CREATING STAKEHOLDERS IN COMMUNITY-BASED NATURAL RESOURCE MANAGEMENT THROUGH TRADITIONAL HUNTING.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF INHLUZANI FARM AND MPEMBENI COMMUNITY GAME RESERVE IN KWAZULU-NATAL

BY

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Abstract

The colonial attitude to traditional hunting practice was harsh and exclusivist and traditional hunting with dogs was therefore outlawed through legislation. This was the case throughout British African colonies and the former Natal colony was no exception. In some state game reserves, game rangers destroyed African dogs and on private farms, farmers shot dogs found there, yet traditional hunting had great cultural significance for African men. The destruction of dogs was a source of conflict and bitterness for rural people in KwaZulu-Natal.

Due to the failures of colonial conservation practices to address environmental challenges of the past and present, there has been a shift of conservation philosophy. Unlike in the past, the current conservation practice has sought to address environmental problems by integrating conservation, culture and development. This has given rise to a broader discussion about linking conservation to the process of rural development and the survival of agrarian societies living adjacent to protected areas.

In view of these complexities and challenges, this thesis uses the cases of iNhluzani farm and Mpembeni Community game reserve to determine and ascertain whether or not traditional hunting is still significant to rural people, and to explore the effects that either allowing or not allowing such an activity might have on attitudes towards natural resources. The thesis further explores the possibility that recognising culture, and bringing it explicitly into conservation practices, might help to reverse a history of exclusion and bring about greater sustainability. For this reason, the study draws on relevant theories of environmental and social justice, sustainable development as well as Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs. The study also assesses the nature and extent of public participation in natural resource management in the two cases.

The findings of the study suggest that the majority of stakeholders agree that cultural practices could be linked to natural resource management under controlled circumstances. In the case of iNhluzani for instance, where the local people are guaranteed equitable access to wildlife resources within the farm, the people have developed a clear desire to protect wildlife within and outside the farm, even though they do not own the land. Contrary to this, in the case of Mpembeni community game reserve, incidents of poaching and illegal hunting are escalating and conflict and tension is still prevalent between the conservation authority and the surrounding community. This study therefore suggests that recognising local indigenous knowledge and cultural practice is essential for creating meaningful stakeholders in Natural Resource Management. The integration of culture should ease the tension between conservation authorities and local communities.

PREFACE

The work described in this thesis was carried out in the School of Environmental Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus under the supervision of Dr Shirley Brooks.

This study presents original work by the author and has not been submitted in any other form, in part or whole, to any other University. Where use has been made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged in the text.

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Dr S Brooks   Date

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

APU	Anti Poaching Unit
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CGR	Community Game Reserve
EKZNW	Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife (see KZNNCS)
ICDP's	Integrated Conservation Development Programmes
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources
KZNTHA	KwaZulu-Natal Traditional Hunters Association
KZNNCS	KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services (see EKZNW)
KZNNCMAA	KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act
MCGR	Mpembeni Community Game Reserve
MCCGRMC	Mpembeni Community Game Reserve Management Committee
NSPCA	National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
SAPS	South African Police Services
TA	Traditional Authority
WESSA	Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa

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Chapter One
Introduction

1.1. Introduction

Wildlife and natural habitats around protected areas are all thought to be endangered in Africa to an extent never known before. This threat to wildlife has become a "commonplace of academic and popular culture" throughout the industrialised world and is increasingly an African concern (Anderson and Grove, 1987: 23). Due to its colonial history, conservationists' interest in conserving Africa's natural wildlife resources and habitats is long-standing and often ignorant of the long established and successful ways in which Africans have ensured their own survival and that of the environment.

The colonial attitude to African hunting practices was harsh and exclusivist. African "traditional" hunting with dogs was outlawed through legislation and dogs used for hunting were shot. This was the case throughout the British African colonies and KwaZulu-Natal (formerly the Natal colony) was no exception (Anderson and Grove, 1987). Until very recently, African hunting has been entirely excluded from conservation practices, which were often militaristic. Legislation outlawed African hunting (Brooks, 1990). In state game reserves, game rangers destroyed African dogs; on private farms, farmers shot dogs found there. Yet for many African men, hunting had great cultural significance. The destruction of dogs by conservation authorities and farmers is still a source of bitterness for rural people in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). It played into racial tensions in the countryside and undermined potential support for wildlife conservation (Clark *et al*, 1999).

Due to the failures of colonial conservation practices to address environmental challenges of the past and present, there has been a shift of conservation philosophy. Unlike in the past, the current conservation practices seek to address environmental problems by integrating conservation and development. The postcolonial context in which conservation and protected areas are run has however, become increasingly complex and challenging. Protected area management currently means juggling with social and economic demands while at the same time trying to preserve wildlife populations and maintain biodiversity (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992). This has given rise to a broader discussion about linking conservation to the process of rural development and the survival of agrarian societies living adjacent to protected areas. In this context culture is an important component that needs to be incorporated into the new conservation paradigm. Do contemporary

conservation practices (emphasising the linkage between conservation and local community development) adequately accommodate African cultural practices such as traditional hunting? This question guides the research undertaken in this thesis.

The study seeks to examine the potential for integrating traditional hunting as a cultural element into wildlife conservation in KwaZulu-Natal. Its aim is to investigate controlled traditional hunting as a strategy for creating stakeholders in community-based natural resource management and sustainability in wildlife conservation. Such an approach is supported by recent theoretical directions in debates on sustainability and community based natural resource management (CBNRM). Firstly, it is important to recognise that environmental management is currently influenced by the broader underlying philosophy which places the need for integrated, holistic, multiple-use and multiple-value view of the environment. Within this broader picture, science is being viewed more as a tool that is used to achieve ends that are continually being redefined by social concerns (Allen, 1999). There is growing recognition that science as a knowledge system is defined and shaped within a specific cultural context. This provides the basis for a new approach, where conservationists, local people, policy makers and other stakeholders can learn jointly, about how to manage their natural resources in a more sustainable manner.

The challenges of sustainable development are seen to lie in the interaction of the natural and human environment. In most rural communities, people live in the physical environment in which securing basic needs depends largely on the natural resource base. However, much needed natural resources to pursue these functions are found in protected areas. The lack of access to these natural resources has created conflict between the local people and protected area managers. Not only do local people utilise natural resources to pursue their social and economic needs, but natural resources are equally important for cultural expression.

In the context of post apartheid South Africa, protected area managers are striving to change negative perceptions towards conservation. According to Clark et al (1999), resolving the problems regarding conservation requires the participation of both local communities and the relevant authorities. In rural communities, environmental problems such as natural resource depletion are affecting the communities and there is a rising awareness of these problems (Clark et al, 1999). There is therefore a need to develop a sustainable conservation policy, for effective future development and use of natural resources.

In an attempt to achieve sustainable development in conservation, new policies and legislation have been promulgated and modified since 1994 and new approaches to management sought, so as to ensure that local communities are involved in environmental decision-making (Sowman, 1999). For instance, in KwaZulu-Natal the Neighbour Relations Policy of 1992 advocates the involvement of the local people into the management of natural resources. This has led to changes in the role of the public in decisions relating to natural resource management. Participatory approaches are now deemed critical in order to achieve sound environmental management practice. The study aims to determine whether or not traditional hunting is still of significance to rural people, and to explore the effects that either allowing or not allowing such activity might have on attitudes towards natural resources in developing a sense of stewardship of wildlife and the land on which it is found.

1.2 The Practice of Traditional Dog Hunting

It is useful first to clarify the concept of traditional hunting in the KwaZulu-Natal context as there are many confusing definitions of the concept.. The hunting concept has been stigmatised with traditional hunting viewed as immoral, unethical, cruel and barbaric against animals (MacKenzie, 1995). Traditional hunting in its pure form in KZN may be defined as hunting on foot, using traditional weapons such as knobkerries assisted by certain dogs such as *isiqhe* and *isimaku*. During traditional hunting the hunter is more concerned with the difficulty associated with the chase than with the final outcome (Mackenzie, 1995).

The African dog, or Africanis, is the original domestic dog of southern Africa, whose ancient origins can be traced back to the prehistoric wild wolf packs of Arabia and India (Gallant, 2002). The term Africanis is an amalgamation of the words 'Africa' referring to the continent and 'canis' referring to the dog. As stated Gallant (2002), the Africanis is a South African dog breed believed top be of ancient origin, directly descended from sight and pariah dogs of ancient Africa introduced into the Nile Valley from the Levant. Gallant (2002) further states that the domestic dog first arrived in Southern Africa with the migration of the Early Iron Age Bantu speaking people. Of interest is the fact that conserving Africanis as a land race stands for conserving biodiversity and the true africanis is still found today in tribal areas where people maintain their traditional lifestyle like hunting (Gallant, 2002).

Hunting in general is a complex and sometimes a mysterious cultural activity. It is also an expression of property rights. Thus in addition to subsistence hunting, the hunting activity has been

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laden with both class and moral significance (Murphree, 1991). Traditional hunting has invariably been a communal activity, and it is likely to remain so in the foreseeable future in South Africa (Murphree, 1991). The traditional hunting is also a male activity, linked to the expression of some form of masculinity. Men undertake hunting for socialisation, ritual and recreational purposes. Hunting was and still is confined to the winter season when animals are not breeding. Even in recent times, traditional hunting has remained strong in peoples' hearts, especially in rural areas. "The shouting in the excitement of the chase is invigorating" (MacKenzie, 1995: 7).

1.3 Rationale for the Study

This study has been conducted for a number of reasons. Firstly, traditional hunting is an emotive issue that is exarcerbated when societies and cultures with different value systems, beliefs and attitudes clash. This is the case with traditional hunting in KwaZulu-Natal where traditional hunting has been illegal. However, the fact that agreement cannot be reached on this issue (as is the case with fox hunting in England) means that the practice deserves to be interrogated. This is the general purpose of this thesis. Secondly, it has been realised that local knowledge and the role of culture in shaping environmental decision-making, is often ignored. As already indicated, traditional hunting as a cultural practice is the focus of the study. Whilst it may have a secondary role in providing food, traditional hunting appears to be an activity of largely cultural significance. This thesis therefore explores the possibility that recognising culture, and bringing it explicitly into conservation practices, might help to reverse a history of exclusion and bring about greater sustainability. It is hoped that this could lead to change in the attitudes of rural communities to support wildlife conservation on state and private lands. The study will add value to the existing body of knowledge in the field of conservation, environmental management and political geography. Experts in the area of conservation planning and protected area management will also find the study useful.

1.4 Context and Case Studies

The context of this thesis is the changing legislative environment in KwaZulu-Natal with respect to traditional hunting. Formerly, the Natal Parks Board did not recognise the need to integrate peoples' cultural needs into conservation and natural resource management. However, in 1999, new legislation was introduced (the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act). There is still controversy regarding the provisions of this new policy with a current heated debate about the changes brought about by the new Act. The Act authorises traditional hunting

under strict and controlled conditions. Animal welfare groups feel that this type of cultural practice if authorised, will affect the non-target species and bring about the destruction of biodiversity. They are also concerned that there are insufficient hunting areas in the province to sustain this form of practice.

Within this new policy framework, attempts to introduce controlled traditional hunting are at an early stage in various parts of the province. It must be stressed however, that the different ways in which this is occurring, are directly related to the question of land ownership. On private farms for instance, a farmer owns the wildlife found on his property. Often this land is officially designated as a conservancy. Some owners of conservancies have introduced controlled traditional hunting on their farms as a way to improve relationships with neighbouring black communities on communal land.

Conservancies began in the 1970's and most farmers in KwaZulu-Natal have made a great effort to build up the wildlife populations on their farms (Kotze, 2002). A conservancy is defined as "the voluntary co-operative management of an area by its community and users, and in respect of which registration has been granted by the authority" (Pooley, 1995). Conservancies are non-statutory forums that are formed by local people to manage and improve their living environments. They occur in both urban and rural environments. Concerns in these conservancies include both 'green' and (more recently) the brown agenda issues (Pooley, 1995). Even outside of rural conservancies, "Other farmers are converting their entire operation to game farming and associated tourism, which is becoming a profitable activity on many farms across KwaZulu-Natal" (Pooley, 1995).

The sustainability of such efforts, however, is often undermined by neighbouring rural communities who often register their resistance to the land ownership regime by poaching (Clark *et al*, 1999). It is however, very expensive to employ guards for farm conservancies, and the guards cannot patrol everywhere on the farm. The example studied in this thesis is that of Mr. Rob Smith, who has opened access to wildlife on his Inhluzani farm in Impendle, KwaZulu-Natal midlands, to the Impendle Traditional Dog Hunters Association (IDHA) on a controlled basis. He is a member of a local conservancy but allowed hunting in his farm out of his own initiative. The case study opens up questions such as the following: to what extent does the introduction of controlled traditional hunting, based on this example, allow for the sustainability of wildlife conservation on private conservancies in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands context? What does the case study reveal about the

way in which social relationships and cultural attitudes, as well as property ownership, impact on conservation? How does this new access change peoples' sense of responsibility towards wildlife, even on land they do not own?

State game areas are also areas with high wildlife populations where rural dwellers would like to hunt. Again, the land is not owned by the people, but the question is whether controlled access to game reserves can assist in developing more sustainable attitudes towards wildlife preservation? Conservation authorities are interested and several hunts have been held within officially designated wildlife parks. For instance in Mkuze state game reserve, KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services authorised a traditional hunt with dogs by the local community of Ozabeni. However, because the community institutions were not well organised and were not prepared to forfeit some of the elements in their traditional lifestyles such as traditional hunting with dogs, the initiative appears to have been a failure (*Daily News*, July 10, 2001).

A more common emerging trend is for the conservation authorities to assist communities in tribal or communal areas to build up community game reserves. The land used is thus communal land, which in the current situation in KZN tends to have little or no remaining wildlife. However, the newly declared area is protected and stocked with game, with the aid of conservation authorities and external agencies like Safari International. The initiative is specifically promoted as a 'community-based' initiative.

The comparative example studied in this thesis is the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve in Hluhluwe, northern KwaZulu-Natal. The inspiration for this reserve was the story of King Shaka's "royal hunting ground" in the Umfolozi valley. Umfolozi and Hluhluwe have been game reserves since 1895 and were combined into a single park in 1989. Its significance as Shaka's royal hunting ground is a key means of promoting the reserve (Brooks, 2000). While hunting access to the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi provincial state reserve is not allowed and no traditional hunts have been allowed inside the reserve, local people from the surrounding tribal authority or communal areas felt that they would like to benefit from this idea. In 1995 it was suggested that a community game reserve be established on communal land adjacent to the protected area, where the traditions of the Zulu people could be continued. The Mpembeni community game reserve was recently established. However, the intention to allow community access to the community game reserve in the form of traditional hunting was abandoned in favour of more lucrative elite hunting practice.

The question is again, how has this affected attitudes towards wildlife in the area, both in the Umfolozi-Hluhluwe state park and in the new community game reserve? What do community members feel about the abandonment of the traditional hunting idea? Might the incorporation of traditional hunting into plans for the new community game reserve have created a new sense of stewardship towards wildlife resources and thus contributed to sustainability in conservation management in the province?

1.5 Aim and Objectives

This study hopes to promote a holistic approach to conservation by bringing together conservation priorities and African cultural practices. It sets out to explore the potential of linking traditional dog hunting (as a cultural practice) with conservation and development. The aim of this study is the following:

- To investigate controlled traditional hunting as a strategy for creating stakeholders in community-based natural resource management and sustainability in wildlife conservation in KwaZulu-Natal.

The aim of the study will be achieved through the following four objectives:

- To determine the views of key stakeholders regarding traditional hunting in the province.
- To explore attitudes towards traditional hunting in the two rural areas, as well as existing regulatory mechanisms.
- To determine the impact (in these two areas) of either facilitating or excluding traditional hunting on local people's attitudes towards stewardship of the land and its wildlife resources.
- To assess the nature and extent of public participation in natural resource management in the two cases.

1.6 Limitations of the Study

It should be noted that the scope of this study is limited to the human dimensions of conservation and sustainability. While the concept of sustainability ideally includes an understanding of ecological change, an assessment of the ecological effects of introducing controlled hunting is beyond the scope of this study. Issues including the effects of selective dog hunting on the

biophysical environment, its effect on age structures of animal populations or sex ratios and other such questions cannot be considered here. The focus is on attitudes towards wildlife. Further research would be needed to determine whether or not selective dog hunting would impact positively on the ecology and other such aspects of environment management.

1.7 The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into different chapters covering various but interrelated themes. The present chapter introduced the study. The aim and objectives of the study were identified and discussed. The aim of the study is to investigate managed traditional hunting as a strategy for promoting community-based natural resource management and sustainability in wildlife conservation in KwaZulu-Natal.

Chapter Two reviews and explores literature on hunting, wildlife conservation and its history as well as theories of social and environmental justice. Ideas relating to sustainable development and the emerging debate about its implementation are also presented. Issues covered include, the origin of protected areas in Africa, debates surrounding the concept of nature as well as Maslow's hierarchy of needs. The theory component will be instrumental in data analysis and interpretation of the results of the study. Chapter Three provides background to the two study areas as well as the social context and policy context in KwaZulu-Natal. The reader is introduced to the socio-economic and the ecological predicament in both study areas.

Chapter Four explains the methodology used for the study, a methodology closely informed by the study objectives. Chapter Five presents the research findings. This chapter is organised around the four objectives of the study and provides the research findings. Chapter Six provides the analysis of the research findings using the theoretical framework as presented in Chapter Two. Finally, Chapter Seven provides a concluding discussion based on the comparative analysis of the two case studies. In making recommendations, the research draws on the theories of social justice and environmental justice, Maslow's hierarchy of human needs as well as sustainable development, discussed in the literature review.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews literature relevant to the study and discusses the theoretical framework. The first section of this chapter reviews literature on the past and present approaches to wildlife conservation and hunting in Africa. The chapter will define the concept of hunting in terms of difference between 'hunting' and the 'Hunt'. New approaches to wildlife conservation such as community-based conservation and Integrated Conservation and Development Programmes (ICDP's) are then discussed. The last section of the chapter considers the theories of social justice and sustainable development as well as Maslow's hierarchy of human needs as relevant theories in community-based natural resource management.

2.2 Past and present approaches to wildlife conservation and hunting in Africa

In order to understand present decision-making frameworks within the environmental field, this chapter starts by reviewing historical work on mainstream imperial approaches to wildlife conservation and their impact on South African conservation policies. It is therefore within this context that more recent approaches can be discussed and evaluated.

2.2.1 Hunting and access to wildlife resources in colonial Africa

A key feature of the history of colonial Africa is the growing exclusion of Africans from access to the wildlife resources. As Europeans restricted access to the animal kingdom to themselves they developed notions of conservation, which had a powerful effect on the landscape of imperial territories (MacKenzie, 1995: 1). Changing approaches to hunting therefore constitute an important theme in human history. In the nineteenth century, European hunters turned hunting into a symbolic activity of global dominance. Thus hunting became an integral part of the culture of imperialism (MacKenzie, 1995). Hunting became a ritualised and occasionally a spectacular display of white dominance (MacKenzie, 1995). During the colonial era game also formed an important subsidy to the process of settlement and imperial advance. African hunting was increasingly defined as "poaching" as most wildlife resources were claimed by the "crown" (colonial power).

Many colonists lived off game while they were establishing themselves as farmers. Wildlife was and still is a valuable resource because of trade in various animal products like skins. When large-scale mercantile hunting commenced, Africans collaborated with the settlers. However as the number and size of herds diminished, legislation was enacted to reduce African access to wildlife, and restrictions were imposed on firearm and dog ownership (MacKenzie, 1995:6). This exclusionary tendency intensified with every alteration in the law during the nineteenth century, despite evidence that Africans were not responsible for the greatest wildlife slaughter. Some game reserves such as Pongola game reserve were established for the purpose of controlling and subjugating Africans in what was then known as "Sambaan's Land" (Beinart and Coates, 1995:67).

Hunting licences were introduced as an important source of revenue for colonial governments. Unfortunately these were not affordable to most Africans. It was an attempt by colonialists to exclude and deny Africans access to wildlife resources. The popularity of sport hunting among colonists was high (MacKenzie, 1995:7). The access of commoners to wild animals was severely curtailed. In colonial Zululand, this was enforced largely in the interest of sport hunters through state game laws (Brooks, 2001). Africans were asserting their right to hunt through poaching (illegal hunting) or by cutting fences and driving in their livestock (Ranger, 1989). Neumann cited in Brooks (2001: 103) points out that, "an important element of poaching activity has always been ordinary peoples' desire to resist the conservation laws and thus symbolically to resist the abuse of power by the elite minority".

With the establishment of game reserves, access to wildlife resources became even more difficult and limited for rural Africans (Neumann cited in Brooks, 2001). Game wardens were appointed and game conservation departments came into being. These game wardens were responsible for tracking down poachers. The establishment of these game reserves also meant loss of land and dispossession for rural Africans. Their livelihood practices were severely disrupted (Neumann, 1996).

Carruthers (1995: 276) argues that the creation of protected areas can only be understood in the context of the time and place in which it occurs. The founding of the national parks concerns the allocation of certain natural resources, and for this reason, it is a political, social and economic issue more than a moral one (Bayliss-Smith and Owens, 1994). The protected areas reflect the relations of power and privilege that have shaped South African society. Beinart and Coates (1995) state that the creation of protected areas was an attempt to forge a national identity out of natural splendour

and magnificence. The British colonial administrators had a long history of European game conservation measures associated with a strong nineteenth century wildlife protectionist ethos (Beinart and Coates, 1995). "Given this international protectionist interest at that time, British concern over the African fauna was considerable" (Carruthers, 1995: 269).

Wildlife in Africa was perceived as an imperial inheritance, which needed to be preserved within a system of strict state control of hunting (Neumann, 1996: 127). Game laws made hunting technologically and financially out of reach for the masses of colonised Africans. As mentioned, hunting licences were introduced to exclude some population groups who could not afford them. The national parks established in the waning years of empire resulted in the dislocation of tens of thousands of peasants and pastoralists throughout the British African colonies (Carruthers, 1995 and Neumann, 1995). For instance in Amboseli area, southern Kenya, the Maasai pastoralists who had coexisted with wildlife for thousand of years, were now seen as a threat to wildlife by biologists and conservationists.

2.2.2 Definitions of Hunting

Hunting is a complex and sometimes a mysterious cultural activity. It is also an expression of property rights. Thus in addition to subsistence hunting, the hunting activity has been laden with both class and moral significance. Hunting is a highly emotional topic. Generally traditional hunting has been stigmatised and viewed as an immoral, unethical and cruel against animals (MacKenzie, 1995: 8).

As already noted, traditional hunting in its pure South African form may be defined as hunting on foot, using traditional weapons such as knobkerries assisted by traditional dogs called *isiqhe* and *isimaku*. The hunter is concerned with the difficulty associated with the chase. When the sportsmen and their dogs fail, the hunt is not necessarily considered a failure.

MacKenzie (1995:7-12) makes a distinction between hunting and "the Hunt". The Hunt is characterised by moral attributes and bioethics. During the Hunt the symbolic and normative content is emphasised, with strict rules of procedure followed. In the colonial period, the Hunt constituted propaganda. It showed the emperor, king, or lord exhibiting power, enjoying the privilege that went with it and asserting prestige within widespread territorial bounds. MacKenzie (1995:10) argues that the Hunt includes the progressive restriction of social access to hunting in a

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wide range of societies. In sport hunting the rules are often designed to increase difficulty and the normative content is emphasised.

Hunting on the other side usually survives, continuing to perform its humble subsistence role but it is always despised by the elite. Hunting thus continues despite its failure to show and exhibit the character and moral attributes of the Hunt. In hunting, the end is all-important, the death and the utilization of the animal.

In South Africa group hunting is called *inqina*. It does have utilitarian elements but appears to be largely a cultural activity. The distinction therefore marks the shift from utility to display, sport, or leisure. In hunting animals are not mere animate resources and their significance to people goes beyond the material (Brooks, 2001).

Although both may be forms of "the Hunt", traditional hunting differs from safari hunting in significant ways (McKenzie, 1995). The differences are summarised in the table below.

Table 2.1 The key elements of traditional hunting and safari hunting

Traditional Dog Hunting	Safari Hunting
Based on local culture and ecologically sound knowledge and experience of environment and social context	"Foreign" culture, typically urbanised western culture
Cultural satisfaction after p hysiological needs met (non-utilitarian and utilitarian)	Non-utilitarian exclusively (trophy hunting)
Small scale environmental impact	Limited environmental impact
Blood sport	Blood sport
Non-commercial	Commercial
Regulated and managed by local authority using locally defined rules that are compatible with local values and needs	Foreign agencies often use exorbitant hunting licences to regulate this activity
Communal	Elitist

Source: McKenzie, 1995

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The table above depicts the significant difference between traditional hunting with dogs and commercial safari hunting. The characteristic elements of traditional hunting with dogs will be referred to in the analysis chapter of the thesis (Chapter 6). It should be noted that traditional hunting is shown as based on local ecocosmologies with small-scale environmental impact. This augers well for the aim of the thesis, which is to investigate how the cultural practice of traditional hunting can be incorporated into the sustainable utilization of wildlife resources. Although they are both blood sports, traditional hunting is regulated and managed by local institutions using traditional laws and modern conservation laws that are compatible with local values and development needs. Safari hunting is usually undertaken in game reserves. In safari hunting, the distorting feature is that scientific and foreign values tend to take a superior status with local knowledge often denounced and unused. Also local people themselves are excluded from participation because this is an elitist commercial activity.

2.2.3 The significance of traditional hunting in rural African society

Before colonialism, hunting reflected dominance and class with traditional authorities responsible for its regulation. Recent attempts linking cultural and traditional practices with conservation and development m ay b e s een a s e fforts t o i ntegrate p eoples' cultural c oncerns and l ivelihoods w ith wildlife protection. Hunting and conservation are part of a complex network of economic, social, legal and cultural relationships (MacKenzie, 1995). Hunting was an important part of the pre-colonial economy and one among a range of economic opportunities open to the indigenous inhabitants of the area that is today KwaZulu-Natal.

People hunted for a number of reasons. They hunted to secure domestic resources in the form of meat, skins, ornaments and receptacles. They hunted as a defensive mechanism to protect human beings, their stock and their growing crops from predators. Hunting also served as an indigenous mechanism of coping with tsetse fly (*unakane*), which fed on wild animals harbouring the blood parasites that caused the wasting disease in cattle. This disease was transferred to domestic stock when bitten by tsetse fly. For instance, when troubled with *unakane,* or when moving livestock into new areas, the Zulu King Mpande (1840-1872) would authorise large hunting parties to clear the countryside of wild animals (Brooks, 1990).

It is also important to note that hunting, when successful, was immediately productive, in contrast to the slower processes of herding and cultivation (MacKenzie, 1995). Hunting was also and still is

generally confined to the winter season when animals are not breeding. MacKenzie (1995) further noted that hunting was not just a function of necessity, but also a preference involving excitement and romance, recreation and training. Traditional dog hunting was a form of socialisation by people from a particular area. Even in recent times, traditional hunting retains its popularity and importance.

For the elite of Zulu society, hunting was a source of pleasure, profit and patronage. For Zulu kings and chiefs, hunting provided control over an important area of natural production and served as a means of keeping army regiments occupied during times of peace and cultivators busy during times of seasonal underemployment (Brooks, 1990). Hunting also carried great ritual significance. For instance, after the death of a household head, the month long period of mourning would end with *ihlambo,* as a ceremonial washing of spears grown rusty through disuse, in the form of a ritual hunt.

The hunting activity was also important for subsistence meat supplies, for feeding the entourages of treks, for trading and cultural needs. Hunting was significant as a source of training, recreation and understanding of natural phenomena for many Africans until the time when game laws were promulgated as described above. Hunting in African societies was and still is an escape from the social regimentation and control of metropolitan society (Thomson, 1992). It has invariably been a communal activity, and this remains an important aspect in contemporary South Africa.

Proponents of traditional hunting argue that this form of hunting is ecologically sound. Indigenous traditions are being preserved in traditional societies because they hold social, spiritual, economic and cultural significance in African societies. Several African societies feature hunting practices in stories and accounts of their histories. Beinart and Coates (1995) argue that because African societies are more agrarian than their American counterparts, hunting will always be part of African life. For farmers, hunting is undertaken to protect livestock from both canine predators and feline. MacKenzie's work also emphasizes the significance of hunting in Southern Africa.

It must be remembered that wildlife is a 'fugitive' resource, and thus a subject to complicated disputes over ownership. There are three main areas where wildlife is and has been found in South Africa. Each has a different property ownership regime. The next three sections consider these three types of areas.

2.2.4 The history of hunting in protected areas

The first game reserves were declared from the 1890's and in the early parts of the twentieth century in Africa. This was an attempt to curb the game destruction that had been part of the conquest and initial settlement of Africa (MacKenzie, 1995: 201). MacKenzie (1995) argues that the attempt was based on the transfer to Africa of European-style property rights in game, the vesting of those rights either in white settlers or in a colonial administration, and the exclusion of Africans from hunting. There was a progressive conversion of the game from a direct economic resource in meat, hides and skins into an indirect one - that is hunting for sport (MacKenzie, 1995).

The 1920s saw the emergence of a conservation ideology and people living around the protected areas being viewed as responsible for environmental calamity. These conservation imperatives became central components in the management of the game reserves and national parks. For instance in the case of Hluhluwe-Umfolozi game reserve in KwaZulu-Natal, fences were being used to protect game from massive slaughter and extinction. The important feature here is how fences were being used in enforcing spatial relationships and new ownership patterns in the creation of national parks. It shows how the land available to African pastoralists shrunk as the fences went up, and the new spatial barriers disrupted all kinds of social life and livelihoods (Brooks, 2001).

New colonial officers, game wardens and rangers were appointed with wide administrative and judicial powers not only over game reserves. The colonial officers had control over vast tracts of territory and African who lived around their fringes and borders. Brooks (2001) argues that these game reserves were created to separate human and animal living space, encouraging the latter by the e xclusion o f t he people. Live animals became a tourist r esource a nd people were t reated a s onlookers and visitors.

Already in the nineteenth century, certain animals were declared 'royal game' and punishments for killing them were severe. For example in December 1902, two white rhinos were killed by a large group of Zulu people living in Mahlabathini district. These rhinos were found on the north east of the Umfolozi game reserve boundary and thus were in the "native reserve" area. The explanation the *induna* Mqageni had been given by his people for the killing of the rhinos was that the rhinos had eaten *amabele* fields and that in some instances predator animals like hyenas and lions from the game reserve eat the domesticated livestock and other animals within the native reserves. The

poachers were convicted and imprisoned (Brooks, 2001: 105). The local people referred to the white rhino as the government's cattle. This again caused resentment and conflictual relationships.

The game laws made a distinction between "cruel" African hunting methods and the allegedly clean kills of European rifles. This led the game wardens to concentrate much of their efforts on African "poaching" rather than European offences against the game laws. Traditional hunting on a large scale continued in remote areas and on the edges of game reserves. Relationships between the game wardens and rangers and local people became conflictual.

The nature of wildlife natural resources can be described as "fugitive" (Murphree, 1991), which has implications for the type of management regime most appropriate to it. Wild animals are more mobile and less amenable to privatisation than traditional stock such as cattle. One way for the state to claim wildlife, as described, was to declare game reserves and put up fences around them. These fences meant that local people are excluded from the resources inside game reserves. However, in many contexts, wildlife tends to be considered a "common pool" resource (Ostrom cited in Murphree, 1991), as exclusion in its use is difficult. This makes it ideally suited to communal type of management strategies, particularly if the "tragedy of the commons" is to be avoided.

The history of game reserves has been one of exclusion. But most game reserves in east Africa and southern Africa are situated adjacent or near burgeoning rural communities that generally eke out a meagre subsistence within a system of communal utilisation of natural resources (Naughton-Treves, 1997). These communities all exist within "tribal" areas under the political and judicial control of traditional authorities comprising a hereditary chief (*inkosi*). It is therefore essential that conservationists realise the majority of *amakhosi* in South Africa are located within the same geographical rural areas in which one finds most of the game reserves in the country. Although conservation authorities are usually aware of adjacent communal rural communities, few of them know who they are, who their traditional leaders are or have first hand contact with such communities other than in an anti poaching activities or in resolving conflict situations.

The situation painted above created an "excess energy locked up in non-existent relationships" (Naughton-Treves, 1997). And yet the existence of game reserves adjacent to poverty stricken communal areas provides an opportunity for conservation authorities to be directly involved in rural development to the benefit of all parties. The challenge is therefore to convert negative energy into

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positive relationships and in spreading the all embracing message of the short and medium-term benefits. An image of caring more for wild resources than for humans is the type of negative value, which is transferred to rural communities in instances where conservation authorities have aggressive, aloof and abrasive relationships with neighbouring people.

It is increasingly argued that caring for peripheral areas (to conservationists), also means caring for the continued sustainability of ones own land and resources. Demonstrating practical environmental regeneration may give fresh confidence to communities that have suffered economic decline and natural resource base damage. Integrative development is now seen as a key component to win local commitment to sustainable resource utilization and management.

2.2.5 The management of wildlife resources under communal or "traditional" tenure

Large areas of South Africa remain under communal tenure. This is not state land in the sense that game reserves are state lands. The status of this land is currently disputed because of the dismantling of the homeland or "Bantustan" system. However, the land is held communally, in practice it is controlled by chiefs (*amakhosi*).

Throughout the world, policy makers, planners, conservation organisations and external agencies often understand 'communal' tenure in a very simplistic fashion (Evans cited in Mkhulisi, 2000). The reality is that communally held land is an increasingly contested resource, and a fragmented one at that. Wildlife is often found in commonage land and a variety of users rely on it through locally established rules regarding what and how activities may take place in these areas, as well as when these activities may take place. Communities in rural areas comprise of a range of different interest groups, all with dissenting opinions on resource management and land holding.

Several common property systems have worked for years without degradation. As Furze *et al,* (1996: 186) point out "these common property resources have often been misidentified as open access resources, which are notoriously prone to abuse". Resources managed by the community through custom, tradition, religion and law have often proved very durable and such systems are suited to managing resources that are spatially complex such as wildlife (Beinart and Coates, 1995). Beinart and Coates (1995) further argue that when the state on its own takes over the control and formal responsibility for the management of commons and other resources previously governed by

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customary rules, the state will rarely be able to exercise effective control (Evans cited in Mkhulisi, 2000).

Even in areas of dense population, there were often adequate resources to sustain a system of extensive exploitation of resources. This is characteristic of an African resource use system that is illustrated by the widespread practice of shifting agriculture and traditional hunting under which land and wildlife resources were cleared and cultivated for a certain period before being abandoned for regeneration through natural processes. The same principle was evident in the practice by nomadic people and game hunters of constantly moving their herds to take advantage of water and grass, and sticking to hunting seasons. Seasonal mobility across ecological regions was and still is a central feature of herding a nd hunting communities in most African regions (Cock, 1995). This served to protect the natural resources from overexploitation and lack of nourishment in the case of herders.

It is too often assumed that the traditional systems are characterised by a free-for-all, anarchic exploitation of resources. It is possible that in some exceptionally richly endowed regions with very sparse populations, the regulatory mechanisms may have been minimal or non- existent (Furze *et al*, 1996). However most communities have evolved systems, which "in varying degrees c onserved natural resources and also ensured equitable distribution among various households". The general points made above may be selectively illustrated with examples of customary systems of natural resource utilisation and management.

Proctor (1985) argues that nature in all its manifestations constituted an organic part of the worldview of most communities and so nature has been treated with respect. This attitude has been described as 'living in nature' (Wamalwa, 1991). One example of the reverence for nature is provided by the custom of the Maasai people of Kenya and northern Tanzania who allocated certain times of the year as hunting and natural resource harvesting periods in Mkomazi Community Game Reserve (www.maninnature.com/conservation).

Herding and hunting communities in east Africa developed similar systems. The Barabaig of the Hawung Plains in Tanzania have devised a seasonal hunting period that exploits the forage regimes at different times of the year (Lane, 1992). These people use a variety of arrangements to protect open rangelands regarded as the property of the entire community. Some groups are assigned the

duty to protect their land against intruders. The Barabaig regulate rights of resource use and access through a tripartite judicial structure, each with its own sphere of interest and authority, the community, the clan and individual households. Likewise the Maasai of the Kajuado district in Kenya have also evolved an elaborate system of rangelands management involving reserved and sequenced grazing, neighbourhood based controls on grazing, collective action against invaders and punishment and fines for infringement of customary rules (Johnston, C, 1989). The symbiotic relationship between the herding, hunting and farming communities is mutually beneficial.

Research in South Africa is still limited. However work has been done on the value of indigenous knowledge and traditional law in natural resource conservation and development. For instance practices of the Tembe Tonga people of Kosi Bay Coast who derive their livelihood from fishing have been recorded. Their holistic approach to resource use and conservation includes aspects of land tenure regulations, taboos, myths, gender roles and harvesting techniques. Sites of fish trapping locations are all granted to individuals for supervision and protection against overexploitation. When freshwater stocks are low, the more efficient methods of fishing are banned by the local headmen (*izinduna)* or even by the fisherman themselves. Likewise seasonal restrictions are placed on hunting (Cock, 1995). The people become the custodians of the environment.

In the Hluhluwe area of northern KwaZulu-Natal, the location of the case study, the tribal areas are largely devoid of game. However, people have a strong relationship with their environment and there are still strong values of traditional hunting. These people are living adjacent to the major Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park. Although hunting takes place in communal areas, it is not allowed within either the Park or (at present) the new the community game reserve. The people often complain about predator animals from the park like hyenas which emerge from the park and kill their livestock (Brooks, 2001). In such a context, controlled access in the form of managed hunting in conservation areas becomes even more important and contested.

2.2.6 The management of wildlife on private farms

According to South African law, no one owns wildlife except when it is on one's private land. There are however, some animals that are excluded from this law (Nature Conservation Ordinance, 1974). It is because of such laws that some areas are being declared as conservancies in South Africa.

Conservancies are groups of privately owned and spatially consolidated properties, which are usually farms that include in their management the active conservation of the fauna and flora which occur within their boundaries (Markham cited in Mkhulisi, 1993). This definition of what conservancies are contains two key elements, which make them unique in the conservation effort. Firstly, active wildlife conservation is central to conservancies. This entails the employment of one or more full-time game guards to patrol the conservancy. The game guard is typically a person who has undergone suitable training, and is equipped for the job. The second point defining conservancies is that they are wholly private, and are of a collective nature. Conservancies in KwaZulu-Natal are recognised by KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife and are affiliated to the Natal Conservancies Association. They are non-statutory forums that are formed by local landowners to manage and improve their living environments (Pointing cited in Mkhulisi, 2000).

A conservancy is essentially composed as a voluntary association. This is a legal relationship which arises from an agreement among three or more persons to achieve a common objective, usually other than the making and division of profits, and which is defined in a constitution (Bamford cited in Mkhulisi, 1993: 43). It is important to note that although conservancies are urged to adopt a constitution in order to define and facilitate the necessary administrative work, a constitution is not obligatory for a conservancy. This means that conservancies do not subscribe to the legal definition of a voluntary association.

Informal conservation by means of conservancies has vastly expanded wildlife conservation areas in KwaZulu-Natal. Approximately 19% of the province's privately owned land, forms part of the conservancy movement. Even though conservancies are areas of informal conservation, their contribution to conservation in KwaZulu-Natal raises the total area of South Africa which is actively conserved (Kotze, 1993). Concerns in these conservancies include both "green" and (more recently) "brown" agenda issues. However, these non-statutory forums tend to focus on "green" issues.

Scholars argue that this practice of informal conservation in conservancies is thus a consolidation of assorted methods of natural resource management for a variety of reasons. The achievement of aims of this informal conservation can be determined according to the manner in which community integration around conservation, economic self sufficiency for the conservancy are incorporated

(KwaZulu-Natal Conservancies Association Constitution, 1996). Conservancies can also be used for purposes of social control and farm surveillance (Kotze', 2002).

2.3 Conservation with Development: New Approaches to Wildlife Conservation

Humans have always consumptively and non-consumptively used the earth's living natural resources to satisfy their needs. Their material well being and their quality of life has always been determined by the manner in which they gratify and are permitted to gratify, both their instinctive physiological needs and their learned higher order needs through the use of natural resources (Maslow cited in Mkhulisi, 2000). But when the "first world" conservationists tried to change wildlife utilisation practices in the developing world including South Africa, they gave little thought to the effect their actions would have on the culture and livelihoods of the people on whom they wanted to impose their will. Against this background, many moral injustices were committed against humanity especially rural communities.

Recently there has been a growing recognition that the only long-term future for wild animals is to make them an integral part of the life support systems of the world's rural people. It is argued that wild animals must become wild products of the land, in the same way that animals like cattle, sheep etc are domesticated products of the land. If the society allows wild animals to become an integral part of their livelihoods, this will generate the desire to protect wildlife and become stewards of their environments.

Furze *et al* (1996) suggest that if wildlife resources are to stand any chance of survival in the long term and if local people's right of access to the land upon which wildlife is found is recognised, sustainable models for wildlife management are essential. If ways can be found towards achieving integrated wildlife resource management, the people will organise themselves into appropriate institutions to be left alone as guardians of their national heritage (Furze *et al*, 1996).

South Africa although economically developed and experiencing environmental impacts of industrial development, displays a social fabric, which is consistent with that of the developing nations, characterised by high levels of poverty, unemployment and poor living environments. It is in this development context, that a complex process of political and social transformation is taking place. It appears that this era (post 1994) is providing a window of opportunity for changing practices in natural resource utilization and management.

Worldwide, over the last decades, there has been a significant shift in conservation policy and philosophy. The idea that the environment is a limitless frontier to commercial opportunity not needing any care has changed dramatically, especially in Western thought. The question of whether the earth's limited resources could continue to support indefinitely the requirements of growth and development has been debated for many years.

There are two main schools of thought within environmentalism (Pepper, 1984). These are broad categories through which the environment is explained, the anthropocentric and the ecocentric view (bioethical group). The anthropocentric view sees the environment as the provider of human society in terms of life support and resources. This philosophy is often associated with the view that environmental problems can be solved with natural resource management (Bayliss Smith and Owens, 1994). Ecocentric philosophy however, argues that the non-human world has interests and moral significance quite independent of social utility (Bayliss Smith and Owens, 1994). Both schools of thought argue that there are limitations to human exploitation of the environment.

Most studies confirm that the environmental movement embraces a wide range of interests and objectives. In this context, the ecocentric/technocentrist divide formalised by O'Riordan (1981) provides an enduring analytical framework. Simply put, ecocentrists advocate a non-utilitarian view of the world and bioethics, while technocentrists see increased material wealth as universally desirable and achievable through social natural resource management (Bayliss Smith and Owens, 1994). Although this divide reduces the complexity of a wide range of values and beliefs to a simple dichotomy, they are very recognisable in any debate on environmental issues.

As noted, it is now generally recognised that rural communities must play a role in conserving the world's biodiversity (Crush, 1995). The old conservation model now termed 'protectionism' relegated communities to the wings, while outside experts armed with fences, firearms and laws, became the official guardians of the natural environment. The new model however, theoretically places the people at the centre stage by empowering them to have access to natural resources and derive direct benefits from them. This is based on the philosophy of sustainable use.

In the last three decades, there was a quest for change in the area of conservation in Africa. Social organisations and academics began to challenge old conservation models. Crush (1995: 38) argues that conservation practices that were deeply embedded in the ideologies of imperial rule,

"demonstrate its follies and fallacies, limitations and liabilities as well as its creative concerns". A new conservation ethos has emerged with a strong emphasis that humans and their legitimate needs must be integrated into conservation. This emphasis marked a phenomenal shift in the conservation movement. The new ideas are contrary to the form of protectionist ideology that prevailed in the past century.

Pepper (1994) argues that the phenomenal shift in conservation began to take its shape in the early 1960's. These ideas were initiated by a shift from seeing game reserves as exclusive structures to nature reserves, which are to be used mutually (Pepper, 1984). Infield (1986) points out that reserve managers who have lived with the poor rural communities for a long time have often gradually accepted such transitions. He identifies the importance of ecological studies in the 1960's, which emphasised sustainable land use systems as essential for environmental health. Over time, conservation began to integrate broader issues.

In conserving the world's biological diversity, Kiss (1990) recognise the link between conservation, development and local people in protected areas. He explicitly suggests that:

> Protected areas will succeed in realising their conservation objectives only to the
> extent that the management of the lands surrounding them is compatible with the
> objectives of the protected areas. This will typically involve protected areas becoming part
> of larger regional schemes to ensure biological and social sustainability, and to deliver
> appropriate benefits to the rural population (Kiss, 1990: 136).

Across the rural development landscape, we often hear that state-based authority should be decentralised, responsibility devolved, participatory planning enhanced and that communities should be more accountable for their own development (Kiss, 1990). Current thinking therefore makes recommendations for linking traditional practices with wildlife conservation and development. Preservation by segregation is no longer sufficient when a park's very isolation can create a biological desert island (Western cited in Thomas, 2000).

The new concept that emerged from the marrying of conservation and community development is that of Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDP's). The strategy attempted to reverse 'top-down' conservation policies and adopt a more 'centrally driven' focus on the people that bear the costs of conservation (Western and Wright cited in Thomas, 2000). Wells and Brandon

(1993) define ICDP's as having the objective of enhancing biodiversity conservation through approaches, which attempt to address the needs, constraints and opportunities of local people.

Proponents of community conservation argue that the point at which the community's legitimate concerns and conservation imperatives interact in each particular case must be identified and used as a springboard for developing a holistic understanding of ecoconservation. Short-term socio-economic incentives must be provided to the community to facilitate the transition in land use activities and practices. Finally, conservation development must be founded on community empowerment and local participation in decision-making. Conservation initiatives need to harness community support and this can be achieved through community participation in design and implementation, which will enable the community to get a greater control over its future (Wells and Brandon, 1993).

The discourse surrounding this concept is an ever expanding and complex one, but it is increasingly important in Africa (Western and Wright, 1994). Some of the challenges facing Africa at the moment are the need to provide its population with food, education and primary health care. New development models are aimed at creating enduring difference to employment, while minimising the loss of biodiversity. Past and sometimes current conservation policies have generally failed to provide a viable and long-term solution to the underdevelopment problem. The concept of sustainable development is one, which has risen out of a merger between environment and development debates over the last two decades. The new vision centres on the inclusion rather than the exclusion of people and on linking conservation and development with human needs. Sustainable development is discussed in more detail later in the chapter.

2.3.1 Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

Community-based natural resource management (CBNRM), a term frequently used since the 1980's, means the increasing rapprochement between social justice and conservation management objectives in southern Africa. Community-based conservation in general, and ecotourism in particular, arose to correct human injustices and social impacts produced by prior models of protected area management that subordinated local peoples' welfare and rights, local economic development, to environmental preservation (Wells, 1995). Ribot (1995) argues that there are two fundamental elements of effective community-based natural resource management

- Firstly, local representation must be accountable

- Community participation which, involves influence over the disposition of resources (natural, financial, etc)

It is worthwhile to note that there is no single definition of Community Based Conservation, rather a number of definitions exist. These definitions agree that CBC entails the following:

- Protection of natural resources;
- Increased linkages between the local and expert knowledge;
- Meeting basic rural development needs;
- Increase local capacity and management skills;
- Facilitate investment in appropriate responses to natural resource degradation;
- Encourage l ocal i nitiative, r ather t han f oreign n atural r esource m anagement p rogrammes and
- Link wildlife or biodiversity protection and human benefits for social justice.

2.3.1.1 Challenges in community-based natural resource management

Working with indigenous people requires paying conscious attention to the issues and opportunities that arise from recognising and supporting the coexistence of people whose cultural values and institutions differ from those of the dominant culture. As a result thereof, conservation authorities, governments and external agencies have to enter into dialogues with local communities to identify specific avenues for appropriate collaboration. The following issues need to be scrutinised:

- Control of access to natural resources does not confer control of benefits from them. The focus on property rights as a tool is therefore not sufficient.
- State-driven and foreign led conservation programmes can reinforce historic political struggles within communities and intensify human injustices.
- Such trends suggest contradictions between community-based conservation discourse and practice by focussing attention only on the community and ignoring social and environmental impact of state actions and the global policies.
- Co-management must promote shared learning between local, traditional and so called modern approaches.
- Overemphasis given to income generation as an output and social benefits under-emphasised.

- Lack of clarity regarding power relations often exist.
- Conflict often arise between traditional leadership and emerging power structures.
- Increased complexity of project management arises because of social/ecological and economic interplay.

2.4 Culture and Environment

2.4.1 Culture: The missing element in conservation?

Often in debates about natural resources management, what is missing is an appreciation of the significance of culture. Peoples' level of development is a significant determinant in their relationship with wild nature. Modern nature conservation has been dominated by Western peoples' concerns with wild nature. These concerns are described by a "resourcism-preservationism" paradigm, whereas local people rely upon wild nature to maintain the integrity of their cultures. Local populations rely upon natural resources for purposes of survival and promoting development, which involves consumptive use of wildlife resources (Croll and Parkin, 1992).

Recent developments in the environmental management field have shown that the area of concern for environmental practitioners and natural resource managers should extend into the realm of integrating culture into natural resource management. There is a new interest in human-animal relationships within the field of cultural geography, as geographers are now drawing on approaches from anthropology and other disciplines. In more practical terms, there is also a greater interest in culture from practitioners of conservation. It is increasingly realised that cultural attitudes are very central in the way people behave in the environment and interact with natural resources.

2.4.2 Critical studies of Nature in Geography

Geographers argue that in one sense, nature is socially constructed (Croll and Parkin, 1992: 9). The perception of what nature should look like is largely visible in the national parks and also within our legislation on wildlife protection. As mentioned MacKenzie (1995) argues that the nineteenth century hunting cult in Britain had an extraordinary range of cultural manifestations, in which the hunting elite converted arable lands into new forms of planned wilderness. By so doing Mackenzie argues that conservationists did not only change the landscape, but also created a new topographical perception of what is nature. However, local communities continue to use natural resources that

they are legally denied access to. That suggests that local visions of the environment are not so easily dismissed, rather they play a crucial role in shaping the landscape

"Pristine nature" is a fine myth, carrying with it satisfying images of an idealised natural area, which has not yet been disturbed by the pernicious effects of humanity (Furze *et al*, 1996). Scholars argue that conservationists have sought to convert this myth into reality by establishing so called "wilderness areas". Game reserves and wildlife protectionist legislation have, from the start, been rooted in seperationist ideology (Carruthers, 1995). In South Africa, conservation was linked to an exclusivist national project. "The notion of conservation was used to mobilise an exclusive Afrikaner nationalism in which a mythologized figure of Paul Kruger was central" (Carruthers, 1995:61)

Contemporary constructions of certain forests as pristine wilderness draw on long-standing images of nature, for example in Clayoquot Sound, British Columbia, a struggle is being waged by conservationists to save old growth f orests. Analysis of t heir promotional material r eveals well-worn strategies through which the presence of native people is discursively contained. Native people were represented in photographs as just another aspect of landscape; their traditional and ecological culture appears as part of nature (Gomn *et al*, 1998). Cronon (1995) suggests that the first national parks in America, which reflected a new nostalgia for wilderness, were proclaimed just when the land and its people had been convincingly conquered and there was no more new territory to explore. For example the people could be easily moved out of these spaces, which were then invented as pristine wilderness areas for urbanites (Cronon, 1995).

Recent advances in ecology, landscape history and the social sciences have clearly indicated that all the landscapes we see today in all parts of the world have been profoundly influenced by human activity in the past. Seeking to maintain these areas in their current state, with their current diversity of species, is therefore a cultural response, a purposeful intervention by people to maintain something they value. Protected areas are therefore cultural artefacts. It is contended that constructing the myth of pristine nature to create protected areas in the Third World has positioned the wilderness areas with the imperialist and foreign arena, and that this has serious implications for community-based natural resource management (Zerner, 2000).

2.4.3 Human-animal relationships and "animal geographies"

Recent developments in human geography have shown that the area of concern for human geographers should extend into the realm of human-animal geographies. Most cultural geographers involved in the "animal geographies" project, stress the point that animals are not merely animate and that their significance to human society goes beyond the material (Brooks, 2001: 97). As Philo cited in Brooks (2001) put it, cultural geographers are increasingly interested in the "non-utilitarian aspects to how animals become embedded within broader societal orderings of respect and disgust".

The cultural geographer Kay Anderson interrogates the concept of "nature" in the context of the zoo. She argues that the zoos, as spaces in which animals are confined by people, must be seen as partaking in broader practices of human domestication and fixity (Anderson cited in Brooks, 2001: 110). Brooks (2001) argues that although the animals contained within zoos and game reserves, are not quite tame in the sense that pets are tame, zoos are nonetheless "supremely domesticated social products". They are spaces where both animals and humans operate within, and become mutually accustomed to, "conditions and terms laid out by humans".

This concerns the non-utilitarian and utilitarian aspects of human relations with animals. This view sees animals as more than "resources" and peoples' responses to them as complicated (Emel cited in Brooks, 2001: 96). Traditional hunting under controlled circumstances therefore means both utilitarian and non-utilitarian aspects of human nature relationship.

2.4.4 Indigenous knowledge and local environmental controls

Local knowledge, also referred to as indigenous knowledge, is knowledge that people in a given community have and continue to develop over time, hence it is unique to a given social group. This body of knowledge is acquired by local people through their experiences based on tradition and culture with a blend of more recent experiences with modern technologies. Local knowledge is therefore dynamic and changing (Rajasekaran, 1993).

In most conservation efforts, local knowledge has been a greatly neglected resource, especially in poverty situations and fragile ecosystems. Too seldom has environmental planning and conservation involved community and popular participation. The people who continue their existence at traditional levels today are people who live within the limits established by their local environments (Dasmann, 1972).

Johnston (1987) argues that if living resource conservation for integrated natural resource management and development is to be achieved in many areas of the "global village", administrators, planners and conservationists, must take into account the very large reservoirs of traditional conservation knowledge and experience within local cultures. These knowledge resources provide a significant basis for sound management policies and environmental planning actions. There is a need to provide the means for local people, who often maintain ecologically sound practices, to play a primary role in wildlife resource management in the areas they identify with, so that they can participate and benefit directly, in a manner that is consistent with their values.

There has been a worldwide shift from preservation of the natural environment towards sustainable utilisation. This shift in natural resource management activities came about in the 1970's with the realisation by managers that natural resources are threatened, especially in developing countries, where rural populations are dependent on them and seldom have alternatives (Omara-Ojungu cited in Mkhulisi, 2000). Development organisations began to design international strategies to alleviate such threats. The World Conservation Strategy was one of those strategies developed by IUCN, UNEP and WWF in 1980. This report aimed to stimulate achievement of sustainable development through conservation of natural resources (Seydack *et al*, 2002).

Although the World Conservation Strategy has been very well received and is obviously a most important document for preserving natural resources, it has been pointed out that it says too little about the cultural dimension, about the value of different ways of life and about popular aspirations. Cultural geographers argue that the fundamental need for tribal survival and cultural viability is continued habitation of the traditional land areas and use of natural resources because the community's belief systems are tightly woven into the particular land areas inhabited and used to obtain their needs.

The following section therefore moves on to discuss the theoretical framework considered useful for the purposes of this thesis. The theories of environmental and social justice in sustainable development will be interrogated. It is argued that social justice and sustainable development principles of participation and equity should be linked as essential elements of sustainability and community-based natural resource management.

2.5 Introduction to Social and Environmental Justice

2.5.1 Social and Environmental Justice

There is an increasing and legitimate concern that conservation needs to be located within the social justice context. The social justice movement began in America as activists became concerned with people being deprived of their environmental rights (McDonald, 2002). Achieving social justice was viewed as a political action requiring social mobilisation that marshals public and private commitment to change, marrying environmental, social equity and civil rights movements into a single potent political force. Those concerned with issues of social justice in conservation argue that local communities must be provided with adequate and just compensation packages.

In the African context, during the 1960's researchers have realised that the survival of wildlife outside heavily protected areas was dependent on the goodwill of local people because the latter would be unwilling to conserve something that brought them more problems than benefits (Murphree, 1991). From a social justice perspective, conservation schemes need to recognise that people have both practical and spiritual connections with nature (Zerner, 2000).

In any theory of justice, the central issue is the defensibility of unequal relations between people (Smith, 1995). Smith (1995) further argues that in modern industrial societies, justice requires a social commitment to meeting the basic needs of all people. The principle of social justice can only be achieved through equalization, i.e. a process of returning to a state of human equality with respect to some relevant conception of living standards. This requires mainly the recognition that human beings are the same. Human beings have some things in common, except for some obvious differences in tastes and skin pigmentation. Specific sets of needs as universal features of being human exist.

These include basic needs to survive, to be healthy, to be able to fulfil ones cultural and ritual needs and to be able to function properly (Smith, 1995). Although there are context-dependent requirements for human well being, Smith identifies these as context independent. This is because the universal needs are physiological, need for food, shelter and so on, as well as the psychological desire to be cared for and the social need for security. It is a fact therefore that human welfare requires enjoyment of such historically constant and culturally invariant needs created by human nature. Smith (1995) refers to the satisfaction of such needs as primary values, whereas the satisfaction needs that vary with traditions and their conception of a good life are referred to as

secondary values. As certain things are obviously bad for some people, whoever and wherever they may be, similar things are likely to be good for others (Smith cited in Ninela, 2002).

2.5.2 Social and Environmental Justice in the context of Conservation

Equity in conservation concerns the way conservation activities affect the quality of life of individuals and communities. As indicated in the earlier sections of this chapter insensitive conservation schemes may cause an uneven spread of costs and benefits over space and time. Such uneven distribution is inevitable because conservation measures often imply changes in the existing patterns of resource access and use as well as broader livelihood practices. Cultural practices such as hunting with dogs have been excluded.

Previously, national a nd regional conservation schemes involving the establishment of p rotected areas and biodiversity reserves too often overlooked the concerns and needs of local communities. In enhancing equity and social justice in conservation, the peoples' concerns need to be incorporated into the choice of design of conservation measures and the implementation of specific activities. For a l ocally based conservation initiative to succeed, it will be necessary to transfer responsibility and resources to local communities. It must initiate property reforms relating to ownership, use and access to resources and strengthen the technical and capabilities of local institutions (Neumann, 1996).

Fortunately, the situation is changing, albeit slowly in South Africa. Participatory approaches require N on G overnmental O rganisations (NGO's) a nd o ther r elated social i nstitutions to p lay a catalyst role in involving communities in environmental situation analysis, choosing, designing and implementing their conservation programmes. O'Riordan and Jordan (2000) propose that an understanding of the social context within which policies and practices are undertaken provides for a 'situated knowledge' of environmental partnership theory and practice.

Social justice in a democratic South Africa demands that the land claims of dispossessed local communities should be addressed. This has been underlined by provisions in the Constitution for land restitution and related legislation. Legally recognised land claims have the potential to unravel conservation efforts and dismantle many protected areas in the name of social justice. The South African National Parks Board took the initiative to establish a Land Claims Committee and set out

in a policy document its commitment to settling such claims by negotiations, mindful of the need to balance social justice and its mandate to conserve biodiversity (Smith, 1995).
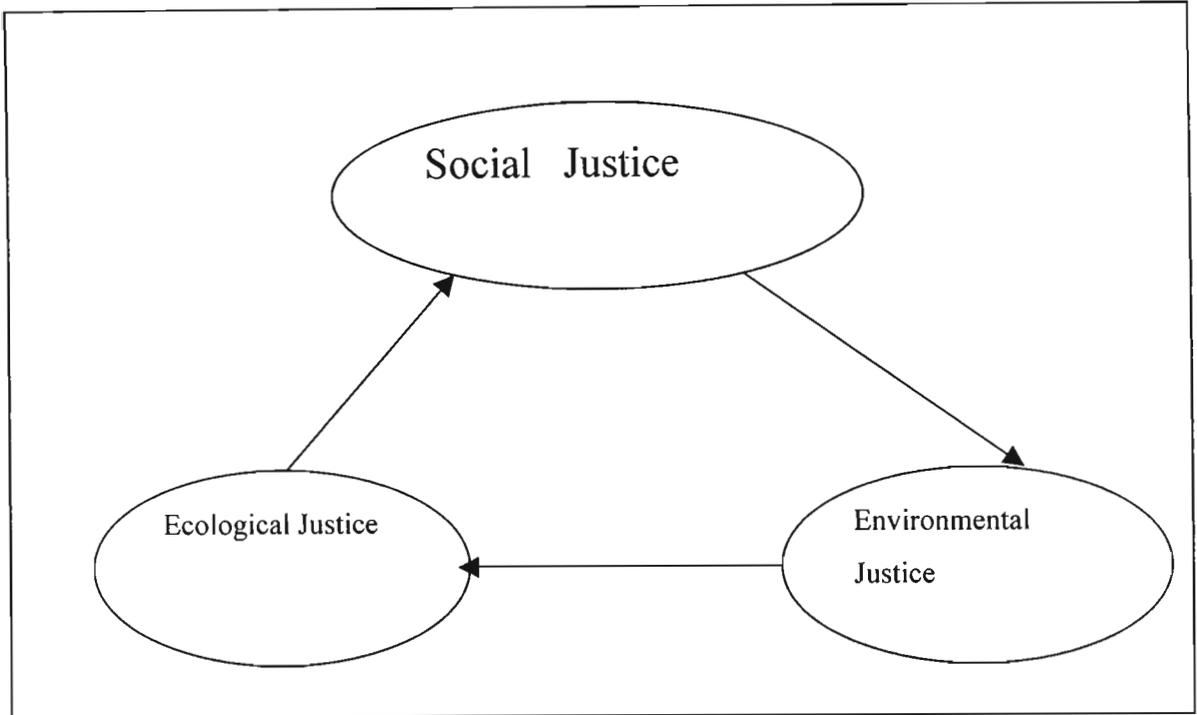
Figure 2.1 Social Justice Diagram (Smith, 1995)

Social justice also brings together the most important components of sustainable development in the 21st century (Smith, 1995). Figure 2.1 above indicates the fact that social justice precedes environmental and ecological justice. It further indicates the importance of making people want to protect their natural resources through equitable access to wildlife resources. The picture painted above enables the developing world to fulfil its need for conservation whilst ensuring that local people have access to natural resources. Conservation programs that improve peoples' quality of life will ensure an agreed level of community support (Murphree, 1991).

As noted, environmental justice has its origins in the grassroots campaign of local communities in the 1970's in the USA. These campaigns sought to oppose the racially discriminatory distribution of hazardous waste and polluting industries in the USA (Mitlin *et al*, 1994). The rationale of environmental justice is the distribution of environmental quality, which is regarded as a central aspect of well being of individuals and communities. Since environmental justice concerns the

instrumental interest people share in having a safe, healthy and pleasant environment in which to live, it is therefore a critical question for justice (Mitlin *et al*, 1994).

Like any other aspect of well being, environmental quality comprises both 'good' and 'bad' elements. These elements are distributed across communities, nations and globally. Of importance is the role played by social values in determining both the nature of these distributions and satisfaction with them. A distinction can therefore be made between environmental goods and environmental bads. By environmental 'goods' is meant those resource uses, which are both socially valued and have potential to enhance individual well being (Low and Gleeson, 1998). Environmental 'bads' means those resource uses that are socially unacceptable, as they lack capacity to sustain individual well being.

An environmental justice approach potentially provides new insights into nature conservation problems in the Third World. Yet this potential will only be realised if environmental justice is linked to a broader 'political ecology' view, relating local resource use with the operation of global commodity markets (Zerner, 2001). In South Africa, the environmental justice concept and its gradual integration into conservation ideology coincided with the development of a more socially responsive ideology rather than 'environmental elitism' (Khan, 2002).

Conservation programs that protect natural wildlife resources for sustainable utilisation and development are necessary. Such programs improve peoples' lives and help develop national and local economies (World Bank, 1990). Naughton-Treves (1997) however, has noted that a good environment for non-human nature is not necessarily the same thing as a good environment for humans. A good environment for some groups may not necessarily be a good one for other groups (Low and Gleeson cited in Ninela, 2002). Social justice as equalization therefore provides some insight, which might help provide an answer as to what is good and bad (Smith, 1995).

The history of conservation and development has created different interests in, and relationships to the environment. This puts the environment at the centre of complex and contradictory interests. Motel (1999) points out that ecoconservation places everyone in an ambiguous relationship with the environment. These scholars further argue that even if the costs and benefits are evenly spread, everyone is implicated in the causes and everyone is therefore subjected to the consequences (Low

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and Gleeson cited in Ninela, 2002). Motel (1999:96) points out "rural communities are the first to experience the toxic effects of marginalisation and as such they are the guinea pigs of our society".

2.5.3 Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs

Maslow's proposed hierarchy of human needs is useful in analysing the two case studies presented in this thesis. Though Maslow's hierarchy was developed by modern psychologists to understand human satisfaction, Thomson (1992) has used this theory to show how wildlife resources can satisfy the needs of local communities. This theory is critical in evaluating human development within a specific social context.

The theory is important because it will highlight some of the implications of not incorporating all the elements of human needs in natural resource management programmes. Some of these implications have already been highlighted earlier in the chapter.

Maslow's work suggests that one of the missing links in human attempts to achieve successful wildlife management programmes is consideration of the needs of humans (Thomson, 1992). Maslow argues that humans strive constantly to satisfy various needs, which are purely associated with their survival. According to Thomson (1992), these comprise of human needs for air, water, food, shelter and warmth. The second group of needs is classified as being the learned 'higher order' needs. Maslow allotted to these a hierarchy of priority because he realised that it is difficult for humans to satisfy any of the first group before fulfilling the lower order needs. As humans progress higher up the hierarchal needs scale the quality of life improves (Thomson, 1992).

According to Maslow's theory, humans will risk everything to satisfy the low order needs. When humans have satisfied their needs from low order up to higher order needs, they then seek self esteem from social and cultural needs (see Figure 2.2 below). The theory becomes relevant to the current thesis because as Thomson argues, it is only when rural communities are allowed to use wildlife that they will be prepared to look after them voluntarily as they do their domesticated animals (Thomson, 1992).
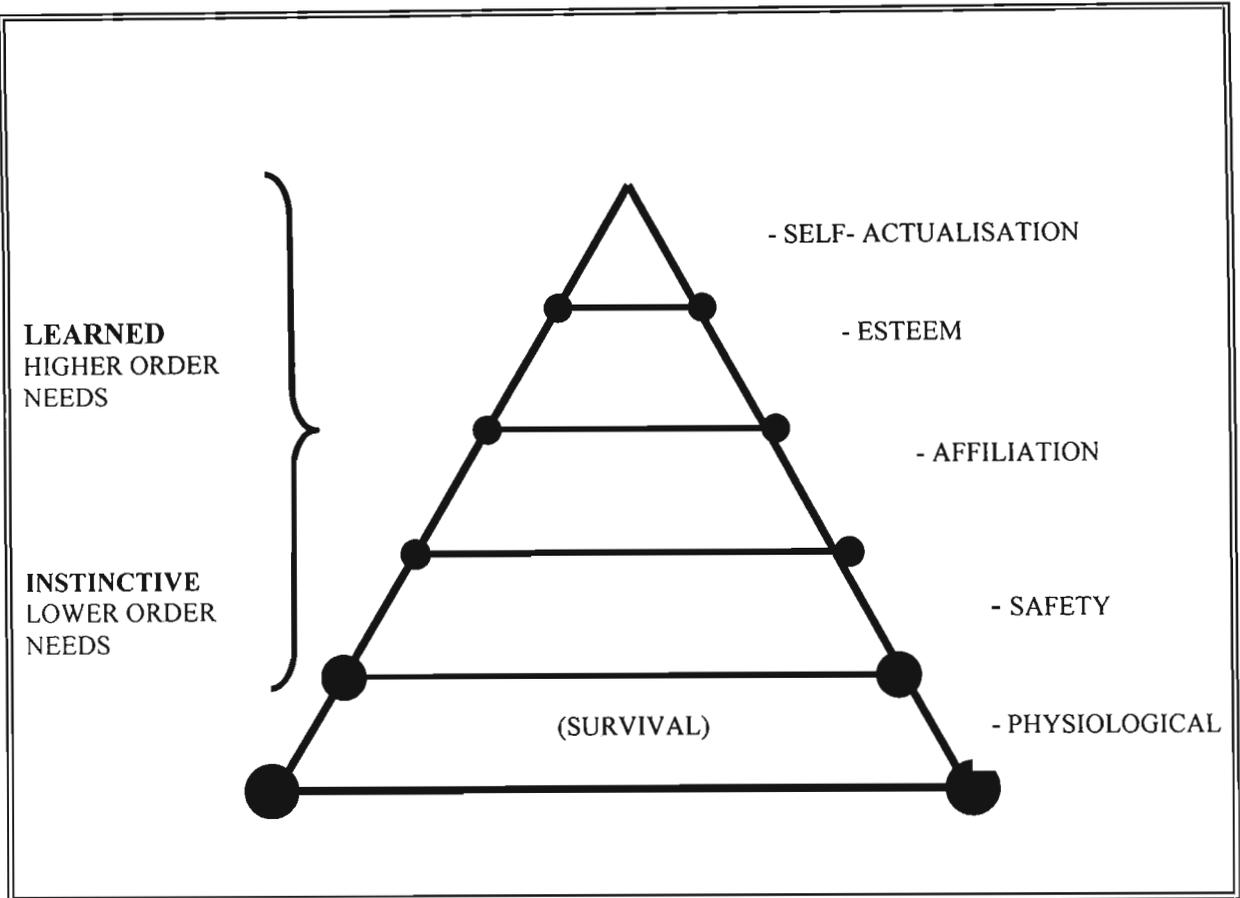
Figure 2.2: Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs (Thomson (1992)

2.6 Theories of Sustainable Development

The sustainable development concept, although relatively new in policy discourse in South Africa, has spread rapidly through policy circles and has already been formally adopted in key policy documents and in recent legislation. The concept has gained its strength through its association with the democracy and transformation process in South Africa. It has been identified as a possible alternative development model (Patel, 1999).

Sustainable development has become an internationally accepted keyword for a political discourse committed to quality of life, the conservation of natural resources and a sense of obligation to future generations (Becker and Jahn, 1999). The wide range of interpretations given to this concept has shown that there is no single and accepted definition. It shows that there is no clear path or model

for achieving sustainable development (Reid, 1995). The strength of sustainable development lies in the fact that it can accommodate different and sometimes opposing fields. As argued by Thomson (1992), sustainable development brings together discourses that have traditionally been separated, and uses them to ask different questions. It is therefore with this aspect in mind that sustainability is adopted here to reflect on wildlife utilization and natural resource management in KwaZulu-Natal.

The main principles underlying sustainable development are clearly spelt out by Redclift (1987), Scott and Oelofse (1998). The first principle involves recognition that in order to achieve sustainable development, actions of people living today should not limit the choices and opportunities for future generations. Furthermore it contends that societies should take responsibility to tackle underlying injustices in the present between different communities and social groups in the society (Motel, 1999). Secondly, sustainable development contends that local policy and practices should be designed, developed and implemented so as to address local and global problems. Sustainable development principles further argue for transparency and fair treatment of people through the use of regulatory and participatory systems (Sowman, 2000). Finally, sustainable development is concerned with the improvement of the overall quality of life as in cost-effective development, facilitating access to natural resources, shelter and people centred initiatives (Munslow, cited in Mkhulisi, 2000).

As a comprehensive approach to environmental problems becomes necessary, the focus is increasingly on the concept of the environment as a whole not only its individual components. Sustainable development applies a comprehensive definition of the 'environment', which accounts for the physical environment as well as the interdependence of human kind and its social, cultural and physical life support systems (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992). For sustainable development, the concern is not only with the natural environment, it also embraces the human environment, the health, social and other human made conditions affecting human's place on earth.

Sustainable development therefore brings together two strands of thought about the utilisation and management of natural resources as well as management of human activities. One is concentrating on development goals and the other on controlling or limiting the harmful impacts of human activities on the environment (Hardoy et al, 1993). Environment management objectives have been broadened to include a desire for a greater prosperity, better social conditions as well as better social standards (Mitlin and Satterthwaite, 1994).

2.6.1 Sustainable Development Conservation and Social Justice

The loss of natural habitat and breakdown in indigenous and subsistence ways of life caused by development has been a potent focus for environmentalists and conservationists. First World environmentalism however, has done more than simply broaden its global scope. There has been a self-conscious effort to move beyond environmental protection and transformation of conservative thinking by appropriating ideas and concepts from the field of development. This is evident, for example in the almost universal adoption of the sustainable development phrase.

Concern about the state of the natural environment has deep historical roots, which can be traced back decades. It is the nature and the scale of these environmental concerns and their political importance that has grown and changed considerably since the inception of environmental protests in the 1960's. These debates about environmental issues were directed at the local level and occasionally regional level and none appeared to be noticed at the global level. This was because environmental problems grew visibly at local level to regional level and eventually at global level (Ngobese and Cock, 1995).

After that realisation, environmental concerns at global level became dominant and a centre of concern, for example the impact of human activities on the environment became increasingly clear and a link was recognised between broader aspects of social and economic development as well as the environmental concerns. Most of these environmental issues have connections to each other although these connections may not always be obvious or easy to trace.

Sustainable development is generally interpreted as the theoretical framework used to define the human-environment relationship in the twenty first century (Beckerman, 1995). While an early expression of sustainable thinking is contained in the World Conservation Strategy (WCS) report of 1977, the notion of sustainable development is usually associated with the 1987 report of the World Commission on Environment and Development (WECD), Brundtland Report.

Sustainable development relies on ensuring that the local and global environmental resources on which communities depend are maintained and enhanced. The details and practicalities of sustainable development theory have been debated and built up over a series of conferences and reports to give rise to the detailed formulation of a set of principles for achieving sustainable development. Although there have been some criticisms to the concept, sustainable development

has been guiding, and continues to guide a great deal of development thinking. The concept has commanded widespread support, becoming an accepted part of the rhetoric of the Third World and First World politicians and NGO's (Adams, 1993). The concept has been instrumental in changing the perception that the environment is a luxury affordable only to the rich. The idea now is that the environment is a necessity both for survival and for economic development (Bayliss- Smith and Owens, 1994). This view soon began to transform the way the governments, development planners and policy makers formed policies and carried them out. It also provided for development actors, such as conservation agencies as custodians of the natural heritage in most countries of the world, to have an effective voice in how development should take place.

As indicated in the introductory part of this chapter, this thesis views integrated natural resource management as a flexible concept. The following quotation, which compares sustainable development and sustainability, provides direction for the line of thought that this study follows:

> "While sustainability is taken to refer to the long-term health of global ecology, sustainable development is about long-term enhancement of human social, cultural and economic well being, currently threatened by our own poisoning of our habitat" (Barton cited in Mkhulisi, 2000).

Sustainability implies maintaining the level of ecological health of the environment while maintaining the well being of humans so that it might at least improve rather than decline (Beckerman, 1994). A Dutch scientist pointed out that sustainability is not something to be defined but to be declared, it is an ethical guiding principle. By definition sustainable development is seen as an immediate action that will last a long time. The well being of both present and future generation is being sustained. This argument is supported by the Brundtland Report of 1987, which defines sustainable development as the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the needs of the future generations.

To achieve sustainable development, conservation of both natural and cultural resources is essential. It is argued that pressure on resources, particularly natural resources, increases when people have few or no choices. Bayliss-Smith and Owens (1994) argues that one way to overcome this pressure is through developmental policies providing opportunities for linking wildlife protection with socio-cultural values of the communities. Some proponents of integrated natural resource management

argue that biodiversity conservation role of protected areas can increasingly be integrated with the process of social, economic and political development based on models of ecological sustainability.

Patel (1999) makes some useful suggestions on how to achieve equity in resource use, which include the establishment of property rights, the assignment of both use and non-use value to natural resources as well as the initiation of participatory resource protection and management programmes. Patel (1999) further contends that equity in conservation concerns the way conservation activities affect the quality of life of individuals and communities. In southern Africa, the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) project in Zimbabwe, which was designed to give full control of wildlife management to local communities, was only partially successful (Metcalf cited in Furze *et al*, 1996: 185). In Zimbabwe, different community groups took part in tourism ventures deriving from the wildlife management programme. T here w ere d isproportionately u neven b enefits f or rural c ommunities. This e xample suggests the need for natural resource management to be decentralised and development to be re-conceptualised.

2.6.2 Public Participation as a component of Sustainable Development

Community empowerment, participation and equity are some of the tools that are provided by this paradigm (Adams, 1993). These tools can be used to contain the trend that has been created by patterns of inequality and the deteriorating state of the natural environment already alluded to. Due to increased public interest in access, utilisation and management of natural resources and the global shifts in perceptions of environmental problems and their consequent management, there has been a shift to more participatory approaches in environmental management practice (Cock, 1995). New policies and legislation have been promulgated globally and in South Africa, and new approaches to governance sought, so as to ensure the involvement of local communities in environmental decision-making.

Allen (1999) defines participation as a process of democratising the knowledge generation process. He further makes the point that the inclusion of all stakeholders enables communities to take responsibility and control of their own life situations. Most practitioners in the environmental management field agree that public participation constitutes more than mere consultation, and that it incorporates the public as an equal partner in decision-making (Cock, 1995). True participation involves decisions being taken and plans being formulated on the local level.

Participation is further defined as a process of inquiry and dialogue through which stakeholders can influence and share control over development initiatives and decisions affecting them. It ensures that stakeholders feel a sense of ownership and commitment to the whole process (O'Riordan, 2000). The participatory process can generally be viewed as a four-phase process, (see figure 2.3). O'Riordan (2000) suggests that the first phase is the problem identification phase followed by reflection and deeper analysis of needs, which enables implementation of the next phase of decision-making. The last phase is the action-taking phase.

Common practice however, is participatory short-circuiting, whereby the process moves straight from phase one to four. In this case, the problems are identified in line with the needs of the community, although conservation and development agencies alone determine the causes of these problems and make decisions on how to deal with them independently. They then disseminate information and attempt to mobilise communities for action with the hope of instilling a sense of ownership and commitment to the project. The community will however, not buy into such processes under normal conditions; since they were not properly involved, hence the process and project will fail (O'Riordan, 2000).

One perception of participation is that it only means consultation, initiation of action and negotiations (Cock, 1995). However this is just one form that participation may take. In most cases, participation also means being involved in accepting decisions actually made by outside agencies. Participation has been described as 'empowering' people to mobilise their own capacities, to become social actors rather than passive subjects, make decisions and control activities affect their lives (Cernea cited in Ninela, 2001). Wells (1995) argued that participation is neither a humanitarian appeal for social equity nor ethical advocacy. It is a basic requirement for inducing development (Cernea, 1991). Adams (1993) says that participation must be seen as a fundamental building block and not just another element of projects. Participation means bringing people not only into decision-making but also resource mobilization and management. Conservation and sustainable development must thus develop approaches based on their own specific needs, addressing questions such as how to elicit participation in specific cultural and environmental contexts.

The possibility of a sustainable future hinges on the rights and responsibilities of people to participate in the decisions that affect their lives and those of future generations (Wells, 1995). It is

therefore the view of this study that the public participation component of sustainable development be implemented with a sense of urgency. Involvement of all people in all aspects of planning and development programmes that affect them is a fundamental requirement of sustainable of sustainable development. This means more than just consultation or asking people what they think. Experience has shown that public participation is most successful when it is started at the outset of any development process, and is maintained throughout all the stages of the project cycle (Sexton and Marcus, 1999).

The participation concept needs to be translated into action in order to challenge its application as a politically attractive slogan and an economically appealing proposition. Such application has been used to legitimise essentially top down policymaking process through manipulation. There is a need for a shift towards the creation of an environment where all relevant sectors contribute in attempts directed a t m eeting t heir n eeds. O nly i n t his w ay w ill a n e quitable a ccess t o r esources, through conservation and development will be achieved.

This emphasis on public involvement may seem unnecessary for community-based initiatives, which are started and driven by communities themselves. But Hardoy *et al* (1993) argue that it is important for decision makers such as local authorities and for people on representative community forums to ensure that conservation and development processes are as participatory as possible. This will promote a better integration of communities, a step towards sustainability. Local authorities and community representatives have a responsibility to seek broad based support for community-based conservation. They need to encourage participation of their constituencies in decision-making process to facilitate community empowerment through ecoconservation (Khan, 1998).

Figure 2.3 below illustrates the importance of effective participation to ensure that projects are sustainable. In order to ensure this, stakeholders should be included in all four stages. Under such circumstances, people gain confidence and are therefore more likely to support such projects. They have pride having been able to exercise their decision-making power. Edgerton in O'Riordan *et al* (2000) argues that participation is not uniform; rather it involves a continuum of approaches ranging from information dissemination, collaboration, consultation and political representation to participatory research. It can occur in four different ways, firstly information sharing, which is usually a one-way flow of information to the public. Second is consultation, which is a two-way flow of information between co-ordinators. Third is collaboration, which refers to shared control

over decision-making. The last is empowerment, which involves transfer of control over decision-making and resources to all (Edgerton in O' Riordan, 2000).
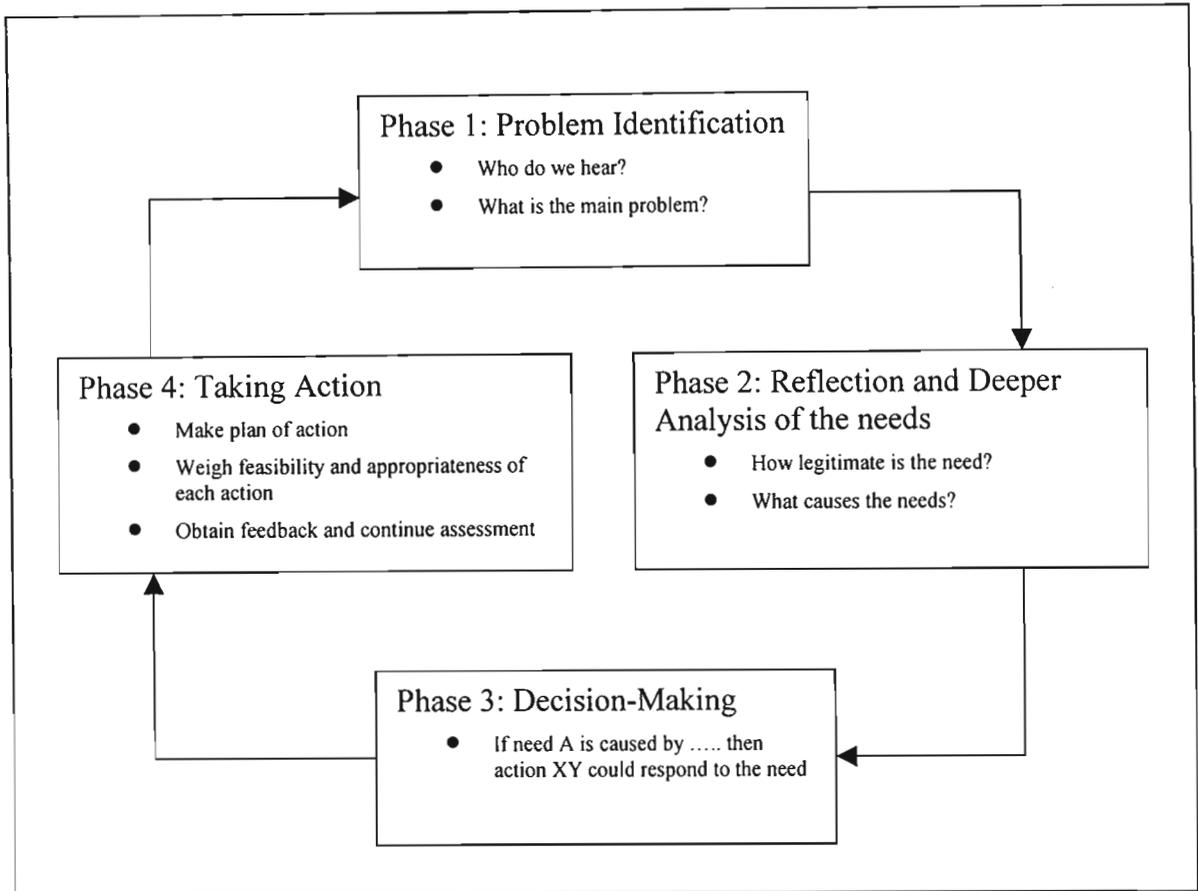
Figure 2.3: The Participation Cycle (O'Riordan, 2000)

There are two broad arguments for community participation, namely the ethical and the efficiency goals.

1) Ethical goals: the ethical argument says people have to be respected and therefore be involved in those things that affect their lives. This is a democracy norm.

2) Efficiency goal: the efficiency argument is that people will identify with and own the product in which they participate. Efficiency in community participation may be achieved by involving people in any decisions about financial commitments and resource use. Le Roux (in Motel, 1999) argues that the main goals of community participation are to create conditions within local government that are conducive to realising greater equity, to enable

local communities to seek redress for past discrimination, and to effect equitable allocation of resources.

Constraints inherent to the participation process

- Creation of parallel participatory processes that are not integrated with existing social and political structures.
- Limited trust, conflicting interests and differing bargaining powers between stakeholder groups that result in disorganisation of the process and the abuse of confidences.
- Diverse perceptions by different stakeholders concerning the participation process and the issues of concern or the problems.
- Exaggerated expectations of the participation process by some of the stakeholders
- Insufficient information sharing.
- Poorly planned participation processes that are open ended and not realistically budgeted for, or process that is just token efforts.
- Lack of political will among government agents to allow wide participation because of fear of loss of power or influence.
- Limited time.
- Consultation fatigue.
- Lack of scientific knowledge to participate meaningful; and
- Self-interest and wide differences of opinions amongst individual participants.

(Edgerton in O'Riordan, 2000)

This framework essentially focuses on bringing scientific and local knowledge systems together into a single, accessible and structured focal point, to support the identification and adoption of more sustainable resource management practices (Blowers, 1997). Cock (1995) refers to this as the alternative progressive perspective to environmental management which could possibly be the only option for much of the developing world. Only when conservation of natural resources and development is linked with peoples' varied interactions with and within it, will it become sustainable (Sexton and Marcus, 1999).

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2.7 Evaluating public participation in the context of community-based natural resource management

"The future of conservation lies in getting the cooperation, understanding and participation of the local people" (Adams, 1993). Proponents of co-management believe that a conservation strategy centred on people's participation is supported by compelling logic and impressive evidence. The proponents argue that the fate of the environment in Africa and else where in the world is determined by the interactions between millions of peasants, herders, nomads, hunters, forest dwellers and the natural resources from which they derive their livelihood. These stakeholders are said to have a greater interest in the health and integrity of the environment than any outside parties because their very existence and way of life are all at stake. Besides, indigenous communities have a deep and intimate knowledge of the local ecology, the flora and fauna, knowledge born out of centuries of constant interaction with the environment and handed down from generation to generation (Ghai, 1990).

In evaluating public participation in environmental decision-making in the context of co-management, the two goals of public participation i.e. ethical and efficiency goals, will be used as criteria to analyse the two case studies of a community game reserve and a private farm. Specific incentives for community-based natural resource management will also be used as criteria for measuring the change in both case studies.

2.8 Summary

Chapter Two has discussed literature on the past and present approaches to wildlife conservation and hunting. The issues of hunting and access to wildlife resources in colonial Africa, new approaches to wildlife conservation, the management of wildlife resource under different property regimes as well as environment and culture have been covered. The chapter also provided a comprehensive discussion on the broader theories of social, environmental justice and sustainable development. Focus was placed on the theory of social justice and sustainable development as well as Maslow's hierarchy of human need theory as internationally accepted keywords in the last two decades. The models and principles such as equity and quality of life will play an important role in shaping the analysis and results chapter of this thesis. The following chapter will provide the policy context, social context and background to the case studies.

Chapter Three

Background to the Study

3.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the policies governing conservation and hunting in KwaZulu-Natal as well as the nature of the two study areas, Inhluzani farm in the Impendle magisterial district and Mpembeni Community Game Reserve at Hluhluwe. The chapter discusses the location and size, physical environment, land uses and various activities around the community game reserve and Inhluzani farm respectively. The first part of the chapter explores the conservation policy context in KwaZulu-Natal with particular reference to the regulation of hunting. The second part places Inhluzani farm and the Mpembeni community game reserve in context. The history of conservation in these two areas is considered and the location of the private farm and the community game reserve in relation to the surrounding communities is described.

3.2 Policy Context and Legislative Framework

The increasing incidence of traditional hunting in KwaZulu-Natal necessitated the need for clear and effective legislation to address the issue. The KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act, No. 5 of 1999 aims, amongst other things, to provide for the conservation of plants and animals, control of hunting (including traditional hunting with dogs), and the issue of enforcement permits. (The original act was the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Act, No. 9 of 1997).

The 1999 KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act (see Appendix B) effectively legalizes traditional hunting with dogs within the province. It is important though to note that the Act legalises traditional hunting under controlled circumstances. According to the Act, a traditional hunter is defined in a particular manner. A traditional hunter is defined as a person, on foot, who hunts an animal using a dog or traditional weapon, but not by means of a firearm (Section 1, (q)(2). As such, this definition would seem to encompass traditional hunting with dogs. However, while the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act (KZNNCMAA) has been passed by provincial parliament and gazetted, until such time as regulations necessary to supplement the Act are finalised, the Act will not come into force.

At present the law enforcement provisions are still dealt with by the remaining sections of the Natal Nature Conservation Ordinance 15 of 1974, see Appendix A and KZN Conservation Act of 1992 (Mr. van Rensburgh, pers. comm. 28-09-2002). Thus the KZNNCMAA is yet to legalize traditional hunting u nder v ery s trict a nd c ontrolled c ircumstances a s set o ut b y t his A ct a nd s ome r elevant sections of the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1974. The legal framework is discussed below.

Under the current legal framework, anyone wishing to take part in a traditional hunt is required to comply with a number of guidelines. The first is that written permission to hunt must be acquired from the landowner of the farm or area on which one intends to hunt. The letter specifies the property name, the area in which it is located, the animal species to be hunted, and the numbers of each gender that may be hunted (Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1974, see Appendix A).

In addition to this, a person may not participate in a traditional hunt unless he or she holds a relevant permit (KZNNCMAA, Section 72, see Appendix B). Such a permit authorises a landowner or (subject to certain conditions) an occupier, either to hunt on his or her own land or to permit licensed hunters to hunt on such land, but only to the quota of game specified in the permit. This is issued by the Chief Executive Officer of the provincial conservation authority i.e. Ezenvelo KZN Wildlife or by a person authorised to do so in writing by the Chief Executive Officer, subject to the prescribed conditions and payment of the prescribed fees. These conditions may be prescribed by the Minister, on recommendation by the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services Board (KZNNCS) and after consultation with the House of Traditional Leaders.

Currently each proposed hunt is considered on its own merits, however it appears necessary for a clear set of guidelines to be established for hunting in both tribal areas and on farmlands, to ensure that appropriate standards and regulations are set for traditional dog hunting. Currently for traditional hunts the permit is given on a once off basis, in that it is only valid for one specified traditional hunt, and only for the particular period for which it is issued. By definition, this period is the maximum duration of the hunt (KZNCCMAA, Section 72). The permit will also specify the specific area in which the hunt will take place.

Finally, in accordance with the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1974, any hunter who is not hunting on his own land, is required to buy a licence for the game he or she intends to hunt, whether it is Ordinary or Protected game as defined by the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1974. Such

licences can be obtained from KZNNCS or its tourism management body Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, or any sports shop with licences in stock. This applies to both the closed season and to the open season.

There is a difficulty here in terms of traditional hunting. Because of the unselective nature of traditional hunting with dogs, neither the nature of the species nor the sex will be known prior to the hunt, exempting exceptional circumstances. As a consequence, obtaining both relevant permits and licences is likely to be somewhat problematic. This problem has not been addressed directly by the new Act, and it is something that will have to be carefully considered when drawing up regulations concerning this type of hunting. A partial solution might be provided by allowing hunting only in areas where rare or endangered species do not occur.

Transgressions of the Act are of course punishable by law. The KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act states that if any person negligently or intentionally contravenes this Act, he or she commits an offence and is liable for imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten years, or a fine, or both imprisonment and a fine.

3.2.1 Decision-Making with respect to wildlife resources in KwaZulu-Natal

Several bodies have a direct interest in environmental activities related to wildlife utilization in KwaZulu-Natal. These are the provincial conservation authority, KZNNCS/Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, the Wildlife and Environmental Society of South Africa, the National Society for the Protection of Animals, and the House of Traditional Leaders (KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Amendment Act, 1999). Each is briefly examined here.

Apart from its role in protecting the wildlife resources in KwaZulu-Natal, KZN Wildlife is committed to the fulfilment of basic human needs by all the people of KwaZulu-Natal in relation to the utilisation of natural resources. The provincial conservation body is responsible for authorising controlled hunting expeditions within the province. Over the years, KZN Wildlife has succeeded in establishing a working relationship with traditional authorities, elected community leaders, and wildlife resource users, such as traditional hunters. In some instances there have been some differences in the sense that traditional authorities (*amakhosi)* still view wildlife in tribal areas as a communal resource whilst KZN Wildlife does not. These differences sometimes culminate into

tensions (KZNNCS Chief Conservator pers.comm.12-12-2001). Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife also concentrates on educating people about the value of wildlife resources through workshops.

As the provincial conservation organisation, Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife has a significant interest in traditional hunting and customary requirements (Mr K Mkhize pers.comm. 28- 09- 2002). The Chief Executive Officer, Mr. Mkhize, expressed the view that it is important for traditional hunting to take place on communal land and not only on private land, although currently the preference in newly established community conservation areas is not for this form of hunting.

The Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA) and the National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (NSPCA) both focus on environmental protection and welfare of animals. Their concerns regarding traditional hunting are the targeting of endangered species, the destruction of biodiversity, and the concern that there are insufficient hunting areas to sustain this form of hunting. These bodies are concerned that the South African national constitution be amended to allow the recognition of animals as sentient beings. They stress the need to define "tradition" in the context of conservation and co-management.

The House of Traditional Leaders, strong proponents of traditions and customary practices as well as wildlife protection, argue that *inqina* (or group traditional hunting) for instance should be organised by a traditional leader or *inkosi* with a hunt leader nominated for his knowledge, experience and expertise. They argue that traditions are not static, but on the other hand should not be changed just for the sake of changing. They are of the view that these types of hunts can be carried out only in communal land. "If carried out in private land, these hunts would no longer be traditional as the land is not traditional but privately owned" (*Inkosi* Mzimela. pers. comm. 28- 09- 2002). The House of Traditional Leaders views traditional hunting as a way of fulfilling customary ideals.

The next section considers the socio-economic and physical context of each of the case study areas, as well as explaining the history of conservation and land ownership in each area. The location of the two areas is shown on Figure 3.1 below. The first case study is that of the Impendle area of the Natal midlands.
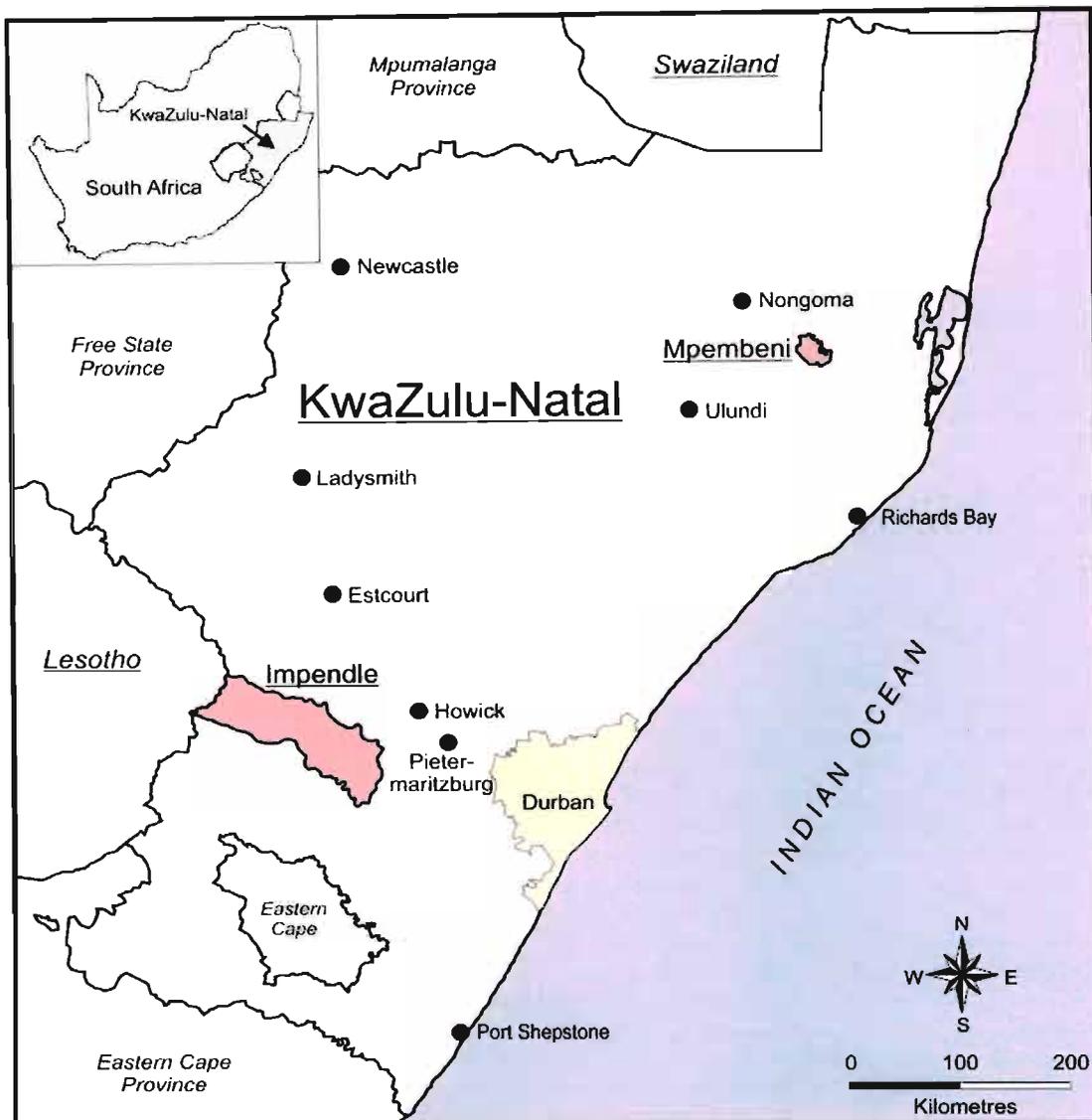
Figure 3.1 Map showing the two study areas in KwaZulu-Natal

3.3 Social and Physical Context of Impendle and Inhluzani Farm

3.3.1 Socio-Economic Context and Land Use

The current population of the Impendle Magisterial District is estimated at about 39482 (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Population density is about 24 people per square kilometre with an average number of people per household of 5.15. The total area of Impendle Magisterial District is 1655

square kilometres. In the whole Impendle area, the population is composed of Black Africans at 39124, Coloured at 75, Indian or Asian at 18 and Whites who make 265. The Impendle Tribal area falls under *inkosi* Mrs T Zuma. Impendle obtained its name during the period of King Shaka's wars in the early nineteenth century. Impendle means 'the place where the impi gathered' under the mountain and relates to this Mfecane time period.

The basic literacy rate in the Impendle Magisterial District is reasonable, with a quantifiable number of people with matriculation and higher degrees (Statistics South Africa, 2003). In terms of education about 68 % of the entire population can read and write. There are about 96 schools in the Impendle area. Interestingly most families still insist on traditional duties like cattle grazing, firewood collection and traditional dog hunting (*inkosi* Mrs T Zuma, pers.comm. 26-06-2002). The location of most homesteads near the forests and streams enable them to fulfil some of these traditional and spiritual obligations.

However, the entire community is typical of a rural life in South Africa. It is characterised by lack of formal employment and inability of agriculture to meet subsistence needs. Some of the people are employed as farm workers in the nearby commercial farms. Extreme poverty is though not widespread. The economic dependency stands at 1:5, i.e. one economically active person to 5 non-economically active people (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

3.3.2   Background Information on Inhluzani Farm

Inhluzani farm is located in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands, between 31^0 31' 14" S and 29^0 40' 17" E (Fig 3.2). The farm is about 12 kilometres from the small town of Howick and approximately 108 km from Durban. A perimeter fence encloses the farm. The actual size of the farm is 17000 hectares. It can be easily accessed from the west through Howick and northeast via Underberg. Inhluzani, Nhlabamkhosi Mountain and Elands River surround the farm. Impendle Tribal areas such as Mvundlweni, Gomane, Kwanovuka and Enguka, under *inkosi* Mrs T Zuma, are adjacent to the farm.

The land bordering the farm belongs respectively to the state, various timber companies such as SAPPI Forests, and there is also communal land. Most of the land owned by the state is used as grazing land. Although the area has a diverse economy, subsistence agriculture, commercial forest plantations, stock farming and large-scale sugar cane plantations are dominant land uses. On the

east side of the farm, land use is characterised by large-scale stock farming on private land, commercial forest plantations and sugar cane plantations. The land in adjacent communal areas has remained relatively undeveloped compared to commercial farms. Large tracts of indigenous forests on the east are still used for both fuel wood harvesting and very small-scale traditional hunting with dogs.
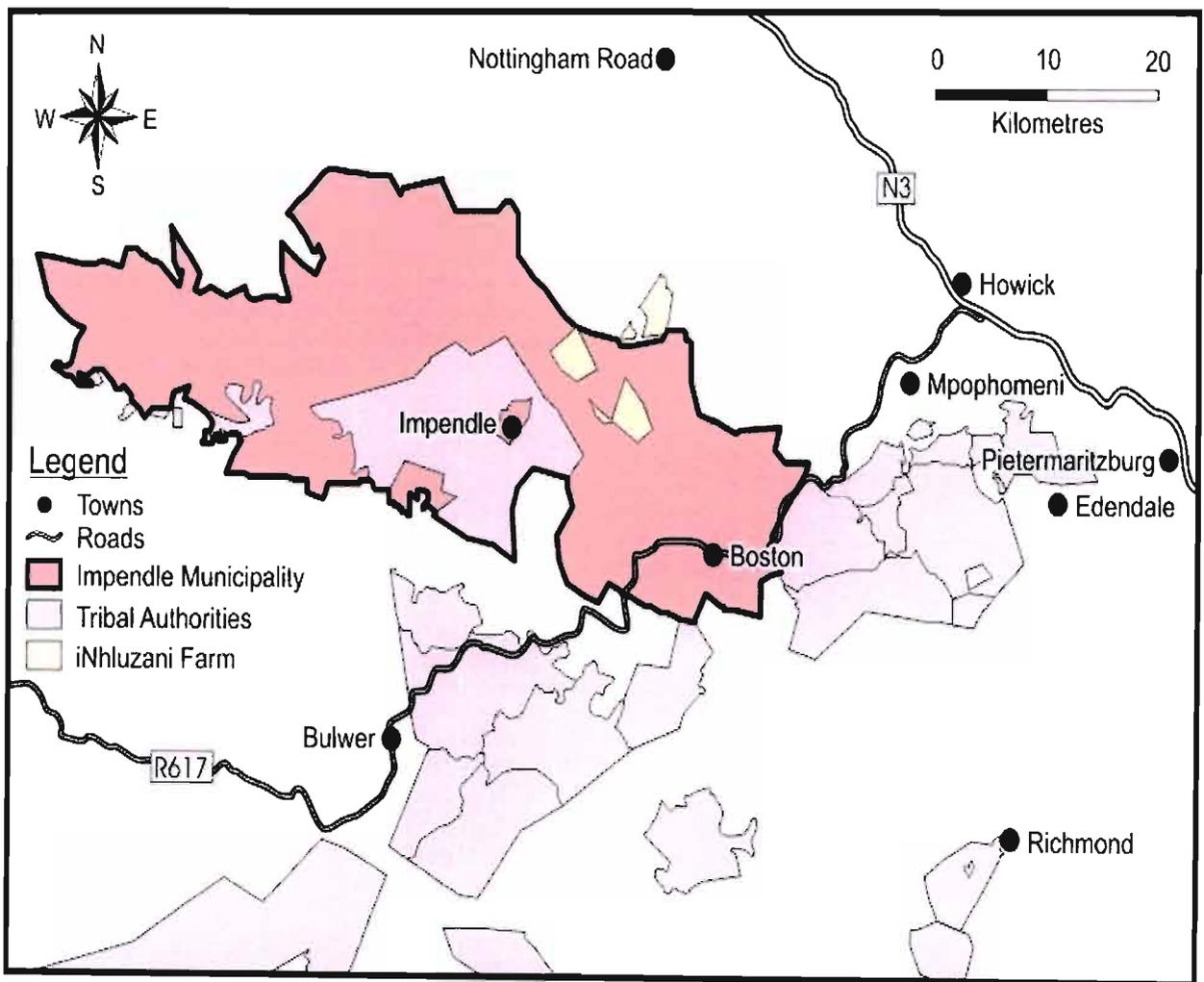
Figure 3.2 Map showing the location of Inhluzani Farm and Impendle Tribal Areas

3.3.3 Biophysical Environment of Inhluzani Farm

Rain alternates from heavy thunderstorms to a light mist rain. Uninterrupted periods of cold, wet weather can be expected in the summer rainy season. Violent electric thunderstorms occur regularly

especially in the summer months (Pooley, 1995). Hail occurs occasionally, approximately once every three years; snow falls on the plateau areas. Mist can move in very quickly, and decrease visibility to almost to zero.

In terms of topography, the Transkei and the southern regions of KwaZulu-Natal consist of a series of plateaux or land surfaces that developed as a result of a number of cycles of upheaval, erosion and displacement. The topography of the area as a whole is displayed as steps, where the individual steps are not always individually identifiable. This is because of the deep cuts as a result of rivers. It is only on the peaks between the rivers where areas of flat land can be seen that represent what was once a continuous land surface (Pooley, 1995).

The above-mentioned pattern is clearly illustrated at Impendle where two plateaux occur in the water catchment area. There is a main plateau area, at a height of between 1300 and 1500 meters above sea level, which is evident at the northern extremity of the farm and again at the south east area of the farm, and the higher plateau, namely at the top of Impendle mountain, that is the height of over 1600 meters above sea level (Pooley, 1995).

There are two main watercourses. Umgeni River and Elands River and several lakes and dams trisect the farm. In this region, most of the watercourses are ephemeral with only Elands River and Umgeni River flowing throughout the year and subjected to frequent flooding after heavy rains and thunderstorms. Umgeni River is the principal river and it starts from south east of the Berg and ends at Umgeni estuary in the Indian Ocean. It has its origins to the north east of the farm in the hills surrounding the farm. There are a few lakes and dams of which the most important is Rainbow lakes and Midmar dam west of the farm.

3.3.4 Fauna and Flora in the Impendle Area
As a result of poaching, fencing off of farms and the destruction of the natural vegetation, some species that formerly occurred in the area are no longer present. Animals such as elephants, eland and leopard were common in the area. No identification has been made of reptile and amphibian species in Impendle but 17 amphibians and 32 reptile species have been identified in the Berg (Pooley, 1995).

Only a small percentage of the veld types present in the area, namely Acocks 65 and 44, are represented in conservation areas and are considered to be inadequately conserved. It is therefore of national and international importance to conserve these veld types where they occur on private land. The forests in general are of particular conservation importance because of their history of exploitation for timber, and the growing pressure on them for their medicinal value. Of particular importance in some of the forests is the occurrence of the Black Stinkwood, which is an endangered species, and exploited for medicinal purposes.

Although there has been a long history of conflict and difficult relations between the farmers and the tribal communities around the farms and protected areas in the KwaZulu-Natal midlands in particular, attempts have been made to reconcile the needs of local people with those of conservation. Of particular relevance to this study is the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act 05 of 1999, which made some provisions for traditional hunting to take place. The postapartheid period also opened up possibilities for establishing areas where traditional dog hunting might take place.

Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, the Traditional Dog Hunters Association from the Impendle reserve, and the farm owner Mr Rob Smith were faced with the challenge of protecting wildlife resources while ensuring that the traditional cultural practices are also fulfilled. In 1998, the farmer therefore agreed to allow local people to have access to wildlife resources within his farm under strictly controlled circumstances. Impendle Traditional Dog Hunters Association was therefore assigned to control and manage traditional dog hunting in the area and within the farm during hunting periods. This experiment in analysed in detail in Chapter Five.

3.4 Social and Physical Context of Hlabisa Tribal Area and Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve

3.4.1 Socio-Economic Context and Land Use[1] in Hlabisa Tribal Area

The current population in the Mpembeni area is estimated at 10490 (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Mpembeni falls under Umkhanyakude District Municipality. The population density is about 9 1

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[1] The basic socio-economic structure of the study area was obtained from both primary and secondary sources. This included referenced material of DC 27, uMkhanyakude Municipality and information from the Africa Centre, interviews with villagers, key informants and local authority.

people per square kilometre. The total area of Mpembeni Tribal area is 115 square kilometres. The population is made up of Black Africans with only 3 people who are coloured and no whites or Asians (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

The standard of education is still low. Out of the entire population none of the people has a university qualification. A few people have post matriculation qualifications (Statistics South Africa). There are only 3 secondary schools in the Mpembeni area. Some, perhaps most, families still insist on traditional duties like cattle grazing, firewood collection, and grass cutting, traditional dog hunting (*inkosi* Hlabisa DJ, pers.comm. 13- 12- 2001). There is still a positive attitude towards these traditional activities. There are very strong traditional affections attached to these activities such as hunting (*inkosi* DJ Hlabisa. pers.comm. 13- 12- 2001)

The settlement of Hlabisa-Mpembeni District is typical of a communal area (or former homeland area) in South Africa, characterised by poverty, lack of formal employment opportunities, inability of agriculture to meet subsistence household needs, and strong reliance on natural resources for living and income (Ridsdale, 2000). Poverty is widespread and monthly income varies greatly. The economic dependency ratio stands at 1:7, i.e. one economically active person to 7 non-economically active people (Pooley, 1998). This high dependency burden is reflected by the existing socio-economic problems and clearly this points to the need for ensuring an equitable access to natural resources by villagers.

There are three spheres of governance in the Hlabisa/Mpembeni tribal areas adjacent to the newly established community game reserve. These are:
- The traditional tribal system of *amaKhosi* (chiefs) and *iziNduna* (advisors)
- Local government consisting of regional Councils and local town councils
- Representation constituting proportionally elected members of the provincial Parliament.

AmaKhosi retain a great deal of power, for example control over land in the tribal authority area, and are widely viewed as legitimate representatives of the people. For example, the conservation authority deals mainly with the traditional chiefs.

Although the area has a diverse economy, subsistence and commercial agriculture is the dominant land use activity. Extensive potential medium-yield arable soils occur in this region. However, agricultural output and productivity differs sharply between the former KwaZulu homeland areas

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and the former Natal (Western et al, 1994). To the west of the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi game reserve, land use on the communal lands is characterised by stock farming, residential use and subsistence agriculture. The lands here have mainly remained relatively undeveloped compared to commercial farms in the former Natal Province. Some large tracts of natural forests on the west of the reserve are still used for fuel wood harvesting and small scale hunting for ritual purposes (*ihlambo* and *inqina*).

3.4.2 Background Information on Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve

There has been a long history of difficult relations and conflict between the rural communities living adjacent to the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park and the Nature Conservation Services in the former Natal Province, also known as the Natal Parks Board (Munster and Sandwith, 1998). Apart from pressure from surrounding communities and illegal hunters, KZNNCS (or Ezemvelo-KZN Wildlife) has been affected by the government's land restitution programme.

During the 1990s, attempts have been made to form partnerships between Parks Board and the adjacent c ommunities. K waZulu-Natal N ature C onservation S ervices, w ith i ts mission t o p rotect wildlife resources, and community leaders from the Hlabisa Tribal Authority, under *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa, formed one such partnership. Inkosi DJ Hlabisa was convinced that co-operation with the conservation authority and thus participation in the benefits of ecotourism would benefit the community in the long term. Mpembeni Tourism Association was formed to allow the community to extract some benefits from ecotourism and provide tangible benefits as compensation for land that had been lost when the formal protected area was extended in the 1940s (Brooks, 2001). When the project failed to achieve the desired goals, a new project was born – a community game reserve.

The idea dates back to 1995 (Mr VF Hlabisa. pers.comm. 11- 12- 2001). After six years of grappling with the dream, the Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve was officially opened on the 09th of March 2001. The rationale behind the idea was to generate income through ecotourism, create job opportunities, provide services to the community of Mpembeni and sustain the spiritual and socio-cultural well being of the community (The Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve Business Plan, 2001-2005). The Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve Management Committee was therefore formed under the chairmanship Mr VF Hlabisa, who is a local secondary School Principal and a cousin to *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa.

Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve is located in the northeastern part of KwaZulu-Natal, between 28^0 00′ S 31 42′ E and 28^0 26′ S 32 09′ E (Fig 3.1 and 3.3). The reserve is approximately 280 km from Durban. The reserve is adjacent to the Hluhluwe section of the Hluhluwe –Umfolozi Park. It can be easily accessed from the west through the town of Hlabisa and from the north via the town of Hluhluwe. The Mpembeni Game Reserve covers an area of approximately 6 000 hectares and is bordered by Sengonyane mountain and KwaNdumbili River. A perimeter fence donated by Safari Club International (also known as Zulu Nyala) encloses the reserve. The gravel road links the reserve to the rural town of Hlabisa. The community game reserve is surrounded by three tribal authorities (TA's), namely Mdletshe abaseMdletsheni, Hlabisa-abaseMpembeni and Hlabisa abakwaHlabisa under *inkosi* L Hlabisa.
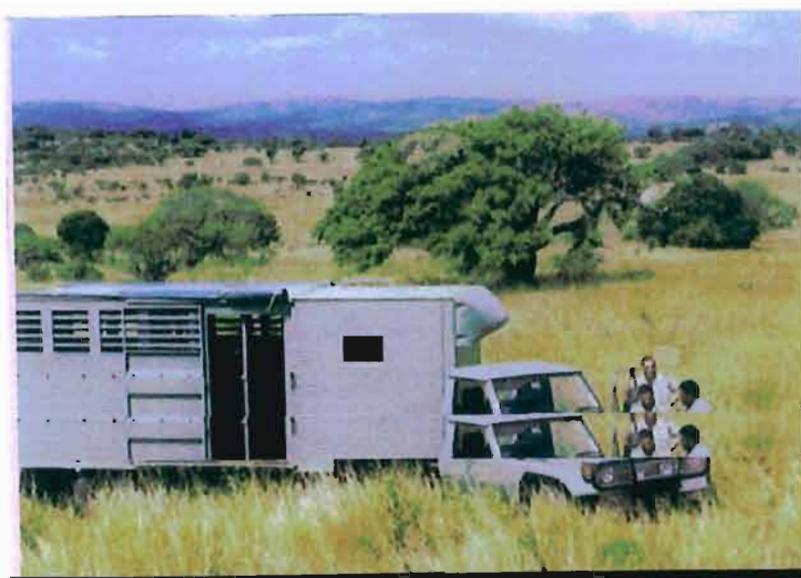
Plate 3.1 Photo of *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa and Nature Conservation officials during the community game reserve opening: Date 9 March 2001

Plate 3.1 shows KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation officials with *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa signing the declaration of the community game reserve on the 9th of March 2001. This created an opportunity for local people to participate in community-based natural resource management. The experiment will be analyzed in detail in Chapter Five.

3.4.3 Biophysical Environment of Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve

The reserve has a coastally modified climate with much of the variability in local weather being related to topography. These factors result in a warm to hot and humid sub-tropical climate. Annual rainfall is strongly seasonal with most rain falling between October and March. There is evidence of a bimodal summer rainfall peak, but this is often de-emphasised (Brooks, 1990). At the longer time scale there is evidence for an 18-year cycle of wet and dry years - nine wet followed by nine dry years. In the long term, the probability of an above or below average rainfall year being followed by another above or below average rainfall year is close to 50% implying that it is not possible to predict the rainfall from one year to the next.

There is evidence that there has been an increase in both the intensity and the frequency of floods in the region during the later part of the period 1890 to 1987 (Pooley, 1995). It is likely that the more intense and frequent floods can now be viewed as a regular possibility and should be incorporated
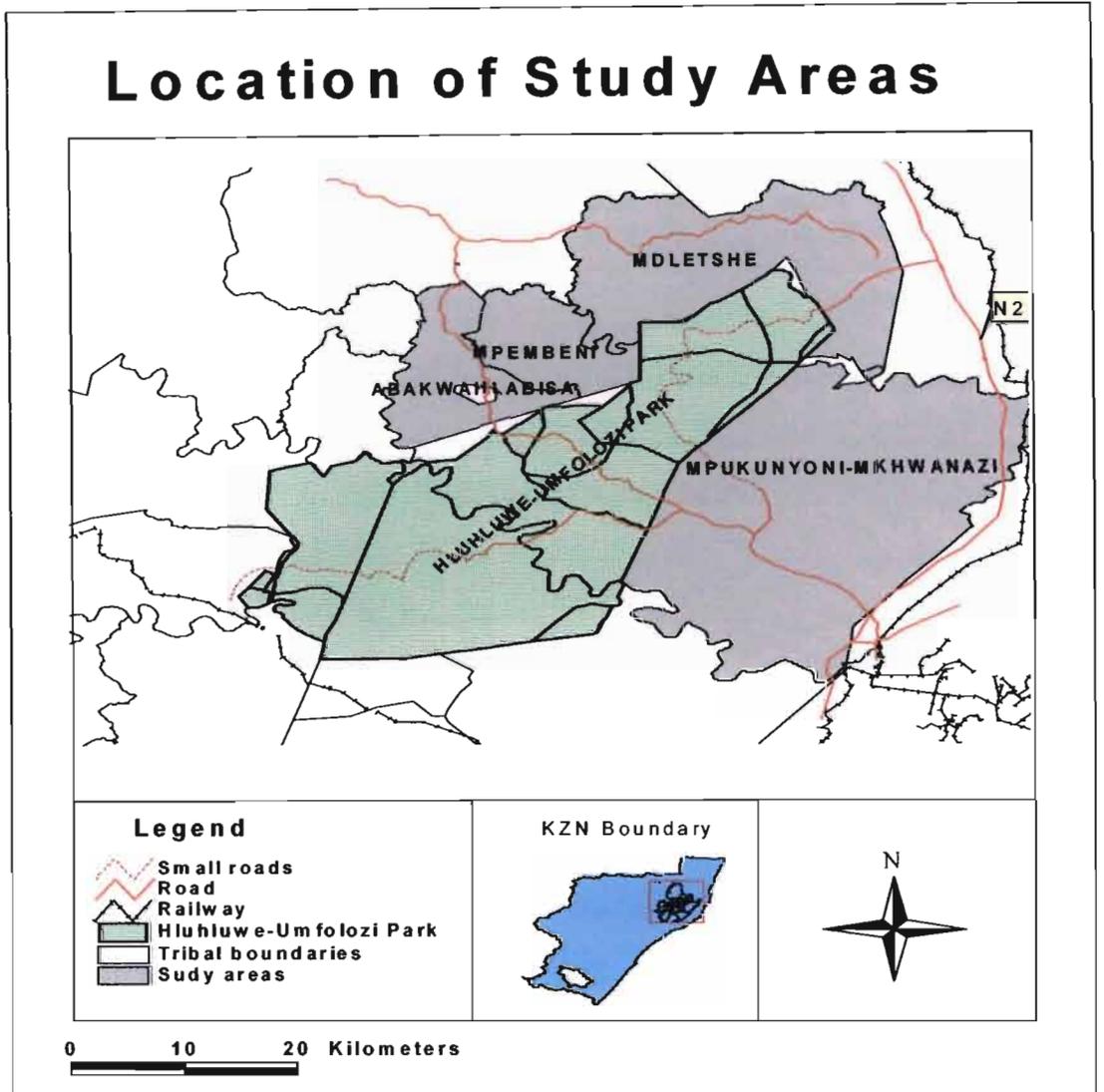
Figure 3.3 Map showing the location of Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve

The two Tribal Authorities of Mpembeni, under *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa, and KwaHlabisa under *inkosi* L Hlabisa were selected for in-depth study. The community of KwaMdletshe under *inkosi* T Mdletshe was also visited but not for in-depth study.

into management decision-making. Within the reserve and the adjacent Hluhluwe Park the mean annual rainfall ranges from 985 mm in the high altitude regions in the north to 650 mm in the low-lying western areas. Annual temperatures in the region range from ±13°C to ±35°C (Greyling and Huntley 1994). Thunderstorms are a common feature of the summer rainfall season and lightning strikes occur in densities of approximately five ground-flashes per square kilometre per year.

A tilt of the African continent about 120 million years ago, and again one million years ago, of about one degree eastward, caused what was previously a gentle rolling landscape to become progressively more elevated. In Zululand this resulted in the development of steep slopes and the rapid increase in relief in a westward direction (Pooley, 1992). The reserve lies within an altitude range of 60 metres in the riverbeds to 650 metres in the western hills (Pooley 1995). River incision and sedimentation has since reduced this higher land surface to larger tracts of gentle undulating country, which is a major feature of Pleiocene.

The relatively varied climate, geology and topography have resulted in a wide variety of soil types in the community game reserve as well as in the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park. Soils of the upland association occur on hilltops, hill slopes and debris slopes. These are usually stony, shallow (< 50cm) leached and have low moisture storing capacity and are fertile though highly erodible. Deep unconsolidated alluvial soils, which are unstable and easily erodible, are very common in the river valleys. During the dry season plants may experience severe moisture stress. The soils are derived in situ and closely resemble a parent rock. Five soils were identified on the Pliocene surfaces and include the Williamson, Acardia, Springfield, Mispah and Kiaora series. In many instances dolerite was found to the major pedogenic substrate, giving rise to soils forms high in clay content (Pooley, 1992).

3.4.4 Fauna and Flora in the Mpembeni Area

The Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve lies within an area which contains elements of both tropical and temperate fauna and flora. In terms of flora the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Reserve as a whole is typical of the Savannah biome of Southern Africa. A larger percentage of the reserve comprises savannah, which ranges from open fire maintained grasslands through open woodlands to densely encroaching woodlands, thicket and closed woodlands. Topography and rainfall play a role in determining some of the terrestrial ecosystems, for example north facing drier slopes have different habitat to south facing slopes. The two principal vegetation types include the

Zululand thornveld, which covers a third of the reserve and the lowveld covering the remaining two thirds. The plant communities include forests, riverine forests, woodland, thicket and grasslands. There are six plant species of high conservation value occurring in the Hluhluwe/Mpembeni Game Reserve including two possible extinct species (Pooley, 1995).

Current understanding suggests that the dynamics of the vegetation is primarily driven by rainfall, fire and herbivory. Thus, there is a gradient of differing dynamics along the rainfall gradient (which is associated with a fire and a herbivory gradient). The important aspect of this is that management for vegetation in the high rainfall north of the reserve is likely to differ from that of the lower rainfall south. As the vegetation of the reserve has never been subjected to extensive modern agriculture, or other similar disturbance, it is likely that the complete set of plant soils interactions are still intact (Munster and Sandwith, 1998). However, adjacent to the community game reserve are thriving though subsistence agricultural lands, which were also part of the community game reserve (see figure 3.3).

Due to the fact that the community conservation game reserve is still new, particularly when the fieldwork for this study was conducted in 2001 to 2003, the full compliment of large carnivores does not occur; there are only buffalos from the big five group. Animal dynamics are likely to be confined to functioning in the range of habitats that are available. The presence of the game proof fence around the main game reserve as well as the community conservation game reserve is likely to have implications for the dynamics and the factors regulating the vertebrate populations.

3.5 Summary

This chapter has presented the characteristics of the two case studies, as well as the social context and the policy framework. A range of issues such as land uses, fauna and flora, temperature and climates as well as soils in both study areas was covered. The two experiments in community-based natural resource management considered here (that is, in the two case study areas) will allow the researcher to address the research question: Is linking controlled and managed traditional hunting with conservation a feasible strategy for community-based natural resource management? The following chapter provides information as to how the research was conducted.

Chapter Four:
Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the methodology used in collecting and interpreting data for this thesis. Any form of knowledge that is constructed by means of a research process has an implicit or explicit design. The design includes the formulation of a research question, the clarification of a theoretical framework within which the question is to be investigated, the choice of a specific methodology used to inform the collection and analysis of data, and consideration of the academic philosophy that guides this process and within which knowledge is constructed (Stangor, 1998: 67). There are various methods of carrying out research and the methodology chosen must be appropriate to the research question, the nature of the research, the time, cost constraints, and the size of the subject (Robinson, 1998: 104).

The major goal of doing research, especially in the social sciences, is the pursuit of valid knowledge (the epistemological dimension). The central theme is that scientific inquiry is driven by the search for 'truth' or at least 'truthful' knowledge. The predominant purpose is to arrive at results that are as close to the truth as possible, i.e. the most valid findings possible (Mouton, 1996). Whether it be quantitative or qualitative research, intrinsic in the research process is research design of some sort. The design includes problem identification, formulation of a research question or hypothesis, identification of a conceptual framework and philosophy to serve as the basis for investigating the problem as well as the selection of an appropriate method of data collection and analysis.

The research methodologies used here are guided by participatory and other human geography approaches that promote the use of a variety of methods and encourage politically relevant research. As Mouton (1996: 2) states:

> Participatory research can force instruments to become more sensitive by presenting disaggregated analysis within and between stakeholder groups. Communities are heterogeneous, characterised by differences of interest and inequalities of power; participatory research disaggregates and analyses differences. Differences of perception inevitably emerge between stakeholder groups. Triangulation of stakeholder opinion should ensure that these differences are considered.

Conventional methods used in data collection are often inadequate to unpack the underlying meanings and processes of communities' experiences and concerns. Conventional research methods, for example, questionnaire surveys, often tend to overlook important aspects of communities' situations such as the ownership of and access to land, participation (or lack of it) in community activities and the basis on which the respondents formulate their knowledge about the above. As a result, questionnaire surveys were supplemented by focus groups in both interviews. A wide range of participatory techniques is available: mapping exercises, semi-structured interviews, group discussions, village transects, activities' profiles and Venn diagrams. Valuing subjectivity is particularly relevant in this study because it enables the incorporation of everyday worldviews of people and the ability to discern underlying processes and meanings.

The development of a research design follows logically from the formulation of the hypothesis or research problem. This means that the structure and particular logic of a research design is determined by the formulation of the research problem. Mouton (1996) argues that the rationale for a research design is to plan and structure a research project in such a way that the eventual validity of the research findings is maximised through either minimising or, where possible, eliminating potential error. It enables the researcher to anticipate what the appropriate research decisions should be so as to maximise the validity of the eventual results. It is the arrangement of the conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that ensures relevance to the research purpose (Palys, 1997).

According to Mouton (1996) the five major stages of research design are all essential. These are:
- Defining the problem and the type of information required (Conceptualisation).
- Selecting the method of data collection and determining whether primary or secondary data are required or both (Operationalisation).
- Deciding whether to use the total population or a sample. If the latter, the researcher selects the appropriate sampling method (Sampling).
- Collection of various kinds of empirical information through various methods and techniques of observation such as document analysis, content analysis, interviewing and psychometric testing (Data collection).

- Determining the appropriate means of analysing the data. The researcher can analyse the data by identifying patterns and themes in the data and drawing certain conclusions from them. (Analysis and Interpretation).

This chapter describes the research design that was adopted to produce valid knowledge about the importance of incorporating traditional dog hunting into conservation and development in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The chapter explains how the problem was identified and the hypothesis formulated. Secondly, the type of data and methods of data collection are discussed. Description of the sampling method that was adopted in the research follows. Lastly, the chapter describes the manner in which data was interpreted, analysed and presented.

4.2 Methodological Philosophy used in the research

The philosophy underlying qualitative research is that the researcher and the researched (observed) are closely related and inseparable (Robinson, 1998 and Palys, 1997). In simpler words, the values, beliefs and attitudes of the researcher are seen as playing a major role in influencing and shaping the research process. In this study, the researcher could not be a neutral, value free, objective and totally rational individual researching the events and phenomena, in this case controlled traditional dog hunting in two different contexts. The focus is on the courses and consequences of human action i.e. actions of policy makers and other relevant stakeholders like *amakhosi* as well as their long-term impacts. The conservation bodies, private landowners and traditional authority regulating traditional dog hunting affect local people in their quest for both physiological (socio-economic) and cultural satisfaction.

The research problem investigated also shaped the research process. In the case of this project with its two case studies, it was important to understand the way in which the people both in Impendle and KwaHlabisa areas view their cultural practices and organise themselves under regulatory mechanisms such as *amakhosi* and IT/DHA respectively. In this research a view was held that people in a given community have and continue to develop their local knowledge. This local knowledge about the natural environment is acquired through their experiences based on tradition and culture with a blend of more recent experiences with modern technologies.

Unlike positivist philosophers, who argue that only observable phenomena can be studied in order to produce valid knowledge and results, qualitative research still recognises the value of invisible

phenomena (Johnston, 1983). It embraces the meanings inherent in people's feelings, desires, attitudes, beliefs and views as providing warranted knowledge and results that are not far from the 'truth'.

4.2.1 Defining the research problem and sources of research ideas

There are a variety of sources for research ideas. Palys (1997) identifies the two major methodological tools, namely, the deductive and inductive approach. A deductive approach puts more emphasis on the role of theory in generating research ideas while an inductive approach asserts that research ideas and theories should emerge from one's interacting as well as the observation of the phenomena itself.

For the deductive approach, theory helps one make sense of the world. Theories are seen as playing a crucial role in guiding research. Good theories are seen as useful devices because they help co-ordinate research by providing a research focus. Theories are seen as implying what to research. The inductive approach on the other side stresses the importance of starting where one is. This has been linked with qualitative researchers who recognize that those who have undergone particular life experiences may bring special insights to their research because of having experienced the phenomenon from within. For inductivity, a researcher develops research ideas from natural curiosity about the how, when and why of the phenomenon.

Both inductive and deductive approaches have their own limitations. In other words although they both have strengths, they also have some weaknesses. In the case of deductive sources, theory has to be good to be useful because if it is too narrow i.e., focussing on some aspects of phenomena and leaving out some aspects, the theory is likely to mislead the researcher (Bulmer and Warwick, 1993). Regarding the inductive approach, social science scholars argue that one has to careful not to be so trapped in a situation of interest as to be unable to rise above that situation.

The study's investigation into the potential of controlled and managed traditional hunting for community-based natural resource management relies heavily on broad ideas based on semi theoretical claims, where theory is not entirely universal but a close approximation to what is likely to be true (Pratt cited in Thomas, 2000).

For this research both inductive and deductive approaches were used and contributed greatly in developing research ideas and generating research questions including the aim and objectives. Having read literature on environmental and social justice, the researcher developed an interest in conservation and society. In the literature review, past and present approaches to wildlife conservation and hunting were reviewed in order to understand the history of wildlife utilization in Africa. The approach to the study as a whole was informed by theories on social justice and sustainable development. Understanding community-based natural resource management under various property regimes, particularly in southern Africa, was important. It appears that most studies on protected areas focus on community conservation in terms of material benefits without considering culture (e.g. controlled traditional hunting) as a missing element in conservation. This is the gap this thesis hoped to address.

This study has been conducted for a number of reasons. Firstly, it has been realised that local knowledge and the role of culture in shaping environmental decision-making, is often ignored. As already indicated, traditional hunting as a cultural practice is the focus of the study. Whilst it is commonly understood to have a secondary role in providing food, traditional hunting appears to be an activity of largely cultural significance. This thesis therefore explores the possibility that recognising culture, and bringing it explicitly into conservation practices, might help to reverse a history of exclusion and bring about greater sustainability. It is hoped that this could lead to change in the attitudes of rural communities to support wildlife conservation on state and private lands. The study will add value to the existing body of knowledge in the field of conservation, environmental management and political geography.

4.2.2 Method of Data Collection

As indicated above that the philosophy underlying this research is qualitative, so qualitative techniques were used in both the collection and analysis of data. A two-way relationship was therefore established between the researcher and the respondents (researched). Qualitative techniques are essential because they describe people's representations and constructions of what is occurring in their world, their experiences and knowledge of events and issues (Robinson, 1998). The qualitative techniques seek to portray human experiences and expressions. They are based on the understanding that place, space, landscape, environments and attitudes to nature are socially constructed, and therefore seek to capture this construction in a manner that will provide insight to human experiences (Robinson, 1998). This method focuses on individuals rather than aggregates

and seeks to capture the knowledge and understanding of individuals and groups. For this study, qualitative techniques were seen as most appropriate because this research sought depth of insight and understanding of issues surrounding access to wildlife resources within the two case study areas.

4.3 Primary Data Sources

A variety of date sources were used in this study. It was important to ascertain the views and aspirations of the people who were meant to benefit from the community game reserve at Hlabisa. In Impendle as a focus group and other relevant stakeholders were also interviewed. In both cases, respondent variables researched. Respondent variables are data which classify people, their circumstances and their surroundings. In the case of this research, they include information such as access to employment, importance of cultural traditions, social ties binding communities, etc.

Primary data was collected by means of in-depth interviews with respondents in the study areas sampled for that purpose. Interviews were used as a tool to understand the social tier binding the communities, as well as land use patterns and land management practices. These interviews were aimed at getting in-depth views of sampled groups and relevant stakeholders in conservation regarding traditional dog hunting and its impact on conservation imperatives. Interviews were therefore conducted in such a manner that all respondents were free to express their views and concerns regarding access to wildlife and wildlife management in general. Respondents were able to provide detailed information on what their lives would look like if regulated traditional dog hunting were allowed within the reserve areas.

4.3.1 Interviews

Intensive research calls for a "meaningful type of communication which maximises the information flow by making use of communicative and social skills by being willing to adapt preconceived questions and ideas in the course of the interview according to what is relevant to the respondent and by being prepared to discuss, as well as 'elicit' answers" (Sayer, 1992: 223). One of the advantages of this form of inquiry was that respondents could raise issues that the researcher may not have anticipated, producing a 'deeper' picture than the questionnaire survey (Silverman in Thomas, 2000). The aim of conducting interviews is to understand how people as individuals and households make sense of their own lives (Valentine, 2001). The emphasis is put on considering the meanings people attribute to their lives and the processes operating in particular social contexts.

Observation was also used to supplement in-depth interviews. Observation methods played a vital role in this research in allowing the researcher to identify observable similarities and dissimilarities between the two case studies in terms of socio-cultural settings. Observations confirmed, for example, that traditional imperatives of hunting are still very strong in both communal areas (case studies).

Robinson (1998) argues that all senses should be used to gather information in qualitative research. He further argues that while data gathered through observation could be valuable, the use of other senses other than our naked eyes can lead to the collection of data that is also equally important. The researcher observed a real hunt with dogs and also attended some community meetings and a traditional hunting workshop held at Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife headquarters. The results of some of these observations are reflected in the findings and discussion chapters, as well as in photographs.

As a technique, the researcher used tapes and a camera to gather primary data during field research. Field notes complimented this technique. The interviews were recorded and then transcribed using Microsoft Word and Excel 2000.

4.3.2 Secondary data sources

Secondary data include material such as text books, newspaper articles, institutional files, policy documents, journal articles, internet, speeches, films, documentaries. The main sources of secondary data for this research were books, journal articles, policy documents, GIS produced maps and Internet and Medical Research Council's Livelihood Report of Hlabisa District.

4.4 Sampling Process and Sampling Method

As one of the stages of research design, a researcher must decide whether to use samples instead of the whole population to collect primary data or visa versa. In this research, a sample was recruited instead of targeting the entire population.

A wide range of sampling methods exists. Probability and non-probability sampling exist under two broad categories. Probability sampling techniques are mainly useful in quantitative research and include among other things such schemes as simple random sampling. In the case of non-probability sampling, sample units are selected for economy and convenience while at the same time representing the characteristics of the population from which they have been drawn.

The three main types of non-probability sampling techniques include simple convenience, purposive and quota sampling technique. For the purposes of this research both purposive and quota schemes were adopted. The researcher sought to understand and gain insight into how private and state conservation authorities have tackled the issue of traditional hunting in KwaZulu-Natal communal areas and in privately owned land, and to determine how local communities viewed these initiatives. One of the limitations of the purposive sampling scheme is that sometimes it fails to secure a representative sample. However, because the purpose of the study was to obtain an insight as to whether allowing managed and controlled traditional hunting can be a strategy to achieve sustainability and community-based natural resource management, quota and purposive sampling were appropriate.

4.4.1 Population Sampling Frame and Sampling Unit

A sampling frame locates the individuals within the population where population may be defined in terms of units, elements, area and period. In this research the population includes all households that fall within the Mpembeni Tribal authority as well as those from Impendle regional district. It must be noted that respondents were recruited from all these tribal areas, however; obtaining the sampling frame for all the study areas was not an easy task. The following attributes were used in recruiting respondents:

- Distance from the community game reserve or the farm (i.e. households living close by were chosen)
- Households with traditional hunting dogs
- Stakeholders with vested interest in conservation and traditional dog hunting (e.g. members of the traditional hunting association or the community game reserve steering committee).

This was done in order to understand the implications of traditional dog hunting for conservation imperatives as well as the significance of community regulatory mechanisms in managing wildlife resources and the extent of community participation in each case. Both the stakeholders and the households provided details about the significance of traditional hunting with dogs for tribal communities.

4.5 Research Design for both case studies and Sample Selection

The researcher spent four weeks in the Hluhluwe area and one and a half weeks in Impendle. The bulk of the fieldwork was carried out in 2001 and 2002. For the Hluhluwe case study, accommodation was obtained in the nearby backpacker facility in False Bay. This was done because of the nature of the study. The researcher wanted to maintain neutrality at all costs, so it would not have been appropriate to stay within the game reserve. The researcher wanted to use qualitative research in the same spirit that Rajasekaran (1993) described it, namely "seeing through the eyes of or taking the subjects perspective; describing the detail of a setting from the perspective of participants; understanding actions and meanings in their social context; emphasising time and process; favouring open and relatively unstructured research designs; and an approach in which the formulation and testing of concepts and theories proceeds in conjunction with data collection" (Hakin cited in Thomas, 2000).

The method used to recruit households was snowballing, relying on traditional authorities to introduce the researcher to the potential respondents, who in turn helped the researcher to get in touch with the rest of the sampled units. The researcher was interested in visiting households where traditional law and customs are still strong, to see how this social context shaped traditional hunting practices and attitudes. In the case study of Mpembeni, the researcher paid much attention to people's attitudes towards the area identified as a community game reserve. In the case of Impendle and Inhluzani farm, the researcher probed to gain an understanding of the experiences and ways of managing wildlife resources.

Since the method of primary data collection was in-depth interviewing, a reasonable number of respondents from both study areas needed to be recruited for interview. During interviews in both case studies, stakeholders and communities were interviewed separately. The households that were approached for in-depth interview were located in Mayakazi, Esixheni, Mpembeni, KwaHlabisa, KwaMdletshe and Impendle areas. Altogether twenty households were interviewed in depth regarding their access to wildlife resources and traditional hunting. For Impendle region, the members of the Impendle Traditional Dog Hunters Association helped the researcher in identifying the people who are still hunting with dogs in the area. During the interviews it came out that there are people from as far as Spioenkop region who are also hunting within the farm and so the researcher made time to visit the Spioenkop area near Drakensberg at least once to interview some people living there.

The following table 4.1 provides details of the people that were interviewed in the case study areas. Although households were interviewed only once, through probing, insight and overall understanding was gained on the issue of traditional dog hunting and access to wildlife resources.

Table 4.1: Interviewees in Case Studies

Household Name	Tribal Area	Date of Interview
Mr L Mpungose and Mr S Dladla	Mayakazi Area	19-06-02
Mr D Hlabisa and children	Mayakazi Area	19-06-02
Mr P Nkwanyana and wife	Mayakazi Area	19-06-02
Mr and Mrs GK Gumede	Mpembeni Area	19-06-02
Mr Mfana Mhlongo and Sipho Mdluli	Mayakazi Area	19-06-02
Mr Mtholwa Masuku	Mayakazi Area	19-06-02
Mr Senzo Mdletshe and two sons	Mayakazi Area	19-06-02
Mr S Zwane (Councillor)	Mpembeni Area	22-06-02
Mrs Gladness Kunene	Mpembeni Area	22-06-02
Mr Zenzele Hlabisa and son	Mpembeni Area	22-06-02
Mr B Mhlongo (*iNduna*/Headman)	Esixheni Area	22-06-02
Mr KV Manqele (*iNduna*/Headman)	KwaHlabisa Area	22-06-02
Mr Stoffel de Jager (Conservator hunting, EKZNWildlife)	EKZN Wildlife (Pietermaritzburg)	23-06-02
Mr Hertzog Ngubane	Impendle Dog Hunters Association	26-06-02
Mr Rob Smith (Farm owner)	Inhluzani Farm	26-06-02
Mrs T Zuma (*inkosi*)	Impendle Tribal Area	27-06-02
Mr Fanyana Ngubane	Impendle Area	28-06-02
Mehlomlungu Ngubane	Impendle Area	28-06-02
Mr Sikhulu Zuma	Impendle Area	28-06-02
Mr Ngobese (Councillor Ward 7	KwaHlabisa Area	01-07-02

KwaHlabisa)		
Mr G Khumalo	Mpembeni Area	01-07-02
Mrs G Fakude (Councillor Ward 09 KwaHlabisa)	KwaHlabisa Area	01-07-02
Mr and Mrs TK Mavuso	KwaHlabisa Area	01-07-02

In addition to the data obtained from the above-mentioned respondents, the researcher obtained some invaluable primary data from the key stakeholders, as well as conservation officials who attended the "hunting with dogs" workshops held at EKZN Wildlife headquarters in Pietermaritzburg. Primary data provided by the households was strong but limited in terms of context situation analysis so the following key stakeholders were also interviewed to achieve the objectives of the study.

Table 4.2: Stakeholders that were interviewed

Stakeholder Name	Date of Interview	Name of Official or Representative
Nature Conservation Service	12-12-01	Ms Yoliswa Ndlovu (Chief Conservator) Mr J Shabalala (Community conservator, HUP)
Anti Poaching Unit (HUP)	13-12-01	Mr Sbusiso Mhlongo
Mpembeni Tribal Authority	13-12-01 13-06-02	*iNkosi* DJ Hlabisa and Mr D Mhlongo
KwaHlabisa Tribal Authority	14-06-02	Mr L Hlabisa
Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve Management Committee	04-07-02	Mr VF Hlabisa, Ms I Cele and Mr ZA Manyoni
KwaZulu Natal Hunters and Conservation Association	22-08-02	Mr van Heerden
Impendle Traditional Hunters Association	20-04-02 26-06-02	Mr Hertzog Zuma (Chairperson)
SPCA	28-08-02	Ms Legan Loxton
Wildlife and Environment	28-08-02	Mr Stuart Dansmore

Society of South Africa		
South African Police Services (KwaHlabisa)	01-07-02	Captain Zungu
Anti Poaching Unit	01-07-02	Mr Patrick Khanyezi
Hunting Workshop	28-09-02	Mr van Rensburgh
Hunting Workshop	28-09-02	Dr Bruce Jones
Hunting Workshop	28-09-02	Prof Fincham

4.6 Methods of Data Analysis and Presentation

Qualitative data (as opposed to quantitative data methods dealing with numbers) deals with meanings (Dey cited in Ninela 2001). The implication therefore is that, while quantitative data is best analysed through mathematics and statistics, qualitative data are best analysed through conceptualisation (Mouton, 1996). Concepts are articulated through description and classification and the relationship inherent between them analysed. This does not mean that these two methods of data analysis are in opposition. Dey cited in Ninela (1993) argues that evaluation at all levels embraces both qualitative and quantitative aspects.

In the case of this study quantitative methods were also used though to a limited extent when statistical information of illegal hunting from South African Police Services was analysed. The qualitative data analysis was dominant and iterative in the sense that the researcher would constantly refer to the literature and theory for analysis. That is to say literature and theory was very important in informing the analysis. The researcher further spent time in the field collecting data, revising preliminary findings and identifying information gaps. In cases where there were loose ends the researcher would go back to the field. After each interview the information was transcribed and this allowed the researcher to identify gaps in data.

Patterns and themes were also identified during the extended visits to the field as well as through intensive literature review and theoretical framework. These themes allowed the researcher to compare and contrast the two case studies in terms of equity and access to natural resources. Relations among concepts and variables from the two study areas were also examined to provide meaningful results.

4.6.1 Methods of Data Narration

The quantitative data was analysed statistically and presented in a form of graphs showing patterns and relationships between variables. As indicated earlier on, Micro-soft Excel 2000 and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) packages were used to produce graphs and maps respectively. This was done to clarify issues. For qualitative data, the researcher relied on quotations from transcribed interviews and this was done to allow respondents' authority in the presentation of results. This means that respondents were given freedom to speak for themselves at length.

4.7 Strengths, Limitations, Biases and Sensitive Issues

Bulmer and Warwick (1993) argue that, as a first principle in social science research, one needs to acquire as much knowledge about the local situation as possible before venturing into the field. This poses many problems in districts or areas where statistics are grossly inadequate or non-existent and in areas which have been little studied.

Another difficulty in undertaking research in human geography is that humans often behave quite differently when they are being interviewed than they would otherwise (Stangor, 1998). Stangor (1998) further points out that research may have an unfortunate outcome of leading the participants to discover something unpleasant about them, such as the tendency to stereotype others or to make unwise decisions. This was evident here when the MCCGRMC was interviewed regarding the issue of allowing local people into the community game reserve. Their response was against the idea because they see dangers in allowing illiterate people into the community game reserve regardless of traditional knowledge systems and sound environmental decisions. The researcher had to refrain from commenting on this view.

When dealing with official respondents like Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA) and some Nature Conservation Services officials, it was not easy to get the required data from these respondents because of their busy schedules. The researcher therefore had to improvise and conduct interviews after hours. In one instance the researcher needed the physical background information on one of the study areas and the department ecologist was out of the country. Furthermore, there is very little data that has been documented on traditional hunting with dogs. The few available published and unpublished academic sources on traditional hunting tend to mention dogs as a given without further analysis.

However due to the fact that the researcher took time to visit both study areas to be introduced to the respondents by the traditional authority and local councillors, few problems was encountered during the field research. A good rapport was established with the respondents. The respondents knew the researcher, the aims of the research and the implications of the researcher's presence in the study areas. The respondents were therefore willing to share their views regarding traditional hunting with dogs and its significance to them.

It was a challenge for the researcher to remain objective as spending time in Hluhluwe and Impendle meant being drawn into the everyday trials and joys of the people and the place. The researcher had to remain objective again in the face of power and livelihood issues. The fact that the people living in both study areas are Zulu speaking made things easier for the researcher. The researcher had to be aware of himself in juxtaposition to the subject of inquiry. This implies a continual interrogation of self and subject. This is one of the most interesting features of research of this nature. Although the researcher was also born in northern KwaZulu-Natal and had spend some time in regions similar to Hluhluwe, he had to realise that the situation is still fundamentally foreign to his own. This allowed him to ensure a dynamic social interaction between himself and the subjects. The other important thing that had to be kept in mind was the power relationships between the researcher and the respondents from both areas.

It should be remembered that although research in human geography provides reliable and verifiable knowledge about the social world, the usefulness and applicability of research findings are believed to depend on political factors, academic and economic factors (Becher in Sarantakos, 1996). Sarantakos (1996) further argues that political groups and sponsors in general quite often ignore research findings that are against their programs or interests of their organisations.

4.8 Summary

This chapter discussed the philosophy underlying the research design. It also provided a description of the methods used by the researcher for data collection and interpretation. The study comprised mainly of qualitative methods but some quantitative data complemented the qualitative methods for data collection, interpretation and presentation.

By the very nature of the study, data was collected at the interface of environment (physical) and development (human) or brown issues. However, the investigation is mostly informed by social

science as it is an examination of the social dimension of human action. The nature of the study forced the researcher to use a relatively small sample size for in depth interviews. This was done to improve the efficiency of probing individual households and the views of stakeholders. The theory informing this research study argues that the focus of environmental and social justice should be not only people in the aggregate but also individuals.

Chapter Five
Results

5.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the findings and results of fieldwork interviews undertaken by the researcher in attempting to answer the question: what is the potential for controlled traditional hunting as a strategy to create stakeholders in wildlife conservation in KwaZulu-Natal? Interviews were conducted with key stakeholders on the issue and two contrasting case studies - Inhluzani Farm and Mpembeni Community Game Reserve – were studied in depth. Particular attention was paid to people's attitudes towards traditional hunting, their responses to the projects, and to the nature and extent of public participation in natural resource management in each case.

The objectives of the study were as follows:

- To determine the views of key stakeholders regarding traditional hunting in the province.
- To explore attitudes towards traditional hunting in the two rural areas, as well as existing regulatory mechanisms.
- To determine the impact (in the two case studies) of either facilitating or excluding traditional hunting on local people's attitudes towards stewardship of the land and its wildlife resources.
- To assess the nature and extent of public participation in natural resource management in the two case studies.

Before presenting the results of the case studies and attempting a comparison, various views of traditional hunting in the province are presented. These are the views of stakeholders at provincial as well as local level. The following section thus addresses the first objective of the study. It attempts to determine the views and attitudes of various stakeholders regarding traditional hunting in KwaZulu- Natal.

5.2 Views of Key Stakeholders regarding Traditional Hunting

There is a wide range of views with regard to traditional hunting, influenced by different groups' particular interest in natural resource conservation. Both conservationists and some farmers feel that traditional hunting with dogs kills animals indiscriminately when not controlled (Mr van Heerden and Dr Bruce Jones pers.comm. 28-09-2002). Views held by the anti-poaching unit officer

interviewed were strongly negative, stating that traditional hunting is very destructive, antiquated and non-selective. "Packs we encounter tear all game apart from newly born to old, rare and endangered and even inedible species" (Mr Stuart Dasmore pers.comm. 28-09-02). These responses reflect clearly the perceived problem of the unselective nature of this type of hunting amongst the farming sector and conservation, a problem that would appear to stem primarily from lack of control and regulation.

The National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty against Animals (NSPCA) holds strong anti hunting views. Megan Loxton of NSPCA said that once the dogs catch the scent of wild game, they really become wild, indicating a lack of control. Interestingly, this view of traditional dog hunting is also held by the traditional leader of Mpembeni area and his committee. *Inkosi* D Hlabisa of Mpembeni tribal area did not view traditional hunting as a strategy for encouraging community participation in natural resource management. His views appear to be based on the perception that traditional hunting is non-selective and destructive, especially under uncontrolled circumstances. The Mpembeni Community Game Reserve Management Committee further echoed his views. The Committee supports sport hunting by professional hunters:

> Traditional hunting is destructive especially under uncontrolled circumstances. It kills large quantities of game and leaves little for professional hunters. We cannot let our wildlife resources be wiped out by indiscriminate and destructive traditional hunters using unprofessional hunting methods (*Inkosi* D Hlabisa. pers. comm. 13-12-2001).

Captain Zungu from Hlabisa South African Police Services also admitted that uncontrolled dog hunting can be detrimental to conservation efforts. He stated that large number of animals could be slaughtered as a result of unethical and uncontrolled dog hunting (Mr G Zungu. pers.comm. 01-07-2002). The entire natural resource base could be destroyed as a result of unsustainable traditional practices such as illegal hunting expeditions. Safari Club International (Zulu Nyala) a private safari hunting company stated that safari hunting could not co-exist with traditional hunting. Their response indicates that they believe in a linear type of development (towards more 'civilized' forms of hunting) and are sceptical of local cultures. The Zulu Nyala representative also mentioned that the current economic system does not allow for the practice of traditional hunting in or near conservation areas – it is a luxury that the industry cannot afford (*inkosi* D Hlabisa pers. comm. 13-12-01).

Many local people in the tribal reserves however saw wildlife as a common resource belonging to all for both consumptive and non-consumptive use. Traditional hunters association chairperson Mr H Zuma of Impendle stated that the dogs were always under their control and that they were selective in what they hunted, hunting males exclusively. He further argued that hunters could keep their dogs on leads; only releasing them once the game is sighted.

But opponents of traditional hunting argue that the ability to control the dog is owner specific, and not only depends on the ability to enforce control, but on the willingness to do so. "In the traditional sense however, where dogs walk ahead of the hunter and both flush out and chase the game, control is often minimal" (Ms M Loxton. pers.comm. 28-09-2002). (See notes of the workshop on traditional hunting that was held on the 28th September 2002 in (Appendix C). The representative of the KwaZulu-Natal Hunters Conservation Association felt that not only do the dogs impact heavily on particular species, but also on certain sectors of the population. Females, especially those that are pregnant, along with young animals are most often caught, while strong, often unproductive males survive (Mr van Rensburg, pers.comm. 28-09-2002). This may result in imbalance in game populations and is therefore in principle non sustainable. During controlled culling operations, on the other hand males are normally harvested while females are left to breed.

As stated by Ms M Loxton of NSPCA, animals not actually killed during the hunt, may also suffer as a result of the stress associated with the chase. "Abortion is a big problem, while some game may die of capture myopathy (a stress related condition)" (Loxton M. pers.comm. 28- 09- 2002). She further stated that this is not only a problem with traditional hunting, but may also result from driven shoots where dogs are used to flush the game. This may also affect social interactions between animals in that herds may be split and males chased out of their territories.

NSPCA and Wildlife Environment Society of South Africa were strongly opposed to the notion of integrating traditional hunting into conservation and development. Officials from both organisations stated that hunting with dogs decreases animal populations without any means to replace it. However they acknowledged that there can be a compromise from various parties and stakeholders towards creating a more responsible conservation that will hold everyone more accountable for their actions.

The animal welfare group (NSPCA) is critical about the move by Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife to sanction traditional hunting with dogs. Their argument is based on the fact that traditional hunting with dogs is outlawed by South African legislation. Megan Loxton from NSPCA believes that traditional hunting is unethical and the game caught up by hunting dogs ends up dying from stress because dogs are not 'efficient killers'. If we support legislation allowing traditional hunting with dogs, it means that "we allow blatant cruelty against animals" (Ms M Loxton. pers.comm. 28-09-2002).

However, Mr Hertzog Zuma (Impendle Traditional Dog Hunters Association Chairperson) differs with animal rights people in that he believes that traditional hunting can be ethical and sustainable under controlled circumstances. This was supported by Mr F Ngubane, who said that during the hunt, the normative context is emphasised and strict rules and procedures followed (Mr F Ngubane. pers.comm.21-06-2002). Both further emphasised the need for households to have access to basic needs to survive, to be healthy and be able to fulfil their cultural needs.

There were some areas of agreement among some of the stakeholders. The local leaders, KwaZulu-Natal Hunters and Conservation Association and Impendle Traditional Dog Hunters Association all agreed that hunters are conservationists. They stated that if wildlife tourism can support safari hunting, particularly in nature reserves, safari hunting could therefore complement traditional hunting. They however emphasised that such a condition requires careful management. Their collective response promotes a strong version of environmental and social justice that requires a fundamental change in society and natural/ wildlife resource management (See Figure 5.1 below).

There is therefore a debate about the possibility of incorporating traditional hunting into conservation and development policies in the province. KwaZulu-Natal Chief Conservator Ms Y Ndlovu stated that rural communities in KwaZulu-Natal especially on the north coast (Zululand) are faced with major challenges such as poverty and improving local economic development. She therefore suggested that besides protected areas, open lands can be set aside where mixed land uses including traditional hunting can co-exist. As a chief conservator, she felt that within the shifting conservation discourse in KwaZulu-Natal, socio-cultural resources are as important as wildlife resources.

The hunting conservation extension officer for KZN Wildlife Mr S de Jager stated that it is better to have a certain number of people with dogs for controlled hunting with permission, rather than people hunting illegally. It seems that the new thinking within conservation services in KwaZulu-Natal acknowledges the fact that there is no single path to conservation management. This also illustrates that conservation programmes that explicitly avoid local cultures and ignores underlying social dynamics are less likely to be effective.

| KZNNCS / Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, ITDHA, KZNHCA and Elected Community leaders | Safari Club International and Traditional Leaders | NSPCA, WESSA, MCCGRMC and Anti Poaching Unit |

YES   NO

"Indifferent"

RESPONSE LINE
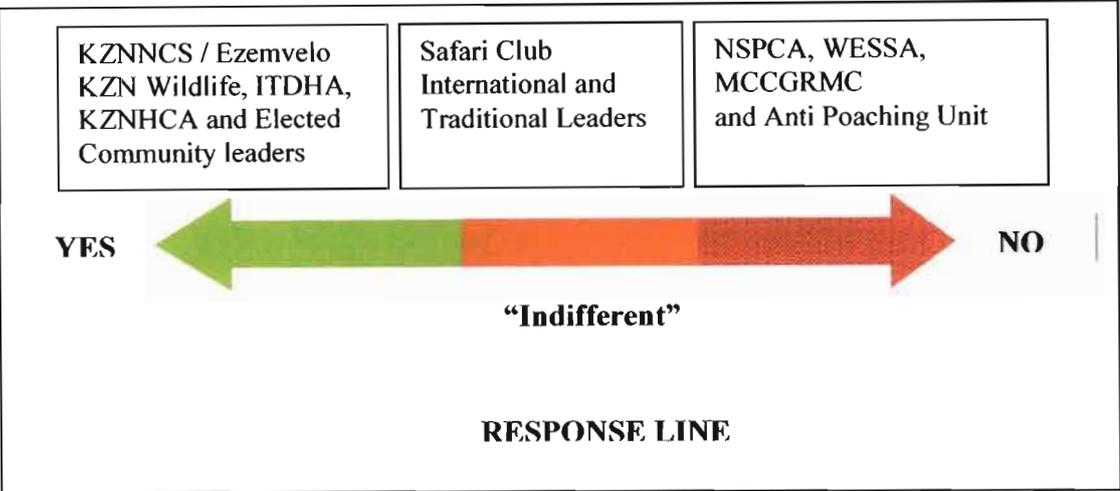
Figure 5.1 Integration of controlled traditional hunting into wildlife management and conservation:

As indicated in the above figure, there are three main categories of responses, Figure 5.1 indicates the range of responses received when stakeholders were asked whether traditional hunting can be linked with conservation and development in KwaZulu-Natal. that is: those who argue that traditional hunting is not compatible with conservation, those who are uncertain about it, and those who are positive about traditional hunting. According to the response line the majority of stakeholders interviewed agreed that traditional hunting with dogs could be linked to conservation and development under strictly controlled circumstances.

Of major concern however, is the fact that the Anti Poaching Unit was against any idea of allowing traditional hunting although they are part of KZNNCS. Their stance was based on the fact that such an exercise had been tried by KZNNCS before and it could not work. According to them, in this case local people took advantage of the agreement and large herds of wild game were slaughtered.

This had severe implications for wildlife conservation in KwaZulu-Natal (Mr P Khanyezi, pers.comm.01- 07- 2002). All the respondents however, agreed that if not controlled, traditional dog hunting can be detrimental to conservation and development. They also mentioned the problem of shortage of lands where traditional hunting can take place in communal areas.

Stakeholders such as the traditional leaders and Safari International were indifferent regarding the practicability of linking traditional hunting with conservation and development. They however agreed that at present people need to restore and conserve their cultures in a manner that is compatible with the principles of sustainable development, namely, futurity and rights alongside responsibility.

Certain stakeholders in nature conservation were totally against any attempts to create new stakeholders in wildlife management through traditional hunting. NSPCA and WESSA, an animal rights group and a non-governmental organisation respectively, feel that incorporating traditional practices like hunting with dogs can have a detrimental impact on conservation efforts. However, an overall assessment of the responses indicates that under controlled circumstances, traditional dog hunting can exist in communal areas and can be sanctioned by local institutions and other stakeholders.

While the KZNNCS chief conservator did note that if local communities are not prepared to forfeit some of their cultural values in favour of development, they might find themselves lagging behind their urban counterparts, there was overall agreement that traditional hunting is of value to rural communities adjacent to protected areas and game farms. Since traditional hunting has changed over time with modern elements overlain in it, it is easier for people to adjust to the needs of conservation and development, especially where there are good institutions of governance (Mr R Smith.pers.comm. 26-06-2002).

Mr S de Jager from Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife believes there is much to be learnt from the way African traditional hunters in KwaZulu-Natal carry out the hunting expeditions and that these elements can be incorporated into modern conservation programmes. In many African villages, especially in Zululand, people have insights into how to utilize wildlife resources to retain the ecological balance, such as by hunting in winter when there are few or no female buck ready to breed (Mr de Jager S pers.comm.28-09-002). He believes that as a result of exclusivist policies,

these insights are being lost and Africans, particularly the rural population are in danger of losing their connections with their natural environment.

The following table (5.1) summarises the attitudes of the main stakeholders.

List of Stakeholders	Views expressed by each Stakeholder
KZN Wildlife	Wildlife management can support safari hunting and traditional hunting
KZNTHA	There is need for compromise from all parties.
Elected Community Leaders	We have concerns about the values attached to wildlife
Farm Owner	Its success depends on many other factors coming into play
Safari International	Traditional hunting can generate income and create job for the unemployed.
Traditional Leaders	Traditional hunting is the cornerstone of our culture, but it needs to be controlled
SPCA	Traditional hunting is cruel to animals.
WESSA	We have concerns with the manner in which traditional hunting is conducted. This could have an adverse effect on the ecosystem.
Anti-Poaching Unit	It is our duty to fight against any forms of illegal hunting of which traditional hunting is part.
MCCGRC	We cannot allow traditional hunting in the community game reserve because it will have negative impact on eco-tourism that is on the cards.

Table 5.1: Views expressed regarding the future of traditional hunting

Linking traditional hunting with development places wildlife management within a shifting conservation discourse in KwaZulu-Natal (KZNNCAA 05, 1999). Most stakeholders and role players agreed that the success of such an initiative depends on a number of other factors, for example, willingness of governments and game farmers to donate game to communal areas that are currently devoid of game. The primary concern of the conservation bodies and animal welfare groups is not only the ecological impact of traditional hunting, but the ability of such a venture to

support eco-tourism in a sustainable fashion. Proponents of community conservation argue that the establishment of hunting areas is an integral component of the 'eco-tourism triangle' that is intended to promote broader rural development in rural communities in southern Africa. The next section of the Results Chapter deals with the research undertaken in the two case studies.

5.3 Attitudes towards Traditional Hunting in the Case Study Areas

The following section addresses the second objective of the study. It explores the attitudes of local people towards traditional hunting in the two case studies. These findings are based on the qualitative approach used during household surveys and interviews. Each case study area is discussed in turn, starting with Impendle.

5.3.1 Traditional Hunting at Impendle

Traditional hunting was found to be widely practised at Impendle and the issue of access to wildlife resources for this purpose was a burning one. The local inkosi in Impendle stressed that the recent decrease in the number of poaching incidents in and around the Midlands area indicates that, with proper relationships between various community groups and authorities, a working strategy can be found to combat illegal hunting expeditions. The number of poaching incidents had decreased since the introduction of controlled traditional hunting on certain privately owned farms, in particular, that of Rob Smith.

> People are fond of hunting with their dogs and some commercial farmers have come to terms with the fact that traditional hunting is the way of life and part of social expression by a particular social group (Mr Hertzog Zuma. pers.comm. 26-06-2002).

It appeared that in Impendle allowing controlled traditional hunts during specific periods of the year is already helping to reduce the impact of illegal hunting and conflicts between local authorities and communities. There is recognition by some farmers that customary systems are still based on extensive use of natural resources, and that people have devised a seasonal hunting period that exploits the forage regimes at different times of the year (Mr R Smith. pers.comm. 26-06-2002). The practice of seasonal hunting under which wildlife resources are allowed to regenerate through natural processes is part of this resource use system. The issue of existing regulatory mechanisms for traditional hunting is discussed in more detail in the next section.

Mr Hertzog Ngubane further argued that hunting has a social and cultural significance for people and so, allowing them to pursue traditional hunting could benefit both local farmers and the conservation authorities (Ngubane. pers. comm.26-06-2002). It appears to be accepted by the farm owner that traditional dog hunting is a socialisation process by members of a particular tribal area (Mr van Heerden, pers.comm. 28-09-2002).

5.3.2 Traditional Hunting at Mpembeni and Surrounding Areas

The researcher's observations in the field and discussions with households from KwaHlabisa and Mpembeni in the Sengonyane mountains yielded some insights regarding the debates surrounding the traditional hunting phenomenon in the Zululand region. Since the field research was undertaken during the winter, which is the hunting season, the researcher was able to observe some of the early morning hunts. These hunts are widely practiced in communal areas like Hlabisa, eMdletsheni and Mpembeni.

Plate 5.1 Traditional hunting dog (*isiqhe*) used by local people in Hlabisa-Mpembeni Area

The above plate pictures the traditional hunting dog (*isiqhe*) used in these tribal areas, *isiqhe* is also used as guardian (watchdog) of the homestead and its surrounding area (*inkosi* D J Hlabisa pers.comm. 13-12-2001). This is a medium-built and robust dog used to pursue game. Once the dog is close to the game, it shows the hunter where the game is, and the hunter closes in to kill the game. This dog relies on its inbuilt instinct to go for the animal's throat and is effective in dense forest areas (*induna* Mr B Mhlongo. pers.comm. 13-12-2002).

Inkosi L Hlabisa admits that local institutional structures such as *amakhosi, izinduna* and local councillors cannot manage traditional hunting on their own, in their areas of jurisdiction. He cited the lack of consultation and public participation in conservation development as one of the concerns. Because people are not allowed to express themselves culturally, they do not value conservation as a means of development (*inkosi* L Hlabisa.pers.comm. 14- 06- 2002). He argued:

> Although traditional hunting brings community members together, it is equally important
>
> that this practice is controlled and sanctioned by traditional authorities (*amakhosi*) as
>
> well as democratically elected community leaders (*inkosi* L Hlabisa. pers.comm.14-06-
>
> 2002).

Mr S de Jager of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife is fully aware of the importance of traditional hunting in this region and of the existence of control mechanisms:

> … Local people are not ignorant. It is not all people that are hunting with dogs rather only a portion of the population. Those people interested in hunting with dogs can be easily identified. In U mkuze for i nstance the community of Ozabeni was allowed to hunt with dogs within the game reserve. This failed because proper community structures were not involved as regulators. It is such a myth that local people cannot live harmoniously with nature. During the 1940's, people lived harmoniously with nature until the tsetse fly (*unakane*) issue came up (Mr J Shabalala pers. comm. 13-07-2001).

Plate 5.2 below depicts a traditional hunting party that took place in dense forests away from the community game reserve in Hlabisa. Perhaps due to the fact that some cases of illegal hunting with dogs were reported during the same period in the past two years, the researcher found the law enforcement unit (Anti Poaching Unit) eager to catch and prosecute offenders. Nevertheless, this does not stop people from undertaking hunting expeditions in communal lands and forests. Plate 5.2 showing a hunting party which the researcher accompanied, illustrates this.

Plate 5.2 Traditional dog-hunting parties in Sengonyane and Ngoqoza Mountains in northern KwaZulu-Natal

Most households and other stakeholders interviewed in the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi area stress that traditional hunting is a form of cultural expression by people. For most households especially those with an interest in traditional hunting with dogs, hunting is a form of socialization and spiritual upliftment experience and they argue it can take place in a planned and ethical manner. While some households practiced hunting only for subsistence purposes, not every hunt yields a kill. In some hunting expeditions, the game can easily evade the hunting dogs for the entire hunting session. *Inkosi* L Hlabisa, as wellas the Mhlongo and Ngubane families in KwaHlabisa stressed this. The argument by the elected councillor of Mpembeni, Mr Senzo Zwane further illustrates the need for continued interaction between people and wildlife resources in the areas under their authority.

> Traditional hunting with dogs means a lot to the people here. We do not hunt because we are hungry. We do have large herds of cattle and goats for meat, but still need to fulfil this cultural and recreational activity. Traditional hunting has recreational, cultural and subsistence value to us. At times we exchange our cattle and goats for traditional hunting dogs. We hunt rabbits, guinea fowls, bucks, hyenas, jackals and wild pigs (Councillor Mr S Zwane and Mr P Nkwanyana. pers. comm. 23-07-2002).

Gengeshe Khumalo (a local man who owns four traditional hunting dogs) from Ndumbili valley also expressed the same feeling. He feels that if land could be set aside for people to fulfil this spiritual obligation, the local people would develop the necessary understanding of natural phenomena. It appears that, whilst families used to be self sufficient with a high a degree of

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independence, such conditions and ties within community structure have all waned. The following quotation illustrates how some households link inability to fulfil traditional hunting practice with changes in social and cultural status:

> Traditional hunting dogs have many uses to us. We use these dogs to combat problem animals like hyenas, jackals and even bucks on our crops and domesticated animals. Inability to practice traditional hunting therefore lowers the community dignity as well as attachment to tradition, loss of contact with nature and so on. Now that we cannot practice our tradition and culture, instead we watch foreign safari hunters slaughtering our wildlife resources; we are now a weak society (Mr Mfana Mhlongo and Mr Mtholwa Masuku. pers.comm. 23-07-2002).

Overall, it was argued that traditional hunting is essential for the rural population in the area:

> Hunting is a social activity and with a variety of values attached to it. Traditional hunting is significant to the entire community to an extent that livestock like cattle is even exchanged for traditional hunting dogs. I would understand and appreciate if the authorities can sanction even a controlled group hunting during certain times of the year (Mr Mpungose. pers.comm. 23-07-2002).

However some conservation officials feel that attitudes need to change. This is evident from the statement by Mr VF Hlabisa and Mr J Shabalala from KZNNCS:

> Conservation development projects are aimed at protecting wildlife and local economic development. People often think that such development is achieved at the expense of their culture, customs and traditions. Their response is always detrimental not only to conservation goals, but also for development. It is however, a situation one can regard as critical. We are all in for a challenge. The solution is within our reach (Mr J Shabalala and Mr VF Hlabisa, pers.comm.13-12-2001).

Mr P Khanyezi of the Anti Poaching Unit in Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park and Ms Y Ndlovu, who is a chief conservator for KZNNCS both state that authorizing traditional hunting with dogs in either communal or protected areas is not a new concept for KZNNCS (formally Natal Parks Board). However, there are some limitations to this especially if the local conditions are clearly not understood. They state that all stakeholders need to understand that conservation of wildlife and its habitat is of primary concern in any conservation efforts. Ms Yoliswa Ndlovu believes that with

necessary institutional structures and better environmental education, communities are able to use natural resources like plants, both ethically and sustainably.

Captain AM Zungu from Hlabisa Police Station, who is also a community member, admits that the fluctuating numbers of cases during mid 2001 and 2002 indicates the need to establish clear rules on the access and use of resources. He further reiterated that the cases show the relationship between the manner in which conservation development is taking place and the community needs (Mr Zungu pers. comm. 01-07-2002). Councillor Mr Zwane expressed a very strong view regarding the people's persistence on hunting in reserve and open areas near the reserve. This is evident in the following statement:

> People value wildlife for a variety of reasons. However, their areas are devoid of game. In contrast, the only areas rich in biodiversity are protected areas and private game farms. People are living adjacent to protected areas with tempting quantities of game. People still want to hunt with their dogs and will continue to do so in the foreseeable future. However, since wildlife has been given high status to humans because of laws and policies, people who continue to hunt are being regarded as poachers and are often prosecuted when caught. Traditional hunting is the people's way of life. No matter what name they give to it, it will continue (Councillor Mr Zwane. pers. comm. 22-07-2002).

5.4 Existing Regulatory Mechanisms in the Case Study Areas

Having established the continuing importance of traditional hunting to at least a section of rural society, a ttention n ow turns t o the s econd p art o f t he r esearch objective, w hich w as "to explore attitudes towards traditional hunting in the two rural areas, as well as existing regulatory mechanisms." As indicated earlier in this thesis, understanding social institutions constituting a community is crucial to reconcile conservation with community concerns. From the social science perspective, social institutions are:

> Basic modes of social activity followed by the majority of members of a given society. Institutions form the 'bedrock' or perhaps the glue of society, because they represent relatively fixed modes of behaviour, which endure over time (Giddens, 1992: 731).

Institutions are very important to our social understanding and for integrating conservation and development because they represent both social entities which are enduring and the means by which the social, economic and political legitimacy of communities may be integrated. Building and strengthening of existing local institutions is essential and it needs to occur within an ethical framework incorporating notions of local participation and local control.

Care for the earth and sustainable living may depend upon the beliefs and commitment of individuals, but it is through their communities that most people can best express their commitment. As indicated in Chapter Two, people who organise themselves to work for sustainability in their own communities can be a powerful and effective force, whether their community is rich, poor, urban, suburban or rural (Brendon and Wells, 1992). People can only do this if they make it a priority and are given the necessary powers to make full use of their own intelligence and experience (Wells and Brandon, 1992).

In KwaZulu-Natal, the role of local institutions such as *amakhosi, izinduna* and elected leaders (councillors), is explicitly linked with the role of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife as custodians of the natural environment or heritage. The provisions of the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Amendment Act 05 of 1999, which repealed the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1974, recognise the role of traditional institutions as managers of the environment in their areas. (For details and contents of KZNNCMAA 05 of 1999, see Chapter Three of this thesis and Appendix B).

Households interviewed in both case study areas raised the question of why traditional dog hunting is curtailed if there are elders, councillors, *amakhosi* and local headmen (*izinduna*) within the community who are able to regulate and manage it? Traditional leaders in communal areas have the power to allocate land and natural resources found therein. It is for this reason that most rural people believe that the same institution can be used in a formal way to control traditional hunting if land can be set aside for the purpose.

Gengeshe Khumalo (who owns four traditional hunting dogs) from Ndumbili in the Hluhluwe area expressed this strongly. He argued that if land can be set aside for people to fulfil this spiritual obligation, the local people will develop the necessary understanding of natural phenomena. People will use their traditional knowledge and experience to fully manage traditional hunting in a more sensible manner (Mr Khumalo. pers. comm. 23-07-2002).

The traditional authorities and local councillors interviewed in the study areas indicated that traditional hunting does take place in their tribal areas and *izinduna, amakhosi* and local councillors have considerable control of traditional hunting with dogs in these areas. Scholars in local level natural resource management point out that an institutional structure, whether traditional or modern, if it operates with a full understanding of local context, is likely to bring about justice (both social and environmental justice). If such cultural practices are recognised and sanctioned by local institutional structures, the local populations could feel active participants and beneficiaries of wildlife management (Prof Fincham. pers.comm. 28. 09. 2002).

For *induna* Mr B Mhlongo, of Mpembeni (who previously worked for the then Natal Parks Board as a game guard in Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Game Reserve), the community is fond of hunting for a number of reasons beside that of subsistence. He stated that as community leaders they therefore try to make sure that each hunt takes place in a strict and controlled manner, more especially *inqina* and *ihlambo.*

> People are fond of hunting, especially in small groups. Our duty as leaders is to ensure that permission is sought and found from relevant *induna or inkosi*. When giving out permission, we make sure that a limited number and specific types of animals are being hunted. In some instances game found either within the reserve or outside is hunted. This has created a lot of problems for the Parks Board and us (*induna* Mr B Mhlongo. pers.comm.13-12-2001).

The community conservation officer from Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife outlined the current policy:
> We are working with other institutional structures like councillors, *amakhosi* and *izinduna* to make the protection of wildlife part of traditional law. If *amakhosi* warn people to look after the wild animals, it takes on a whole new aspect and becomes part of their by-laws. The rural communities will enforce it themselves. Also any fines for contravening the laws can go to the rural community trust funds to be used by people themselves (Mr J Shabalala. pers.comm.13-12-2001).

Some respondents argued that the involvement of traditional authorities and hunting associations comprising of local traditional hunters, means that sustainable utilisation of wildlife natural resources is already happening (S de Jager.pers.comm. 23-07-2002). The general consensus from a meeting held with *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa and his izinduna was that regulating and controlling traditional

dog hunting in Mayakazi, Hlabisa, Mpembeni, Esixheni and other tribal areas, could probably serve as a springboard for ecotourism and sustainable livelihoods. However, this cannot be achieved easily, especially if these hunting expeditions take place secretly without the full recognition of law.

Local men Mfana Mhlongo and Sipho Mdluli from Mayakazi who each keep three traditional hunting dogs *isimaku* and *isiqhe* believe that the presence and respect of local councillors, *izinduna* and *amakhosi* has maintained and sustained harmless people-nature relationships. They think that the pressure of modernity has not actually changed the socio-cultural setting in their communities. Mr Mhlongo thinks that conservation laws that exclude people are undermining the rich traditional legacy of existing rules relevant to the local context. He feels that natural wildlife management needs to be looked at in a greater social context. This view can easily be linked to that of scholars who advocate co-management of natural resources. Their argument is that prohibition is not a solution to wildlife management in either communal areas or private lands.

A local hunter Mr Senzo Mhlongo from Mayakazi believes that living in communal (tribal) areas means that people are living under the tutelage of their leaders, from household heads, *izinduna, amakhosi* to elected local councillors. He thinks that local people are able to conserve and protect their natural resources despite living below the poverty line. He believes that people have plenty of reasons to protect their environment, which however does not occur all the time because some of the people rely on a fairly limited wildlife resource base as a resource provider.

Community leaders as well as members of traditional hunting associations from both case studies areas, feel that existing rules based on experience cannot single-handedly regulate traditional hunting. They believe that local rules can and should be incorporated into the formal laws as codified in the conservation policies. *Amakhosi* and other social institutions like hunting associations can be vested with the responsibility to manage and control traditional hunting in their areas (*inkosi* Mrs T Zuma pers.comm. 22-07-2002).

One informant who happens to be an official from Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife argued that there is much to be learnt from the way African traditional hunters in KwaZulu-Natal carry out the traditional hunting expeditions. He felt that such elements could be linked into modern conservation programmes. He further reiterated this in his argument that in KwaZulu-Natal, people have insights into how to utilise wildlife resources to preserve the ecological balance, for instance by hunting in

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winter when there are few or no female bucks ready to breed. Supervision by institutional structures such as izinduna, amakhosi, household heads and councillors is an integral part of this.

The following section turns to the specific circumstances of the two "experiments" in community-based natural resource management that are the case studies for this thesis. In the one case (Impendle), traditional hunting remained central to the project. In the other case, traditional hunting was eased off the agenda when it was decided that the community game reserve would be set up on a commercial basis. The next section therefore sets out to achieve the third objective, namely to "determine the impact (in the two case studies) of either facilitating or excluding traditional hunting on local people's attitudes towards stewardship of the land and its wildlife resources." First, the two projects are outlined and their different histories related. Secondly, an attempt is made to determine p eople's a ttitudes t owards t he land a nd i ts w ildlife r esources a s a r esult o f t hese t wo different histories.

5.5 Traditional Hunting in the Two Projects
5.5.1 The Impendle Project

In the 1990s, commercial farmers as well as KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services were faced with a challenge of managing wildlife resources and controlling illegal hunting in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands. Although there has been a long history of conflict and difficult relations between the farmers and the tribal communities adjacent to game farms in the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands in particular, attempts have been made as well to form community partnerships (Mr Rob Smith.pers.comm. 26-06- 2002). The period after 1994 also opened up possibilities for establishing areas where traditional dog hunting might take place.

One farm owner Mr Rob Smith felt that a partnership in co-management could be based on game found in his farm such as oribi, reedbuck and eland. In 1998, he agreed to allow local people to hunt on his farm under controlled circumstances. The farmer together with a local structure, the Impendle Traditional Hunters Association, was therefore charged with co-operating to ensure the smooth operation of traditional hunting during appropriate seasons. The main factor propelling the farmer into partnership with traditional hunters from Impendle was the need to conserve wildlife within the farm through community participation. As noted in Chapter Three, the elands and reedbucks were common in the communal areas but their numbers have either deteriorated or are on

the brink of extinction. Traditional hunting was central to the partnership from the start, and remains central.

Rob Smith stated that he was aware of issues of wider ecosystem management with public participation as a critical factor in both formal and informal conservation. As he argued, "local people have lived in their environments for centuries and have learnt to live within the ecological limits of their environments" (Mr R Smith. pers.comm. 26-06-2002). Before the partnership, the only way for this Inhluzani farmer to protect the game within his farm was to build extensive security in the form of fences with a few game guards walking around the entire 17000 hectares farm. "This effectively isolated the local communities outside the fences, and this resulted in tensions and confrontations between local people and farm workers" (Mr Smith. pers.comm. 26-06-2002). This situation was clearly not desirable from the point of view of wider local level natural resource management, especially because all the farm workers are from the Impendle area.

5.5.2 The Mpembeni Community Game Reserve
There has also been a long history of difficult relations and conflict between rural communities living adjacent to the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park (HUP) and the Nature Conservation Services in the former Natal Province (Münster and Sandwith, 1998). Apart from pressures from surrounding communities and illegal hunters, KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services have recently been affected by the government's land restitution programme. An article by Münster and Sandwith (1998) outlines policy attempts to form partnerships between the then Natal Parks Board and the neighbouring communities in the 1980's and early 90's.

Throughout its history as a game reserve, the HUP interaction with the neighboring communities was characterized by law enforcement. There were very stringent laws, which ensured the separation between the park and the surrounding communities. During the 1980's and early 90's, the park authorities were engaged in informal relations and arrangements to allow neighboring communities to collect grass and fuel wood within the park. These informal arrangements were useful especially prior to 1994 (*inkosi* DJ Hlabisa. pers.comm.13-12-2001). In the new post-1994 era, however, it became urgent that new initiatives should be taken.

KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services together with community leaders from Hlabisa and Mdletshe Tribal Authorities, under *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa, *inkosi* L Hlabisa and *inkosi* T Mdletshe were

faced with challenges of protecting wildlife resources within the park and providing tangible benefits to communities as compensation for the land lost when the protected area was formed. One unsuccessful idea was a Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park Community lodge. A more successful idea was a community game reserve (Mr VF Hlabisa. pers.comm.11-12-2001). The Mpembeni Community Game Reserve Management Committee comprising of community members was therefore formed under the chairmanship of Mr VF Hlabisa. After six years of strategic meetings, the Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve was officially opened on the 9th of March 2001. The rationale was to generate income through ecotourism, create job opportunities and provision of services to the communities adjacent to the park (The Mpembeni Community Game Reserve Business Plan, 2001).

A crucial point to note is that the project started as a community project aimed at allowing traditional hunting, but before its opening the idea had changed to only allowing commercial safari hunting. The original idea was that the community game reserve would extend the legend of Shaka's royal hunting grounds at Umfolozi, allowing local people to hunt in the reserve, but this was changed to accommodate the safari hunters, thus excluding local people. According to the Royal Hunting Ground notion, *inkosi* and some selected men from a community are allowed to pursue a traditional hunt on a particular land under the guidance of certain leadership like *inkosi* or *induna*. According to both VF Hlabisa and *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa the initial idea was that the community game reserve would become a reserve area where the chief and ordinary people would exercise pure traditional hunting. This however, was to change. Local cultural practices are not included any longer although the original conception was that they would be.

The reserve was established on communal lands adjacent to the main HUP. About 6 000 hectares of both grazing and agricultural land northwest of Hluhluwe Game Reserve was allocated and fenced off for the community game reserve and an additional 11000 hectares of communal land with households falls under the project area.

Why did the community game reserve take the shape it did? To answer this question, it is necessary to look at the history of relationships between the communities surrounding the HUP reserve, and the conservation authorities. The Mpembeni Community Game Reserve is one of the KZNNCS community partnership projects, which was established in order to create more stakeholders in natural resource conservation within the park (Zungu, 2003). With the development of the Natal

Parks Board (NPB) Neighbour Relations Policy in 1992, the relationship between the HUP and local communities became formalised and the principles of the Neighbour Relations Policy set guidelines according to which the HUP could interact with the neighboring communities. Then in terms of the KZN Conservation Management Act of 1997, a Local Board comprising of ten traditional authorities (*amakhosi*) from the surrounding tribal areas and other stakeholders, was established by KZN Nature Conservation Board. This was set up as a strategic plan to forge relations and partnerships with local communities (Mr J Shabalala. pers.comm. 13-12-2001).

Partnership projects, in particular the community game reserve, were meant to encourage local control of wildlife resources and also to change local attitudes towards wildlife conservation. This was necessary because, like many areas surrounding the park, the Mpembeni and Mdletshe communities did not have good relations with KZNNCS. Bad feeling dated back to the events of the period in the 1940s when people were forcibly removed from the corridor area between Umfolozi and Hluhluwe game reserve (Brooks, 2001). This removal aggravated conflict and tension between the park and the people. During the interviews, one of the interviewees argued:

> During the period before the 1940's people lived in harmony with wildlife. It was only after our forefathers were forcibly removed from their ancestral land that we were regarded as enemies to the wild animals. Our access to wildlife resources has since been restricted and curtailed in some instances (Mr Mfana Mdluli. pers.comm. 23-06-2002).

The daily physical interaction between wildlife in the park and livestock in communal areas, continued to further aggravate the conflict. For example wildlife animals such as the hyena from the park would cross the fence and predate on local livestock. In most cases the compensation issue was a problem. Some of the wildlife from the game reserve like buck would destroy community crops. This was very common during the early hours of the morning. Disputes arose as to whether or not the animals had actually come from the park, and the reserve authorities often adamantly refused to compensate for either crop or livestock destruction (Mr VF Hlabisa. pers.comm.11-12-2001).

It was in this conflictual context that the community game reserve was established. The Mpembeni and Hlabisa community were amongst the communities that were fighting for the return of the land. However community leaders such as Mr VF Hlabisa and Mr Mhlongo (local headman/ *induna*) soon realized that there is a need to clearly define how they were going to use the land, should they win any land claim. In addition, the lack of funds and land claim delays compelled them to form a

partnership with HUP. The idea of a community game reserve originated in 1995 as indicated earlier on but could only be realized in 2001. Lack of funding and technical experience in wildlife management prompted the Mpembeni community, HUP and Zulu Nyala (Safari International) to forge a partnership. It was only after deliberations between the HUP and the community leaders that KZNNCS decided to offer financial assistance by donating animals to the reserve and also offer technical assistance on an advisory level. Zulu Nyala contributed with the fence to fence off 6 000 hectares of tribal land from the surrounding communities of Mdletsheni, Mpembeni and KwaHlabisa for the community game reserve.

It was in this context that a key decision was made in 1999 which meant that this initiative took a very different direction from the Impendle initiative, which continued to regard traditional hunting as a key mechanism for promoting conservation. The stakeholders (Management Committee, Zulu Nyala and KZNNCS) agreed that only safari hunting would be allowed within the community game reserve. According to these stakeholders, safari hunting was viewed as a more economically viable option than traditional hunting. This was also supported by the two local *amakhosi* DJ Hlabisa and *inkosi* L Hlabisa.

> We cannot allow anyone from the community to hunt in this game reserve because the local people cannot afford the money that we could rake in from the safari hunters. (*inkosi* DJ Hlabisa pers.comm.13-12-2001).

The new conception was that highly trained professional hunters at a lucrative price would hunt buffalos and reedbucks. This income would go to the Trust and later be used for local community development (Mr VF Hlabisa. pers.comm.11-12-2001).

There were major implications to this decision. Although both are ritualised and thus forms of "the Hunt" (see Chapter 1), traditional hunting differs from safari hunting in significant ways. The differences are summarised in Table 5.2.

Traditional Dog Hunting	Safari Hunting
Based on local culture and ecologically sound knowledge and experience of environment and social context	"Foreign" culture, typically urbanised western culture
Cultural satisfaction after physiological needs met (non-utilitarian and utilitarian)	Non-utilitarian exclusively (trophy hunting)
Small scale environmental impact	Limited environmental impact
Blood sport	Blood sport
Non-commercial	Commercial
Regulated and managed by local authority using locally defined rules that are compatible with local values and needs	Foreign agencies often use exorbitant hunting licences to regulate this activity
Communal	Elitist

Table 5.2 An outline of the elements of traditional hunting and safari hunting (MacKenzie, 1995)

Table 5.2 depicts the significant difference between traditional hunting with dogs and safari hunting. In particular, traditional hunting is based on local ecocosmologies and generally has a small-scale environmental impact. Although they are both blood sports, traditional hunting is regulated and managed by local institutions using traditional laws and modern conservation laws that tend to be compatible with local values and development needs. In safari hunting, the distorting feature is that scientific and foreign values tend to take a superior status with local knowledge often ignored and unused.

The next section attempts to determine the attitudes towards the land and its resources generated in the local populations by these two different experiments, and to see whether the inclusion or exclusion of participation through traditional hunting had any impact in developing notions of stewardship in the two cases.

5.6 Community Attitudes towards Land and Wildlife Resources
5.6.1 Community Attitudes towards Inhluzani Farm

In order to further explore and examine community attitudes towards land in iMpendle, the researcher looked at the levels of social conflict and poaching since the inception of the project. Focus group interviews were also conducted with members of Impendle Traditional Hunters Association. They stated that controlled traditional dog hunting takes place twice in late May until early August. Unlike the Mpembeni community, in the Inhluzani farm, members of the traditional hunters association have a right of access to wildlife resources within a privately owned land through controlled and managed traditional hunting.

This access began after a series of negotiations between the farm owner (Rob Smith) and iMpendle community. In this context, natural resource utilisation through traditional hunting is managed and controlled by the local community and the farm owner. As stated in Chapter Three, this joint venture was formed in 1998 through the initiative of the farm owner. The Traditional Dog Hunters Association (ITDHA) was formed at this time. According to the farm owner, there are four main reasons that prompted him to form the partnership with the Mpendle community. These are:

- To gain more community support for wildlife resource conservation within the farm;
- To ease tension between local farmers and surrounding local community;
- To promote the local culture through access to wildlife resources; and
- To create stakeholders in wildlife resource management.

The farmer Rob Smith's view is that the levels of poaching have decreased significantly since the introduction of the project: "After the decision to sanction three traditional dog hunts on my farm for the last four years, the game population had actually grown ten times during that period" (Mr R Smith. pers.comm. 22-06-2001). Because of the agreed hunting calendar, the game within this KwaZulu-Natal midlands farm is more settled now and is able to breed instead of the constant harassment the game suffered from the previous illegal hunting expeditions (Mr R Smith and Mr H Zuma. pers.comm. 22-06- 2001).

From the community point of view, due to the respect now shown for their right of access, long-standing tensions between them and local farmers are being eased (Mr H Zungu. pers.comm. 23-06-

2002). Mr Zungu believes that most people see more reasons to protect wildlife within the farm and in communal areas because they have choices regarding access to the resource.

According to the interviews with regard to illegal hunting within the commercial farms and local communities in and around the KwaZulu-Natal Midlands area, illegal hunting seldom takes place. According to the local *inkosi* Mrs T Zuma, only taxi hunting is often reported. This type of hunting is usually carried out using taxis and guns and sometimes huge hunting dogs like the greyhound, which is not a traditional hunting dog (Mr Mfaniseni Zuma. pers.comm. 23-07-2002). People taking part in this type of hunting often come from distant places as far as Estcourt, South Coast and Greytown (Mr Rob Smith. pers.comm. 22-06-2001).

A focus group of Impendle Traditional Hunters Association members, who are all living in Impendle Tribal area, agreed that there is an authorized and controlled traditional hunting with dogs taking place within Inhluzani farm owned by Mr Rob Smith. These hunting expeditions take place during specific times of the year. The households here have lived around this farm for several decades hence the farm owner together with the members of community agreed that the local population should have a reasonable and controlled access to wildlife resources within the farm (Mr H Zungu. pers.comm. 23-06-2002). Here both the community and the farmer are managing wildlife resources within and outside the farm through custom, tradition, religion and modern conservation laws.

Members of a focus group said that they practice traditional dog hunting twice in late May and once between late July or early August. From the public point of view, due to the respect for their right of access, the relationship between the local community and local farmers has improved (Mr H Zuma. pers.comm. 22-07-2002). During the focus group discussion, the farm owner argued that the community of Impendle through the Traditional Hunters Association is guaranteed an equitable access to wildlife resources within his farm. This was also supported by the local community where they said that wild animals are an essential and integral part of their social life as well as cultural support system. As a result, the people of Impendle, particularly the members of Impendle Traditional/Dog Hunters Association (ITDHA) have developed a desire to protect wildlife in and outside the farm. One of the informants argued:

We are the watchdogs of the game in this farm such that if we see an animal,
which we believe is from the farm, we don't kill that game but we alert the
farm owner (Mr H Zuma. pers.comm. 22-07-2002).

The above statement shows that Impendle community have developed a stewardship perspective
towards wildlife resources. Though they do not technically own the land and associated resources,
they view themselves as being an integral part of wildlife management. In the case of Inhluzani
farm, the adjacent community of Impendle is guaranteed equitable access to wildlife resources
within the farm through the Traditional Hunters Association, and the people of Impendle,
particularly the members of Impendle Traditional/Dog Hunters Association (IT/DHA), appear to
have developed a clear desire to protect wildlife in and outside the farm.

Apart from the interviews conducted with key stakeholders, individual households were
interviewed as well. The aim of the interview was to obtain information with regard to the impact of
traditional hunting on wildlife resources. Has the number of animals increased or decreased since
the traditional hunting started? The graph below shows the response rate with regard to this
question.
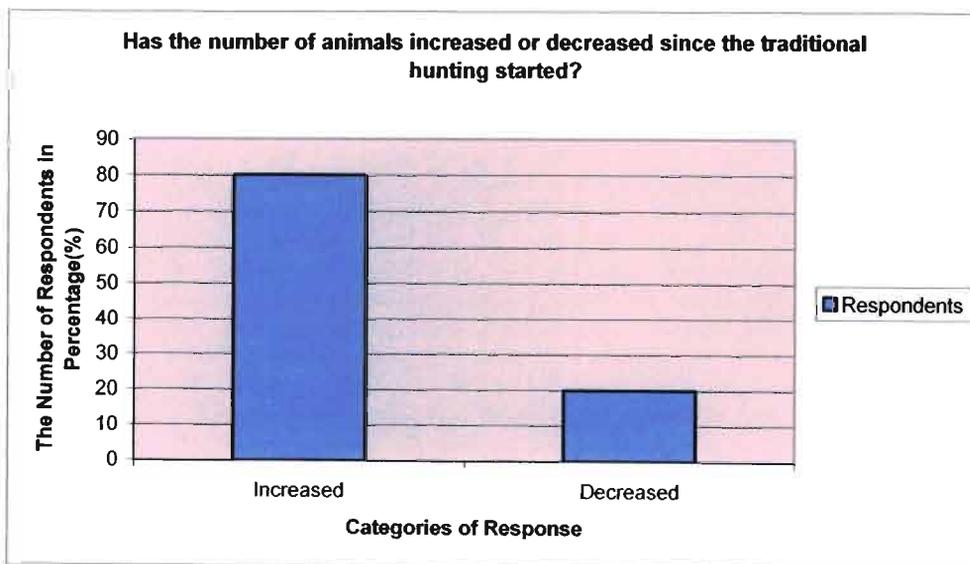
Figure 5.2: Impendle community's views regarding the impact of traditional hunting on wildlife resources.

As depicted in the above graph, out of 20 people interviewed from various households 4 individuals raised concerns with regard to traditional hunting. This group of respondents argued that they do not see how traditional hunting could improve the quality of wildlife resources. They felt that some people tend to abuse resources if there are no set rules or regulatory mechanisms in place. These people also expressed the view that the current socio-economic trends do not allow traditional hunting practice. This was further echoed by the community leader (*inkosi* Mrs Zuma) who argued that existing rules and local knowledge alone cannot single-handedly regulate traditional hunting. *Inkosi* expressed this concern when she said:

> Whilst it is understood that traditional hunting is a cultural practice, there is still lack of enough evidence that selection in terms of game does happen, especially in areas where there are no regulatory mechanisms in place. This often results in imbalances in game populations and is therefore not a good indicator of effective wildlife resource utilization (Mr D Macfarlane. Pers.com.28-08-02).

However, contrary to this group's response, 16 respondents (as shown in Fig 5.2) argued that traditional hunting has improved the number of wildlife animals. They further argued that if local people are allowed to organise themselves and set rules to govern their traditional hunting practices, they tend to protect and maintain wildlife animals. The fact that the powers and responsibility of wildlife management are vested in all parties involved including local traditional hunters from Impendle means that there is great certainty on the ground about access and use of wildlife resources. The result is a greater sense of stewardship of the resources.

5.6.2 Community Attitudes towards the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve

There appears to be a clear contrast in the outcome of this project, when compared with the outcome of the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve project in Zululand. Local attitudes towards the community game reserve are quite negative, despite the fact that the reserve is actually on communal land (not private farmland, as in the Impendle case). This is because people are excluded from the community game reserve and are not allowed to practise traditional hunting there. Poaching in the main Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park continues.

The Anti Poaching Unit in the HUP as well as Hlabisa Police statistics indicates that rudimentary forms of traditional hunting are still widely practiced in the Hluhluwe- Hlabisa areas. According to the records of illegal hunting provided by Hlabisa Police Station, illegal hunting has continued in

the HUP although a community game reserve has been established. This is significant given the fact that provision of a community game reserve should have provided the community with an opportunity to realise and fulfil their cultural needs. Instead they still feel excluded.

Continued illegal hunting taking place in HUP and Hlabisa area cannot be viewed in isolation from other forms of community resistance to exclusionist policies and programmes. It is a particular form of expressing peoples' dissatisfaction as wellas being a way of cultural expression (Mr Zwane. pers.comm. 22- 06-2002). This concurs with Brandan and Wells (1992) who observed that many of the local people bordering parks are not scared of being fined or imprisoned while caught breaking the park regulations as long as they are able to satisfy their perceived needs. When the Chief Conservator was asked if there was any way to resolve this problem, she indicated that hunting inside the parks is not permitted at all. She emphasised that this is the law of the land and KZN Wildlife is there to implement it. Interestingly, this is in direct contrast with KZN Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act 05 of 1999.

Figure 5.3 depicts a scenario in which the highest number of cases of illegal hunting in the Hluhluwe Umfolozi area during the period for which date was available, was reported between Jan 2001and July 2002. This is during the winter season. The fact that most incidents of illegal hunting took place in winter raises issues regarding the value of traditional knowledge in environmental and natural resource management. These issues will be discussed in Chapter Six. Figure 5.3 indicates the levels of illegal hunting in the Hluhluwe Umfolozi Park area as reported to the Hlabisa Police Station from January 2001 up to May 2002.

Figure 5.3 Levels of Poaching in the HUP (Source Hlabisa South African Police Services)
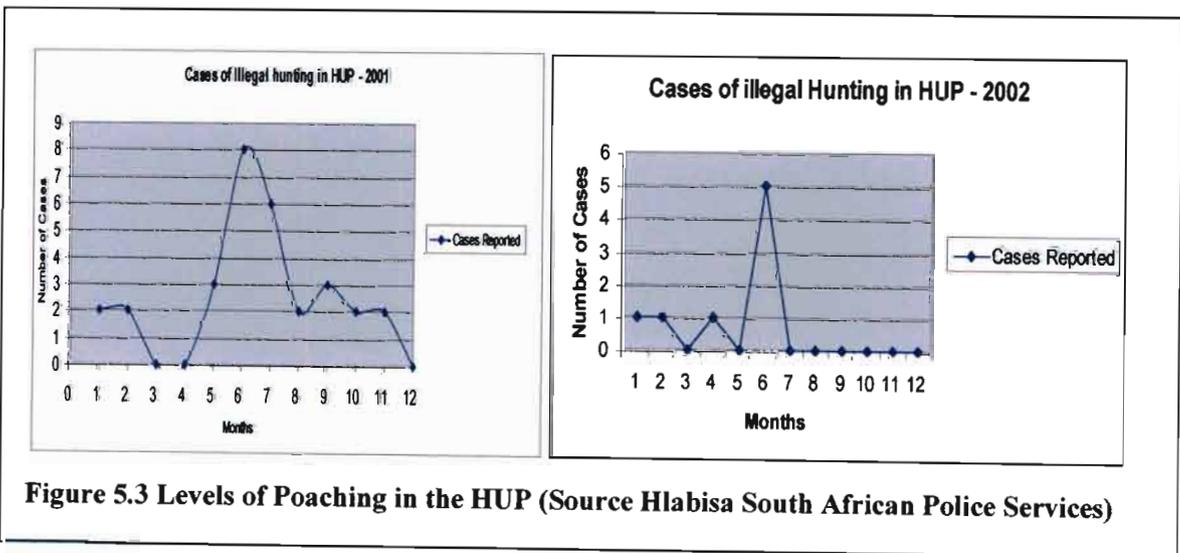
Specific dissatisfaction was expressed regarding the new community conservation game reserve. "Due to the lack of access to our ancestral land, we are now unable to meet our subsistence and cultural needs" (Councillor Mr Msane, pers.comm. 23-06-2002). According to a local councillor, the land designated as a community conservation game reserve used to be a grazing land for livestock, grass and fuel wood harvesting and hunting ground for the local people (Councillor Mr Msane, pers.comm. 23-06-2002). People must now walk long distances in search of game, fuel wood and grass. This scenario undermines the fundamental need for local peoples' survival and cultural viability in continued habitation and use of the traditional land areas and natural resources (Mr Manqele. pers.comm. 24-06-2002).

From the point of view of the people of Mpembeni, they believe that a certain portion of land from either the community game reserve or even from the Hluhluwe Umfolozi Park (HUP) could be set aside to allow controlled traditional hunting with dogs as well as access to grass for thatching and other purposes. In so doing, a new era of mutual respect and understanding could be initiated that encourages co-operation amongst both parties. Furthermore, in terms of the hunters themselves, this would surely improve their willingness to accept their obligation to act within the law (Councillor Msane pers.comm. 23-12-2002). As Mr van Rensburg pointed out, if traditional dog hunting is made illegal and operates underground, it is far too much for anybody to control (Mr S van Rensburg. pers.comm. 28-09-2002).

While the community game reserve belongs in theory to the entire community, the local people are not allowed to either harvest grass or hunt there. The households living in KwaHlabisa, Mayakazi and Esixheni tribal areas under *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa do not regard themselves as owners and beneficiaries of the game reserve. From the point of view of the households interviewed, the limited and unreasonable access to wildlife resources prevalent in both Mayakazi and Sengonyane mountains is a cause for less community support to conservation efforts. "Everything is secretive and community demands for the right of access are being sabotaged by *inkosi*" (Msane. pers.comm. 24-06-2002). The traditional authority has provided households with many constraints and few opportunities with regards to practice of traditional hunting with dogs (Councillor Msane. pers.comm.24-06-2002).

In general, households in Mpembeni and Hlabisa tribal areas are discontented with the whole idea of the community game reserve and prohibition of traditional dog hunting. Some of the households

interviewed in Mayakazi and Esixheni tribal areas under headman Mr B Mhlongo and Mr KV Manqele respectively; feel that their more distant relationship with *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa has a negative impact on conservation and wildlife resource management. (The *inkosi* was of course a prime mover in the project to create the community game reserve, and is key to the partnership with KZNCS and Zulu Nyala). They feel that those people living around *inkosi* are better off in terms of access to wildlife resources within the communal area. Like those living in KwaHlabisa under *inkosi* L Hlabisa, these people feel that access is sometimes subject to the Community Game Reserve Management Committee's will.

Most families visited in eMdletsheni, Mpembeni and KwaHlabisa expressed a feeling of dissatisfaction with regard to access to traditional hunting. This was evident from some of their comments for instance; Mr Nkwanyana from Mayakazi believes that "benefits from the community game reserve are only limited to *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa and the members of the Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve Management Committee (MCCGRMC). We have no links whatsoever with the natural resources within the community game reserve" (Mr Nkwanyana. pers.comm. 23-06-2002). Comments such as the following were also given:

> Having access to wildlife is one of the things that every individual human being deserves. People have natural attachments to wild animals because it has a primary value for them. The current situation here does not provide us with any material benefits so why not hunt? (Masuku and Mpungose families, pers.comm 19-06-2002).

The comment, quoted earlier, that "I would understand and appreciate if the authorities can sanction even a controlled group hunting during certain times of the year" (Mr Mpungose. pers.comm. 23-06-2002), was made by an informant who had been denied permission to practice traditional hunting due to the establishment of the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve. According to the informant, the sense of ownership of wildlife animals in the Community Game Reserve was lost since they are no longer allowed to hunt.

While the traditional leaders and the Mpembeni Steering Committee argued that traditional hunting is irrelevant, the local community in the Mpembeni area believe that it is a cultural practice that does not need to be curtailed. Interviews conducted during the fieldwork revealed that most communities, especially those located adjacent to the Community Game Reserve, were not in favour of the decision to prohibit traditional hunting. Some of them expressed the

view that it is not fair that they are not even allowed to hunt in their own areas. One of the informants argued "Our culture is being insulted and we are being viewed as cowards by other neighbouring communities".

In relation to the issue of access to natural resource through traditional hunting, the communities at household level expressed various opinions regarding this issue (see Figure 5.4 below).
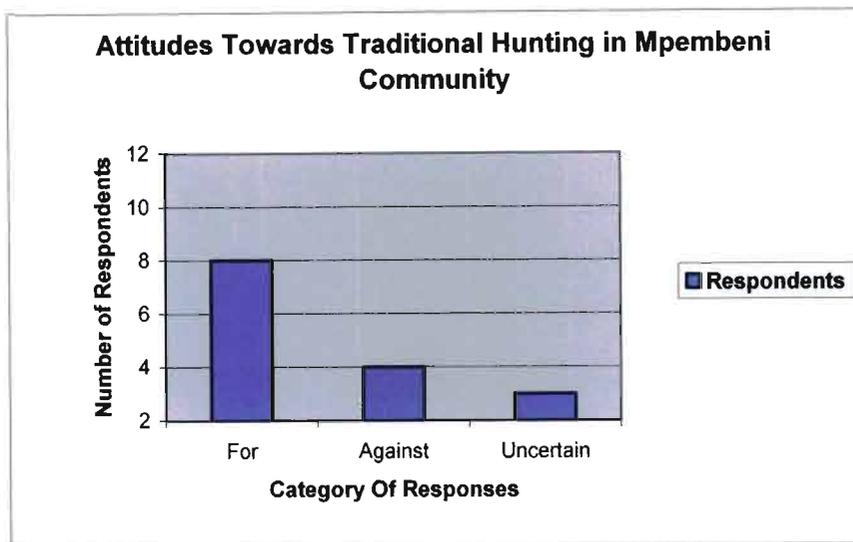
Figure 5.4: Attitudes towards Traditional Hunting in Mpembeni Community

As depicted in Figure 5.4, of the 15 respondents interviewed during the fieldwork, 8 of them argued that traditional hunting needs to be preserved within the Mpembeni community. While 3 of the respondents were uncertain about this issue (i.e. access to natural resources through traditional hunting), 4 of them were against the practice of traditional hunting. Those who were against traditional hunting argued that this practice is not compatible with conservation of wildlife that the local traditional leader and his Steering Committee are planning to initiate. This view was also expressed by the traditional leader during the focus group discussion where he said: "Unlike Trophy Hunters, traditional hunters are not professional because their hunting methods are not selective. They kill animals/game in a destructive way." (*Nkosi* DJ Hlabisa, pers.comm.13-12-2001). It was for this reason that traditional hunting is viewed as a threat to conservation and likely to undermine the success of the community game reserve, which the Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve Management Committee (MCCGRMC) regarded as a "milestone" for eco-tourism development in the area. Also of course, traditional hunting is far less lucrative.

Noted during the fieldwork was the relationship between the category of responses and respondents' spatial proximity to the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve. For instance, those who were most antagonistic about the Community Game Reserve were also those most strongly in favour of traditional hunting, and they were also located in close proximity to the Community Game Reserve, not more than 100 meters from the fence. This is contrary to those who are not in favour of traditional hunting, most of whom are located far from the boundary of the Game Reserve and in most cases, close to the traditional leader or Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve Management Committee (MCCGRMC).

There are clearly still outstanding issues regarding the relevance of the Community Game Reserve to local people. Given the fact that the establishment of the Game Reserve was based on the early concept of the Traditional Royal Hunting practised in the past, the local community believed that the Community Game Reserve would open opportunities for access to wildlife resources through traditional hunting. It is within this context that the local community understood and supported the idea behind the establishment of the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve. However, the later dominant discourse driving the establishment and the management rules of the Game Reserve is contrary to the initial or original idea (i.e. equitable access to natural resources through Traditional Hunting). Currently, the Steering Committee in conjunction with Conservation Authority (KZNNCS) appear to have unilaterally decided to establish rules that prohibit traditional hunting practice. As Councillor Msane explained:

> It is disgusting that the traditional leaders and Conservation authority did not consult us when they were setting rules governing the Community Game Reserve. Our people have been told that they are not allowed to harvest natural resources let alone to hunt (Councillor Msane. pers. com.23-12-2002).

Households from the Mpembeni tribal area have no right of access to wildlife resources within the community game reserve although the land is held under communal/ traditional land tenure. This scenario shows that the property regime of communal land tenure does not confer any necessary rights of access to the people. While the concept of communal land tenure advocates the right of access to natural resources, local traditional institutions can determine the conditions of access to natural resources. In general, traditional leaders or chiefs in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa, enjoy the right to distribute land and resources in most rural areas. Thus in the case of Mpembeni area where the local chief determines access to natural resources, including wildlife resources, this

power balance appears to have been an important source of resource use conflict. It could be argued that this has undermined rather than strengthened a sense of stewardship towards wildlife resources.

5.7 Summary

Chapter Five has discussed results of the research interviews as conducted at provincial level and in both c ase s tudy areas. T he various views and attitudes of different stakeholders and households towards traditional hunting were presented. The following chapter will provide an analysis of the research findings. The theory will be instrumental in providing this analysis and discussion. The final research objective of the study, "to assess the nature and extent of public participation in natural resource management in the two case studies", will also be addressed in Chapter Six.

The limitation to the study was the fact that the survey results could not adequately reveal the extent to which dog hunting can enhance the conservation efforts from an ecological perspective. This is due to the fact that it was beyond the scope of the thesis to produce ecological evidence. Although the study could not claim to be totally inclusive in terms of involving the general public, all local interested and affected parties were included in the surveys. In addition, there is enough evidence from the t heoretical issues and l iterature reviewed that i f p racticed carefully, traditional hunting does enhance environmental management process.

Chapter Six
Analysis and Discussion

6.1 Introduction

The practice of traditional hunting in iMpendle and Mpembeni tribal areas has continued despite the popular idea, held by various conservation groups that traditional hunting is not sustainable. Contrary to this, rural people have traditionally regarded wildlife as a resource that was theirs to exploit and which often plays an important role in local cultures, diets and economies (Kiss, 1993). This has been particularly so in areas which have poor potential for agricultural and or industrial development. As argued in Chapter Two, traditional dog hunting is part of a complex network of economic, social, legal and cultural relationships (MacKenzie, 1995: 7). These four aspects are critical in assessing the sustainability of traditional hunting as currently taking place in communal areas.

This chapter provides an analysis and discussion of the research findings in light of the theoretical concepts presented in Chapter Two. The main aim of the chapter is to assess the potential for traditional hunting as a tool for achieving sustainable development and locally based natural resource management in KwaZulu-Natal. Theories of social justice are important here. An attempt is made to analyse the results of this study in terms of Maslow's hierarchy of human needs, as after basic needs are met, higher order cultural needs musts also be met. In at least one of the case studies a greater recognition of culture and the importance of local participation in natural resource management (by allowing controlled traditional hunting) has led to the development of a greater sense of stewardship towards the natural environment – even without formal ownership. Principles such as equity and quality of life will also play an important role in shaping the analysis.

The first section compares the two case studies as examples of CBNRM, thus addressing the fifth objective of the study, which was to "assess the nature and extent of public participation in natural resource management in the two case studies". Thereafter a more general discussion is provided of the potential of controlled traditional hunting for achieving sustainable development (based on the two case studies).

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6.2 Comparison of the two case studies as examples of Participatory Community-Based Natural Resource Management

As indicated in Chapter Two, due to increased public interest in access, use and management of wildlife resources and global shifts in perceptions of environmental problems, there has been a corresponding shift towards participatory approaches of environmental management. This strategy is based on the argument of efficiency: that is that people who are involved in decision-making regarding natural resources will "own the wildlife management process and product because they participate in it. This argument has been applied in the case of Impendle farm and appears to have had some success. Mr Smith is a private land owner who wishes to maintain the economic value of his assets (the farm and wildlife). His partnership with the Impendle Traditional Dog Hunting Association has created conditions that are favourable to realising greater equity by enabling the local community to seek redress for past discrimination.

The two fundamental elements of effective community-based natural resource management are evident in the case of Impendle. The first is accountable local representation, in the form of the hunting association. The second is community influence over the disposition of resources (Ribot, 1995). Both are present at Impendle.

In the case of Mpembeni, however, some sectors of the community remain marginalized and suppressed in terms of access to resources and education for capacity building. Within the co-management context, the costs of the choice of a community game reserve project are being borne differently across households. This is because the planners and external agency, Safari Club International, the Management Committee as well as the local authority makes the false assumption that the community of Mpembeni-Hlabisa tribal authority is homogenous with an autonomous social unit. This is far from the case.

As indicated in Chapter Five, families visited in Mpembeni-Hlabisa tribal areas expressed a different feeling in contrast to the focus group of members of the Traditional Hunters Association in Impendle, regarding their ability to be able to express their cultural needs through traditional hunting. Traditional imperatives of traditional hunting are very strong in Hlabisa-Mpembeni Tribal Areas and the increasing pressure of modernisation does not deter these communities from practicing traditional hunting as a cultural obligation. It was not easy for the researcher to determine the extent to which their attitudes towards traditional dog hunting activities impact on their

conservation ethos. But it was noteworthy that members of households found near rivers and forests that are devoid of any game were the most outspoken. These households felt that they are not involved in any decision about natural resource use within the community game reserve. They went , on to argue that they only get meat parcels once when trophy hunters visited the community game reserve. These people complained that they are now forced to go as far as Ngoqoza Mountains in Mona, near Nongoma to pursue this traditional practice. (This may also increases the detrimental impact on the natural environment because now their hunting impact spreads over a large terrain).

The following quotation illustrates the link that residents make between a sense of cultural autonomy and pride, and the ability to practise traditional hunting:

> Traditional hunting dogs have many uses to us. We use these dogs to combat problem animals like hyenas, jackals and even bucks on our crops and domesticated animals. Inability to practice traditional hunting therefore lowers the community dignity as well as attachment to tradition, loss of contact with nature and so on. Now that we cannot practice our tradition and culture, instead we watch foreign safari hunters slaughtering our wildlife resources; we are now a weak society (Mr Mfana Mhlongo and Mr Mtholwa Masuku. pers.comm. 13-06-2002).

Though these people have domesticated animals such as goats, sheep and cattle, they still need to maintain their relationship with nature through traditional hunting. The argument by the elected councillor of Mpembeni, Mr Senzo Zwane further illustrates the need for continued interaction between people and wildlife resources in the areas under their authority.

> Traditional hunting with dogs means a lot to the people here. We do not hunt because we are hungry. We do have large herds of cattle and goats for meat, but still need to fulfil this cultural and recreational activity. Traditional hunting has recreational, cultural and subsistence value to us. At times we exchange our cattle and goats for traditional hunting dogs. We hunt rabbits, guinea fowls, bucks, hyenas, jackals and wild pigs (Councillor Mr S Zwane and Mr P Nkwanyana. pers. comm. 13-06-2002).

This quote and the findings challenge the exclusionist model adopted by the Mpembeni Community Conservation Game Reserve Management Committee (MCCGRMC).

Despite this, potential does exist in both case study areas to move towards greater sustainability through community participation. In both case studies it was clear that the majority of the people interviewed are aware of the costs of indiscriminate hunting on biodiversity, and are prepared to change their practices in line with this (given the opportunity). Secondly, technical support and capacity building are available in both case study areas. In Impendle the local farmer Mr Rob Smith is willing to assist; in the case of the Hluhluwe area, certain officials working for Nature Conservation Services are sympathetic and willing to offer technical support and capacity building in terms of educating these institutional structures and people about conservation principles.

As indicated by Figure 5.3 in Chapter Five, out of 15 households interviewed in Mpembeni (all of them living adjacent to the community game reserve), many argued that they do not believe that the management of the community game reserve is community based at all. Instead they argued that it is a chief's or royal game reserve because it serves the needs of the chief. Whilst 70 percent argued that this is not a community-based type of natural resource management, only 20 percent were against the practice of cultural activities within the community game reserve.

While the exclusion of people may be seen as good from an ecotourism perspective, it however ignores the peoples ability to meet their cultural needs. The results have shown that if people are not able to achieve some of their needs, they tend to become angry and possibly violent. This takes the analysis to the next section, which uses Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs theory to present a critical analysis of the two case studies.

6.3 Analysis of the Two Case Studies in terms of Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs

Though Maslow's theory was developed by a modern psychologist to understand human satisfaction, Thomson (1992) has used this theory to show how wildlife resources can satisfy the needs of local communities. This theory is critical in evaluating human development within a specific social context. In this context, "the needs of human syndrome is a fact of life that very greatly influences the character and the standards of a society's wildlife culture, and it also affects those of other subcultures too" (Thomson, 1992:132). The theory is important because it will highlight some of the implications of not incorporating all the elements of human needs in natural resource management programmes.

As explained in Chapter Two, applying Maslow's hierarchy of human needs suggests that one of the missing links in human attempts to achieve successful wildlife management programmes is consideration of the needs of humans (Thomson, 1992). Maslow argued that humans strive constantly to satisfy various needs, which are purely associated with their survival. According to Maslow, these needs comprise of human needs for air, water, food, shelter and warmth. The second group of needs is classified as being the learned 'higher order' needs. Maslow allotted to these a hierarchy of priority because he realised that it is difficult for humans to satisfy any of the second group before fulfilling the lower order needs. The higher up the hierarchal needs scale humans ascend, the more the quality of life improves (Thomson, 1992). When humans have satisfied their needs from low order up to higher order needs, they then seek self esteem through meeting social and cultural needs.

In the case of Impendle wildlife animals within iNhluzani farm are part of the local peoples' life support system in a number of ways. Controlled access to wildlife animals inside the private farm are important because they help the people of IMpendle to "climb" to the higher levels of Maslow's hierarchal needs scale. Through the partnership that was formed between the farmer and the members of the hunting association, the partnership acknowledges the fact that animals live in the ecosystems that they share with human beings. As described in Chapter Two, only when rural communities are allowed to use wildlife will they be prepared to voluntarily look after them as they do to their domesticated animals (Thomson, 1992).

The status of the local people has become very important to both the farm owner and some stakeholders like Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife. This was evident from the response of one of the informants interviewed during the fieldwork. Mr de Jager believes that in KwaZulu-Natal, people have insights into how to utilise wildlife resources to preserve the ecological balance. He believes that as a result of exclusive policies, such insights are being lost and Africans, particularly rural people lose their connections with their natural environment (Mr de Jager S. pers.comm. 28-09-2002).

In the case of Mpembeni, people strive to satisfy their cultural needs but the exclusive conservation policy governing the community game reserve does not allow this. Cultural identity is a fact of life that influences the character and standards of a society's attitudes towards wildlife, and the majority of people in Mpembeni and Hlabisa feel that their needs were not considered when the community

game reserve project was being formulated. The manner in which some people in Mpembeni show their value judgements towards protectionist conservation is through illegal hunting. The peoples' value judgements and opinions of the community game reserve developed as a consequence of the social and conservation philosophy adopted in the past, which they feel has continued through to the era of the community game reserve.

It appears that consideration of their needs is a missing piece of a wildlife management jigsaw. This fact is a reason why continued illegal hunting still haunts the reserve. The people are prepared to risk everything including prosecution to satisfy their socio-cultural needs through traditional hunting. It is only when they are able to satisfy these needs that people will "buy into" the goals of the conservation authorities and those of the Community Conservation Game Reserve Management Committee.

The hard facts of reality that people will continue to use wildlife resources show themselves in both case studies. This is against that protectionist theory which argues that wildlife will survive forever if people would only stop interfering with nature. The argument that injudicious overexploitation of natural resources will cause total destruction, becomes invalid if people use natural resources in a sustainable manner. In the case of iNhluzani farm for instance, the farmer understands all the various dimensions of the local peoples' needs and the different aspects of their subcultures like hunting. The following Table 6.1 locates the two case studies in terms of levels of needs within Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs theory (see Figure 2.2 in Chapter Two for Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs).

Area/ Case Study	Stakeholders	Level of Needs	Needs Specification
Mpembeni- Hlabisa	Mpembeni Community	Physiological/ Survival Needs Only	Meat from culling
Impendle/Imhlazuni	ITDHA	Both lower and Higher order needs	Through traditional hunting as a sport, subsistence and cultural activity under controlled circumstances.

Table 6.1: Maslow's Hierarchy of Human Needs (Thomson, 1992)

The pinnacle of humans hierarchy of needs is self-actualisation. This is happening in the case of Mpendle where people are able to fulfil their socio-cultural needs (i.e. their desires regarding traditional hunting). The people in Mpendle are able to assimilate their socio-cultural activities and work into their identity. Their work and lifestyle is located fairly high on the hierarchy of needs scale, even though they do not own the land.

Unlike the case of Mpendle, Mpembeni community are only able to access natural resources through occasionally being given culled meat. Wildlife resources within the community game reserve live in a vacuum and people are therefore considered as living in isolation of wildlife. People are being detached from nature. It is for that reason that local people, especially local men, do not feel respected by conservation authorities and therefore lack self-esteem.

The conservation policy and strategy for the community game reserve does not consider all dimensions of peoples' needs and their various sub-cultures. The theory also suggests that although prohibition to wildlife resources could be viewed by conservation authorities as noble, it does contribute to negative attitudes and resistance such as illegal hunting not only by poachers, but also by generally law abiding community members. In essence this shows inefficiency especially in the case of Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Game Reserve. This contrasts sharply with the strength of individual responsibility and commitment to temperance in iNhluzani farm where local people take responsibility to look after the game, even that outside of the farm. Legal compulsion and enforcement has been the mainstay of control in the community game reserve. Consequently disintegration of social, intellectual and moral ideals through continued illegal hunting has become evident.

6.4 Sustainability in a Private ownership versus communal property regime

Table 6.2 below outlines the differences between the two property regimes in the private farm (informal conservation) and the community game reserve.

Mpembeni Community Game Reserve	Inhluzani Farm
Very limited access	Controlled access
Non-custodians	Stewardship and local people as guardians of the natural environment
Modern conservation laws in place with local	Customs, religion, traditional law and

knowledge denounced	modern conservation laws
Less community support	More Community support
Continued illegal hunting	No illegal hunting expeditions
Game stressed because of constant harassment hence numbers either static or decreasing	Game able to breed and numbers increased ten times more than before
Traditional authority and the MCCGRSC regulate trophy hunting	Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, farm owner and IT/DHA regulate controlled traditional hunting with dogs

Table 6.2. The difference between the two case studies

The issue here is how sustainable is the Inhluzani partnership as compared to the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve project? The main negative regarding Inhluzani farm is that the farmer is the sole owner of the wildlife resources and so decision-making is obviously not at a level of complete equality (despite the partnership). In the case of Impembeni community game reserve, although the paradigm is one of communal land ownership, the sustainability of the project is also questionable because the management committee and not the community take decisions: traditional authorities are dominant and it is felt that the committee structure is not representing the entire community interests (Mr Zwane. pers. comm. 13-06-2002).

In the case of Inhluzani private farm, a lot has been accomplished so far. The members of the traditional hunters association have the capacity and expertise in ethical hunting and that bodes well for the sustainability of the partnership. However, the distorting feature is the fact of private ownership. Central to private ownership is the fact that it will almost always deliver the most 'efficient' use and management of natural resources - although not necessarily the most sustainable (Furze *et al*, 1996). Previous conflict necessitated an elaborate system of wildlife resource management within Inhluzani farm, and it appears that the symbiotic relationship between the farm owner and the local people is mutually beneficial. The ITDHA regulates rights of access and resource use through a tripartite jural structure, each with its own sphere of interest and authority - the community, the clan and individual households.

Many of the benefits of informal wildlife resource conservation in Inhluzani farm, such as protecting certain animal species to preserve a gene pool and ultimately sustain traditional hunting

by Traditional Hunters Association members, are not just community benefits but rather accrue to the individual farm owner. Controlled traditional hunting is basically external to the production process on the individual's farm. The partnership might be put under strain as a result of uneven distribution of wildlife management benefits amongst the partners.

However the agreement appears to have had important implications for the mobilisation of indigenous culture in support of conservation. This is supported by the views of some of the stakeholders and user groups that were interviewed by the researcher. We can get more flavour of that from their views:

> The agreement has changed the attitudes and behaviour of key user groups. The formalisation of traditional systems of land use within the farm has resulted to a great deal of certainty on the ground about access and use of wildlife resources. The responsibilities and powers of various user groups are now clearly and precisely defined (Mr van Heerden. pers.comm.28-09-2002).

In this case, although the partners have elected to co-manage wildlife resources within the farm, it is still not clear how these partners would manage the effects of the traditional hunting process with a minimum impact on both biodiversity and livelihoods. The question is: does the partnership between the farmer and ITDHA have the potential to ensure improved effectiveness and effective fulfilment of the mission of all user groups now as well as in the future? How do the parties share the costs and benefits of the process? Appropriate answers to these questions will be presented in the form of recommendations in the concluding chapter.

The Impendle community is of course made up of many levels of social institutions and organizations each with its own system of authority and hierarchy, some of which might be disadvantaged and disinherited. This may not be sufficiently acknowledged. It is also clear who sets the rules governing the traditional hunting process within the farm the private landowner. The main concern for the researcher is what are the implications of this on the sustainability of the entire process? At present, the interests of the farm owner and the community (ITDHA) do converge and are therefore respected by all stakeholders including KZNNCS, who are custodians of our natural heritage.

Contrary to this, in the case of Mpembeni-Hlabisa tribal areas and the Community Game Reserve, the interests of KZNNCS, Safari Club International (an external agency) and the elite within the community, diverge and are currently not respected by people this view was strongly supported by one of the key respondents interviewed. Councillor Zwane argued that due to the exclusionist policy adopted by the management committee, most people see no reason to respect the community game reserve. He went on to argue that since the community game reserve was opened, most people, especially those living adjacent to the fence, have decided to boycott community development forums. "Even meetings not related to the community game reserve receive no support from the local people" (Mr Zwane. pers.comm. 14- 06-2002).

As described in Chapter Two, the efficiency argument is that people will identify with and own the product in what they participate. Efficiency in community participation may be achieved by involving people in any decision about financial commitments and resource use (Le Roux in Motel, 1999). This will lead towards sustainability.

In general, it appeared that households in Hlabisa, Mayakazi and Esixheni areas were limited in their knowledge of environmental management issues. One limitation is that there are very few or no schools at all in their areas. Although this may seem less important to some households, this difference and information gap is sufficient to cause environmental deterioration in these communities. *Induna* Mr B Mhlongo for instance admits that if most people have enough access to formal education, the latter will complement indigenous knowledge systems. He believes that with enough capacity and environmental awareness, community forests and wilderness would have game in abundance.

The research study reveals that recognition of rural livelihood issues in conservation development is equally as important as the ecological issues. There is enough evidence that in households where traditional practices are still a way of life, there is a high probability of traditional hunting expeditions continuing. Such traditional practices bind the communities together, and need to be recognised. As stated,, people will identify with and own the product in which they participate.

6.5 Summary

This chapter provided an analysis of the attitudes and concerns of various households interviewed in both case studies. The attitudes were analysed against the theory of sustainable development and

community based natural resource management. The study has discovered that while the community game r eserve i n M pembeni w as e stablished f or the community, t he p eople l iving i n Mpembeni derive little or no benefits from the game reserve. The majority of the people feel that the community game reserve is not theirs because they are not allowed to practice traditional hunting. In contrast, households interviewed in iMpendle view themselves as part of management of the natural resource base found within the iNhluzani farm. This raises questions as to which of the two social contexts (Mpembeni and iMpendle) provides better conditions for human development.

It was noted that people in Mpendle are able to assimilate their socio-cultural activities and work into their identity. Their work and lifestyle is located fairly high on the hierarchy of needs scale, even though they do not own the land. Unlike the case of Mpendle, Mpembeni community are only able to access natural resources in the community game reserve through occasionally being given culled meat. Wildlife resources within the community game reserve live in a vacuum and people are therefore considered as living in isolation of wildlife. People are being detached from nature. It is for that reason that local people, especially local men, do not feel respected by conservation authorities and in turn do not respect them.

Chapter Seven

Recommendations and Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The themes covered in this thesis cover a wide range of conservation and development concerns, with a particular focus on community based natural resource management and how this can contribute to sustainability. Social justice is a central concern, in particular the issue of access versus use rights that has come to the fore in South Africa since the dawn of democracy in 1994. The findings of the thesis are suggestive rather than conclusive, as it was based on only two case studies. However, the study does suggest that cultural African communities do place a value on access to wild animals for hunting, and that allowing greater access might build new constituencies for natural resource conservation.

The rationale for undertaking the study as well as objectives were clearly identified and discussed in Chapter One. The aim of the study was to promote a holistic understanding of conservation by exploring the potential for linking cultural practices such as traditional hunting with conservation and development in KwaZulu-Natal. Relevant literature and theoretical perspectives were presented in Chapter Two. Chapter Three gave the legislative background and introduced the two selected case studies. Chapter Four described the methodology adopted in the study. Chapters Five and Six presented and discussed the findings.

7.2 Outline of the key findings

Sustainable development is the current and most acceptable keyword and catch phrase for any political discourse committed to quality of life, the conservation of natural resources and a sense of obligation to future generations (Patel, 1999). While this normative theory has been problematic in that it is interpreted in many different ways, it still provides an important framework to guide natural resource management. This thesis argues that the importance of culture is often underestimated in discussions of sustainable development. In the case of rural KwaZulu-Natal, this study showed that the activity of traditional hunting is culturally, socially and even economically valued for residents of communal areas. The ban on such hunting practices during the colonial and apartheid period sharpened social tensions between communities and conservation authorities as well as landowners. It is argued that a new way of achieving sustainability through incorporation of

local cultural practices (such as traditional hunting) needs to be developed, so that a greater sense of stewardship towards wildlife resources can be developed.

The sharp contrast between the two case study areas with regard to use rights is obvious. In Impendle, limited access to wildlife on a private farm has been negotiated with the local traditional dog hunting association. This has given beneficiaries of the project a stake in the wildlife, even though the land is privately owned, to the extent that as one informant said, "We are the watchdogs of the game in this farm" (Mr H Zuma. pers.comm. 22-07-2002). At Mpembeni, a community conservation game reserve has been set up on communal land. However, people do not feel that they are beneficiaries of this process. At Mpembeni, local knowledge is undermined and there is limited access to natural resources in the communal lands and within the community game reserve.

The situation in Impendle and Inhluzani farm regarding the provision of goods such as access and use rights, is positive when viewed in terms of indicators of social justice and sustainability (Midgeton cited in Ninela, 2002). Contrary to this, the situation in Mpembeni and KwaHlabisa tribal areas does not bode well for social and environmental justice or sustainable development. A lot of indigenous knowledge and experience remains undermined and untapped in conservation development. The preservation ideology in Mpembeni and KwaHlabisa seems to exclude the local context, hence the conservation message carries little meaning for the local population.

Local people often see wildlife differently than do people not living in close proximity to these areas with tempting quantities of game. They have traditionally regarded wild animals as a resource that plays an important role in local cultures, diets and economies. This has been particularly so in areas like Hluhluwe, Hlabisa and Mpembeni, where there is poor potential for agricultural and industrial development. Traditional hunting with dogs is important and it is an integral part of living in contemporary agrarian communities in KwaZulu-Natal. It sustains the social well being of agrarian societies (Wells, 1995). It is therefore an integral component of the ecotourism triangle that is intended to promote broader rural development in KwaZulu-Natal.

Sustainable use assumes that the value of wildlife resources will foster development that is compatible with conserving biodiversity. That is, if the local population is allowed to value natural resources of both fauna and flora for subsistence, tourism development, aesthetics, cultural practice, trade and so on, conservation and development would occur without sacrificing as much

biodiversity as would be lost if the potential value of wild resources was not realised. In this study the importance of aligning conservation imperatives with development integrating cultural expression, came to the fore.

The theory suggests that one way of achieving sustainable wildlife management is through considering human needs. The hierarchy of human needs is an important part of social justice and must to a large extent influence the character and the standards of a societies' wildlife culture (Thomas, 1992). The value and importance that the people from both Impendle and Mpembeni will accord wildlife depends upon the extent to which the latter contribute to the peoples' quality of life, which includes cultural expression.

Regarding traditional hunting within the two study areas and its relationship to the conservation legislation, the study revealed that the increasing incidents of hunting expeditions during and after the 1994 period necessitated the need for a clear and effective conservation legislation to address the issue. The need led to the promulgation of the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Act of (1997) as a follow up to the Nature Conservation Ordinance of 1974. The KZNNCMA 1997 was later amended in 1999. The KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act 05 of 1999 aims at providing for the conservation of plants and animals. It also provides for controlled hunting (including traditional dog hunting) and the issue of enforcement permits. The act legalizes traditional dog hunting within KwaZulu-Natal province.

However on the ground the mechanisms are not yet in place. Many local conservation and other officials oppose traditional dog hunting, as do influential animal rights groups. Interestingly, in the Mpembeni case the traditional authority too is opposed to dog hunting in the community game reserve, because it is not seen as a commercial opportunity (safari hunting is more lucrative).

The fact is that regulation and management of wildlife utilization is difficult, especially if extractive practices like hunting that are underground are made illegal. The costs associated with indiscriminate and underground hunting can be vast and exhaustive on biodiversity (van Rensburg. pers.comm. 28-09-2002). Essentially, looking at the need for legislation, the KZNNCMAA 05 0f 1999 acknowledges that traditional hunting with dogs does take place within communal areas and private farms. However, it does not fully recognise the role of local institutions such as councillors, *amakhosi*, and *izinduna* as managers of the environment in their respective areas. The research

study revealed that traditional hunting does take place in both Inhluzani farm and Mpembeni tribal area with hunting associations, councillors (though to a lesser extent), *izinduna* and *amakhosi* having a considerable control over it. Local institutional structures, as long as they operate with a full understanding of local context, are likely to bring about justice and evolution of ecological thought and environmental ethics.

It is true that the shift in conservation discourse in KwaZulu-Natal marks a shift away from exclusionist approaches to participatory development. However it became evident that the costs of effective enforcement are too much for Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, the traditional authority and bodies such as the management committee of the Mpembeni community game reserve to bear: these stakeholders are under severe pressure from illegal hunts. Contrary to this in Inhluzani farm, local people have become the custodians of their wildlife environment. It is because these people are allowed to express themselves culturally, and their cultural well being is enhanced, that they no longer engage in illegal hunting. The local population values conservation and wildlife protection as both a means of development and a participatory approach to community-based natural resource management.

Sustainability is about monitoring the physical environment as well as societal interactions with the environment and this is an aspect that needs to be addressed by future research. There is no single path to sustainable development (Thomas and Becker, 1999). The context in which protected areas and wildlife management is run today has become increasingly complex because wildlife managers have to juggle the social and economic demands of local communities while at the same time trying to protect wildlife population and maintain biodiversity. This was seen to be the case in Inhluzani farm where the farmer with the backing of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife and the traditional authority, is attempting to meet the community's socio-cultural demands whilst ensuring that wildlife is protected within the farm. Here, the research revealed that social sustainability rests on the basic values of equity and democracy because these are basic preconditions for integrated natural resource management. There is clear evidence of the positive benefits achieved by integrating cultural practices and local livelihoods into conservation and development.

In the Zululand case study, the location of Mpembeni Community Game Reserve and the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park in close proximity to households excluded from the reserve, necessitates the need for a more integrated approach. Although communities are dependent on these resources

such as grass, fuel wood and animals within the reserve, it is equally important to maintain the recreational demand and tourism potential of the area without compromising people's culture. (See Plate 3.1 and 3.2 in Chapter Three of this thesis).

The situation in both study areas remains one of extreme pressure. Although there are indicators that people are living within the ecological limits of their environment, particularly in Impendle, research findings also indicated that people, particularly in Mpembeni would continue to use natural resources and that environmental awareness is limited. This is despite the fact that natural resources are finite resources. Poverty and the environmental knowledge gap is sufficient enough to cause environmental deterioration in the study areas. This is because the overall prospects for generation of benefits from wildlife protection and conservation in any given area will be highly variable, depending on social, economical and ecological factors. This is the context in which delicate negotiations over access to resources for recreational (traditional dog) hunting must be carried out.

As indicated in Chapter Two of this thesis, the future of conservation lies in getting the co-operation, understanding and participation of local people. Proponents of co-management believe that a conservation strategy centred on peoples' participation is supported by compelling logic and impressive evidence.

In evaluating public participation in the two case studies, ethical and efficiency goals were used as criteria of analysis. For instance, in the case of Impendle, although community members do not own wildlife within the farm, the owner of the farm has created conditions within his farm that are favourable for the realisation of greater equity. The local population is now able to identify with the product, i.e. the wildlife resource base, in which they participate through traditional hunting. Thus the efficiency goal of public participation is being achieved. The formal powers and responsibility is being devolved and vested in both the farm owner and the members of the Hunters Association. The result is a constructive utilization of resources within the farm and possibly within the communal land, as well as the reduction of social tensions.

In Mpembeni community game reserve, due to the fact that wildlife resources are being managed through modern conservation policies and laws while the community is still traditional, religious and adhere to customs, an effective management strategy is needed to create more stakeholders in conservation management. Elite safari hunting has been privileged above the community's cultural

needs. In this case, there is a great deal of uncertainty on the ground about access to and use of wildlife resources within the community game reserve. A shortsighted and destructive exploitation of natural resources through poaching is imminent.

7.3 Recommendations

There is no easy solution to the problems, which have deep roots in history. Only a multi faceted strategy is likely to find ways of creating more stakeholders and accommodating the needs and views of all parties involved in natural resource use and management.

At present, many tribal areas including former homelands are not only devoid of game, but the communities also lack the money required to either erect appropriate fencing or to reintroduce game species. Furthermore land availability and lack of control in these areas are likely to be additional problems. Looking at the need for regulation, as indicated in Chapter Five of this research thesis, the local institutional structures already established and managing traditional hunting need to be strengthened.

A number of recommendations emerge which are discussed below.

7.3.1 Need for Institutional Structures for regulating traditional hunting in Tribal Areas

The study suggests that overcoming obstacles rests, in the first instance, with community mobilisation and empowerment. There is therefore a strong need for the communities of Mpembeni, KwaHlabisa and Impendle to identify areas of common interest together with their leaders and work jointly towards these. The tribal authorities and elected leaders (councillors) both have respect and considerable control in their tribal areas. The potential therefore exists for them to be actively involved in controlling and managing hunting in areas designated for this activity and in community game reserves.

The researcher therefore recommends that *amakhosi, izinduna* and local councillors be officially vested with the responsibility to manage and control hunting in their areas. In the case of KwaHlabisa and Mpembeni tribal areas for example, if the land within the community game reserve is not enough to allow multi land use, additional land can be sought and added to the existing reserve area to allow traditional hunting with dogs. This will complement the ecotourism function of the community game reserve. Similar to Inhluzani farm, the tribal authority and local councillors

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will then have the right to regulate the season, issue the date for the hunts, and issue written permits for hunting within the community game reserve.

With impediments such as low literacy rates and high consumption levels of natural resources, especially in KwaHlabisa and Mpembeni tribal areas, the researcher argues that the role of regulatory mechanisms is indispensable. Such regulatory functions will need to be carried out in close cooperation with KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services (KZNNCS), Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, WESSA and the community game reserve management committee. Although some of these impediments are closely related to the political history of the area, the situation in other parts of the province such as the KwaZulu-Natal midlands is similar.

In the case of Mpembeni community game reserve, the management committee which comprises of local leaders and other community leadership will need to deal with the transformation of the reserve in such a way as to make local people feel that they are part of the conservation system and development. The MCCGRMC represents some form of cohesive authority structure. It should therefore provide a bridge between traditional and modern authorities (councillors), both of which have an important role to play.

This responsibility can be linked with capacity building and education among this sector. In Mpembeni and KwaHlabisa for instance, where environmental awareness levels are low and natural resource consumption levels high, KZNNCS through its community conservation office and the community game reserve management committee can play an important role in educating the community leaders and people about conservation principles. The role of KZNNCS and Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife can be linked with the formation of hunting committees in all the ten tribal authorities adjacent to the Hluhluwe-Umfolozi reserve, especially in Mpembeni, KwaHlabisa and Mdletshe.

7.3.2 The institution of a Natural Resource Management Forum

In the light of the above recommendation, community organisation and mobilisation are two areas that can be dealt with effectively through the creation of a planning forum, as suggested by Kruger (1992) cited in Ninela (2002). In a planning forum, all relevant parties are represented and discussions are conducted on how to involve more local resources in order to create additional benefits with little environmental impact. The forum could comprise of the local authority, local

community users of wildlife, local traditional dog hunters, external agencies if there are any, development NGOs and animal rights groups. Essentially a forum captures the view of a developmental local government. It should be noted however, that such exercise requires a lot of time and therefore patience is necessary.

7.3.3 Need to clarify the unresolved role of elected leaders versus traditional authority

While the role played by traditional authority in tribal areas is important, one cannot ignore the confusion over the role of elected leaders and councillors. This is a political issue while the researcher is uncertain about the loyalty of local populations to their traditional leaders, a clear-cut explanation is needed regarding the role of councillors in managing environmental issues. For representation to be democratic, it is important that the element of distrust towards the traditional leadership among some sectors of the community be dealt with. In some cases due to apartheid and other history, traditional leaders have been regarded as untrustworthy. This situation is worsened because the implementation of wildlife utilization schemes requires organization and a combination of technical, business and managerial skills, which are not often found from *amakhosi* and *izinduna* (traditional authority).

The researcher therefore believes that if such issues are not clarified and communicated properly and clearly to all people, conflict and tension as well as slow delivery will continue. For instance some people from Mayakazi expressed their concern that since they are not close to the traditional authority and *inkosi* DJ Hlabisa, they are often left out in term of benefits. Although the community game reserve had high initial costs associated with the loss of grazing and hunting land, people might have accepted this had there been a clear "pay-off" – but the generation of benefits is not evenly spread. Some of the delays are attributed to the relative powerlessness and undermined role of elected leader (councillors)s. This further underlines the importance of designing wildlife management schemes in close collaboration with democratic principles and people who in return see the need to support the scheme.

7.3.4 Need for Education and Capacity Building

Education involves the sensitisation of people at all levels to the objectives and benefits of wildlife conservation and management as well as the importance of participation of local communities in this effort. Education of decision-makers is needed so that they will establish supportive policies empowering local communities and help facilitate the development of wildlife utilization

enterprises such as safari hunting which could then complement traditional hunting at all levels. This thesis argues that recognition and incorporation of local cultural practices into this process can assist in creating new stakeholders in wildlife conservation.

Although law breakers need to be apprehended and prosecuted, the researcher further recommend that the combative approach frequently adopted by conservationists and animal rights groups needs to be bolstered by a preventative one. In this regard the researcher believes that education of lawbreakers and traditional hunters in general on common property rights is essential. In this approach, lawbreakers would not only be punished, but the concurrent need for education would also be addressed. Some alternatives must also be created so that people feel their cultural priorities are not completely ignored (as is the case at present in some areas). Environmental education programmes can be used to foster a good understanding and create awareness of sustainability principles within the society and stakeholders involved in decision making.

Wildlife officials such as the Anti Poaching Unit and the management committee in Mpembeni Community Game Reserve need education regarding the importance of building and maintaining cooperation with communities and the people's perceptions, traditions and values. In both study areas, wildlife protection needs to be seen as an auxiliary activity within the context of rural development, especially in Mpembeni - where a staggering amount of R730 000 from the community levy was apparently ploughed into conservation in the establishment of the community game reserve (*Natal Witness*, December 11, 1999).

7.3.5 Need for intervention and specialist input to ensure justice

All four above mentioned recommendations might require the presence of a facilitator or mediator. Such a person(s) would play the role of building capacity and managing conflict, all of which are vital for projects comprised of stakeholders with different backgrounds and interests. This task can be taken up by a Non Governmental Organisation (NGO). This intervention can take place in many forms, i.e. it can be either direct or indirect. The rationale for such intervention would be to strengthen the coping mechanisms for the households to achieve self-realization. This is one way of overcoming impediments as mentioned in Chapter Five, such as high consumption of natural resources, low literacy rates and inequality in terms of natural resource use rights.

As indicated in the thesis, maximising economic value from a wildlife system like Mpembeni community game reserve or Inhluzani farm may accommodate multi uses of wildlife as well as

other land uses that are complimentary to wildlife management such as cattle grazing. A given area of land may support mixed livestock and game ranching. A realistic assessment of all potential sources of wildlife revenue is also essential. A very important but frequently ignored issue is that of recognising that the overall prospects for generating of revenues and other benefits from wildlife in any given area is highly variable, depending on ecological and economic factors.

There is however usually a tendency to underestimate the total amount and the costs associated with the role of external agencies. It must be noted that it is not always easy to abandon ones way of life in favour of ventures clouded by controversy and uncertainty. For as long as conservation and development programs fail to grasp what the local people demand of them, such programs will fall victim to criticism and have outside pressure bearing down on their internal mechanisms. There is therefore a need for large investment in human resource development because trained people are need for institutional sustainability. The local peoples' quality of life needs to be improved. This does not however, mean that local people demand natural resource ownership rights; rather it is *use* rights that are essential to making it valuable for an individual or community.

There are several options which may be adopted depending on the overall policy governing wildlife management. The key is ensuring that the terms are clearly delineated such that they yield concrete benefits and sufficient flexibility to encourage individuals and communities to invest in wildlife conservation enterprises. For example subsistence level traditional hunting of particular species may be permitted to the members of a local community while the right to hunt other valuable species may be retained by the authority such as Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife. In that way, communities become stewards of the natural resource base in their land.

7.3.6 Realistic Planning

The composition of the natural resource management forum should facilitate enlightened planning and decision-making. One of the major contributions of this forum would be to ensure that decisions taken are in line with both the provincial and national legislative framework. Ideas around co-operation of any nature need to be built on a strong and realistic vision. Once a constructive conversation has begun amongst stakeholders, an even greater effort will be required to identify strategies to reach the targets. This requires an enabling and visionary leadership.

7.3.7 Need for establishment of a tribal game area

In these tribal lands, a long-term goal should be establish multiple-use game areas in which traditional hunting can take place in a very much reduced and controlled manner. KZNNCS, the local authority, and organisations such as the MCCGRMC and Impendle Traditional Dog Hunters Association all have a key role to play in these strategies. Suitable areas should be sought for the establishment of game areas either within the community game reserve or anywhere else with the tribal area. As an example, Sengonyane Mountain with its rich forest species could be set up as a game area to meet the needs of local communities. This could form a basis for hunting areas in tribal areas. As stressed by Zuma in one of the provincial traditional hunting workshops attended by the researcher, (Appendix C) in many instances wild animals will have to be reintroduced in tribal areas. He believed that local game farmers and KZNNCS can play a major role in supplying suitable game animals at minimal cost or out of the community levy trust. It is important that the game animals reintroduced must have high fecundity rates to maximise suitable yields for traditional hunting purposes.

In the case of Hluhluwe for instance, Nyala Game lodge operating next to Hluhluwe Game Park has been playing an active role in supplying the local community of Mdletshe with a certain number of game every year for meat. A possibility for establishing a community game area can be explored following a similar strategy. In these areas, cattle grazing could be allowed to co-exist with game animals and this will then perform a dual function of providing opportunities for both hunting and cattle grazing. This is more suited to the study area of Mpembeni in northern KwaZulu-Natal than in the Natal Midlands because there is little potential for industrial development and traditional practice is still a way of life.

7.4 Areas for Further Research

Wildlife conservation and management has become an arena for local economic development in South Africa through ecotourism. People-parks relationships need to be further researched against the backdrop of the new political dispensation in southern Africa. This should be done to determine the level of commitment from the relevant stakeholders. The possibility for linking traditions, local values and cultures with conservation and development through ecotourism needs further research. This can be done by carrying out a detailed analysis of the costs and benefits of linking local customs and traditions with natural resource management. Furthermore a policy framework needs to be developed to govern wildlife utilization.

It has been noted that people have strong relations with nature, and any natural management policy or strategy that fails to grasp with this will fall victim to outside pressure. In addition to other identified elements and possibilities in the case of Mpembeni Community Game Reserve, a key failing was that the project relies on an external agency, which failed to assess if people voluntarily submitted their individuality to work and act as a single entity in pursuit of a common goal. In doing this the agency worked with the existing traditional authority, which might not have reached out to the whole target community. This opens up opportunities for further research on the assessment of sustainability of rural programs spearheaded by external agencies. The need for research on the ecological aspect and assessment of the ecological effects of introducing selective hunting on the biophysical environment has already been addressed in Chapter One as a limitation of the study.

7.5 Summary

This chapter provided the summary of a thesis with the aim and objectives of each chapter reviewed and an outline of major findings provided. It is up to society to think critically and challenge the current conservation imperatives and their consumption patterns in order to achieve sustainable development through wildlife management. This chapter tried to assist by providing number of recommendations for bringing about social and environmental justice as well as improved quality of life involving cultural expression.

This thesis has evaluated the policy context within which traditional hunting with dogs takes place in KwaZulu-Natal. It has also examined the effects of integrating traditional hunting into wildlife management and sustainability within the context of both private and communal property regimes. The aim was to determine the potential for linking traditional hunting with dogs into conservation and wildlife management as a strategy for creating stakeholders in community-based natural resource management. The conclusion made in the thesis was that traditional hunting with dogs is likely to enhance participation in ecological terms. Its effects in ecological terms was however, not adequately revealed in the study.

The two case studies illustrated the outcomes under different property regimes, within the context of participatory community-based natural resource management. Several indicators of equity, social and environmental justice evident at Impendle and the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve respectively were highlighted, compared and contrasted. It was found that the fact of actual

ownership was less important than that of access. While one would have expected people to feel more committed to the community game reserve created on tribal land, than to land owned by a private farmer, the results were the opposite. The sense of ownership of wildlife on the farmer's land was greater than that towards wildlife in the community game reserve (and poaching incidents were fewer) because people felt that their needs were considered. They were allowed seasonal access to the farm for the purpose of traditional dog hunting, under controlled conditions.

The study emphasises the need to recognise the urgency of reaching an agreement on what is to be sustained, livelihoods, development projects, policies, institutions, culture and economic growth. In conservation areas established for preservation and protection of representative biotic communities and their physical environment, direct consumptive uses such as traditional hunting must be of course carefully planned and strictly controlled (Metcalf cited in Furze *et al*, 1996). The findings support social sustainability as a social precondition of community-based natural resource management a nd s ustainable d evelopment. S ocial s ustainability m ust r est o n t he b asic v alues o f equity and democracy and must incorporate local structures and customs (Sachs cited in Becker, 1999). It is the researcher's belief that conservation and community commitment to wildlife resources and development in both Impendle and Mpembeni is possible if there is sufficient reason for it locally: that is, when obvious benefits from both socio-economic and cultural perspectives are provided to the local population, a sense of stewardship towards wildlife will be created.

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APPENDIX A:

KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Ordinance 15 of 1974

ORD 15 of 1974

CAPTURE OR DESTRUCTION OF GAME FOR PREVENTION OF HUMAN OR ANIMAL DISEASES, THE PRESERVATION OF FAUNA OR FLORA OR FOR SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH

41. (1)   The Administrator may authorise upon such terms and conditions as he may determine, the destruction, capture or removal of game or any species of game, if he deems that to be necessary or desirable for the prevention of human or animal diseases, or the preservation of fauna or flora, or for educational or scientific purposes, and may also cause scientific and technical research to be undertaken in connection with any such matter.

         [See Delegation No. 19 on page 4(2)]

   (2)   Any person thereto authorised by the Administrator in writing or any officer may at any time reasonable for the purpose enter upon any land for the purpose of carrying out any measure which the Administrator may direct in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him by subsection (1).

   (3)   Any person who fails to give or refuses access to any person authorised in terms of subsection (2) or to any officer if he requests entrance on any land, or obstructs or hinders him in the exercise of the powers or the performance of the duties conferred or imposed upon him, shall be guilty of an offence.

   (4)   The Administrator may delegate all or any of the powers conferred upon him by subsection (1) to the Board and in so doing may impose conditions subject to which the Board shall exercise any power so delegated.

   (5)   In respect of any power delegated by the Administrator in terms of subsection (4), the provisions of subsections (2) and (3) shall apply, mutatis mutandis, to the Board and to or in respect of any officer or other person authorised by the Board.

TRESPASS ON LAND

42. (1)   No licence or permit granted in terms of section 34, 35, 37 or 38 to hunt or capture game shall authorise the holder thereof to enter upon any land other than such State land as may be described therein: Provided that in the case of any State land occupied or reserved for any public purpose the holder of any such licence or permit shall not hunt or capture game thereon unless he has first obtained the permission of any Government officer having authority to grant the same.

   (2)   If any person hunts or captures game on land on which he is trespassing, or if any person trespasses upon any land on which game is or is likely to be found with any weapon or trap in his possession, or accompanied by any dog, he shall be guilty of an offence: Provided that in any prosecution for a contravention of a provision of this subsection a person shall not be deemed to have trespassed if he satisfies the court that such trespass was unintentional and that he was not aware that he was trespassing.

         [Substituted by sec. 10 of Ord. 31/1976]

   (3)   Whenever any person is found trespassing on land in any of the circumstances hereinbefore in this section mentioned, any officer or the owner or occupier or person in charge of such land, or the holder of shooting rights over the same, may demand from such person a statement of his full name and place of residence and may direct him to quit such land forthwith, and if he fails to comply with such demand or direction or gives a false or incomplete name or address, he shall be guilty of an offence.

APPENDIX B:

KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Management Amendment Act 5 of 1999

KwAzulu-NATAL NATURE CONSERVATION ACT
5 OF 1999

he or she has the written authority of the owner or relevant tribal authority to do so.

Operating as a professional hunter, a hunting-outfitter or director of a professional hunting school

69. (1) No person may act as:

(a) a professional hunter;

(b) a hunting-outfitter; or

(c) a Director of a Professional Hunting School,

unless he or she is the holder of the relevant permit.

(2) The Minister, on the recommendation of the Board, may prescribe:

(a) the requirements which must be satisfied by an applicant before a permit under subsection (1) may be issued; and

(b) the conditions which must be complied with by the holder of a permit under subsection (1).

Hunting of specially-protected-or-protected-indigenous animals by a client

70. (1) A client may not hunt a specially-protected-indigenous-animal-or-a-protected indigenous animal unless:

(a) the hunt has been organised by a hunting-outfitter; and

(b) the client is escorted by a professional hunter.

(2) A professional hunter must ensure that the client does not contravene this Act or the conditions of any applicable permit under sections 77 and 78, and the client must comply with any lawful instruction issued by the professional hunter.

Permission from owner of land or tribal authority to hunting-outfitters

71. (1) A hunting-outfitter must not undertake or arrange the hunting of an animal for a client unless the hunting-outfitter has the prior written permission of:

(a) the owner of the land upon which the hunting is to be undertaken; or

(b) the relevant tribal authority.

(2) The written permission under subsection (1) must specify:

(a) the name of the property and the area in which it is located;

(b) the species of animal to be hunted; and

(c) the numbers of each gender which may be hunted.

Traditional hunters

72. (1) Subject to section 71, a person may only undertake or participate in a traditional hunt if he or she is the holder of the relevant permit under sections 77 and 78.

(2) A traditional hunting permit is only valid for:

(a) one specified traditional hunt;

(b) the specified period, being the maximum duration of the hunt; and

(c) spesie, seks + numbers must be declared ⊙

(d) a traditional hunt in a specified area.

(3) The Minister, on the recommendation of the Board and after consultation with the House of Traditional Leaders, may prescribe:

(a) the requirements which must be satisfied by an applicant before a permit under this section may be issued; and

(b) the conditions which must be complied with by the holder of a permit under this section.

Offences and penalties in respect of hunting

73. (1) A person who:

(a) contravenes this Chapter or fails to comply with the conditions of a permit under sections 77 and 78; or

(b) when applying for a permit under sections 77 and 78, knowingly makes a false statement,

commits an offence and is liable to imprisonment for a period not exceeding ten years, a fine or both imprisonment and a fine.

(2) A permit issued under this Act and held by a person convicted of an offence under subsection (1) shall be deemed to be cancelled from the date:

(a) of conviction;

(b) on which an appeal against the conviction is refused; or

(c) on which the conviction is upheld on review,

whichever is the later date.

(3) A person who was the holder of a permit cancelled under subsection (2) may not re-apply for another permit within three years from the date of cancellation.

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APPENDIX C:

Notes of the Traditional Hunting Workshop held in Pietermaritzburg in 2002

EZEMVELO KZN WILDLIFE

**WORKSHOP ON HUNTING WITH DOGS TO BE HELD IN
THE THEATRE, QUEEN ELIZABETH PARK ON
28 SEPTEMBER 2002 COMMENCING AT 09H00**

PROGRAMME

08.30 - 09.00	REFRESHMENTS
09.00 - 09.15	WELCOME : KHULANI MKHIZE, CEO, EKZNW
CHAIRPERSON :	ROB FINCHAM, CENTRE FOR ENVIRONMENT & DEVELOPMENT, UNIVERSITY OF NATAL
09.15 - 11.15	QUESTIONNAIRE DISCUSSION
	EACH QUESTION TO BE DEBATED FOR 20 MINUTES WITH 10 MINUTES FOR RESOLUTIONS.
12.15 - 13.00	ILLEGAL ISSUING OF PERMITS
13.00 - 13.30	FINGER LUNCH
13.30 - 14.15	DRAFTING OF WORKSHOP DECLARATION & WAY FORWARD
14.15	CLOSURE

APPENDIX D:

Memorandum of Objections to the Legislation of Traditional Hunting with Dogs by NSPCA

NATIONAL COUNCIL OF SPCA'S

OBJECTIONS TO THE LEGISLATION
OF

TRADITIONAL HUNTING WITH DOGS

P.O.BOX 1320
ALBERTON
1450
SOUTH AFRICA

ISSUED: FEBRUARY 2002

APPENDIX E:

Details of Interviews (Includes the list of the questionnaires used in the study to collect qualitative data and transcripts)

Questionnaire for the Research Project

The questions below are designed for the local communities from both case studies. The questions will focus around the views of people with regard to the significance of traditional hunting.

Name of the Tribal Area..

Name of the Chief ....

Any elected leader ....

Family Name ....

No of hunting dogs kept ....

Views on hunting

1. Is there any one from your household who is hunting? If yes when and how?

2. What is the value and significance of traditional hunting to your community?

3. What type of animals appealed most for hunting and why?

4. Who controls huntng expeditions in your community?

5. Are there any hunting activities taking place within the community game reserve or private farms around? If yes, who is hunting?

History of the Community Game Reserve and iNhluzani Farm

- Who came up with the idea of a community conservation game reserve and for what purpose?
- When did the idea start?

- Have you ever been to the community game reserve/ private farm or has any member of your family been to the reserve?

- Do you know what animals are in the community game reserve/farm?

- Do you think the project contributes to community development and conservation goals?

- Who benefits from the project? If there are any people benefiting, how are they benefiting?

- Who controls hunting within the game farm/community game reserve?
- Do you think people should be allowed to hunt in the farms/community game reserve? If yes, under what conditions?

- What type of hunting do you think should be allowed in the community game reserve?

- What do you think about safari hunting by tourists?

- Is the community game reserve important for you?

Guideline Questionnaire

The questions below will serve as a guideline of the discussion between the researcher and the

officials and stakeholders involved in conservation and wildlife management in the province. The

focus will be on issues around the conservation goals and views by various stakeholders with

regard to the possibility for integrating traditional hunting in conservation development.

Name of Organisation.

Name of the Official ....

Organisations Head ....

Overall Goal ....

1. What are the organisations policy goals regarding traditional hunting with dogs?

2. What programmes and projects are currently in place to achieve the goals?

3. Describe the organisations overall aims, objectives and desired results regarding the Mpembeni Community Game Reserve

4. Who came up with the idea of a community game reserve?

5. Do you think the project contributes to community development and conservation goals? If yes, how?

6. Who is meant to benefit from the project?

7. Are there any forms of hunting within the community game reserve/game farm? If yes, who is hunting?

8. Are there any records of illegal hunting within the farm/community game reserve? If yes, who is responsible for them?

9. What types of animals are normally hunted?

10. When do people normally undertake hunting activities?

11. Who controls hunting within the community?

12. Does the organisation have the skills and resources to manage the project? If yes, what are they?

13. Are there any voluntary regulators that work within the community to control forms of hunting?

14. Do you think people should be allowed to hunt within the farm/community game

reserve? If yes how and when?

Questions on partnership

- What links has the organisation formed with other stakeholders in conservation?

- Do you see this as a partnership? If yes, explain

- How and when was the partnership formed?

- What is the future of the partnership- how do you feel about it?

Summary of an Interview with Mpembeni Community Game Reserve Management Committee

Date: 23-06-2002

The summary is based on an interview that was conducted in a focus group context. The group comprised of the six-committee members. These members were:

- Ms Lindiwe Hlabisa (Secretary in the Tribal Court)
- Mr T.A Ngcobo
- Mr M Nkosi
- Mrs Z.A Manyoni
- Mr V.F Hlabisa (Chairperson of the MCCGRMC)
- Mr J Shabalala (KZNNCS Community Liaison Officer)

The focus of the interview was on providing answers that the researcher had, regarding the progress that has been achieved by the MCCGRMC. Initially the researcher asked the question around the origin of the MCCGR. In answering this question, the committee asked Mr Ngcobo to give the researcher an overview of the project: Mr Ngcobo answered as follows:

- During the 1940"s, a period before the removal of the people from the corridor, people lived harmoniously with wildlife. People hunted wild animals for both subsistence and ritual purposes under the control of traditional authority. Natural resources provided far enough to sustain the livelihood of the people without seeking employment. During the mid 1940 the issue of unakane came up, as a result people were removed from the corridor. People's access to natural resources was therefore restricted. Conflict and confrontation between the local people and the Parks Board became common.
- From the late 1940 until early 1990 peoples anger was intensified by the land dispossession. Therefore, illegal hunting and land claims became the order of the day and a way that people expressed their anger and resistance. The interaction between wildlife and livestock further aggravated the conflict. For instance, wild animals from the game reserve would go across the fence and destroy community crops and livestock. In terms of compensation, the Parks Board set a distinction between

indigenous animals such as hynas, and therefore no compensation was paid for damage caused by indigenous animals.

- As a result of our interest in ecotourism development, Mpembeni Tourism Association was formed in partnership with Nature Conservation Services. The land that was already set aside for restitution and redistribution t o the people was therefore earmarked for community tourism. Due to lack of funds and expertise, the community leaders decided to establish a community game reserve. The idea started way back in 1995 and was only realized in 2001.

- Currently there are four people working as game guards within the community game reserve and these people come from the community. In terms of access to natural resources within the community game reserve, only professional safari hunting is allowed. The committee together with KZNCS regulate this type of hunting. The idea is to generate income.

APPENDIX F:

Statistical Records of illegal hunting within Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park from Hlabisa SAPS

SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE
SERVICES

SUID-AFRIKAANSE POLISIE
DIENS

TELEFAX
COVERING SHEET/DEKBLAD

Aan
To: N C S

Vir aandag
For attention: VINCENT / ZIMA

Faks
Fax: 035 838 067

Datum
Date: 04/11/03

Tel. Afsender
Tel. of sender: 035 838 1098

U verw.
Your ref: ——

My verw
My ref: ——

Afsender
Sender: HLUHLUWE SAPS

Gehanteer deur
Dealt with by: D/INSP. ZUNGU

Aantal bladsye, dekblad ingesluit
No. of sheets, including covering sheet: 2

Onderwerp
Subject: STATISTICS OF CASES OR ILLEGAL
HUNTING FROM JANUARY 2001 — MAY 2002

Boodskap
Message: KINDLY FIND THE STATISTICS AS
REQUESTED BY YOUR OFFICE

Handtekening   : Offisier
Signature   : Officer
AM   KHUMALO

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