29/11/94).
>
> *"The Department of Agriculture gave permission to people to cross the fence, they were told they can go to the river. We were allowed to clear the bush for pumping water, but now we are arrested. Police (KNP rangers) arrest the workers without even giving notice to the owner of the land"* (SR 06/12/94).

This issue was also a core property right issue, with the added element of racial discrimination. White commercial farmers neighbouring along the southern boundary of the KNP had long established rights to both pump water and catch fish from the Crocodile River, which marked the southern boundary.

The task group discussed this issue and arranged for the farmers to be issued permits, allowing them to pump water, clear vegetation and catch fish from the river (SR 19/12/94). The task group also started implementing a range of actions aimed at preventing KNP baboons and monkeys from damaging the local farmers crops. Given that it was almost impossible to stop these animals from leaving the park, the management actions involved setting traps for the animals and/or allowing the farmers to shoot them if

they were caught raiding their crops (SR 07/04/95). It was anticipated that the frequency with which the baboon and monkey troops were raiding the farmers crops would decrease as the troop leaders and adults were killed.

Forum's success at resolving issues affecting the relationship between the forum members

The Sabie River Forum members implemented management actions which they felt solved all of the problem issues which they originally identified (Figure 18), and none of these issues were raised at subsequent forum meetings. However, 2 of these problem issues are potentially reoccurring issues, i.e. the control of problem animals and the issuing of fishing permits (Table 12). Thus the extent to which the forum has solved these issues will only be determined if these issues reoccur and the forum is able to successfully implement the working rules and procedures which it has institutionalised.

The problems associated with allowing regulated access to the Sabie River for fishing illustrate the difficulties associated with developing working rules for resolving issues affecting the relationship between forum members. When this issue was first raised (SR 19/12/94), KNP management agreed to issue fishing permits to the farmers working along the edge of the Sabie River as these permits were catered for within the existing legislation. However, once these permits had been issued and the farmers complaints resolved, the forum community representatives stated that they felt that they should also be allocated permits i.e. in addition to the farmers working along the edge of the KNP (SR 31/07/96). This request opened up the whole issue again, as the KNP's management were unwilling to set a precedent by issuing permits to community members that were not farming along the edge of the river. KNP management viewed this request as unreasonable and challenged the status and transparency of the community representatives, arguing that they were unwilling to allocate any privileges to the community representatives until the representatives had called public meetings to confirm their representative status

within the Hoxane community (SR 31/07/97), which the community representatives refused to do. The mistrust and conflict around this issue was one of the factors which subsequently lead to the failure of the Sabie River Forum.

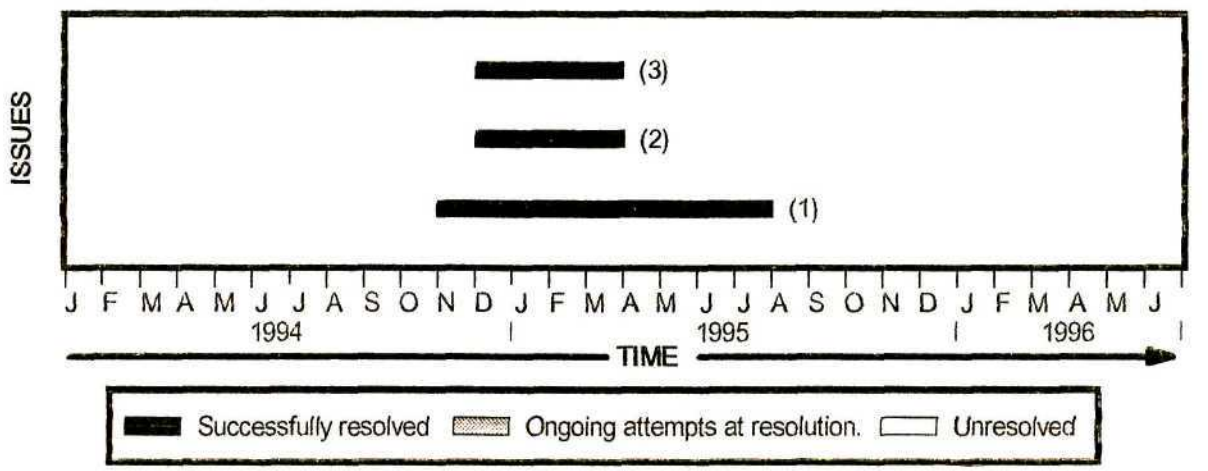

Figure 18 Chart illustrating the temporal progress and status of the Sabie River Forum's attempts at resolving the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members. (Numbers in parentheses correspond to the issues listed in Table 12).

Phalaborwa Forum

In contrast to the other three fora the members of the Phalaborwa Forum did not identify any problem issues which they felt needed to be resolved. Rather the forum members immediately started working together to identify partnership project opportunities and ways in which they could realise these opportunities. Thus the forum dynamics effectively skipped the storming phase, shifting directly from a forming phase into a norming phase or pilot project phase (Figures 2 and 3). This was an interesting dynamic which suggests that the development of a Partnership Forum will not necessarily be a unidirectional progressive process. Where there is a history of conflict between the forum members, the forum dynamics are likely to progress from a forming phase, through a storming phase into a norming

phase (Figure 2). However, where there is no history of conflict the dynamics are likely to progress directly from an initial forming phase into a norming phase.

Summary

Despite the various problems experienced with convening the fora and achieving effective representation for the fora's membership, the Hlanganani, Lubambiswano and Sabie River fora all managed to resolve a number of problem issues. The lessons learnt through this process provide a basis for developing a refined process model for the identification and resolution of problem issues.

Identifying issues affecting the relationship between forum members

Where there is a history of conflict between forum members, the case studies support the initial concept proposal that once a forum has been convened the next step in the development of a forum would be the identification of problem issues affecting the relationship between the forum members (Figure 19). This phase in the development of the Hlanganani, Lubambiswano and Sabie River fora was facilitated by a KNP Community Liaison staff member who acted as a "neutral" chairperson. He undertook to ensure that all the representatives attending the forum meetings were afforded equal opportunity to state what issues they felt needed to be resolved. Ideally, this process should be facilitated by a neutral party who has conflict resolution experience and has no vested interest in the forum issues, except their successful resolution of the problem issues. In the absence of such facilitation, the forum members ability to resolve problem issues will limited by the extent of the goodwill and good faith of the individuals attending forum meetings, which is continuously tested as a range of complex property rights issues (land, water, animals, etc.) are addressed.

Obviously, within the context of the KNP fora, the concept of a KNP staff member acting as a neutral facilitator presents an unlikely scenario. However, the individual that acted as chairperson was already known to many of the KNP staff and community representatives involved in the fora and was also an ordained minister, adding credibility amongst the community representatives. Thus, in the absence of funds to hire formal mediators, he was effectively accepted as the best option for a "neutral" chairperson.

Identifying, selecting and implementing actions to address the identified issues

As the various problem issues were listed, the chairperson facilitated a series of open discussions aimed at identifying the organisations and or individuals that would need to be involved if the fora were to successfully facilitate the resolution of the various issues (Figure 19). This process was not structured. In retrospect, the fora's attempts at resolving these issues would have benefitted from a more structured stakeholder analysis and participatory planning process that not only identified the relevant organisations and individuals, but also their ability to influence the various issues and the extent to which they were affected by the issues. As the forum progressively identifies these stakeholders, the next step would be to contact the most influential stakeholders and the stakeholders most affected by the issue, and try to actively involve them in the identification of guiding principles and implementation of working rules and procedures.

The stakeholders most affected by the issues identified by the KNP fora were the local community members and / or the local KNP or provincial conservation agencies rangers. Where these stakeholders had enough influence to facilitate the resolution of a specific issue, the issue was resolved. These issues were characterised by either one of the following characteristics:

i. Appropriate mechanisms were already in place but the local community members had never been informed of them. Through the communication channels established by the fora the KNP staff

were able to inform the community representatives of these mechanisms and, where necessary, facilitate their implementation, e.g. preventing the KNP from employing Mozambican citizens, arranging free access for local schools and leadership and subsidised access for local community members, advertising all KNP vacancies within the local community, etc..

ii. The resolution of the problem issues was within the management capacity of the actual individuals that attended the fora, e.g. returning cattle that had strayed into the KNP, allowing local farmers to pump water from, and fish in, the Sabie River, facilitating access to ancestral graves and sacred sites.

The issues which were not resolved all involved decision making powers beyond the scope of the individuals actually involved in the fora, i.e. the individuals involved in the fora did not have enough influence to facilitate the resolution of these problem issues. The resolution of the problem animal issues required support and co-operation from the National Parks Board and Provincial Conservation Agencies executive staff. The problems associated with improving the conditions under which suspected poachers were detained and prosecuted, required the support of the South African Police Service And Department of Justice hierarchy. The improvement of the fence along the north-western boundary of the KNP required the support of the State Veterinary Department, and the improvement of the fence along the south-western boundary required the support of SPOORNET. Through the fora, all these stakeholders were contacted. However, as the fora had no formal legal status or legitimacy it proved extremely difficult for them to get any commitments from these stakeholders. The key stakeholders that were involved either refused to attend forum meetings, e.g. the KNP Park Warden, or were never committed to the forum activities, e.g. the Department of Justice and State Veterinary Department.

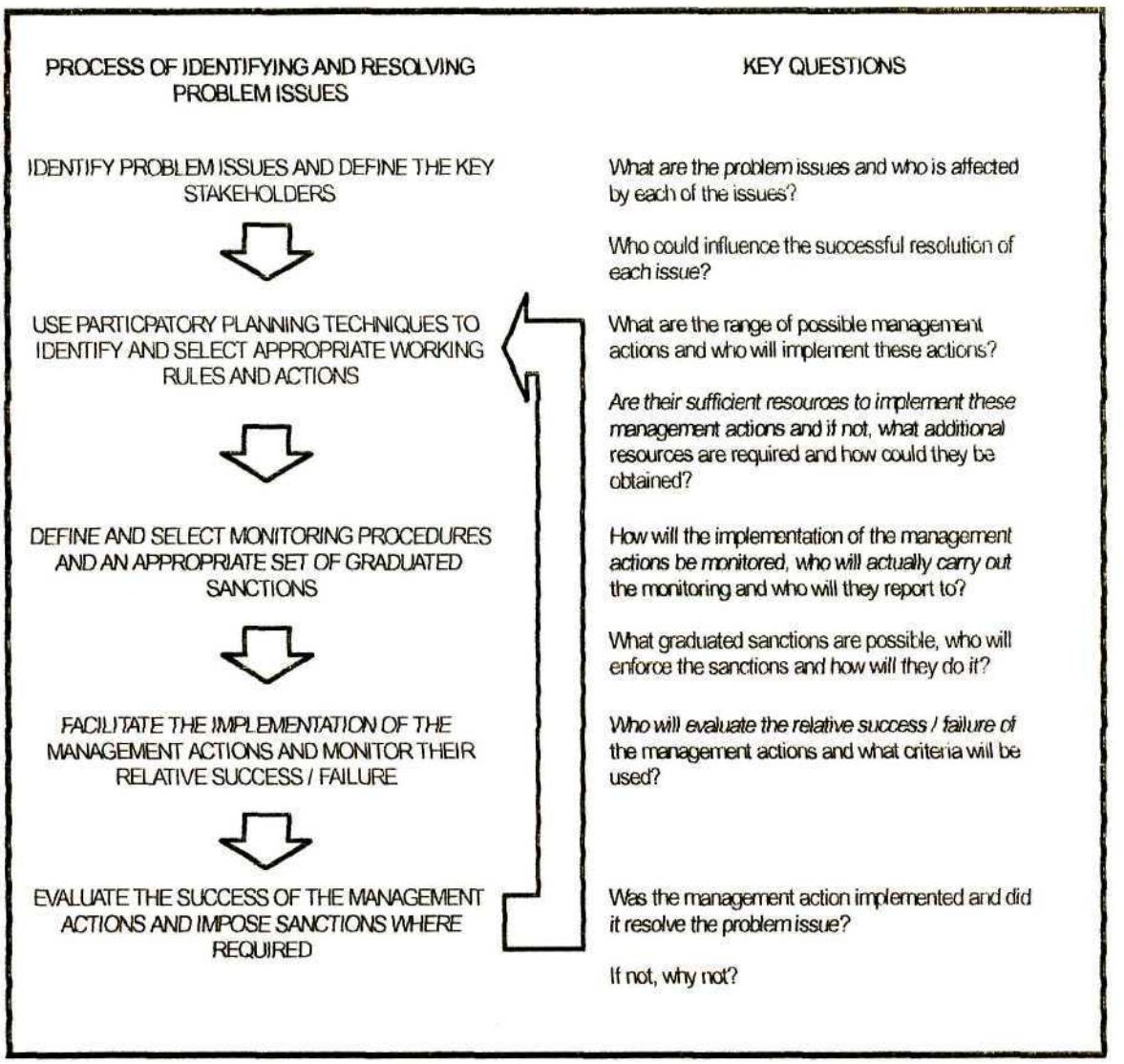

Figure 19 Refined process model for identifying and resolving issues affecting the relationship between forum members.

The legitimacy of Partnership Fora and their links with the established local, provincial and national conservation and development institutions are key issues which should be considered when developing such structures. The development of the fora in the absence of a formally legislated framework exposed

the fora's activities to personal and organisational agendas, and weakened the forum's ability to successfully resolve problem issues. If the fora had been developed within the context of enabling provincial or national legislation, the fora may have been able to achieve their objectives with more success. This statement is made on the assumption that such legislation would have provided mechanisms for the support and capacity building of forum members, and mediation around deadlock issues.

The mediation issue is a key issue which is also highlighted by Ostrom (1990) who stresses the need for low-cost access to conflict resolution mechanisms. The need for such mechanisms was graphically illustrated by the problems experienced by the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora whilst trying to resolve the problem animal and Nsikazi river disputes. Thus it is essential that enabling legislation provides for, and supports, such mechanisms.

The vision behind promoting enabling legislation is not the prescriptive creation of new natural resource co-management institutions. Rather, it is that such legislation would support the activities of local resource users in their attempts at developing an institution that meets their needs and aspirations. Ostrom (1990) also highlights this issue, identifying the right of an institution's members to define their own working rules as a key design principle which characterises long-enduring common property resource institutions. The members of the KNP fora did define their own constitutional and operational rules. However, the effectiveness of these rules could have been improved if:

i. They had had access to independent financial and logistical resources, e.g. participatory planning and mediation support. The factor was also a key factor affecting the forum members representation.

ii. If the fora had been developed within the context of a broader provincial or national institutional framework that promoted and supported the involvement of local communities in managing the

interface between a protected area and the surrounding social, economic and environmental landscape.

Monitoring and evaluating the implementation of management actions

The range of problem solving management actions which the KNP fora implemented did not explicitly include monitoring mechanisms or graduated sanctions against forum members who did not follow through with the implementation of agreed on actions (Figure 19). Ostrom (1990) observed that monitoring and graduated sanctions were key success factors for the development of long-enduring common property resource institutions. In the range of successful institutions which Ostrom (1990) reviewed, monitoring and sanction procedures were designed and implemented by the participants themselves, as they had a vested interest in helping to prevent its failure. However, monitoring in the absence of an enforced sanction system was ineffectual, as the defaulter lost nothing by not following the rules or implementing and supporting collective choice strategies (Ostrom, 1990).

Following the implementation of a specific management action, the members of the KNP fora did discuss and debate the relative success or failure of the action and did try and develop alternative management strategies where necessary. However, the legitimacy of the fora's activities was structured around good-faith agreements by the forum members and depended on the goodwill of the members to abide by and support these rules. In the absence of any formal legal standing, the only sanction or penalty which a forum member faced if they did not carry through on an agreed action, was the verbal criticism of the other forum member representatives.

Unless the forum activities are supported by a broader provincial or national strategy that supports the fora, the ability of these fora to implement and enforce sanctions will generally be limited. By definition,

the membership of these structures include a mixture of individuals, communities and organisations. Until the forum members are able to resolve the issues having a negative affect on their relationship, their involvement in the forum activities will be driven by personal or organisational agenda's. During this phase the forum activities are likely to be of personal interest to the community members and their representatives, and only of professional interest to the other forum members. This must affect the relative commitment of the different forum members. Problem issues such as problem animal control had a daily negative impact on the local communities, and thus they were priority issues to the community representatives. In contrast, they were simply additional management problems to be added to the KNP and provincial conservation agencies rangers "in-trays", to be dealt with when they got around to it. The KNP performance and merit assessment processes of these organisations did not take into account the effort made by the relevant KNP staff to build a relationship with their neighbours. A useful contrast is the Natal Parks Board, where the Community Conservation field is institutionalised within the organisation, and relevant staff are both appointed and assessed on their ability to build a relationship with their neighbours (pers. obs.).

Secondly, the community members of the fora were all extremely poor, characterised by low income, low education levels, high dependency levels and rapid population growth rates. Thus the local community residents were not in a position to subsidise their representatives costs. Rather, the community representatives had to subsidize their own time costs, i.e. they were not paid to attend forum meetings. This limits the ability of community representatives to participate in the forum activities, lobby support from forum members and / or external government and non-government support organisations, monitor the actions of the other forum members, etc.. In contrast the time, travel and subsistence costs of the other members are covered by their organisations. Furthermore, this factor also affected the criteria used to select community representatives. Rather than selecting representatives that were community leaders

known to have the interests of the community at heart, they were often selected on the basis of whether they had their own transport or at least could afford to cover their own transport costs (HF 25/08/94; LB 01/06/95). Thus it is essential that when such programmes are established, the issue of financial support and sustainability needs is addressed.

If the fora had been supported by a formal national or provincial legislative framework, the forum members would have had the mandate to either access existing funds from government sources or raise donor funds to cover the operational costs of forum members, and where necessary, the cost of mediation to guide the forum activities around deadlock situations. Similarly the fora would have had the mandate to possibly develop and enforce financial penalty systems, e.g. the KNP could be required to pay compensation through the fora for any livestock killed by KNP animals, etc.. This is a key issue which needs to be taken into account in the future design and development of similar structures around other southern African protected areas.

CHAPTER 5

IDENTIFYING AND IMPLEMENTING DEVELOPMENT PROJECT OPPORTUNITIES

The framework presented in Chapter 1 proposes that as the forum members begin resolving some of the issues affecting the relationships between the forum members, the group dynamics will start moving into a "norming" phase (Figure 2). The core activity of forum members during this phase will be the development of working rules for the identification and implementation of development project opportunities (Figure 3). This chapter provides case study descriptions and evaluations of this phase in the development of the four KNP fora, and uses the lessons learnt from these case studies to refine the initial conceptual framework.

Hlanganani Forum

Defining development project objectives

As the Hlanganani Forum members progressively developed working rules and implemented actions which successfully addressed the issues affecting their relationship, they began shifting more attention towards the identification of development project opportunities and implementation of appropriate actions. This shift in the forum activities corresponded to a progressive shift in the attitude of the forum members to the forum activities, i.e. the forum members began viewing the forum as "our" forum as opposed to the "KNP's" forum. This shift in the attitude of the forum members was highlighted during the village to village field trip by the fact that the forum activities were not only promoted by the KNP representatives, but by the provincial conservation agency and village representatives as well:

> "*The forum is dealing with a number of problems, including problem animals, poachers, etc.. These aren't once off problems! They occur along the entire boundary of the KNP. As representatives we were angry, but now we realise we have to work together!*" (Mahlati village representative's statement to residents of Makuleke village - HF 25/08/94).

"*The forum was established to solve your problems. You have no representative so you are behind the times. Your approach is not good! Send a representative to the forum so that he can present your problems and bring back solutions.*" (Maviligwe village representative's statement to residents of Matiyani village - HF 25/08/94).

"*In the past, laws were made without consulting the people. Now we are sharing responsibility and developing laws from the ground up.*" (Provincial conservation agency's representative's statement to residents of Makahlule village - HF 25/08/94).

These comments clearly indicated that the forum members were beginning to successfully develop an institutional core for the co-management of the integration of the KNP into the surrounding landscape.

During this "transitional" period, the forum members participated in a participative rural appraisal workshop facilitated by the researcher. This was aimed at helping the forum members evaluate the forum's activities, as a basis for determining whether the forum should continue or not (HF 04/12/94). During the workshop, forum members divided into four groups and each group then answered the following questions (Table 13):

i. Why were they attending the forum?

ii. What had the forum achieved?

iii. What hadn't the forum achieved?

iv. Should the forum continue?

v. If the forum continued, what should the forum's 1995 goals be?

All the groups agreed that they were attending the forum to "build a relationship between the Kruger National Park and the communities bordering on the park within the Malamulele and Giyani regions (Table 13). They stressed that the fact that the forum was established was an achievement in itself, and that

the communication channels which the forum represented had to be expanded on and strengthened.

Table 13 Results of the Hlanganani Forum's Participative Rural Appraisal evaluation workshop (HF 04/12/94)

Question	Response
Why were they attending the forum?	All the groups agreed that they were attending the forum to: "*Build a relationship between the Kruger National Park and the communities bordering on the park within the Malamulele and Giyani regions*". Two of the groups expanded on this answer, by stating that they also wanted to build a relationship with the regional conservation agency staff operating within the forum region, and one of the groups proposed the following additional aims for the forum: i. To create and promote an awareness of the importance of environmental conservation. ii. To promote the role of the Kruger National Park as a National Park.
What had the forum achieved?	The groups listed the implementation of the reduced tariff access systems and the establishment of the forum itself, as the primary achievements of the forum during 1994.
What hadn't the forum achieved?	The groups highlighted two actions which they felt the forum hadn't achieved, namely: i. That the problem animal issues had not been solved. ii. That no compensation had been raised to reimburse local village residents for livestock or crops destroyed by KNP problem animals. They also stressed that the fact there were still breakdowns in communication between the KNP staff and local village residents was a problem which would need to be addressed as soon as possible.
Should the forum continue?	The groups all agreed that the forum should continue.
If the forum continues, what should the forum's 1995 goals be?	The groups agreed that during 1995 the forum should address the actions which they had not achieved during the 1994 year, and requested that a constitution should be drafted and included the forum's vision and aims, and constitutional working rules.

Although each group listed a number of activities which they felt the forum hadn't achieved, they unanimously agreed that the forum should continue (Table 13), and identified the resolution of

outstanding problem issues and the drafting of a constitution, as the primary goals for the next year. Within this context a task group was appointed to use the information generated through the workshop to draft a constitution for the forum, which was subsequently modified and then approved by the broader forum (HF 09/02/95). The decision to draft a constitution for the forum represented a significant step in the institutionalisation of the working rules developed during the forming and storming stages in the forum's development. Intuitively, the drafting of a constitution is one of the actions which should be addressed during the forming phase. However, when the Hlanganani Forum was convened, the village representatives stated that they wanted to see progress towards the resolution of the issues affecting their relationship with the KNP before they would consider working on a constitution, i.e. they wanted proof that the forum was not simply a window dressing exercise. Thus the development of a constitution should not be seen as a pre-requisite for the establishment of a forum, but rather as one of the progressive steps in the institutionalisation of the forum's working rules.

The first opportunities for stimulating and supporting local development were identified during the first forum meeting (HF 04/03/94), namely:

i. The village representatives proposed that the KNP could help improve local nutrition levels by selling the meat generated through the KNP's culling programme to local community members.

ii. The village representatives proposed that the KNP could help improve local education levels and stimulate local entrepreneurial development by using the annual profit generated by the KNP to establish a bursary and loan scheme for local community members.

However, the KNP representatives rejected both these suggestions, stating that:

i. The KNP only culled elephant and that all the elephant meat was already being used for staff rations.

ii. The KNP's profits were returned to the National treasury and were then re-distributed to fund other, non-profitable, National Parks.

The KNP's responses showed little sympathy towards the local communities' needs and highlighted the fact that the KNP was being managed in isolation from the realities of the surrounding landscape.

However, as the forum began resolving some of the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members, the communication and understanding between the KNP and village representatives began improving. This change in attitude was accompanied by the progressive identification of a range of other development project opportunities (Table 14). The forum members felt that the realisation of all these opportunities could improve the relationship between the KNP, provincial conservation agency and the local community.

Table 14 List of development project opportunities identified by the Hlanganani Forum members between February 1994 and July 1996.

	Development project objectives
1.	Sell the meat and other products generated through the KNP's culling programme to local community members.
2.	Use the annual profit generated by the KNP to establish a bursary and/or credit scheme for local community members.
3.	Establish a system allowing local traditional healers sustainable access to the natural resources available within the KNP.
4.	Train local taxi drivers as KNP tour guides.
5.	Arrange for local entrepreneurs to undertake bushclearing operations along the KNP's tar roads.
6.	Establish a buffer zone along the boundary between the KNP and the communal lands falling within the forum area.
7.	Arrange supplementary training courses for local teachers.
8.	Arrange vocational training courses for local teachers.
9.	Facilitate the development of an environmental education programme for local community members.
10.	Facilitate the continued development of the Shangoni Gate initiative and associated community based eco-tourism opportunities.

Defining, selecting, and implementing development project opportunities

Over a series of meetings the forum members identified a range of working rules aimed at facilitating the realisation of the various opportunities, and then selected and implemented specific actions (Figure 20). The approach used by the members to arrange supplementary training courses for local teachers illustrates the process used by the Hlanganani Forum to realise the development project opportunities.

The opportunity of arranging supplementary training courses for local school teachers was raised by the KNP representatives, following discussions between KNP staff and lecturers from the University of South Africa. The possibility of arranging such courses was subsequently discussed during a forum meeting (HF 09/02/95) and a task group, consisting of local teachers, was appointed to co-ordinate the selection of appropriate courses. This task group met with the University of South Africa lecturers and arranged a series of courses offering supplementary training in maths, science and environmental education (HF 06/06/95). The relative success of these courses was evaluated during subsequent forum meetings, based on the number of teachers that had attended each course and the response of these teachers to the courses. This evaluation process identified the environmental education course as the most popular and valuable course (from the participants' perspective). On the basis of this evaluation, the forum members asked the task group to work together with the environmental education task group to include the University of South Africa courses into a comprehensive environmental education programme for the villages represented by the forum (HF 04/07/95). Thus the working rules developed to realise this opportunity were institutionalised by the forum.

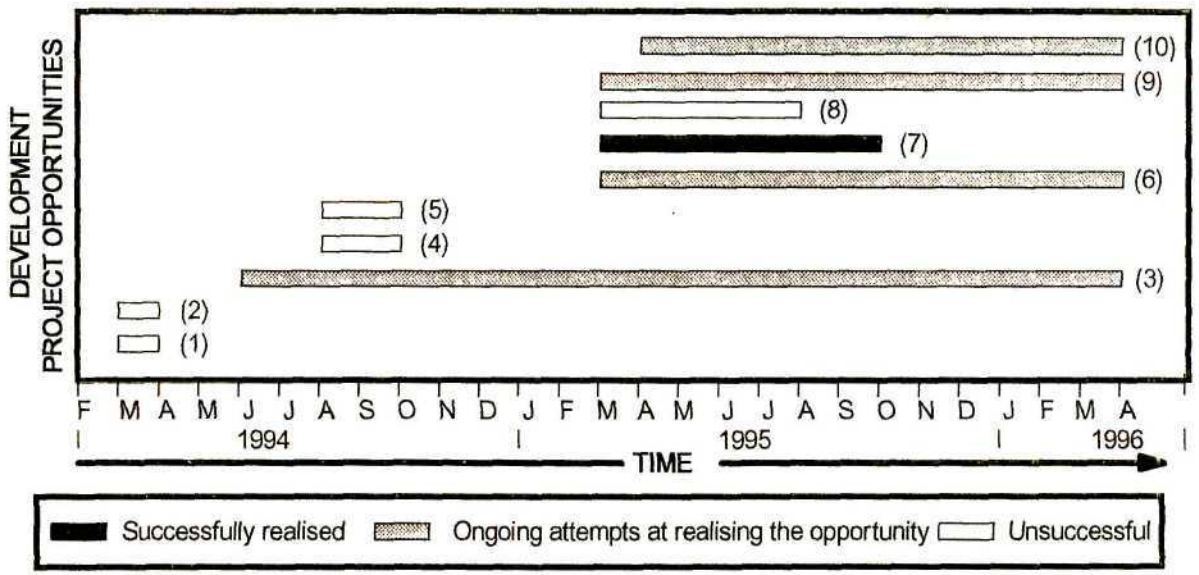

Figure 20 Chart illustrating the temporal progress and status of the Hlanganani Forum's attempts at realising the development project opportunities identified by the forum members. (Numbers in parentheses correspond to the numbered development project opportunities listed in Table 14).

Forum's success at realising development project opportunities

Between February 1994 and July 1996, the Hlanganani Forum was only able to successfully implement one of the development project opportunities identified by the forum members (Figure 20), namely, to arrange supplementary training courses for local teachers. At the end of this period, the forum members had been unable to develop working rules to facilitate the realisation of the taxi training, bushclearing and vocational guidance training projects, and were still in the process of developing working rules for the realisation of the environmental education, traditional healers, buffer zone and Shangoni Gate projects (Table 14, Figure 20).

The KNP has appointed a full-time Environmental Education Officer to work together with the

Hlanganani Forum members to develop an environmental education programme for the villages represented by the forum. They have also employed a full-time Traditional Healer project co-ordinator to facilitate the development of a Traditional Healers project for each of the Partnership Fora established along the KNP's boundary, as all the fora identified the development of such a project as a high priority development opportunity. The development of the buffer zone and Shangoni Gate projects was slowed by differences and disagreements on the projects amongst the village representatives, i.e.:

i. The development of the buffer zone has been slowed down by conflict between the residents of different villages over the their participation or non-participation in the project. This conflict is rooted in the fact that villages that contribute grazing land to the buffer zone will be prohibited from grazing their cattle on this land, as state veterinary laws prevent cattle from coming into contact with KNP game, i.e. to prevent the spread of Foot and Mouth Disease and Anthrax which are both endemic in the KNP (HF 05/04/95). Whilst this issue was tabled when the buffer zone concept was first proposed, the village representatives assumed that it was a negotiable issue and thus ignored it. However, the State Veterinary Department subsequently refused to negotiate and thus the continued development of the buffer zone has been limited to those villages which can contribute non-grazing land or are willing it give up their grazing land (HF 22/11/95).

ii. The development of the Shangoni Gate project was slowed down by opposition to the project from other village representatives. This project was originally proposed by the Shangoni village representatives, and entailed the establishment of a new entry gate into the KNP at Shangoni village. It was proposed that the development of this gate would include the development of a traditional village accommodation area within Shangoni village, which would be owned and managed by Shangoni village residents. The village representatives who opposed the project, opposed the project on the grounds that the gate should rather be developed closer to their villages, i.e. they wanted their communities to also benefit from the developments which would be

associated with the proposed gate (HF 31/06/96).

These dynamics add a new dimension to the Hlanganani Forum's activities. During the forum's storming phase, the village representatives were bonded together through their common vision of resolving the various issues affecting their relationship with the KNP and the provincial conservation agency. However, as they managed to solve these problem issues, so this common bond was progressively eroded as the "good guy bad guy" scenario has broken down, i.e. the KNP and provincial conservation agency were no longer the "bad guys" and the village representatives the "good guys". This shift corresponded to a shift in the forum's focus from the resolution of issues affecting the relationship between the forum members to the realisation of joint venture opportunities between the forum members. The successful development of the Hlanganani Forum into a co-management institution depends on the forum members developing and institutionalising working rules to facilitate the realisation of such joint-venture opportunities.

Lubambiswano Forum

During the period documented in this thesis, the Lubambiswano Forum members also began identifying and implementing working rules and actions for a range of development projects opportunities, although they had not resolved all the problem issues identified by forum members (Figure 17). This gradual shift in the forum's activities suggests that the forum activities had begun improving the relationship between the forum members.

The improvement in the relationship between forum members was highlighted during a participative rural appraisal evaluation workshop, arranged for the forum members by the researcher. This workshop was based on an evaluation workshop that had been arranged for the members of the Hlanganani Forum. During the workshop the forum members agreed that they were attending the forum to "Build a

relationship between the Kruger National Park and the communities bordering on the park within the Nsikazi region" and they listed a number of activities which they felt the forum had managed to achieve (Table 15). However, they listed the failure of the forum to resolve the Nsikazi river dispute and the problem animal issue as key issues which the forum had failed to address, and highlighted the resolution of these issues as key goals for the following year (Table 15). As with the Hlanganani Forum the members of the four groups unanimously agreed that the forum activities should be continued and expanded, emphasising the need for projects aimed at creating jobs for local residents.

Following the evaluation workshop, the forum members established a task group to use the information generated through the workshop to draft a constitution for the forum, including clearly defined vision and goals. The draft produced by the steering committee was subsequently modified and then approved by the forum (LB 07/02/95). As with the Hlanganani Forum the drafting of a constitution represented an important step in the institutionalisation of the forum's working rules, and the development of a common vision amongst the forum members.

Table 15 Results of the Lubambiswano Forum's Participative Rural Appraisal evaluation workshop.

Question	Response
Why were they attending the forum?	All the groups agreed that they were attending the forum to: "Build a relationship between the Kruger National Park and the communities bordering on the park within the Nsikazi regions". The groups emphasised the need to share information and use the forum to stimulate local development.
What had the forum achieved?	The groups listed the following achievements: i. The drilling of boreholes and temporary pumping of water from the Nsikazi river ii. The pre-school teacher training courses. iii. The introduction of reduced entry tariffs for local residents. iv. The resolution of the Mdluli land claim. v. The purchase of locally produced curios. vi. The development of links between the KNP and local traditional healers.
What hadn't the forum achieved?	The groups highlighted the following failures: i. The fact that the Nsikazi river dispute had not been resolved. ii. The fact that the problem animal issue had not been resolved. They also stressed that the KNP management's lack of commitment to the forum activities was a serious problem which was affecting the forum's activities.
Should the forum continue?	There was unanimous agreement that the forum should continue.
If the forum continues, what should the forum's 1995 goals be?	The groups identified the following priorities for the new year: i. Development of projects aimed at creating jobs for local residents. ii. Resolution of the Nsikazi dispute. iii. Resolution of the problem animal issue. iv. Improvement of local resident representation. v. Drafting of a constitution for the forum.

Defining development project objectives

The first development project opportunity was identified during one of the early forum meetings (LB 11/02/94), i.e. the marketing and sale of local curio's through the KNP's curio shops and at the KNP's gates. This project was proposed by the KNP representatives and focused on a group of local woodcarvers and basket weavers who were already selling their products along one of the access roads servicing the

KNP. Although the forum supported the project, it was treated as a peripheral project to the forum's core activities at that time, i.e. the identification and resolution of problem issues (LB 11/02/94). This pattern emphasised the need for the members of a prospective Partnership Forum to resolve the issues having a negative impact on their relationship, before they can effectively focus on identifying and realising development opportunities and managing the integration of a protected area into the surrounding landscape.

Following the resolution of the Mdluli land claim (LB 12/04/94), a number of other project opportunities were identified (Table 16). These project opportunities included projects aimed at stimulating job creation through eco-tourism developments, improving dental health care in the local villages, providing pre-school teacher training for local pre-school teachers, allowing local traditional healers access to the natural resources available in the KNP and establishing an environmental education programme for local village residents (Table 16, Figure 21). The realisation of each these opportunities was adopted as a specific objective by the forum members.

Table 16 Summary of the development project opportunities identified by the Lubambiswano Forum members between February 1994 and July 1996.

	Development project objectives
1.	Facilitate the sale of locally produced curios through the KNP's curio shops and at the KNP's entrance gates.
2.	Facilitate the provision of a dental clinic service to local village residents by the Medical University of South Africa.
3.	Facilitate supplementary training courses for local pre-school teachers.
4.	Establish a system allowing local traditional healers access to the natural resources available within the KNP.
5.	Facilitate the development of a community based eco-tourism initiative at Numbi Gate.
6.	Facilitate the development of an environmental education programme for local village residents.

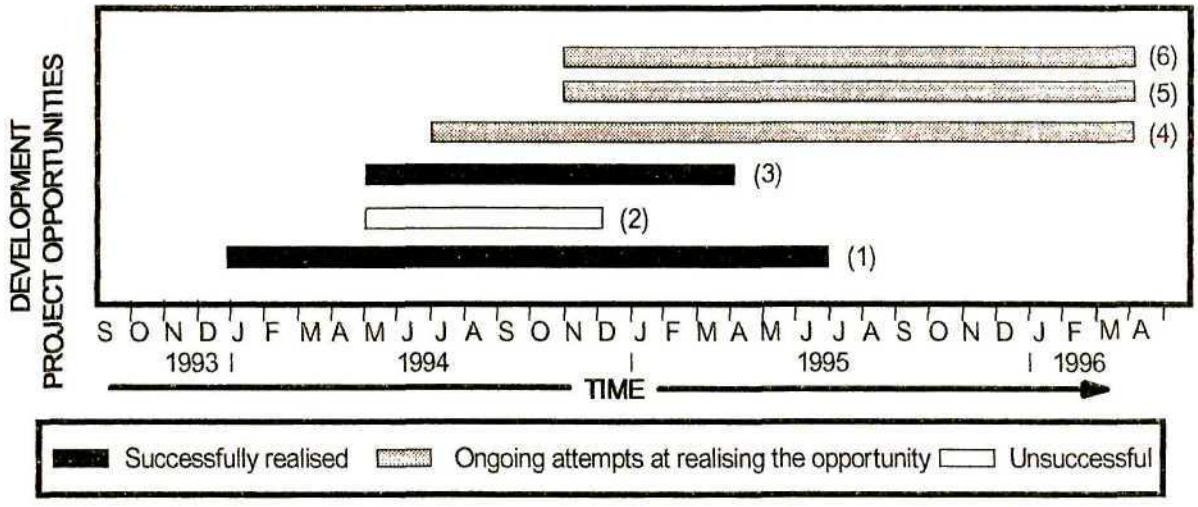

Figure 21 Chart illustrating the temporal progress and status of the development projects initiated by the Lubambiswano Forum members. (Numbers in parentheses correspond to the numbered development project objectives listed in Table 16).

Defining, selecting and implementing development project opportunities

The approach used by the forum members to arrange supplementary training courses for local pre-school teachers illustrates the process used by the Lubambiswano Forum to identify working rules and select and implement management actions aimed at realising development opportunities. This project was initiated shortly after the Mdluli land claim was resolved, after representatives from the College of Education of South Africa attended a forum meeting at the invitation of the Kruger National Park forum members. The College of Education of South Africa representatives gave an overview of their activities, particularly within the field of pre-school teacher training, and then asked the forum whether the "*communities would approve of their involvement and whether they should try to find sponsorship to promote educational assistance through the forum*" (LB 22/03/95). The village representatives all supported the College representatives' suggestion and encouraged them to attend the next meeting with more detailed proposals.

During the next meeting, the forum members agreed to co-ordinate a one-week trial course for 30 pre-school teachers from the villages represented by the forum (LB 04/05/95). The KNP agreed to cover accommodation and transport costs, the College agreed to provide lecturers free of charge and the forum agreed that the course participants should cover their food costs. The village representatives were then tasked with contacting local pre-school teachers and inviting 30 of them to attend the course.

At the end of the course, KNP staff ran an evaluation workshop with the course participants. The evaluation workshop clearly indicated that all the course participants had enjoyed the course and felt that they had learnt a range of pre-school teaching techniques. However, the participants also identified a number of aspects of the course which they felt could be improved, e.g. they felt the course needed to use materials and methods which were more appropriate to their rural environments, etc.. The results of the evaluation workshop were then discussed with the forum members and College representatives (LB 17/08/96). A second workshop was subsequently arranged for another batch of teachers, and the content of this workshop was modified to accommodate the criticisms and suggestions of the first course's participants.

Forum's success at realising development project opportunities

Within the period documented in this thesis, the forum was only able to identify working rules and define and implement actions that lead to the realisation of two of the identified project opportunities (Figure 21), namely:

i. A system was established allowing local woodcarvers and weavers to sell their products through the KNP's curio shops and at Numbi Gate, the KNP gate which fell within the Lubambiswano Forum's boundaries (LB 10/08/95).

ii. Two training workshops were arranged for local pre-school teachers.

The dental care project failed after the dental care technician who had volunteered his services, resigned, and the forum members are still in process of identifying working rules and actions aimed at realising the other development project opportunities. Within this context, the forum appointed task groups to co-ordinate the realisation of the eco-tourism and the environmental education projects, and the KNP has appointed a full-time staff member to facilitate and co-ordinate the development of a Traditional Healers project for the whole KNP.

However, as discussed, the difficulties experienced with solving the Nsikazi river dispute have had a negative effective on the Lubambiswano Forum's activities:

> "*If I attend the meetings, nothing happens. Then it seems that I'm not representing the community! Our cattle are dying, they need water. If Skukuza doesn't help us we will be forced to cut the fence and drive our cattle into the park.*" (Spelenyane community member - LB 01/06/95).
>
> "*For a long time we have been debating this issue. This forum doesn't solve community problems.*" (Chief Mdluli - LB 10/08/95)
>
> "*We are losing hope in this forum. When we lose hope we'll tell them to do their own thing!*" (Makoko village representative - LB 09/10/95)

The successful resolution of this issue is a key factor in the ongoing development of the co-management institution being developed through the Lubambiswano Forum. By definition, the successful development of this institution depends on the development of mutual trust and understanding between the forum members. If the forum is unable to identify and implement working rules and actions that lead to the resolution of this issue, then it is unlikely that the village residents will ever trust the KNP staff and management, and thus the establishment of a co-management structure is extremely unlikely.

Sabie River Forum

The progress made towards the resolution of the problem issues identified by the members of the Sabie River Forum marked an important transition in the forum's development. When these issues were first presented, the local community representatives were aggressive towards the KNP staff (SR 29/11/94; SR 06/12/94). However, as they began identifying and implementing joint management actions aimed at resolving the problems, so the forum members gained confidence in the ability of the forum to produce results and in the commitment of the KNP to the development of a partnership between the KNP and the local community (SR 07/04/95). This improved confidence was reflected by the fact that shortly after the forum began resolving some of the problem issues, the forum members began identifying a series of development project opportunities (SR 07/04/95). This transition represented the beginning of a shift in the forum group dynamics from a storming or problem solving phase, into a norming or development project phase (Figure 3). This transition was particularly significant given the fact that the section ranger involved in the resolution of the various problem issues was the same ranger that had been involved in the previously discussed assault of the fisherman (SR 26/05/94).

The Sabie River Forum members identified three broad development categories which they felt the forum could address, namely, tourism, education and small business development, and a task group was established for each of these development categories (SR 25/04/95). The forum members then arranged a workshop to define task group objectives and a range of projects which the members of each task group felt they could implement (SR 25/05/95). The task group objectives defined during the workshop were (SR 25/05/95):

i. Tourism task group objective: To facilitate the creation of jobs within the Hoxane area through the development of local tourism opportunities

ii. Education task group objective: To facilitate the improvement of local education standards and to

facilitate the establishment of environmental education programmes for local community members.

iii. Small business development task group objective: To facilitate the development of small businesses within the communities represented by the forum.

Within the context of these broad objectives, the task group members decided to focus their attentions on a limited number of small, easily achievable projects, rather than trying to address the full range of projects identified during the workshop sessions. The projects selected by the task groups were (SR 25/05/95):

i. The implementation of a reduced price entry system into the KNP for local village resident, and the development of curio sales facilities at the KNP's Kruger Gate (Tourism).

ii. The organisation of supplementary training course for local teachers, by training institutions such as the College of Education of South Africa (Education).

iii. The organisation of a participative rural appraisal workshop for existing small businesses to identify their priority development needs (Small Business Development).

The Sabie River Forum's shift from a storming phase into a norming phase was much more rapid than the transition of the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora. As discussed, these fora did begin identifying working rules and actions aimed at realising a range of development opportunities. However, their attempts at developing and implementing these rules and actions were hampered by their attempts at developing working rules for resolving the outstanding issues affecting the relationship between the relevant forum members. In contrast, the members of the Sabie River Forum were able to successfully develop and implement working rules to resolve the issues initially identified as affecting the relationship between the forum members. However, the forum task groups were subsequently unable to successfully develop and implement working rules to realise the selected development project opportunities.

Two factors influenced the failure of the task groups to successfully implement their projects, namely:

i. Lack of commitment from the KNP. Shortly after the projects were identified, the KNP's Community Liaison staff were replaced by new staff. This staff change reflected the establishment of a new National Parks Board (NPB) department, the Social Ecology Department, which was tasked with co-ordinating all the NPB's community liaison activities. The establishment of this department was a positive step in that it showed that the NPB was committed to expanding its community liaison activities. However, the disruptions associated with the establishment of the department had a negative effect on the Sabie River Forum's activities, in that the KNP's community liaison staff had been core members of the various task groups. Thus the removal of the community liaison staff from these task groups effectively stalled their activities. This disruption of the task groups activities was aggravated by the fact that the KNP's community liaison staff were not immediately replaced. Rather, it took over nine months to get all the new Social Ecology staff appointed and the new department functioning.

ii. Poor community representation. When the new Community Liaison (Social Ecology) staff were appointed, they queried the Sabie River Forum's community representation, specifically the forum's strong bias towards the local Chief. In order to evaluate the community representation, and where necessary improve it, they asked the forum members to arrange a village to village field trip through the area represented by the forum. However, the community representatives refused, stating that before they would be willing to arrange such a trip they wanted assurances from the KNP that their own continued participation in the forum was assured, i.e. they wanted to be recognised as community representatives irrespective of whether they were nominated by the village residents (SR31/07/96). This response suggested that the Sabie River Forum's village representatives were representing their own interests rather than the village residents' interests.

> This observation was subsequently reinforced, when the community representatives rejected the reduced entry permit system implemented by the Lubambiswano and Hlanganani Fora. They stated that whilst this system might be suitable for the other community members, they, as representatives, should each be allowed year round free access to the KNP. Given that there was obviously a problem with the Sabie River Forum's community representation, the KNP's Social Ecology staff were unwilling to commit their time and resources to the development of the projects identified by the task groups, until the forum's community representation was improved. (Effectively they decided to let the forum fail so that they could reconvene a new forum).

The combination of these two factors effectively stalled the forum's activities. Although the forum continued to meet periodically, the discussions deadlocked around the representation issue, and until the forum's village representation is improved it is unlikely that the forum will be able to successfully implement any partnership project initiatives. In the interim the KNP Social Ecology staff have begun arranging meetings with the democratically elected leaders in the region, with the aim of reconvening a more representative forum in the near future.

Phalaborwa Forum

In contrast to the Sabie River, Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora, the members of the Phalaborwa Forum did not identify any problem issues which they felt needed to be resolved. Rather the forum members immediately started working together to identify partnership project opportunities and ways in which they could realise these opportunities. However, three months after the orientation field trip and workshop, the National Parks Board initiated a management restructuring programme, aimed at developing a more "liberal" management structure, an action driven by the political changes sweeping through the country, i.e. following the first democratic elections in April 1994. This restructuring had a

negative impact on the KNP's community liaison activities, as the KNP staff were instructed to put all their community liaison activities on hold, whilst the KNP's community liaison activities were reviewed by the National Parks Board's new head office staff (PF 05/11/95). The KNP staff were initially informed that this process would involve a maximum delay of two months and the expectation was raised that once the restructuring process was completed, the community liaison activities would receive increased financial and technical support. However, four months later, the NPB had still not allocated any extra resources to the KNP's neighbour relations activities and the NPB head office staff had still not attended any of the KNP's Partnership fora meetings (PF 09/01/95). Thus the KNP community liaison staff were put in an extremely awkward position as they were officially prevented from undertaking any community liaison activities, whilst they knew that the delay was having a negative impact on the activities which they had previously initiated (PF 09/01/95).

This restructuring process had a direct negative impact on the Phalaborwa Forum's activities, in that the KNP's commitment to the appointment and funding of the community liaison officer eventually only materialised two years after the initial commitment was made (PF 31/07/96). Given that the KNP management had raised a short term expectation that they would fund this position, the fact that the funds took so long to materialise undermined the standing of the KNP representatives at the forum, and raised questions about the KNP's commitment to the process:

> "*We had an agreement. You (KNP) were going to appoint a liaison officer to help us build a relationship between the community and the KNP. Where is this person?*" (PF 10/07/95)

In an attempt to overcome this hurdle, the forum members decided to try to facilitate the development of a few of the project opportunities identified during the PRA workshop (Table 9) (PF 23/09/94). The forum members focussed their attention on three specific projects, namely:

i. The expansion of the Phalaborwa Gate facilities to create jobs for the local residents, and raise income to facilitate other forum activities. This project was proposed by the local KNP ranger who felt there was scope to expand the gate facilities to include a range of community managed activities, including a curio shop, take-away food facility, camping ground and petrol station (PF 23/09/94).

ii. A charcoal / fire wood project using wood harvested within the KNP. This project was also proposed by the local KNP ranger, and focussed on bushclearing operations along the KNP's tar roads where water run-off from the roads was stimulating abnormal growth (PF 23/09/94).

iii. A recycling project using waste collected within the Greater Phalaborwa region. This project was proposed by one of the local community representatives, who was hoping to stimulate job creation opportunities by establishing a waste recycling scheme in the residential township areas (PF 23/09/94)

Task groups were appointed for each of these proposed projects, to identify possible management actions. However, none of these task groups selected or implemented any management actions, primarily as a result of a gradual loss of interest in the forum activities amongst the community representatives. This loss of interest was attributed to two factors, namely, the fact that the KNP did not appoint a community liaison officer within the expected time period, and problems associated with arranging a field trip through the Greater Phalaborwa region (PF 03/04/95).

The aims of this field trip were to determine whether (PF 09/01/95):

i. The local community members were aware of the Forum's activities.

ii. The Forum was addressing issues and developing projects relevant to the local community members.

However, three days before the field trip was scheduled to begin, National Parks Board (NPB) head office

instructed the KNP representatives that they were not allowed to participate in the field trip, and sent telegrams to the community representatives informing them that the field trip had been cancelled (PF 13/02/95). They justified this action on the basis that they had not yet met with the Forum to evaluate it and to present the NPB's new community liaison programme. This justification was ironic and unacceptable, given that the Forum members had spent the previous four months trying to get NPB staff to attend Forum meetings. The negative impact of this action was aggravated by the fact that a number of the community representatives were not contacted and thus community members gathered for meetings, only to be told that the KNP representatives were not coming (PF 03/04/95).

The top-down approach used by the head office staff totally contradicted the participative approach that the KNP rangers and community liaison staff had been promoting, and reinforced the community representatives belief that the Kruger National Park's management was not committed to the Forum activities.

> "*We (Forum) must move forward. Up to now we have done nothing but talk. The KNP must decide whether they want to work together with us*" (Civic organisation representative - PF 03/04/95).

The last minute cancelling of the field trip was the proverbial "last straw" for local community participation in the Phalaborwa Forum's meetings and activities. Prior to the cancelled field trip, there were youth, civic and education representatives at every meeting and traditional leader representatives at 5 of the 6 meetings. Only the Phalaborwa women's organisations were poorly represented, having representatives at only 1 of the 6 meetings. After the cancelled field trip, only the civic organisations were represented at every meeting (Table 17). The education, youth and Tribal Authority representatives were only present at 1 of the next 5 meetings and there were no women's organisations represented at any of

the meetings (Table 17).

The decrease in local community representation was also illustrated by a decrease in the total number of local community representatives that attended meetings. Prior to the cancelled field trip, each meeting was attended by an average of 15 local community representatives. After the cancelled field trip, each meeting was attended by an average of only 2 local community representatives (Figure 22). Thus, following the cancelled field trip, the local communities interest in, and support for, the Forum decreased rapidly and by December 1995 the Forum had effectively ceased to exist (PF 28/11/95).

Table 17 Summary of the Phalaborwa Forum's membership representation at forum meetings before and after the cancelled field trip.

Forum member	Forum meetings convened before the cancelled field trip						Forum meetings convened after the cancelled field trip					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Civic organisations	*	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	*	*
Youth associations	*	*	*	*	*	*				*		
Women's associations					*							
Education associations	*	*	*			*	*	*		*		
Tribal Authority	*	*	*		*	*		*		*		
Kruger National Park	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	0

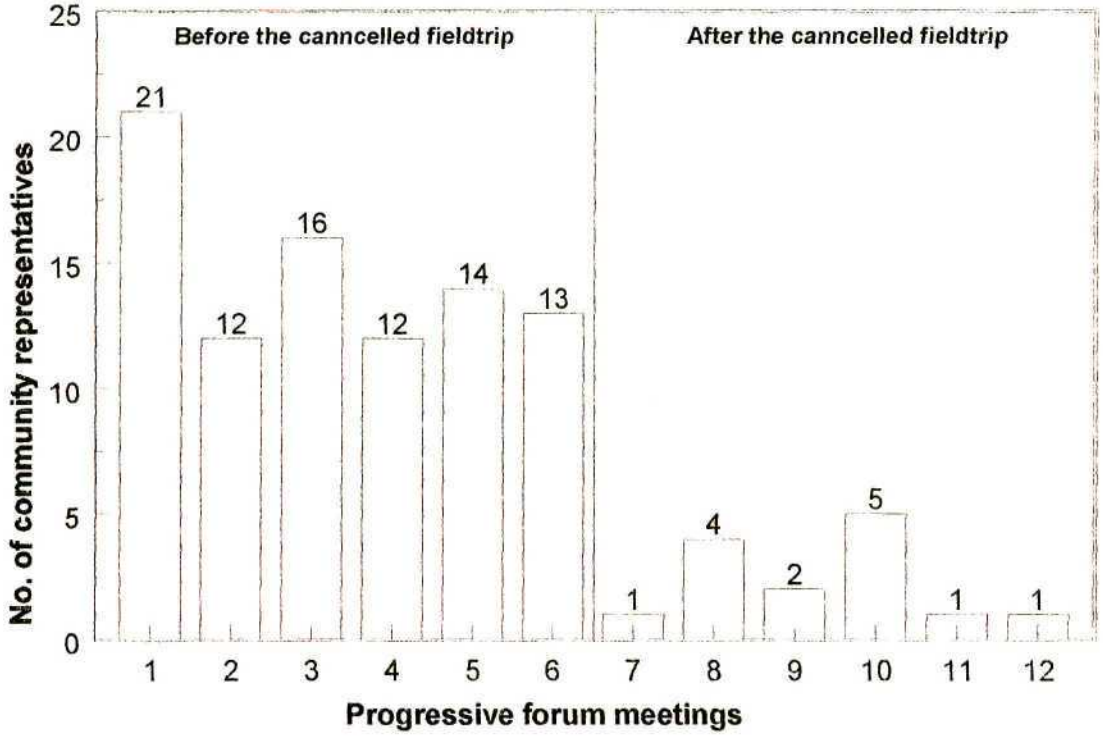

Figure 22 Chart illustrating community representation at Phalaborwa Forum meetings before and after the cancelled field trip.

Summary

The working rules developed by the different fora for the identification and implementation of development project opportunities, were similar to the procedures developed for the identification and resolution of problem issues. The identification of development opportunities occurred during forum meetings, with the forum members presenting their development project ideas. These ideas were then debated and adopted if there was consensus support amongst the forum member representatives. Once an idea was approved, a range of appropriate actions were identified and specific forum members tasked with implementing these actions. The relative success / failure with which these actions were implemented was then discussed during subsequent meetings, and, where necessary, alternative management actions

were identified and implemented.

The working rules developed by the fora could have been improved through the use of formal participatory planning techniques to identify opportunities, and develop and implement rules and actions to realise these opportunities (Figure 23). Similarly, as with the working rules developed for the identification and resolution of the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members, no formal monitoring or sanction systems were developed. Ostrom (1990) stresses the importance of developing such systems. However, at the end of the period documented in the thesis, both fora were still in the process of developing management strategies for the majority of the development opportunities which were identified. Thus they had not reached the stage where they needed to implement a graduated sanction system. Further more, as these projects were being developed as joint venture initiatives, there was an incentive for the forum members to carry through with their commitments. In contrast, the management actions that were identified for the resolution of problem issues generally involved a manpower or financial cost for one or more of the forum members.

The overall dynamics of the Hlanganani and Lubambiswano Fora followed the pattern proposed by the initial conceptual model. Once the fora had been convened, they progressively developed management procedures for the identification and resolution of problem issues, and identification and realization of development project opportunities (Figure 24). At the end of the period documented in this thesis they had been able to successfully resolve a range of problem issues and realize a limited number of development opportunities. Thus, although they were still working on some key problem issues, they were starting to perform as co-management institutions, managing the interface between the KNP and its neighbours.

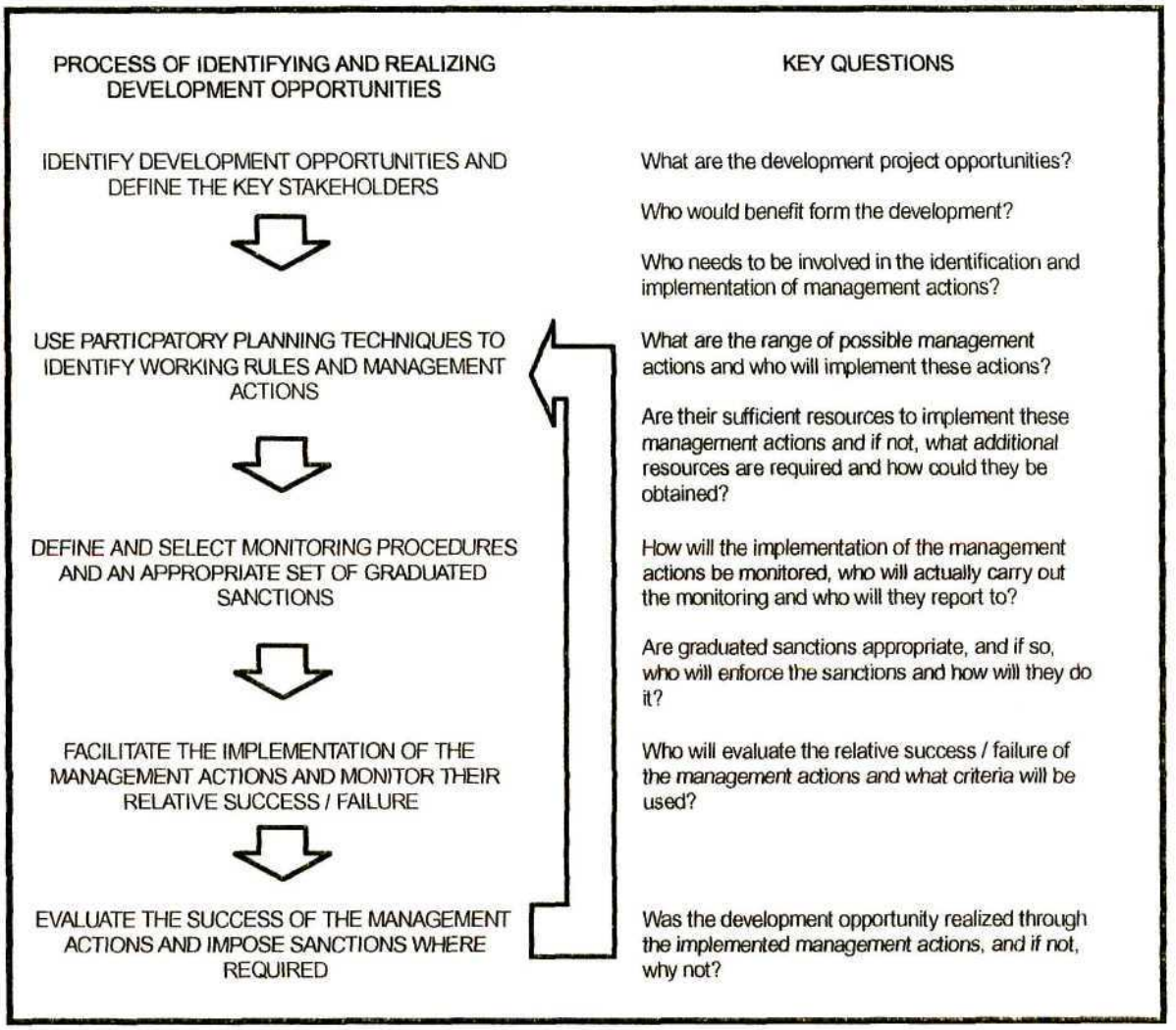

Figure 23 Refined process model for identifying and realising development project opportunities.

The members of the Sabie River Forum were also able to develop management procedures for the identification and resolution of problem issues. However, their subsequent attempts at developing management procedures for the identification and realization of development project opportunities were undermined by core membership problems. These problems reflected the fact that the forum's membership and representation had not been effectively defined during the forming phase of the forum.

At the end of period documented in this thesis, the forum dynamics had broken down to the point where they were effectively back in a forming phase (Figure 24), i.e. the forum discussions were centred around which communities should be involved in the forum and how they should be represented.

The dynamics of the Phalaborwa Forum initially shifted directly from a forming phase into a norming phase with the forum members identifying a range of development project opportunities and then attempting to develop and implement management actions aimed at realising these opportunities. However, their attempts at developing these management actions were undermined by the difficulties associated with appointing a community liaison officer and the National Parks Board's top-down approach to the forum's activities. These problems undermined the initial progress (Figure 24), with the KNP and NPB's attitude becoming a problem issue which the forum members were unable to resolve, resulting in the local community members losing interest in the forum activities. Future attempts at reconvening a Partnership Forum within the region are now likely to be met with resistance and suspicion from the local community members. This is particularly ironic given that the motivation underlying the initial development of the Phalaborwa Forum was the development of a positive relationship between the KNP and the members of the Greater Phalaborwa community.

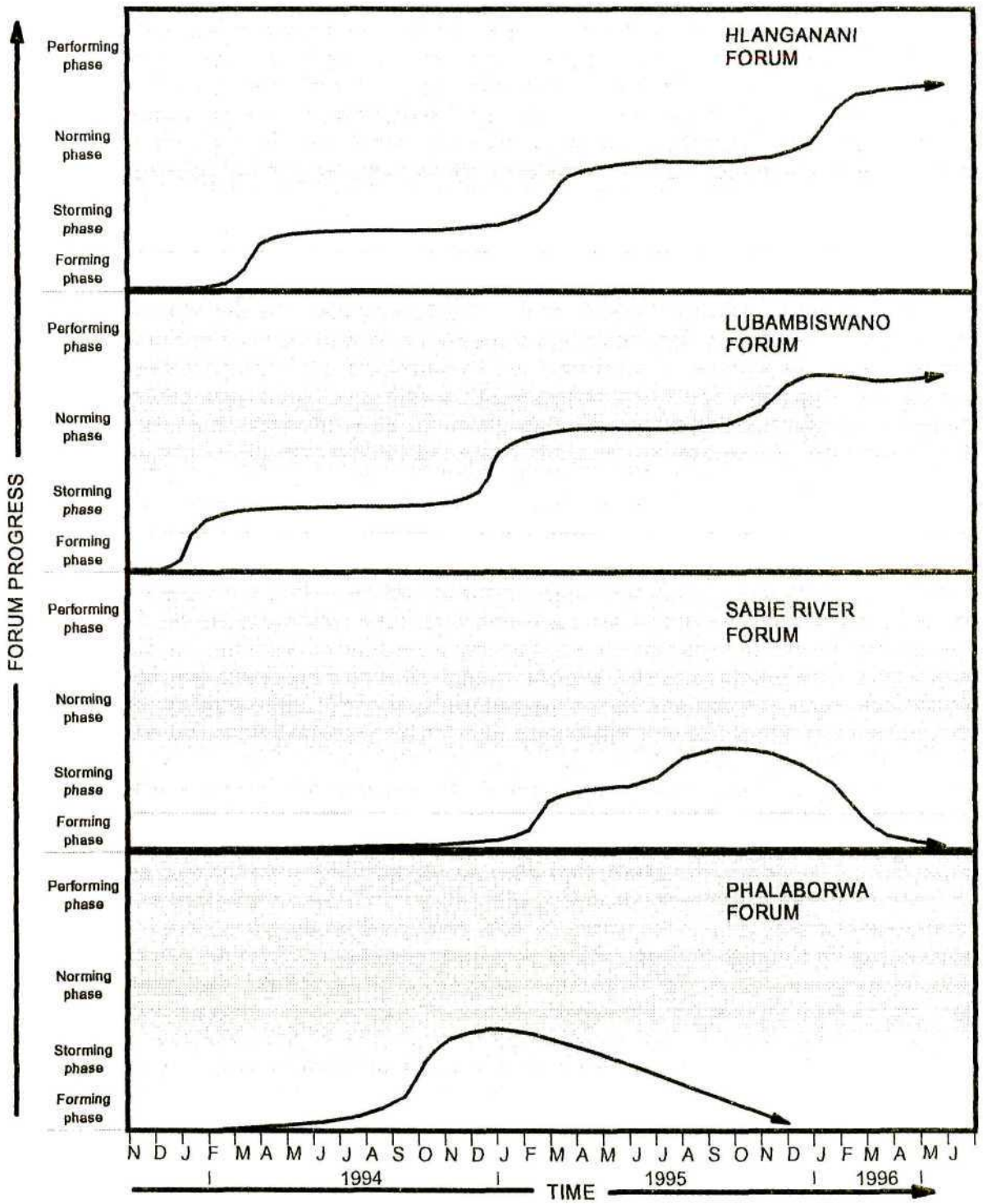

Figure 24 Relative progress of the four KNP Partnership Fora between November 1993 and June 1996.

The dynamics of the four KNP Fora illustrate that the development of a forum's group dynamics will not necessarily be a unidirectional progressive process, as projected by small group organisational theory (Figure 2) (Howell and Dipboye, 1996). Where there is a history of conflict between the forum members, the forum dynamics are likely to progress from a forming phase, through a storming phase into a norming phase (Figure 2). However, where there is no history of conflict the dynamics are likely to progress directly from an initial forming phase into a norming phase (Figure 25). If the forum members are not able to successfully develop management procedures for either the resolution of problem issues or realization of development opportunities, then the forum dynamics are likely to slip back into a forming phase, as forum members reassess the forum's vision, membership and representation (Figure 25)

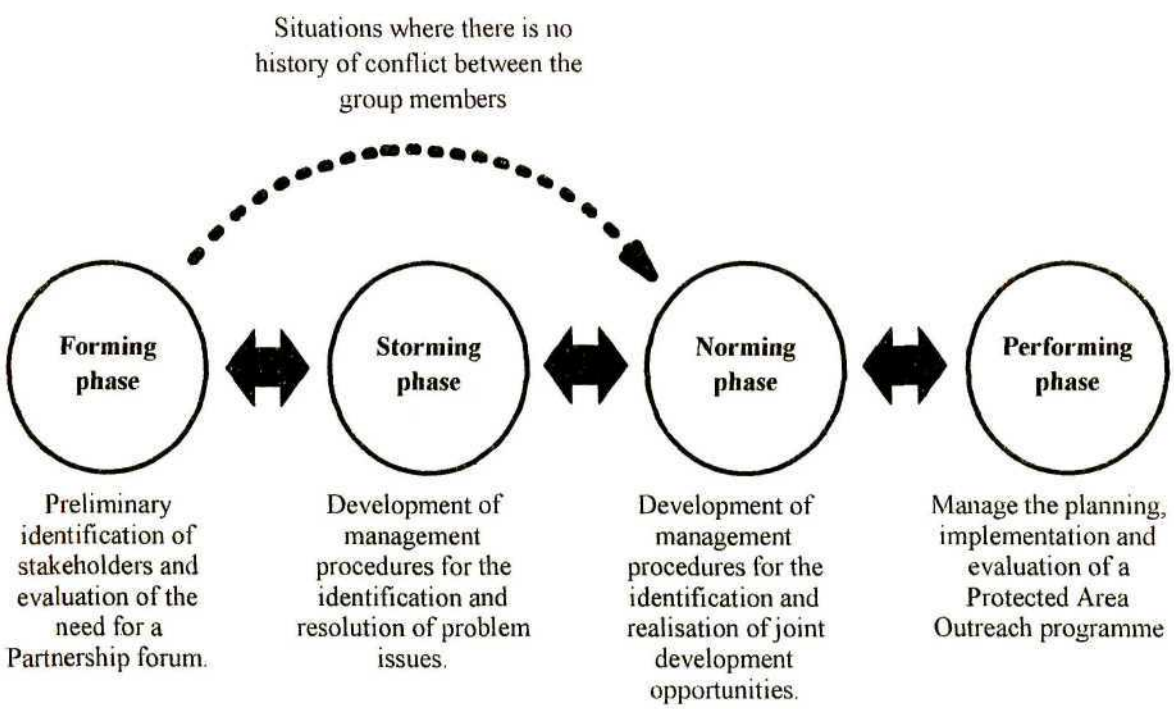

Figure 25 Modified conceptual representation of the progressive development of a Partnership Forum's group dynamics and activities.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The aim of the research presented in this thesis was the development of a conceptual framework for the establishment of co-management institutions, or Partnership Fora, for planning, co-ordinating, monitoring and evaluating the integration of protected areas into their surrounding landscape. The research was structured around the description and evaluation of four case study attempts at establishing such fora, using the preliminary framework presented in Chapter 1. The case study attempts were used to define a series of key questions and process models for the development of the working rules which would form the institutional core of a Partnership Forum (Figures 15, 19 and 23).

These key questions and process models address three seperate but complimentary sets of institutional issues, namely:

i. The working rules required to identify preliminary forum vision, membership and representation, and convene a forum.

ii. The working rules required to identify and resolve the issues affecting the relationship between the forum members.

iii. The working rules required to identify and realise development project opportunities.

The models do not specify actual rules, as these need to be developed with reference to the local social, economic and environmental conditions. Rather they describe the process that should be followed to facilitate the development of these rules, and then define, implement and evaluate appropriate management actions.

The process models combine to describe the process that should be followed when establishing and developing a Partnership Forum (Figure 26). As the members of a forum pass through a forming, storming

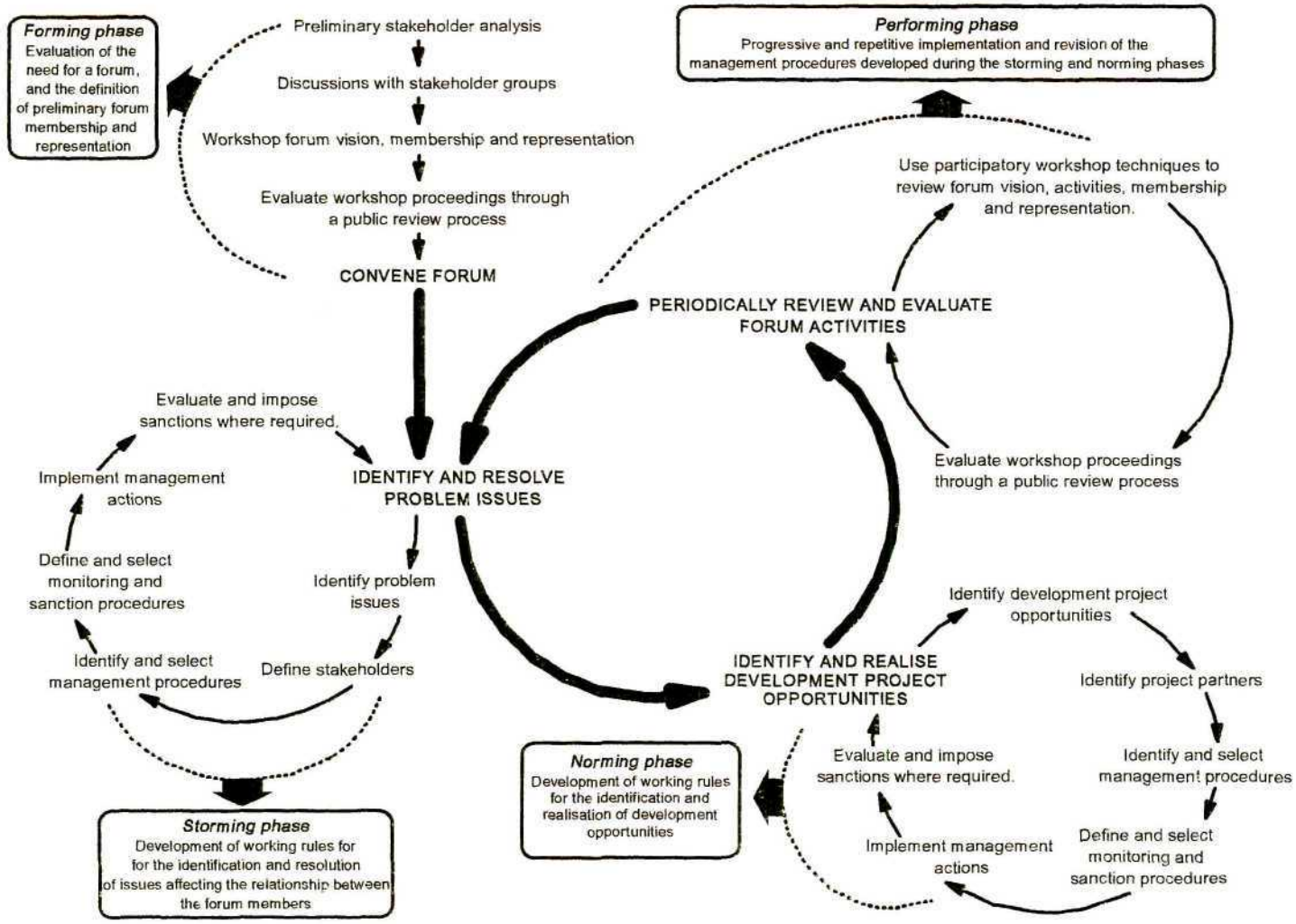

Figure 26 Process model for the establishment and development of Partnership Fora

and norming phase they progressively develop and institutionalise preliminary working rules. Over time these rules will be reviewed, refined and or expanded as the forum begins to perform as a co-management institution, progressively and repetitively implementing the rules (Figure 26).

The process model presented in Figure 26 is supported by a list of key questions that should be considered during the process of developing a forum (Figures 15, 19 and 23) and incorporates a number of design principles identified through the case study descriptions and evaluations, and also highlighted in the broader literature (Ostrom, 1990; Kiss, 1991; Kemf, 1993), namely:

i. The importance of defining forum membership and activities within the context of the local social, economic and environmental systems.

ii. The importance of supporting the implementation of management actions with a pre-defined monitoring system, and where possible, a set of graduated sanctions.

iii. The importance of periodically reviewing and evaluating forum membership, member representation and activities through a public review process.

iv. The importance of supporting the development of such fora with enabling legislation that supports the activities of the fora and provides low cost easy access to mediation / conflict resolution mechanisms.

Kiss (1990) identifies another set of institutional issues which were not addressed by any of the fora, namely, those affecting the financial self-sufficiency and sustainability of the process. These issues are core issues as they not only affect the long term sustainability of the fora, but also the ability of the fora to contribute to forum activities. The ability of the KNP fora's village members to contribute to the fora activities was undermined and limited by a lack of financial support. Furthermore, the forum members attempts at resolving the issues affecting their relationship and realising development project opportunities was limited by their dependency on financial support from external organisations. In contrast, successful CBNRM programmes such as CAMPFIRE, ADMADE and LIRDP have financial

self-sustainability as a key medium to long-term goal (Kiss, 1990; Mwenya *et al*, 1990; Metcalfe, 1995; Steiner and Rihoy, 1995; Martin, 1996). The achievement of financial self-sustainability is only a medium to long-term goal as there is a high short term (5 - 10 year) cost associated with the development of appropriate management institutions and the capacity of long community members to actively participate in these institutions. This cost is generally funded by donor agencies. However, for these programmes to be sustainable in the long term it is recognised that it is essential that the donor funding components are gradually phased out and replaced with sustainable internal sources of income.

Within the context of protected area based programmes, this issue must also be an important consideration for the medium to long term development of the programmes. The buffer zone concept developed by the Hlanganani Forum suggests a possible model for the development of a sustainable income source for such programmes. The buffer zone project is an attempt at zoning an area that can be managed and developed through the forum for the benefit of the village residents neighbouring on the park. The development options for this zone include a combination of consumptive and non-consumptive natural resource options, e.g. hunting, photo safaris, etc.. A proportion of the income generated through these activities would be used to subsidise the administrative and logistical costs of the forum.

The development of the buffer zone concept by the Hlanganani Forum represented the beginning of a shift in the spatial scale at which the forum's activities were focused. During the forming and storming phases the forum activities were focused on the issues associated with the boundary between the KNP and the surrounding landscape. The development of a buffer zone would broaden this focus as the forum would then be responsible for developing working rules to:

i. Manage the relationship between the different forum members.

ii. Manage the development of the buffer zone.

iii. Manage the use of the funds, generated from the sustainable use of the buffer zone, as a core source of funding for supporting local development activities.

Within this context the forum would be functioning in a similar role to the Wildlife Management Authorities and Sub-authorities of the ADMADE programme (Mwenya *et al*, 1990). These authorities manage the sustainable use of natural resources within Game Management Areas bordering on Zambia's National Parks.

A similar approach is currently being developed on an experimental basis around the Greater St Wetland Park in KwaZulu-Natal (South Africa), through the Eco-Partners Programme (pers. obs.). The focus of this programme is also the integration of the park into the surrounding landscape. However, since initiation the programme goals have explicitly included the achievement of financial sustainability (pers. obs.). Within this context, two mechanisms are being developed and implemented. The first mechanism is the establishment of a Neighbours Trust fund that generates income through a levy placed on all tourism activities undertaken within the park. This levy is being implemented throughout all the KwaZulu Natal Conservation Service's parks. The majority of the Trust income generated in each of the parks (80%) will be used to fund development projects in the communities neighbouring on the parks. The distribution of this income will be managed through Local Boards which are constituted within the context of provincial legislation and draw membership from the communities bordering on the park and other parties that either affect or are affected by the park.

The second mechanism is the development of a series of sustainable natural resource harvesting and joint-venture eco-tourism projects within and along the boundary of the park. The primary partners in these projects will be the relevant community, through the Tribal Authorities, Section 21 companies or Trusts, and the KwaZulu-Natal Conservation Service (pers. obs.). It is anticipate that the development of these projects will help buffer the negative impact of the park on its neighbours and *vice-versa*, and enhance the positive impact. The development of these projects will be managed on a

local scale through community specific co-management institutions, and on a regional scale through the Local Boards. A proportion of the income generated through these projects will be used to subsidise the administrative and logistical costs of these local institutions, with the balance being used to fund local community development projects.

The development of the Eco-Partners Programme is still in its initial phases and it is thus too early to state whether this approach provides a useful model. The Trust Fund only came in to operation on the 1st of February 1998 and the first joint venture eco-tourism operations are only likely to be realised towards the end of 1998, early 1999. However, the institutional framework within which this programme is being developed does provide a useful reference for the development of protected area based programmes. The institutional framework has a number of components. The implementing agency is the KwaZulu-Natal Conservation Service (NCS), with support from The Green Trust / WWF-SA. This support addresses two institutional issues, namely:

i. The institutionalisation of the community conservation function within the local NCS management structures. To facilitate this institutionalisation, a series of planning and training workshops have been run to build the capacity of the local staff to both interact with their neighbours and develop policies which address issues that are affecting their relationship with these neighbours. Revised management structures are also being developed, with emphasis on integrating the community conservation activities into the daily work plans of the local staff and providing a reporting system for evaluating the extent to which the local staff are committing themselves to the community conservation function.

ii. The development of the capacity of the local community leadership to interact with the local NCS staff and to actively participate in the development and implementation of resource harvesting and eco-tourism project opportunities. To facilitate the development of this capacity an ongoing series of workshops have been arranged with the leadership elements in each of the communities bordering on the park. The Africa Resources Trust (ART), a non-

government organisation, is also providing support for this process, specifically focused on building capacity around the eco-tourism project opportunities.

The overall development of the programme is contextualised within the NCS's community conservation programme which is being developed throughout the province and is supported by a comprehensive set of policies. These policies have gradually evolved through an adaptive management and review process since the Provincial programme was first initiated in 1992.

Another core institutional component of the programme is the proposed establishment of Local Boards. The establishment of these Local Boards is enabled through recently developed provincial legislation. This legislation prescribes the establishment of a Local Board(s) for each of the protected areas under the NCS's management (Joubert, 1995; KZN, 03/07/97)). The objectives of the Local Boards "*shall be to promote local decision-making regarding the conducting of nature conservation activities in respect of specifically proclaimed protected areas as well as to promote the integration of the activities of the protected area into that of the surrounding area of immediate impact*" (KZN 03/07/97). The membership of these Local Boards will be appointed by the Minister responsible for the "*protection and conservation of the environment and nature conservation*" on application or nomination by relevant interested and affected parties (KZN 03/07/97). Within this context, the role of local community leaders is explicitly recognised, with the explicit requirement that there is at least one representative from each of the Tribal Authorities neighbouring on the relevant protected area. The Bill also makes allowance for the need to ensure a balance between "*Tribal Authorities, community based organisations, the business sector, environmental groups, farming associations and other interested parties*" (KZN 03/07/97).

Particular strengths of this legislation are:

i. That it explicitly recognises and accommodates the need for financial support for the Local Board activities, including remuneration for Board members. As previously discussed, the

financial and resource imbalance which characterised the KNP fora undermined the ability of the community representatives to actively participate in the forum activities.

ii. That the proposed Boards will communicate directly with the NCS's Board and the relevant Minister. Thus the Boards will have easy access to high level political support to help mediate around conflict issues.

A noticeable weakness of this legislation is the prescriptive nature of the Bill, specifically, in terms of the Minister having final say over Board membership. In practise, this may not be an issue if the local community members and other stakeholders are able to agree on a Board membership which they feel fairly reflects the range of interested and affected stakeholders. A further weakness is that the legislation does not address the core property rights issue of resource ownership. This is a critical weakness as conflict over property rights was a key issue which affected and undermined the activities of the KNP Fora's attempts at developing co-management institutions.

Martin (1996) argues that the management of protected areas should be delegated to new district or regional management institutions through enabling legislation which gives these institutions appropriate authority over the management and use of the natural resources represented in the relevant protected area and its surrounding landscape. Within this context, the state takes on a new management roles, namely, it becomes the "appellate division" on matters of appeal from the democratic institutions below it (Martin, 1996). Pimbert and Pretty (1994) also support this approach, arguing that under state control protected areas have not been successful instruments for long term conservation in developing countries. Rather, they state that sustainable and effective protected area management calls for a shift in the focus underlying the management of protected areas, from maintaining the integrity of a specific regions bio-diversity to promoting local development through sustainable resource use.

The vision underlying the development of the Partnership Forum Framework is essentially the same. If

the development and management of a protected area is integrated into it's surrounding landscape, the protected area can serve as an engine for the development of the relevant region. However, this is only likely if the development of such institutions is supported by enabling legislation. Within this context the legislation developed by the KwaZulu Natal Provincial legislature will probably provide a useful reference. Although this legislation does not explicitly delegate appropriate authority for local natural resource management to the Local Boards, it is likely that as these Boards are established and begin developing as institutions, they will recognise this issue and push for amendments to the legislation.

Implication for conservation agencies

The delegation of appropriate authority for protected area management to local or regional institutions does not remove the need for conservation agencies. These agencies are the support agencies that will actually carry out the day to day management of the protected areas within the context of management plans developed and periodically reviewed by the local or regional co-management institutions. The conservation agencies are also likely to be the organisations tasked with initiating the establishment and preliminary development of these co-management institutions.

However, the case studies presented in this thesis highlight a range of issues which conservation agencies need to take into account when facilitating this process. Neither the KNP or NPB management were prepared for the demands placed on them through the establishment and development of the four KNP Fora. The establishment of the fora was done in response to local integrity and regional political pressures on the KNP. The fora were thus established in absence of any policy framework defining the vision, mission and goals of the agency's involvement in the programme and the terms of reference and qualifications of the staff involved in the programme's activities (Table 18). Thus when the KNP and NPB were confronted with the range of problem issues affecting their relationship with their neighbours, they were not effectively prepared to deal with these issues, particularly the conflict around the property rights issues. These issues had to be referred to the

KNP and NPB management, who then had to develop and institutionalise relevant policies. This process was a time consuming process which had a negative impact on the forum dynamics. Similarly, neither the KNP or the NPB were prepared for the financial and logistical costs associated with participating in the development opportunities identified by the fora. The delays associated with meeting these costs and appointing relevant staff also had a negative effect on the fora dynamics. However, the fact that the KNP and NPB management did respond to these shortfalls by developing policy frameworks and allocating financial and technical resources will have a medium to long term positive effect on the forum activities if they are able to institutionalise these policies and build on the strengths of the fora.

In addition to these core issues, it is critical that the conservation agency staff involved in the establishment and development of a Partnership forum based outreach programme have a clear understanding of the development process issues associated with a forum. Before convening a forum, they need to facilitate a characterisation of the socio-economic circumstances, leadership structures and development needs of the local communities and other stakeholders that could be involved in a forum. This preliminary characterisation not only lays a foundation for the identification of preliminary forum membership (Figure 26), but also lays a foundation for the identification of possible problem issues, so that the conservation agency can be prepared for these issues when they arise during forum meetings (Table 18).

Table 18 Issues which conservation agencies need to take into account before initiating the establishment of a Partnership Forum based outreach programme.

ISSUE	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONSERVATION AGENCY
1. POLICY The four KNP fora were established in the absence of an outreach programme policy, i.e. the conservation staff had no guidelines to follow when confronted with problem issues: • No policy on natural resource utilisation. • No policy on preferential employment of local community members. • No policy on land disputes. • No policy problem animals or compensation. • No policy on preferential access rates for local community members. Thus when the conservation staff were confronted with these issues there were delays in the identification of solutions and the conservation staff involved in the fora lost credibility.	Before initiating an outreach programme, the conservation agency's management needs to draft an outreach programme policy which defines: • The vision, mission and goals of the conservation agency's involvement in the establishment of fora. • The terms of reference of all staff involved in the fora. • Policy guidelines on the resolution of problem issues. • Policy guidelines on the realisation of joint development opportunities. Once the programme has been initiated, the programme policy should be reviewed on a regular basis. This review process must involve staff at all levels, especially the staff working directly with the fora, i.e. the policy must not be a policy written by executive staff for public relations purposes. The policy must provide concrete guidelines for field staff! The policy should also be reviewed periodically through a public review process.
2. INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK The four KNP fora were established in the absence of an established and resourced financial and human institutional framework: • Insufficient and poorly skilled support for the forum activities from the conservation staff. • No support funding for the forum activities. • Poor communication amongst the conservation staff, particularly between field staff and management staff. • No formal linkages between the fora activities and the KNP's management structures. • No clear allocation of decision making responsibility amongst the conservation staff. This lead to conflict and confusion as the other forum members questioned the KNP management's commitment to the establishment of partnerships.	Before initiating an outreach programme the conservation agency's management needs to: • Appoint sufficient full time staff to support the establishment and development of the fora. These staff should include individuals with a range of social science, community development and environmental education qualifications or experience. • Allocate financial resources to cover the salary and running costs of the staff and to subsidise the operating costs of the proposed fora. • Define the authority of the fora. • Establish clearly defined communication channels between the proposed fora and the protected area's management / conservation agency's executive management. Once the programme has been initiated the staff structure, finances and communication channels should be reviewed on a periodic basis through both an internal review process involving the conservation staff involved in the forum activities and a public review process.

Table 18 cont.

ISSUE	IMPLICATIONS FOR THE CONSERVATION AGENCY
3. LACK OF UNDERSTANDING. The conservation staff involved in establishing the fora had little understanding of the local community members circumstances, problems and development needs. Thus the conservation staff were confronted with a range of problem issues that they had not anticipated and were not in a position to resolve, e.g. • property rights issues. • institutional management issues. • conflict resolution and mediation issues. • Socio-economic development issues. Similarly, the local community members had little understanding of the KNP's conservation value or the conservation staff's terms of reference, and thus expected unrealistic results from the conservation staff, e.g. • problem animal control outside the KNP • maintenance of veterinary control fences • free meat This common lack of understanding resulted in the inefficient resolution of problems, frustrations, disillusionment and unconstructive debate.	Before convening a forum, the conservation agency should facilitate a preliminary characterisation of: • The socio-economic circumstances and development needs of the local communities. • The leadership structures and dynamics of the local communities. • The management structures and terms of reference of other local natural resource management stakeholders. The conservation agency should use the information generated during the preliminary characterisation to identify whether there are potential problem issues. If there are, then the conservation agency should anticipate these problems and ensure that its institutional structures are capable of facilitating the resolution of the problems. If there are no apparent problem issues, then the conservation agency should anticipate that the forum dynamics are likely to shift directly from a forming phase into a norming phase, and thus their institutional structures must be capable of facilitating the resolution of joint venture development opportunities. The conservation agency should also couple the establishment and development of a forum to an environmental education programme, aimed at improving the forum members understanding of the core conservation issues underlying the development of the forum.
4. LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK The four KNP fora were established in the absence of a formal legislative framework: • Each forum operated independently of the other fora. • The conservation agency's management were not obliged to work with the fora. • There was no formal mediation support for the fora when they deadlocked around specific issues. Thus the KNP's management could simply refuse to deal with an issue, and there was very little the other forum members could do. This undermined the forum activities and the credibility of the staff involved in the fora.	The development of a forum should be established within an enabling legislative framework that defines and facilitates: • Clear terms of reference for the forum's activities. • Support and capacity building for the forum members. • Mediation around deadlock issues.

The conservation staff involved in the fora had little understanding of the local community members' circumstances, problems and development needs, and the local community members had little understanding of the KNP's conservation value or the conservation staff's terms of reference. This common lack of understanding resulted in the inefficient resolution of problems, frustrations, disillusionment and unconstructive debate. Thus the conservation staff should try to anticipate problem issues and ensure that their organisational structures and institutional procedures are capable of facilitating the resolution of these issues. Where there are no apparent problem issues, the conservation staff should anticipate that the forum dynamics are likely to shift directly from a forming phase into a norming phase, and thus their institutional structures must be capable of facilitating the resolution of joint venture development opportunities.

These requirements place a heavy burden on southern Africa's conservation agencies, and possibly an unrealistic burden given the fact that the majority of these agencies are already under staffed and under resourced. The communal and private land based CBNRM programmes which have been initiated within the region rely heavily on non-government agency technical support and donor agency funding (Francis, 1996; Jones, 1995; Murphree, 1994; Mwenya *et al*, 1990; Steiner and Rihoy, 1995). However, they have managed to show that community involvement in natural resource management can work. With time and increased political and economic stability within the region, the role of these support agencies should progressively become redundant as the local communities develop the capacity to manage these programmes themselves, with appropriate support from the relevant government departments.

Child (1994) states that "the challenge facing southern African conservation is to determine how protected areas can be transformed from the bastions of conservation to the bridgeheads from which to spread more sustainable development". Goodwin (1996) highlights the key role which protected areas can play in acting as economic engines to drive eco-tourism based community development.
The conceptual framework developed through the research presented in this thesis provides a step by

step guide to the establishment of co-management institutions that can facilitate this process. The legislation being developed and implemented within KwaZulu / Natal provides an enabling legislative framework for this process, which can serve as a reference for the development of similar legislation throughout the rest of the region.

However, the development of partnership forum based programmes is likely to flounder if conservation agencies are expected to support the process themselves, with little or no input from the southern African non-government organisations and donor agency community. The role of these organisations would not be to take over control of the process. Rather their role would be to provide collaborative support for the attempts of the relevant conservation agencies and community members at establishing co-management institutions within the context of appropriate enabling legislation (Figure 27). The establishment of collaborative groups, equivalent to the CAMPFIRE collaborative group, could make a significant difference to the conservation agencies attempts at supporting the establishment of Partnership Forum based programmes aimed at managing the integration of southern Africa's protected areas into the surrounding landscape.

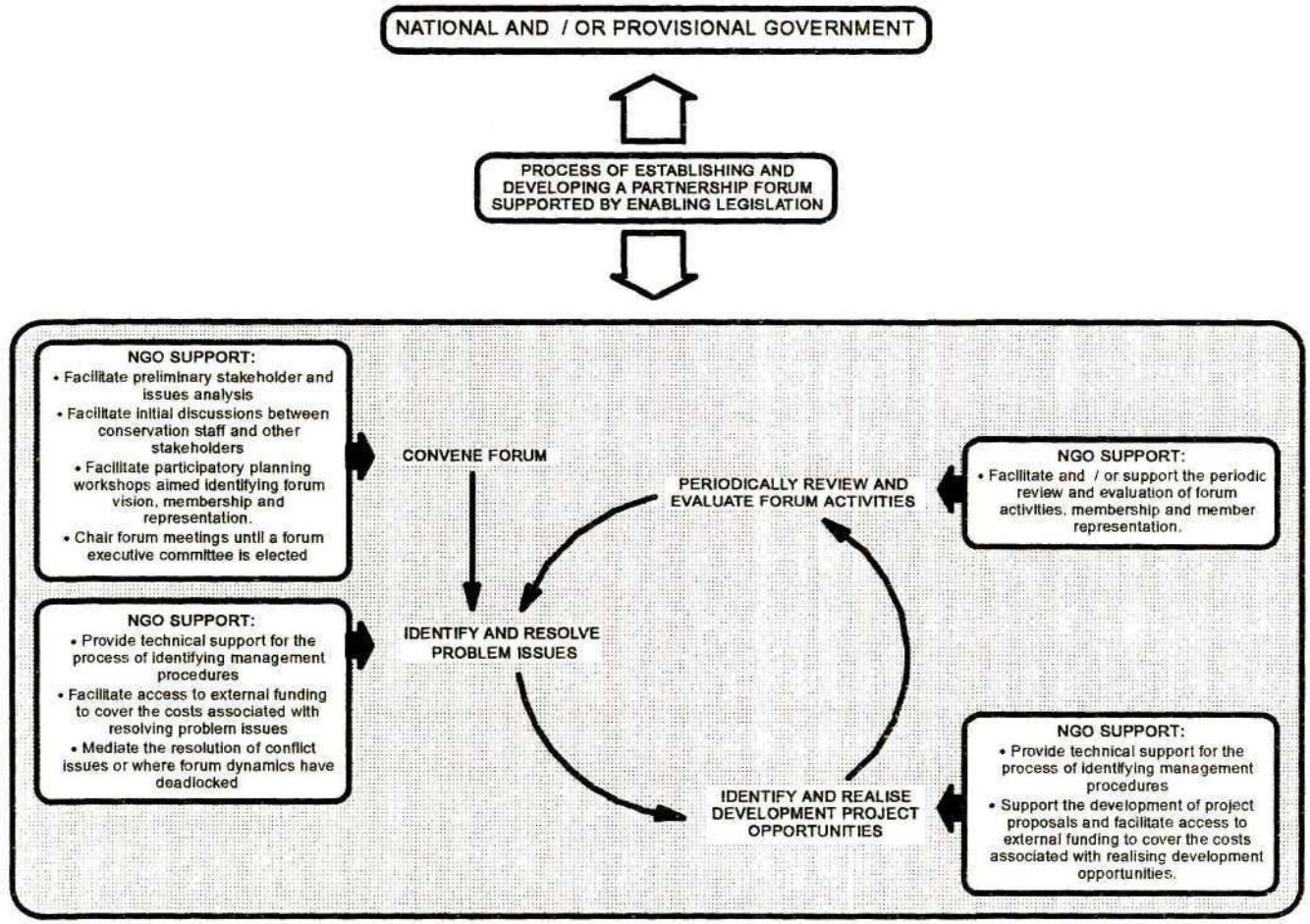

Figure 27 Conceptual representation of the contextualisation of Non-Government Organisation (NGO) support and enabling legislation for the process used to establish and develop a Partnership Forum.

CONCLUSION

The Partnership Forum Framework presented in this thesis is structured around the progressive development of an institution for the establishment of a forum, identification and resolution of issues affecting the relationship between forum members and the identification and realisation of development project opportunities. The progressive identification of these management procedures lays the foundation for the development of a co-management institution or Partnership Forum, responsible for co-ordinating the integration of a protected area into the surrounding landscape. The framework proposes that the core members of such institutions should be drawn from the local protected area staff, the communities living within and around the protected area, and other stakeholders interested in or affected by the area. This range of organisations and individuals have first hand knowledge of the local social, economic and environmental systems, and thus are best equipped to facilitate the afore-mentioned integration. Within this context, a range of guiding principles and key questions are identified which should be considered during the process of establishing and developing these institutions.

The case study descriptions and evaluations of the four attempts at establishing Partnership Fora highlight the need for the establishment and development of these institutions to be supported by enabling legislation. Within this context, the legislation currently being implemented within KwaZulu - Natal (South Africa) provides a useful reference for the development of enabling legislation throughout the rest of the region. The KwaZulu - Natal legislation formalises the establishment of protected area Local Boards, drawing membership from the communities living within and around the protected area, and other interested and affected stakeholders. A particular strength of this legislation is that it includes provisions for covering the costs of Board members and providing logistical and administrative support for the forum activities. These were key issues which undermined the activities of the KNP fora, particularly, constraining the community representatives ability to actively participate in forum activities. The case studies also highlight a wide range of issues which should be considered by conservation agencies before initiating the development of Partnership Forum based programmes.

However, it is unlikely that southern Africa's conservation agencies will be able to allocate the manpower and logistical resources required to address these issues. Thus the effective establishment and development of Partnership Forum based programmes will rely heavily on collaborative support from southern African non-government agencies.

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