

**PARTICIPATORY FOREST MANAGEMENT (PFM)
DISCOURSE IN SOUTH AFRICA:
ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION IN THE
DEVELOPING WORLD**

By

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DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment / partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree
of Doctorate of Philosophy, in the Graduate Programme in Geography,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
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I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously, for any degree or examination in any other University.

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ABSTRACT

There is growing recognition internationally of the shift in natural resource management away from top-down, technocratic management towards participatory approaches that incorporate local communities and other stakeholders in decision-making. Natural resources and their management are also increasingly seen to play a role in development, providing the resources necessary to drive local economic development and poverty alleviation schemes. These shifts are evident in both forestry and fisheries literature and co-management policies. Co-management is a mature theory of participatory environmental governance. Participatory Forest Management (PFM), which is a co-management approach to governance in forest management, comprises a major shift in government policy in terms of managing the people-forest interface in South Africa. Democratic approaches such as co-management are commendable; however, the reality surrounding the lack of capacity for decision-making by local people and the complex scientific nature of forest management makes the implementation of this approach difficult.

This study adopts a critical approach to participatory practices in forestry, and questions whether participation is occurring or whether it is merely rhetoric - a disguise for an eco-modernist, technocratic problem solving approach that still employs top down management. Ecological modernisation is a policy-orientated discourse, which is used to construct environmental problems in a particular way, and so influence the manner in which they are addressed. The mainstream ecological modernisation approach, which is a weak ecological modernisation approach (Christoff, 1996), is arguably the prevailing mainstream environmental management approach in the developed and also latterly, the developing world (Christoff, 1996; Blowers and Pain, 1999; Murphy, 2000; Scott and Oelofse, 2005). According to Oelofse et al. (2006), Laros (2004) and Scott and Oelofse (2005) this weak mainstream approach has been transferred from the developed countries, where it has been institutionalised for over two decades, to developing countries such as South Africa, and has become the “rationale for environmental management” (Oelofse et al. 2006:61) in these countries also. However, within the ecological modernisation approach, shifts are taking place towards what Christoff (1996) refers to as ‘strong’ and Beck (1995) as ‘reflexive’ ecological modernisation, which acknowledge the use of more participatory, communicative and deliberative approaches to addressing environmental problems (Christoff, 1996; Blowers and Pain, 1999; Scott and Oelofse, 2005).

The southern Cape PFM case study in South Africa is presented as an opportunity to explore these ideas. This thesis explores the relationship between PFM and ecological modernisation through an analysis of PFM discourse, and expands the conceptualisation of ecological modernisation by applying it to an environmental policy process in a developing world context. Through an analysis of the implementation of PFM using Hajer’s (1995; 2003) argumentative approach to discourse analysis, the appropriateness of the form of co-management, typified by PFM to the South African context, is challenged. Research findings reveal that the manner in which PFM is implemented in the southern Cape comprises a weak ecological modernisation approach to environmental management because the *participatory* element of PFM was found to be problematic. The nature of participation occurring at a local level differs greatly from the policy being advocated at a national level. The discourse of PFM has been institutionalised nationally as a policy and an approach to indigenous forest management, which resonates with strong ecological modernisation. Locally, however, although a degree of discourse structuration has occurred, it appears that the co-management approach being implemented is a weak form, which is more consistent with weak ecological modernisation. South Africa’s context as country in transition places it in an awkward position with regard to the application of ecological modernisation as an environmental problem-solving approach. A strong ecological modernisation approach would seem to be the most appropriate given South Africa’s context; however, there are limitations that indicate why a strong ecological modernisation discourse becomes weak at the level of implementation. Even if weak ecological modernisation were pursued, it would appear that South Africa might not yet be ready to apply such a programme effectively.

PREFACE

The work undertaken and described in this thesis was carried out in the School of Life and Environmental Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban from September 2002 to December 2007, under the supervision of Prof. D. Scott and Ms C. Oelofse.

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ACRONYMS

AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CBC	Community Based Conservation
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CD:F	Chief Directorate: Forestry
CFA	Community Forestry Agreement
CFM	Community Forest Management
CSFM	Committee for Sustainable Forest Management
D:CF	Directorate: Community Forestry
D:IFM	Directorate: Indigenous Forest Management
D:PF	Directorate: Participative Forestry
DANIDA	Danish International Development Agency
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DFID	Department For International Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
EMCA	Environmental Management Co-Management Agreement
FED	Forest Enterprise Development
FSC	Forest Stewardship Council
GEAR	Growth Employment and Redistribution
GGP	Gross Geographic Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFM	Indigenous Forest Management
ISRDS	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
JFM	Joint Forest Management
LED	Local Economic Development
LDP	Local Development Plan
MGS	Millwood Goldfields Society
MTO	Mountains To Ocean
NFA	National Forests Act
NFAC	National Forests Advisory Council
NFAP	National Forests Action Programme

NTFP	Non Timber Forest Products
NVFFA	National Veld and Forest Fire Act
NP	National Party
PCI & S	Principles, Criteria, Indicators and Standards
PFM	Participatory Forest Management
PFMA	Public Financial Management Act
PPP	Public Private Partnership
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SAFCOL	South African Forestry Company (Pty) Ltd.
SANParks	South African National Parks
SFM	Sustainable Forest Management
SPFE	Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire
SPWFE	Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire
THETA	Tourism Hospitality Sport Education Training Authority
WCED	World Conference on Environment and Development

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

There is growing recognition internationally of the shift in natural resource management away from top-down, technocratic management towards a participatory approach that incorporates local communities and other stakeholders in decision-making. This approach proposes an increase in community access to natural resources and the benefits derived from these resources. Natural resources and their management are also increasingly seen to play a role in development, providing the resources necessary to drive local economic development and contribute to poverty alleviation. These shifts are evident in forestry, fisheries and co-management literature and policies, and are part of a broader shift towards participatory democracy.

The Chief Directorate of Forestry within the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) adopted Participatory Forest Management (PFM) as a new approach to indigenous forest management in South Africa in 2000. This resulted in the Indigenous Forest Management Directorate's (D:IFM) code of best practice for forest management, which is currently being implemented around the country (DWAF, 2002b). Participatory Forest Management, or PFM, comprises a major shift in government policy in terms of managing the people-forest interface in South Africa.

The southern Cape Afromontane forests form South Africa's most substantial block of indigenous forests. These forests are also regarded as the most pristine and well-managed indigenous forests in southern Africa (Knysna Official 1, 2003). The Regional Indigenous Forest Management Sub-Directorate in the southern Cape has applied the PFM policy since 2000 and PFM in this region is considered the most advanced in its implementation. For this reason, and also because they are the most accessible in terms of data collection, the southern Cape or Knysna forests were selected as the most appropriate case study area in which to conduct research into the PFM policy implementation process.

It is widely held that in order for the sustainability of natural resources to be assured, the management of these resources must provide rights of access for local communities, include the participation of indigenous communities in decision-making, and share the benefits derived

from these resources (Hackel, 1999; Grundy and Michell, 2004; Sekhar, 2000). While this democratic approach to forest management has been institutionalised, the reality surrounding the current lack of capacity for decision-making by local people and the complex scientific nature of forest management makes the effective implementation of this approach difficult.

This study adopts a critical approach to participatory practices in forestry, and questions whether participation is occurring or whether it is merely rhetoric - a disguise for an eco-modernist, technocratic problem solving approach that still employs top down management. Ecological modernisation is a policy-orientated discourse that uses the language of business and science to conceptualise environmental problems as a matter of efficiency as opposed to a threat to business and the pursuit of economic growth (Huber, 1985 cited in Mol, 1995; Christoff, 1996). Ecological modernisation has been interpreted in a variety of ways, and Christoff (1996) has suggested that these interpretations lie along a continuum, ranging from weak/narrow at one end, to strong/broad at the other end of the spectrum. Where a particular interpretation of ecological modernisation lies on this continuum is dependent on the degree to which it is technological or systemic in scope or focus" (Christoff, 1996:490). So, for example, a weak ecological modernisation discourse is characterised as economistic, technological and techno-corporatist, emphasising the economisation of nature and elitist decision-making structures (Hajer 1993, cited in Gibbs, 2000; Christoff, 1996). A strong ecological modernisation discourse, however, is characterised as ecological, institutional, and democratic, emphasising that changes to production and consumption are carried out using increased democratisation, redistribution and social justice (Hajer 1993, cited in Gibbs, 2000; Christoff, 1996).

The mainstream ecological modernisation approach, which comprises a weak ecological modernisation approach (Christoff, 1996), is the prevailing mainstream environmental management approach in the developed – and also latterly, the developing – world (Christoff, 1996; Blowers and Pain, 1999; Murphy, 2000; Scott and Oelofse, 2005). According to Oelofse et al. (2002), Laros (2004) and Scott and Oelofse (2005) this weak mainstream approach has been transferred from the developed countries, where it has been institutionalised for over two decades, to developing countries such as South Africa, and has become the “rationale for environmental management” in these countries (Oelofse et al. 2002:1). However, shifts are taking place in South Africa within the ecological modernisation approach towards what Christoff (1996) refers to as ‘strong’ and Beck (1995) as ‘reflexive’ ecological modernisation,

which acknowledge the use of more participatory, communicative and deliberative approaches to addressing environmental problems (Christoff, 1996; Blowers and Pain, 1999; Scott and Oelofse, 2005).

The PFM case study is presented as an opportunity to theoretically reflect upon these ideas in the context of a developing country in transition. This study also problematises the nature of participation occurring at a local level. It is conjectured that this differs greatly from the policy that is advocated at a national level in the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF).

It was anticipated that different stories about PFM would emerge from various actors, but from the preliminary interviews it was apparent that most of the actors in the PFM process in the southern Cape region were ‘talking the talk’ – with little real implementation of policy taking place.

Various reviews of the implementation of PFM policy in the southern Cape have been conducted (Horn, 2000; Horn, 2002a; Horn, 2002b; Horn, 2002c; Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004; Vermeulen et al., 2004; Willis, 2004). This research, however, is concerned with understanding the dynamics of the implementation of PFM policy from a cultural politics perspective, using the analytical tool of discourse analysis. It identifies the positions and discourses assumed by various actors, and identifies the tactics and the arguments employed to define, frame and resolve the issue of people and sustainable forestry. The proposition here is that within the PFM implementation process in South Africa, the policy being advocated at a national level within DWAF reflects the discourse of strong ecological modernisation. However, when this policy is implemented at a local level, the discourse that prevails is more consistent with weak ecological modernisation.

This research was initially conducted for a Masters degree and it was subsequently upgraded to the level of a Doctoral thesis. The proposition of this research remains the same as that of the Masters research, which preceded this thesis. The relationship between strong and weak ecological modernisation and national and local policy discourse remains the focus. However upgrading the research provided an opportunity to rethink the research already accomplished, refine the aims and objectives, elaborate the theoretical underpinnings, assess the adequacy of the fieldwork and rework the outcomes in a more clear and incisive manner in order to show the original contribution that this research makes to theory and knowledge in this area. Instead

of changing the proposition of the research, attention has been focussed on the posing of additional research questions. The research undertaken provides the basis for higher order research questions to be answered in a manner that will provide an original contribution to the research field.

1.1. RATIONALE

The rationale for undertaking this research is threefold. Firstly, the rationale for this research is to contribute to a research field in which very little research has been conducted. A gap in research on PFM in the context of indigenous forest management in South Africa has been identified, particularly from a social science perspective. This is largely due to PFM being a relatively new approach to forest management in South Africa, and also part of a relatively new approach to community based natural resource management. Furthermore, the methodology of discourse analysis has not been applied to PFM. Ockwell (2001:2) writes that “advocates of discourse analysis claim that examining and explaining how language is used in such contexts is crucial for revealing aspects of social and political processes that were previously obscured or misunderstood”. Approaching an analysis of the PFM implementation process in the southern Cape from the perspective of discourse analysis reveals aspects of the process that conventional assessments and interpretations might overlook, because it focuses on the influence of discourse on the policy process in terms of policy language and institutional practices employed by decision-makers. This research therefore would contribute knowledge regarding a policy process that is distinctively different, and reveal the underlying political processes that are embedded in policy processes.

This thesis focuses on analysing the implementation of a participatory forest management policy in indigenous forest management in South Africa, and the policies and actions undertaken by government to address the impact that local communities are believed to have on the sustainability of these forests. PFM is relatively new in South Africa and part of the establishment of democratic governance in South Africa. This applied focus is relevant in that it will provide a contribution to the critical understanding of environmental policy processes and the politics associated with these processes. This then allows for the application of the findings to other localities.

Secondly, this thesis has applied discourse analysis, and particularly Hajer's (1995; 2003) argumentative approach, as a methodology for analysis of a policy process. A methodological contribution is made by applying Hajer's ideas about discourse analysis to the natural resource management approach of co-management in the developing world. The value of this methodology in understanding the complexity of policy implementation is discussed.

Thirdly, the rationale for this research is concerned with contributing conceptually to the conceptual framework of this research, namely ecological modernisation and co-management. A contribution will be made to the theoretical frame of ecological modernisation in terms of its value in understanding a national policy process in South Africa, a developing world context. A key contribution of this research is aimed at exploring the value of ecological modernisation as a theoretical frame for analysing a national policy process. Ecological modernisation is a difficult concept to clearly define. It is most often applied to advanced industrialised and developed countries where the main environmental concerns revolve around pollution control and prevention, rather than natural resource consumption and protection, which are key environmental issues in developing countries such as South Africa (Christoff, 1996; Buttel, 2000; Congreve, 2000; Langhelle, 2000; Mol, 2000; Seippel, 2000; Berger et al., 2001; Sonnenfeld, 2002). Besides the environmental concerns being different, the "assumed conditions for this approach [ecological modernisation], such as the availability of advanced technology, capital, democracy and capacity, are not in place" (Oelofse et al., 2002:3). Its appropriateness is now assessed with regard to its theoretical contribution to understanding a South African policy, and also in terms of whether an ecological modernisation approach to environmental problems is appropriate in South Africa, given its social and political context. A team of researchers from the University of KwaZulu-Natal is working on a Focus Area research project funded by the National Research Foundation on Environmental Decision-Making for Sustainability in South Africa. This project is engaged in examining the shifts in South Africa from 'weak' to 'strong' ecological modernisation and this thesis will contribute to this body of knowledge.

Through an analysis of the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape, the appropriateness of co-management as a popular form of environmental governance in contemporary environmental management to the South African context will be challenged. Co-management is a normative theory about governance in natural resource management, which embraces participatory processes in environmental decision-making and provides opportunities for

deliberation and communication amongst stakeholders (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Turner et al., 2001; Sihlophe, 2002; Hauck and Sowman, 2003; Grundy and Michell, 2004). Consideration is given to how the form of co-management reflected by PFM relates to strong and weak ecological modernisation, and what this means for co-management in the South African context. This critique incorporates discussions about the South African government's neo-liberal imperatives and their conflict with the earlier social justice imperatives that were enshrined in the National Environmental Management Act (Act 107 of 1998) and the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994).

The research findings of this study have proven that the manner in which PFM is implemented in the southern Cape comprises a weak ecological modernisation approach to environmental management because the *participatory* processes of PFM were found to be problematic. This has implications for the degree to which deliberative democracy is exercised. The reasons for this are interrogated. The empirical results derived have stimulated a theoretical question regarding the relationship between co-management, as a form of natural resource governance, and the broader societal theory of ecological modernisation, which proposes a particular relationship between society and the environment. This relationship is characterised by a modernising society accommodating environmental problems by internalising environmental concerns into existing social networks (Hajer, 1995). The question posed is whether co-management presents a strong or weak form of ecological modernisation and what the implications of this are for sustainability and democratisation. The rationale is thus to interrogate these theoretical questions through the lens of the PFM case study, which presents a case of co-management in the indigenous forestry sector in South Africa.

The rationale driving this research, and its potential contributions to three key bodies of knowledge (ecological modernisation, co-management and discourse analysis) is outlined. In summary, this research contributes to the theories of ecological modernisation as discussed, but also to discourse theory through the development of a methodology for the application of discourse analysis at the microscale. The empirical research shows that the theory, which Hajer (2003) and other work in this field apply to national, macroscale policy processes, can be valuably applied to microscale, localised policy processes. Furthermore, through a more thorough investigation of a co-management regime, namely PFM, the accepted wisdom of such an approach to natural resource management in South Africa is examined.

1.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

Three key research questions have driven the research process.

1. Is ecological modernisation a useful theoretical framework that can be applied in the developing world to explain the relationship between society and environment, with reference to environmental policy-making and environmental management?
2. Is co-management, as a mature theory of participatory environmental governance, more democratic than previous hierarchical forms of environmental decision-making?
3. Is mainstream or weak ecological modernisation an appropriate approach to addressing environmental problems in South Africa?

1.3. AIM AND OBJECTIVES

Aim

The aim of this research is twofold. Firstly, the theoretical aim is to explore how ecological modernisation and discourse analysis can be used to critically review the conceptualisation and implementation of a progressive natural resource management approach (PFM) in a developing world context. Secondly, the empirical aim of this research is to investigate the implementation of Participatory Forest Management policy at a local level in the southern Cape/Knysna indigenous state forests in South Africa. .

The empirical aim concerns the DWAF PFM policy; ascertaining the distinction between the rhetoric of the policy and the reality of implementing it, and understanding the problems associated with its implementation in the southern Cape. This is addressed through an analysis of discourse and an investigation of two PFM projects that are underway in the southern Cape. The theoretical aim uses the empirical material as the platform from which to argue for the value of applying ecological modernisation to the developing world context and the appropriateness of weak co-management to the South African context.

Objectives

In order to achieve the aims, six objectives were developed. These objectives provided a guideline for the research by breaking down the research process into manageable sections. The research process therefore sought:

1. To examine PFM policy process in Indigenous Forest Management in the southern Cape to understand how actors view PFM and to explore how it is being implemented in this region.
2. To deconstruct the discourse of PFM using Hajer's approach to discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995) by determining the storylines, the policy vocabularies and epistemic notions related to PFM policy; identifying the key discourses and discourse coalitions that emerged during the PFM implementation process; and understanding how the institutional practices of DWAF affect the PFM implementation process.
3. To investigate two case studies of forest-related projects underway in the southern Cape to identify challenges to implementing a co-management regime such as PFM at the project level, and to understand what effect the prevalent PFM discourse has on the outcomes of PFM projects.
4. To examine the degree to which the concept of ecological modernisation is an appropriate way of conceptualising the policy discourse of PFM.
5. To investigate how the form of co-management as reflected by PFM, relates to strong and weak ecological modernisation.
6. To elucidate any implications that an analysis of the southern Cape case study might have for future policy implementation processes both in the southern Cape and elsewhere in South Africa.

Through addressing these aims and objectives a contribution will be made to the fields of ecological modernisation and environmental governance, discourse analysis and environmental policy-making, and co-management.

1.4. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

This first chapter introduces the subject of PFM, presents a brief background to the study, highlights the rationale for pursuing this topic, and describes the research questions, aims and objectives of the research and the perceived relevance of the study. Four theoretical chapters follow it. It is necessary to separate the theoretical framework of this research into four chapters because each deals with distinct levels and types of theory.

The first of the theoretical chapters, Chapter Two, reviews the broader theoretical concepts that underpin this research. Here the condition of post-modernity and its implications for research are discussed. Thereafter the constructivist paradigm is reviewed as this research is framed within this approach to knowledge. The theory of the policy-making process and discursive arenas is then discussed. Lastly, this chapter reviews the theoretical elements of discourse analysis, which is a constructivist methodology. Here Hajer's (1995; 2003) argumentative approach is elaborated. Chapter Three follows with a discussion on the key elements of the

concept of ecological modernisation. The differing interpretations of the theory and the various ways in which it has been applied in environmental politics are reviewed.

Chapters Four and Five comprise a two-part review of natural resource management approaches that have been applied in environmental management. Chapter Four discusses the origins and influences of colonial paradigms and how these paradigms have influenced forest management approaches in the southern Cape. This chapter also reflects on five key shifts that have taken place in the literature to bring about a reorientation in perceptions of nature-society relationship. Chapter Five introduces the theoretical concept of co-management as a ‘new’ approach to nature conservation. The co-management concept is elaborated and the concept of PFM discussed. Thereafter the application of co-management and PFM to the South African context is described.

Chapter Six provides the contextual background for the study with the aim of familiarising the reader with the context within which PFM is being implemented. In this chapter, the socio-political context of South Africa as a society in transition is discussed by way of reflecting on three key areas of transformation in South Africa. In addition, the policy and the institutional contexts of the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) are described. Lastly, the physical location, the biophysical, and the socio-economic contexts of the southern Cape region are provided.

The methodology of the research is described in Chapter Seven. The adoption of a social constructivist approach within the social sciences is described along with the related inductive and qualitative research methodology. Methods of data collection, sampling and data analysis are described. The methodology of discourse analysis, introduced at a theoretical level in Chapter Two, is further elaborated. Particular attention is paid to its application according to Hajer’s (1995; 2003) understanding of argumentative discourse analysis. Lastly, some limitations of the research process are discussed.

In Chapters Eight through to Thirteen the results and analysis are presented. Hajer’s (2003) framework for conducting discourse analysis, as presented in his *Frame in the fields* paper, provides the structure for this analysis. Chapter Eight comprises the results and analysis of part one of the terms of environmental discourse, namely epistemic notions and policy vocabularies. Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven comprise the second part of the discussion of the

terms of environmental discourse, namely storylines. The analysis revealed that the twelve storylines clustered into three groups. Chapter Nine presents the results and analysis of the first group of storylines, which define Participatory Forest Management (PFM) and answer the question ‘what is PFM’. Chapter Ten discusses the second group of storylines which justify why PFM has come about and answer the question ‘why PFM’. Lastly, Chapter Eleven discusses the third and largest group of storylines, which relate to the practice of PFM in terms of how PFM is being implemented in the southern Cape. The penultimate chapter in the results and analysis component of the thesis discusses Hajer’s (1995; 2003) two remaining elements of discourse analysis that he uses in his argumentative approach namely, discourse coalitions and institutional practices.

The results and analysis in Chapters Eight through to Twelve are based on the first two phases of research in which broad questions were asked about PFM and its implementation in the region. Chapter Thirteen presents the results and analysis from the third phase of research and provides the analysis of two case studies of PFM projects that are underway in the Farleigh Forest Estate in the southern Cape.

The final chapter, Chapter Fourteen, concludes the thesis by summarising the research process, reviewing and discussing the results of the research in the light of the research questions that were posed, and finally highlighting issues and making recommendations. The first part of this chapter reviews the rationale, aims and objectives of the thesis. In addition, the theoretical frameworks, contextual background, methodology and results are briefly reviewed. The second section interprets PFM, a national environmental policy process, in relation to the methodological frame of discourse analysis and the contribution made to discourse theory is explained. In addition, the theoretical contribution to the frame of ecological modernisation is highlighted through discussions concerning the conceptualisation of PFM as a form of ecological modernisation, and the value of applying ecological modernisation to a policy process in a developing world context. Thereafter the contribution to the theory and knowledge of co-management is revealed through a consideration of the relationship between co-management, as exemplified by PFM in South Africa, and ecological modernisation. The impediments to co-management and the implications of a weak form of co-management for the environment in South Africa are also discussed.

Finally, although the whole of Chapter Fourteen points to the implications of this research for DWAF, the last section summarises the key implications of the research and makes recommendations to DWAF. Lastly concluding remarks are made to draw the thesis to an end.

CHAPTER 2

TOWARDS PLURAL REALITIES

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS: A CONSTRUCTIVIST APPROACH

“If we could be reconciled to the idea that most of reality is different to our descriptions of it...then we should at last have assimilated what was true about the Romantic idea that truth is made rather than found. What is true about this claim is just that languages are made rather than found, and that truth is a property of linguistic properties, or sentences” (Rorty, 1989: 6-9).

2.1. INTRODUCTION

This research is postmodern and constructivist in its approach because it uses the constructivist methodology of discourse analysis and accepts that the research process will illuminate a particular interpretation of the PFM implementation process rather than obtaining an objective truth about the process. This chapter, which is the first of four theoretical chapters, presents the theoretical framework for the methods that are outlined in the methodology chapter. It outlines the implications of adopting such an approach to research and explores both the theoretical and methodological aspects of discourse analysis as it has been applied to this research.

The ontological shift from modernist approaches, which assumes that there is an objective reality about which the truth can be known, to a postmodern approach, which questions whether it is possible to attain a single objective knowledge of underlying structures and realities (Rosenau, 1992) has implications for the research process. The fundamental departure of postmodernism from modernism is the acceptance of diversity and difference in the world, and the acceptance of the fragmentation and cacophony of voices through which dilemmas of the modern world are understood (Harvey, 1989). Postmodernism rejects meta-narratives and postulates that there are many truths and that reality can be interpreted in many ways. An understanding of this shift aided the research process because it influenced the manner in which the research questions have been addressed and the way in which the analysis of data has been conducted. The interpretation of the policy implementation process that is reflected in this research represents one such ‘voice’ or ‘truth’.

In Section 2.2 an overview of the postmodern, post-positivist constructivist paradigm is provided. The basic tenets of this approach, that reality is constructed, and that language is an active agent in the construction process, are the foundations upon which the research process is developed. Section 2.3 introduces the concept of a discourse and explores the theoretical aspects of its associated methodology of discourse analysis, which is a particular approach to knowledge construction and an approach that is adopted for this thesis.

The social construction of knowledge pertaining to environmental politics takes place within a policy arena, notably a discursive policy arena (Weiland, 2003). Section 2.4 therefore discusses the field of environmental politics and the policy process using Giddens' (1984) broad definition of the policy process to guide discussion. The policy arena within which discourse takes place is also explored from the perspective of a policy network. Here research by Bulkeley (2000), who draws extensively from Marsh and Rhodes (1992, cited in Bulkeley, 2000), is valuable.

This study uses Hajer's (1995; 2003) conceptualisation of discourse analysis, particularly argumentative discourse analysis, as the methodological framework for this study. The remainder of this chapter is concerned with the theoretical components of discourse analysis. Section 2.4 introduces the theoretical concept of a discourse whilst Section 2.5 examines the argumentative turn that has taken place in discourse analysis and elaborates the distinction between conventional discourse analysis and argumentative discourse analysis. However, because there is also a methodological component to discourse theory, Section 2.6 explains the theoretical elements of Hajer's (1995; 2003) methodology for conducting discourse analysis focussing on his interpretation of an argumentative approach to discourse analysis. Finally Section 2.7 concludes the chapter by summarising key elements that were discussed.

2.2. SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIVISM: ONTOLOGY AND EPISTEMOLOGY

This section outlines some of the key principles of constructivism with a view to providing the conceptual background for later discussions about discourse analysis, and the methodology of this research, which is located within the constructivist paradigm.

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:6) note that the aim of constructivist research is to "show how versions of the social world are produced in discourse, and to demonstrate how these

constructions of reality make certain actions possible and others unthinkable”. This paradigm has framed the research, owing to the epistemological and ontological assumptions and ideas associated with it. For constructivism, the ontology is a socially constructed reality and discourse. Regarding the epistemology, Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:6) state:

“If the researcher believes that reality consists of a fluid and variable set of social constructions, she or he may adopt a suspicious and political epistemological stance and employ methodologies that allow the researcher to deconstruct versions of reality”.

It is acknowledged that the way in which a researcher understands the nature of reality will shape the position they adopt towards that reality, and subsequently the methods used to understand that reality. For this reason, discourse analysis was selected as the most appropriate methodology because it will reveal the various ‘fluid’ interpretations of PFM and the PFM implementation process; and in so doing elaborate the ways in which these versions have in turn influenced the implementation process.

Social constructivism attempts to understand the effect that signs and images have on creating “particular representations of people and objects” (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999:148). Understanding a socially constructed reality can take place through textual analysis and discourse analysis because, according to Potter (1997:146), discourse analysis “emphasises the way versions of the world, of society, events and inner psychological worlds are produced in discourse”.

Language is important to social constructivism. It is, however, not studied as a passive means to convey a reality. Rather, language should be studied because it helps to construct reality; it is an active ingredient in the construction of reality rather than a neutral medium that expresses a reality (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999; Bergeå and Ljung, 2003). This is a distinguishing feature of constructivism and sets it apart from the positivist and interpretivist paradigms.

Coetzee (2003), in his fictional novel, *Elizabeth Costello*, alludes to the role of language in constructing reality. He remarks that there is no universal meaning to words, but rather that the meaning attributed to them is dependent on the ‘code book’ that is used to unlock their meaning. Coetzee (2003:19) writes:

“There used to be a time when we knew. We used to believe that when the text said, ‘On the table stood a glass of water’, there was indeed a glass of water on it, and we had only to look in the word-mirror of the text to see them...But all

that has ended. The word-mirror is broken, irreparably it seems. The words on the page no longer stand up to be counted, each proclaiming ‘I mean what I mean!’ The dictionary that used to stand beside the Bible and the works of Shakespeare above the fireplace, where in pious Roman homes the household gods were kept, has become just one code book among many”.

Implicit is the idea that the language of the ‘code book’ used shapes or constructs the reality being portrayed by the words. It is accepted too that some code books become more dominant than others and thus generate a more dominant construction of reality that may become the accepted norm.

Language is used to create shared understandings of reality, which are expressed through discourse. The study of language here includes the “broader patterns of social meaning encoded in language” (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999:149). Language sets the boundaries of what we are able to perceive or experience – people are limited by the repertoire of language available to them. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:150) note that constructionist research is not in the first place about language as such, but “about interpreting the social world as a kind of language, that is, as a system of meanings and practices that construct reality”. In that sense, everyday talk, actions and images help to create our reality.

Social constructivism comprises the overarching paradigm for this research as it forms the conceptual foundation to understanding policy-making processes within environmental politics. It is the paradigm within which Hajer’s (1995) argumentative approach to discourse analysis (the methodology adopted for this research) is grounded. The influence of social constructivism on the research process is elaborated on in the methodology chapter.

2.3. THE DISCURSIVE APPROACH TO KNOWLEDGE CONSTRUCTION

Discourse analysis is a beneficial methodology for postmodern, constructivist research and comprises the particular methodology adopted for this research. It consists of a theoretical and methodological component. This section introduces the concept of a discourse and elaborates the theoretical aspects of its associated methodology of discourse analysis, which is a particular approach to knowledge construction. In addition, the discursive arena of environmental politics, and especially the policy network arena, is explored. Finally, this section explains Hajer’s (1995; 2003) argumentative approach as it is the approach that has been adopted as the methodology in this study.

Discourse has been defined by Hajer (1995:44) as “a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities”. Dryzek (1997:1) is more succinct in his definition of discourse, describing it as “a shared way of looking at the world”. Environmental problems are often interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary in nature in that they require the involvement of actors from social, economic, biophysical and political disciplines in order to effectively address the problem. Not everyone is able to understand the full complexity of an environmental problem. Therefore each discipline or paradigm employs a different discourse to describe or define the problem and/or solution, and different groups of people may have differing conceptualisations of what the problem is. Each argument may make sense in the particular discipline or perspective within which it is constructed, using the discursive logic associated with that discipline or perspective (Hajer, 1995). However, when that argument contributes to a wider debate involving a diverse group of actors who do not understand the discursive logic of that argument, a means is needed for communicating this argument (or knowledge) between discourses in a manner that makes the argument credible. The creation of a shared orientation about a policy problem through discursive storylines is one such mechanism that is discussed in Section 2.6.

Discourse analysis is a method of analysis that can be used to advance an understanding of how a policy (such as PFM) is framed, how it gains dominance within a particular context, and whether there is any difference between the rhetoric and the reality experienced through the implementation process. Based on the premises of constructivism, it is contended here that while environmental problems do not exist in an objective reality, their form and meaning, as well as their solutions are socially constructed. A phenomenon is not necessarily a problem until it is perceived as such by someone, who is then able to convince others of their viewpoint. Social forces come into play in what Schattschneider (1960, cited in Hajer, 1995:42) has termed the ‘mobilisation of bias’ whereby bias is deemed inherent to the political process, pushing certain issues to the fore whilst suppressing others. It is this process that discourse analysis seeks to deconstruct in order to understand why certain conceptualisations of environmental problems gain credence, dominating the policy arena whilst others are suppressed or discredited (Hajer, 1995). In the context of PFM in the southern Cape, discourse analysis will uncover some of the social and political forces that influence the way in which PFM has unfolded.

Discourse analysis enables one to make sense of what people are saying and how issues are expressed, whether verbally or textually (Fisher and Forester, 1993; Richardson, 1996). It also contributes to an increased understanding of the effects that certain ways of talking or writing have on others. To subscribe to the constructionist notion that language is necessary to express reality and therefore consequently shapes reality, and to take Dryzek's (1997) position that discourse is embedded in language and "enables those who subscribe to it to interpret bits of information and put them together in coherent stories or accounts" (Dryzek, 1997:8), it is necessary to study the linguistic elements and also the institutional practices within which discourse is produced, in order to gain a greater understanding of reality. Hajer (1995) contends that discourse comprises both text and practice. To this end it is beneficial to study the context in which policy statements are made, to whom they are being directed, and the content of what is said. This should reveal how environmental problems are represented, how differences in the conceptualisation of the problem by actors is played out and how coalitions on specific meanings emerge (Hajer, 1995) to enable actors to communicate about an environmental/policy problem. Ockwell (2001:2) asserts that "advocates of discourse analysis claim that examining and explaining how language is used in such contexts is crucial for revealing aspects of social and political processes that were previously obscured or misunderstood". Approaching an analysis of the PFM implementation process in the southern Cape from the perspective of discourse analysis should reveal aspects of the policy and implementation process that conventional assessments and reviews might overlook, because it focuses on the influence of discourse on the policy process in terms of the policy language and the institutional practices.

Different theorists have differing ideas about how discourse influences the policy process, and therefore they have differing approaches to analysing discourse in practice (Ockwell, 2001). Ockwell (2001) provides an overview of these approaches. He (2001:2) observes that Hajer adopts a constructivist approach within a structuralist framework where he "sees the emergence of 'storylines' and 'discourse coalitions' as the observable phenomena of the adoption of certain discourses across society". Fairclough on the other hand, Ockwell (2001:2) notes, takes a more "linguistically orientated, neo-Marxist approach with an emphasis on the emancipatory potential of discourse analysis". Another prominent theorist is Dryzek who, according to Ockwell (2001), is unlike Hajer and Fairclough because he rejects the

Foucauldian notions of discourse being the operation of power, and takes a much broader view, asserting that power and discourse are interconnected in manifold ways.

Foucault is arguably one of the most influential thinkers of the twentieth century. His contribution to the discipline of geography and the concept of discourse is significant. Although Foucault focused on research in the fields of psychiatry, the penal system and natural history, he encouraged the application of this work to other disciplines, such as geography (Richardson, 1996). Several key contributions are discussed in order to illustrate some of the foundations upon which others in the area of discourse have grounded their work.

The positivist approach to science developed in the modern era. A key feature of positivism is the assumption that scientists could develop grand narratives or theories to explain the world. Similarly, structuralism held that one could reduce the diversity of the world into a generalised order or grand narrative so as to make sense of it. Foucault (cited in Peet, 1998), like many other postmodernist thinkers, welcomed the cacophony and fragmented nature of the modern world where difference is celebrated. He therefore challenged the a priori meta-theories or meta-narratives that impose “a measure of order alien to detail and differences and smooth over the confusions, contradictions, and conflicts that form the real stuff of life” (Peet, 1998:230). Peet (1998) writes that instead of focusing on meta-narratives, Foucault emphasised ‘spaces of dispersion’ which assert the particular, the local, and the specific, acknowledging that things turn out differently in different places. This approach is relevant to the case study area because it supports the idea that although the application of PFM in the southern Cape is different to elsewhere in the country owing to the influence of local contextual factors, its validity is not thereby negated. According to Peet (1998), Foucault was not necessarily opposed to finding order in the world but favoured an inductive approach over the popular deductive approach. He believed that order was to be found not in categorising things in advance, but rather in the observable relationships between phenomena, which are scattered through space (Peet, 1998). Understanding the connection of things in space and time rather than categorising them provides a sense of order. In advocating an inductive approach to the study of phenomena in space and time, Peet (1998) believes that Foucault opened up an avenue for inductive research in geography, which gave later theorists greater confidence to explore social issues in geography.

Foucault (1990:93) argues that “power is everywhere, not because it embraces everything, but because it comes from everywhere”. Power is not seen to originate solely from supreme rulers but is “exercised from innumerable points” (Foucault, 1990:94). In the policymaking arena power could be overtly exercised by authority figures, but it is also subtly disguised as forms of knowledge/truth (and these are communicated through discourse). According to Richardson (1996:283) Foucault believes that “discourses are the media through which power and knowledge are deployed”. Discourse is therefore treated as a practice through which entities are formed and not as signs that refer to a real content. Instead of trying to ascertain the truth behind an argument, the focus should rather be on asking “how, why and by who truth is attributed to particular arguments and not to others” (Richardson, 1996:283). This kind of insight is valuable because it frames the policy process as a political, rather than a rational, form of decision-making. Richardson (1996:283) remarks that “Foucault is not opposed to rationality, but rational/irrational arguments may be appropriated as ‘truth’ through the exercise of power”. The point is not to study discourses as means to obtaining historical accuracy or factual content, but rather for the effect that they have on entities formed through discourse. To this end, discourse is studied to understand how power influences the acceptance of particular arguments as truth.

Foucault was interested in the factors that controlled discourse. He was interested in understanding how, when there are many things that could be said, or discourses that could be employed at any one time, why it is that a discourse is limited. Foucault (cited in Horrocks and Jevtic, 1997:96) states that “in every society, the production of discourse is at once controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures whose role it is to avert its powers and its dangers”. Discourses are controlled by acts of exclusion where “society exercises constraint on dangerous discourse by excluding, prohibiting, disciplining and rejecting it” (Horrocks and Jevtic, 1997:96). Horrocks and Jevtic (1997:96) refer to this kind of excluded discourse as “disorderly discourse”.

Disciplinary boundaries also function to restrict the production of discourse. For example, it is regarded as unacceptable to use a non-scientific discourse to describe and explain a phenomenon that occurs in the natural world. Such practices are widely discouraged by the scientific community. Additionally, control is exercised through limiting access to discourse (Richardson, 1996). For example, professional jargon or scientific discourses may restrict the kinds of people who can contribute to the argument to those who can understand and use the

discourse. In this way power is exercised through the medium of discourse, and discourse in turn helps to promote particular views of the world. In the context of PFM, it is of interest here to investigate whether power is being exercised through discourse. Is there, for example, evidence of a ‘disorderly discourse’ or of disciplinary boundaries restricting or regulating the PFM discourse? This aspect of power is also relevant for later discussions about cultural politics in the context of ecological modernisation.

According to Robinson (1998) Foucault believed that discourses occur within particular spaces and places and that these places and spaces have consequently influenced the nature of the discourses. He therefore acknowledged the role of geography in the process of discourse formation. Foucault extended the analysis of discourse beyond the analysis of speech, conversation and dialogue, to include “systems of statements (like texts, expressed in many forms) that could only be understood in their context” (Robinson, 1998:472). Discourses are therefore not limited to linguistic systems or texts but incorporate practices (for example, of institutions or government), narratives, concepts and ideologies (Robinson, 1998). Hajer (1995) employs this broader understanding of discourse, which also comprises the view adopted for this thesis where discourses consist of a particular collection of ideas, concepts and categorisations that are created, replicated, and changed in and by institutional practices (Hajer, 1995). They also function to give meaning to both physical and social realities (Hajer, 1995).

Different theorists have differing ideas about how discourse influences the policy process, and therefore they have differing approaches to analysing discourse in practice (Ockwell, 2001). Foucault’s spaces of dispersion thesis, his elaboration of the concept of discourse, and his dissatisfaction with the grand theories and narratives which characterised the modern era are some of the influential contributions to geography and discourse which to some extent form the foundation of Hajer’s (1995) argumentative discourse analysis thesis.

2.4. ENVIRONMENTAL POLITICS AND DISCOURSE

Before discussing Hajer’s (1995) argumentative approach, it is appropriate to first consider the policy-making process and especially the role that discourses play in the political process. This section explores the notion of the policy-making process being a discursive arena or context. Thereafter a particular kind of discursive arena, namely policy networks, is discussed as an arena within which policy-making takes place through discursive practices.

2.4.1. The policy-making process: a discursive arena

Environmental policy-making has been defined by Hajer (1995:2) as “the socially accepted set of practices through which we try to face what has become known as the ecological crisis”. It is generally understood that people develop policies to create a coherent approach to solving problems. Hajer (1995:15) revises this statement by stating that policy-making should rather be seen as a “set of practices that are meant to process fragmented and contradictory statements to be able to create the sorts of problems that institutions can handle and for which solutions can be found”. Policy-making, therefore, is about constructing problems and finding acceptable solutions for preconceived problems. More generally, Giddens (1984, cited in Healy 1999:27) defines the policy process as “the product of complex social relationships through which political communities articulate ideas and frames of reference which then guide the way collective resources (allocatory power) and rules (regulatory power) are deployed”. This definition articulates a number of interconnected issues encapsulated in the policy process. In so doing, it creates a foundation for discussions about PFM and its implementation in the southern Cape, which is also a policy process. The issues summarised in Giddens’ statement are introduced in the section below and empirically explored in the results and analysis (Chapters Eight, Nine, Ten, Eleven and Twelve).

Firstly, Giddens (1984, cited in Healy 1999) refers to the political communities who play an influential role in shaping the outcomes of the policy process. He is careful to use the plural, ‘communities’ as opposed to ‘community’, which indicates that there is often more than one grouping, or coalition of groups and individuals, who attempt to shape a political process. More often than not, the policy process is a struggle where actors from particular coalitions use various tools to influence the process, to define what the (environmental) problem is, what it means, and to produce an outcome that is aligned to their political perspective, ideology or belief system and which could then become hegemonic.

Secondly, Giddens (1984, cited in Healy 1999) highlights the role of discourse in the policy process when he observes that the policy process necessitates an articulation of “ideas and frames of reference”. In other words, discourse is employed in the policy process as a means of communicating these ideas and frames of reference. In addition to the influence of institutional structures, the resources of actors, and other variables of political analysis, discourse is viewed by many theorists to be a key driver in environmental politics. According to Weiland (2003:4),

“discourses are suggested to play a crucial role in the political process: they represent the arena in which political actors try to push through their interpretation of reality”. Cultural politics is an approach that is concerned with analysis of the discursive construction of (environmental) issues and is defined as the “domain in which meanings are constructed, negotiated and resisted” (Johnston et al., 1981:115). This approach is helpful because it contextualises and is thus able to explain environmental discourse, the subject of this research, and the discursive changes that take place within politics. There are many claims and concerns about what environmental problems really are, but it is through political processes that particular claims by actors and coalitions gain credence above competing claims from other actors and coalitions. According to Hajer (1996:256), cultural politics “asks why certain aspects of reality are singled out as ‘our common problems’ and wonders what sort of society is being created in the name of protecting nature”.

Hajer’s (1996) point about actors pushing their ‘interpretation of reality’ relates to a third aspect of Giddens’ (1984, cited in Healy 1999) definition, namely his notion of ‘frames of reference’. Marvin Minsky, according to Rein and Schön (1993), first used the idea of a ‘frame’ in 1978, with regard to the subject of artificial intelligence, to refer to a specific way of representing knowledge. Usage of the term has since broadened and its meaning become equated with terms such as paradigms and mental constructs. Hajer’s (1996) and Giddens’ (1984, cited in Healy 1999) concept of a ‘frame of reference’ suggest that not everyone approaches an environmental problem from the same perspective. Rein and Schön (1993:145) write that “participants construct the problems of their problematic policy situations through frames in which facts, values, theories, and interests are integrated”. For example, people may have different perceptions about nature that are a result of their cultural or social differences. One culture may believe that indigenous forests are fragile ecosystems that are susceptible to disturbance, whilst another culture may view forests as being robust and able to cope with extensive use. These different, often conflicting, frames of reference result in a difference in the way that people believe the people-forest interface should be managed. The environment and environmental problems are thus socially constructed realities. Implicit in this statement is the postmodern and post positivist assumption that there is no ‘grand narrative’ about what the issue is or how it should be addressed; rather there are discursive realities that are constructed using discursive practices. These discursive practices could, for example, be storylines, myths and metaphors, or ideas and images that structure or frame reality. Rein and Schön (1977, cited in Rein and Schön 1993:148) suggest that:

“Policy frames and their underlying appreciative systems...are revealed through stories participants are disposed of to tell about policy situations. These problem-setting stories, frequently based on generative metaphors, link causal accounts of policy problems to particular proposals for actions to facilitate the normative leap from ‘is’ to ‘ought’”.

Therefore, through studying these discursive practices, what Hajer (1995) refers to as terms of policy discourse, one can identify policy frames (paradigms or mental constructs). It is suggested that this anti-realist approach adopted when engaging in cultural politics does not negate a material or physical reality (for example that a landfill site is polluting groundwater systems). This approach assumes that an objective reality exists and actual events take place, whether we talk about them or not; but constructivism does suggest that the significance given to that physical reality within social and political processes is dependent on how the event is constituted in or constructed by (environmental) discourse. In other words, language is no longer understood to be a neutral descriptive medium, but is rather an active agent in creating or constructing the world or reality that individuals and society experience. As Goodwin (1998:482) remarks, “language and discourse...can be seen as instruments of power, in enabling some statements to be made and excluding others from consideration”. Language therefore has power to shape the world or reality that is experienced.

The final issue to be raised from Giddens’ (1984) definition is the role of power within the policy process. It cannot be disputed that power is unequally distributed within society and, following a Foucauldian perspective, power is implicated in discourse and the policy process (Foucault, 1990; Richardson, 1996). Relations of power are at work in the construction of environmental problems where particular actors exert an influence over the process more so than others. Foucault (1976, cited in Hajer, 1995:49) maintained that “power is not a feature of an institution (i.e. a sovereign) but [is] defined relationally”. This implies therefore that both institutions and actors are implicated in discourses. Actors or subjects are part of the discursive context; they do not enter the policy arena with a preconceived idea, which they express verbatim through language. Rather, the actor functions within a particular context, which comprises regulated practices that shape the actor’s ideas. Also, entering into a particular discourse may make the expression (and subsequent acceptance) of alternative discourses and/or arguments unfeasible. To this extent,

“Discourses imply exclusionary systems because they only authorise certain people to participate in a discourse; they come with discursive forms of internal discipline through which a discursive order is maintained; and finally there are

also certain rules regarding the conditions under which a discourse can be drawn upon” (Hajer, 1995:49).

This is not to say that political institutions do not exert power over the political processes, they do, but this power is exerted covertly through discourse rather than by virtue of what their institution represents politically (such as a sovereign). Actors therefore have a powerful role within political institutions in influencing the power of the institution through their discourse. Brosius (1999), in an article written about environmental politics in the Malaysian rain forest, reflects that the realm of environmental politics has been incorporated into institutions for various levels of environmental governance, from local to global. Although remarking that it is in many respects a positive development, Brosius (1999) is critical of the process of environmental institutionalisation that is occurring on a remarkable scale. Environmental institutionalisation is reflected in the proliferation of international protocols, conventions and action plans; a plethora of acronyms describing national policies and plans that are dedicated to various environmental concerns; and the significant growth in the professional field of environmental management and environmental studies programs at universities. All these initiatives “support[s] regimes for the institutionalisation of environmental surveillance and governance” (Brosius, 1999:38). These institutions regulate which forms of discourse are acceptable and which actors should be advantaged over others. Critical of the value of these institutions in addressing environmental problems, Brosius (1999:38) argues that:

“Apparently designed to advance an environmental agenda, such institutions in fact often obstruct meaningful change through endless negotiation, legalistic evasion, compromise among ‘stakeholders’, and the creation of unwieldy projects aimed at top-down environmental management. More importantly, however, they insinuate and naturalise a discourse that excludes moral or political imperatives in favour of indifferent bureaucratic and technoscientific forms of institutionally created and validated intervention”.

In this way institutions exert power on a policy process. Power, it would seem, is not an automatic function of an institution but rather the outcome of discursive interaction between actors within the institution, which in turn shapes the policy outcome. This influence is understood by Hajer (1995; 1996) and others to be an argumentative struggle between various discourse coalitions within the policy network to assert a particular discourse.

It is evident that environmental politics and the policy-process is not a simplistic arena wherein policies, legislation and regulations are composed in a technical manner, but is rather a domain in which actors, who are often part of a discourse coalition, struggle to assert their position

through discursive practices, and in which particular interpretations of reality or frames are constructed, negotiated and resisted.

2.4.2. The discursive arena: policy networks

Discursive practices take place in many contexts and for different reasons. An understanding of policy networks may contribute to an understanding of the PFM process because they set out the policy context within which decision-making about a policy such as PFM is conducted. Where possible, the South African PFM context is used to provide examples. Sharp (1999) and Bulkeley (2000) both apply and elaborate upon Hajer's concepts and this research draws on their work.

Policy networks can be regarded as the 'playground' upon which the discursive 'game' of the policy process is 'played out'. Marsh and Rhodes (1992, cited in Bulkeley, 2000) note that the policy process is not deemed to be open to participation from all interested parties, neither is it necessarily the domain of a select few. Rather the policy process is conceived of as taking place within networks, which "provide structured social relations and rules, which enable and constrain policy change, through allowing some actors, and some ideas, into the policy process while excluding others" (Bulkeley, 2000:744). Policy networks are considered by Bulkeley (2000) to comprise a meso-level concept that endeavours to both describe and analyse the interactions between different actors, decisions, institutions and structures, and the effects of these interactions on policy outcomes. People (actors) who have a stake in the issue about which policy is being made interact with each other, the state (through one or more government departments) and various institutions and structures, with a view to influencing the policy outcome. Being an interested party does not automatically give an actor credibility, nor does it mean his/her ideas have the power to sway the policy outcome. It is a dynamic process, which is "orchestrated through coalitions within the policy network, as actors engage in advocacy and argument to gain desired outcomes" (Bulkeley, 2000:744).

Marsh and Rhodes (1992, cited in Bulkeley, 2000) have identified three types of policy networks, namely a policy community, an issue network and a tiered policy network (which is a combination of the former two types). Each of these types of policy networks are briefly described below; firstly, in order to understand the range of interactions that could take place

in a policy process as well as the variations in power, access and resources. Secondly, it is of interest to investigate what kind of policy network best describes the PFM policy process.

A policy community is a close-knit policy network that is centred in one government department (such as DWAF) where the policy-making process is strongly institutionalised; where members have similar values, worldviews and resources; and where they have a tendency to agree upon which specific problems validate a policy response and how this response should be structured (Bulkeley, 2000). As Marsh and Rhodes (1992, cited in Bulkeley, 2000:731) note, “a policy network, or more particularly, a policy community constrains the policy agenda and shapes policy outcomes”. A policy community may be a government department or institution. Where this is the case, the policy network “structure[s] participation in the policy process and the policy issues that are seen as legitimate” (Bulkeley, 2000:731). Policy-making is tightly controlled because there is no influence from outside sources. The outcome of a policy process would therefore be in keeping with an institutional agenda, as well as the worldviews and values of actors within the network.

An issue network on the other hand is a weakly institutionalised policy network where there is broader access to the policy process; where more than one government department is involved and where there is less consensus on the issues at hand and how they should be resolved (Bulkeley, 2000). An example of an issue network in the context of PFM could be a policy network that comprises actors from DWAF, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), research agencies, donor agencies and various conservation orientated bodies. Issue networks tend to be an uncommon phenomenon but exist when “there is no threat to the interests of either an economic/producer group or a professional group” (Marsh and Rhodes, 1992a, cited in Bulkeley, 2000:729). Marsh and Rhodes note that these types of policy networks should not be seen as mutually exclusive. They could exist as a tiered policy network (see Figure 2.1 below), which is a combination of these two types.

Figure 2.1 below illustrates a tiered policy network. This type of policy network comprises a coherent core (which is the policy community) and also a fluid periphery (an issue network). In essence it is a policy network that distinguishes between those members that have the resources and influences and are therefore able to exert power over the policy process, and those members who do not and whose contributions therefore may or may not be incorporated

into the policy process. This situation is likely to be more prevalent because, as O’Riordan and Jordan (1996:76) comment in relation to climate change politics, “different policy communities manoeuvre within a much wider issue network and the government is forced to co-ordinate policy across a wide range of departments and interest groups”.

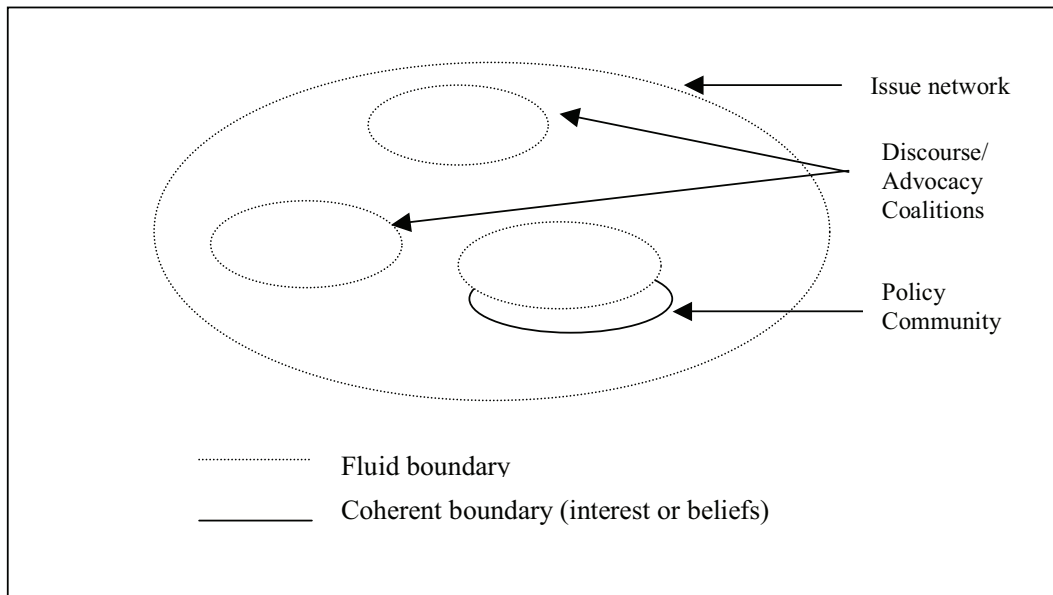


Figure 2.1. Policy communities and discourse coalitions within an issue network, a tiered policy network (Bulkeley, 2000:737).

The tiered policy network therefore reflects the influence that actors at various levels (whether international, regional or local) can have on the policy process (O’Riordan and Jordan, 1996). These actors would comprise the issue network and would be able to interact with the more powerful actors in the policy community. Conceptualising South African policy processes as occurring within a tiered policy network is instructive because it reflects the South African government’s commitment to democracy and the recognition that policy-making should not be completely dominated by national decision-making bodies but should solicit participation and input from actors at all levels. It may also explain why the contributions of particular institutions, departments, agencies or interest groups may be taken more seriously than others and therefore why certain discourses may dominate over others in a policy process such as PFM.

Coalitions within the policy network are also illustrated in Figure 2.1. With reference to the work of Marsh and Rhodes, Bulkeley (2000:734) suggests “consensus about a policy problem within a network is not the product of once off negotiations but of a continuing process of re-negotiation which can be characterised as coalition-building”. The formation of coalitions within a policy network is seen as a critical part of the policy process. Bulkeley (2000) discusses two models of coalition formation, namely Jenkins-Smith and Sabatier’s (1994, in Bulkeley, 2000) advocacy coalitions and Hajer’s discourse coalitions (Hajer, 1995). The fundamental difference between the two approaches is that within an advocacy coalition actors share similar/core beliefs or worldviews, which maintain the boundary between that and other coalitions (Bulkeley, 2000; Hajer, 1995). Within a discourse coalition on the other hand, actors are not bound within one particular coalition by their core beliefs but can shift between coalitions, thus advocating “different positions depending on the context in which the argument is situated” (Bulkeley, 2000:733). Therefore, for example, advocates of a pro-forest coalition might also be part of a pro-PFM coalition. This might not be possible if the coalition were based on shared beliefs or worldviews, but because discourse coalitions are based on “shared terms and concepts” (Hajer, 1996:247), which create a shared orientation about the policy problem (such as saving the forests and meeting people’s needs), actors with different beliefs and values can coalesce to resolve the problem.

Figure 2.1 also shows the attachment of a policy community to a coalition. In this way Bulkeley (2000) shows that a dominant decision-making body could align itself with a coalition. For example, if DWAF is the policy community, it could be aligned to the pro-PFM discourse coalition. Therefore, even though within DWAF there may be people with different worldviews and interests (for example a forest scientist may have a different worldview or interest in working for DWAF to a person involved in community forestry), they would all use similar terms and expressions (the terms of environmental discourse) to explain what the problem is and why PFM is needed. In this way the environmental problem is socially constructed through the PFM discourse.

In understanding how the PFM policy is implemented in the southern Cape indigenous state forests, an awareness of tiered policy networks and discourse coalitions is important because these concepts enable an investigation into why particular understandings of the environmental problem are constructed, how these understandings are constructed, how PFM is promoted as the policy solution, and how outcomes of the policy implementation process are expressed

(Bulkeley, 2000). Discourse coalitions also provide an explanation as to why an actor may appear to make contradictory statements. Discourse coalitions and storylines are discussed below in the context of Hajer's (1995) argumentative approach to discourse analysis; and in Chapters Eight and Nine they are applied to the case study as a means of deconstructing the discourse of PFM.

2.5. ARGUMENTATIVE DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

The argumentative turn (Fischer and Forester, 1993; Hajer, 1993; Richardson, 1996) in discourse analysis occurred when discourse analysis moved beyond the linguistic representation of phenomena in language and included the study of the "political process as mobilisation of bias" (Hajer, 1993:45). The basis of the approach is that it incorporates the process of argumentation. Linguistic analysis of a discourse facilitates answers to questions such as: Who is responsible? What can be done? What should be done? Hajer, quoting Billig (cited in Hajer, 1993:45), writes that argumentative analysis of a sentence or a discourse requires that one move:

"beyond the investigation of differences of opinion about technical facts to also include which positions are being criticised, or against which justification is being mounted. Without understanding these counter-positions, the argumentative meaning will be lost".

Argumentation is a process whereby actors position themselves and one another through language. It has become increasingly recognised that "various actors are likely to hold different perceptions of what the problem 'really' is" (Hajer, 1995:43) and thus the appropriateness of the "single problem-single answer model of politics" favoured by positivists has been criticised in favour of social constructivist approaches to problem solving. This is especially relevant in environmental politics, which tends to be interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary in nature. According to Fischer and Forester (1993:1-2) policy analysis (what is also referred to as the policy process) is a practical process of argumentation. It is a:

"constant discursive struggle over the criteria of social classification...the intersubjective interpretation of common experiences, the conceptual framing of problems and the definitions of ideas that guide the ways people create the shared meanings which motivate them to act".

Discourse, whether expressed textually or orally, is a key component of argumentation. Argumentative discourse analysis looks at language (through the terms of policy discourses such as storylines, myths, metaphors, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions) and

importantly how language is used in discursive interaction to “create new meanings and new identities” (Hajer, 1995:59). Emphasis on discursive interactions forms Hajer’s (1995) point of departure for distinguishing between advocacy and discourse coalitions. He states that his argumentative approach should:

“be distinguished from theories that ground their argument in the idea that actions and perceptions should be understood against a background of deeply held beliefs or belief systems because this would mean that each belief system has its own a priori way of seeing and its own way of arguing things” (Hajer, 1995:59).

In other words, it is not an agent’s fixed beliefs or worldviews that shape actions and perceptions, but rather these are the result of discursive interaction, which serves to create new cognitions and new positionings.

The cultural politics perspective within which Hajer’s (1995) argumentative discourse analysis can be situated investigates which aspects of reality have been presented as ‘problems’ needing resolution and which ones have not. Hajer (1995) emphasises that in reality, coherence around a particular (environmental) problem does not occur. Instead discursive realities are created and a process of cultural politics takes place. Any coherence that is perceived is deemed to be artificial and simply reflect coalescence around a discursive issue. The objective of this approach is to “retell and understand the social construction of environmental problems” (Sharp, 1999:144), which is achieved by emphasising how various “languages and knowledges have competed against one another in the process of defining the problem and in framing the solution” (Sharp, 1999:144). Actors struggle through an argumentative process to voice their understanding of what the ‘problem’ is and what appropriate solutions exist, to convince others, and then to translate this into policy and action. Similarly, Hajer (1995:53) writes that in viewing environmental politics from this perspective, it “becomes an argumentative struggle in which actors try not only to make others see the problems according to their views but also to seek to position other actors in a specific way”.

From the cultural politics perspective, there is not just one discourse but many operating in competition with each other. One particular discourse may gain ascendance and exert an influence at stages in the policy process. The discourses which contribute to the construction of government policies and practices need to be identified as well as how a particular discourse becomes institutionalised in policies and practices that are considered to result from the discourse competition that has been played out (Sharp, 1999). A policy will have its own

discourse that has been constructed by various actors and becomes more consistent with or illustrative of other prevalent forms of discourse. So, for example, the PFM discourse, as it evolves, may become more consistent with, or illustrative of, a collaborative discourse, an ecological modernisation discourse, or a sustainability discourse. In this way competition between discourses shapes what the PFM discourse becomes. The analysis of cultural politics aims to identify the environmental positions assumed by various actors and sheds light on the tactics and the arguments employed to define, frame and solve environmental problems. In this way the political obscurities, which often result from coalition building, can be clarified.

Hajer (1993), in reflecting on the challenges posed for argumentative analysis, writes that it is necessary in policy analysis to “find ways of combining the analysis of the production of reality with the analysis of the (extradiscursive) social practices from which social constructs emerge and in which the actors that make these statements engage” (Hajer, 1993:45). So argumentative analysis requires attention to social practices, which is why Hajer (1993; 1995; 2003), a proponent of this approach to discourse analysis, presents a methodology and introduces the concept of discourse coalitions as a means of addressing this challenge. This methodology, described in Hajer’s 2003 paper, forms the framework for the analysis of the PFM policy implementation process in this thesis. The methodology takes cognisance of the socially constructed nature of environmental problems, recognising that actors “try to impose their views of reality on others, sometimes through debate and persuasion, but also through manipulation and the exercise of power” (Hajer, 1993:45). Hajer (1993) sees discourses as social constructs that emerge as a way of explaining social situations (for example, why forests are being destroyed by people). These social constructs arise in a particular context (social, political, historic and/or economic), which needs to be understood in order to make sense of the discourse.

The argumentative approach gives the “central role to discoursing subjects but in the context of social structures which enable and constrain their agency” (Hajer, 1995:58). Sharp’s (1999) writing about structure and agency has proved instructive here. She notes that the cultural politics perspective conceptualises individuals as part of a social web through which discourses may/may not be transmitted. In this web, individuals are “structurally influenced by the discourses to which they are exposed, but also exercise some of their own agency [influence] in the reproduction of discourses” (Sharp, 1999:149). In other words, structures such as social class, race and gender influence the kinds of discourses that agents will come into contact with,

but individuals also exercise choice about what discourses they hear and reproduce based on the choices they make regarding the nature of the structures with which they interact.

In addition to influencing the discourses to which agents are exposed, structures also affect which discourses an agent reproduces. A particular setting may require that particular discourses are reproduced and others are suppressed, based on the norms and values subscribed to by that structure. For example, it may be politically inappropriate for a government department not to toe a particular line. In addition, individuals have the ability to reproduce multiple, often competing, discourses at different times or in different locations and to this end individuals do not own, or are not owned by a discourse, they are rather the vehicle through which particular discourses to which they have been exposed are transmitted (Sharp, 1999).

Within an institution, the policy network process results in agents also having an opportunity to subject the institution to particular discourses. They may influence the wording, policy monitoring devices, decision-making structures, and detail of policy initiatives. Sources of discourses may be international/national/regional guidelines and political parties that compete for influence. Within the context of the PFM policy, it is of interest in this thesis to investigate who the actors are, what discourses they are using within the policy network and also the effect these actors are having on the policy implementation process.

2.6. DISCOURSE AS A METHODOLOGY

Finally, discourse analysis is presented as a method of analysis. Argumentative discourse analysis should make apparent the way in which coherence in policy controversies is achieved through discursive processes. Analysis of the argumentative discourses can be achieved through a study of storylines and discourse coalitions as they will “show how discursive orders are maintained or transformed” (Hajer, 1995:61). Hajer (2003) outlines an appropriate methodology for conducting discourse analysis using the argumentative approach. He identifies 3 elements of discourse analysis which are discussed in this section, namely the terms of policy discourses, the formation of discourse coalitions around these terms, and an analysis of the institutional practices in which these discourses are produced.

2.6.1. Terms of policy discourse

Hajer (2003:6) uses this concept “terms of policy discourse” to “refer to the ways in which biases are structured in textual utterances”. ‘Terms’ refers to the words or phrases used to express meanings or concepts (Hajer, 1995). Through an analysis of the terms used by people to express meaning, insight into their thoughts and the purpose (intended or unintended) of their discourse can be gained. These terms can be differentiated into three layers. The first layer includes storylines, metaphors and myths; the second layer, policy vocabularies; and the third layer, epistemic notions in policy programmes. These layers are not necessarily hierarchical or ordered but are labelled in this way for ease of understanding.

Layer 1: Analysis of storylines, metaphors and myths

The terms of policy discourses in this layer comprise for the most part storylines; however metaphors and myths also fall into this category. These textual utterances play a large role in “sustaining societal support for particular policy programmes” (Hajer, 2003:6). Since it is often the case that storylines contain or carry metaphors, and myths are incorporated into storylines, the concept and function of storylines are elaborated further here than myths and metaphors.

Storylines

Stories are believed to play a considerable role in argumentative policy analysis, because they are often used by policy analysts, planners and other role players in decision-making to frame and conduct their arguments (Kaplan, 1993). Hajer (2003:10) defines storylines as “(crisp) generative statements that bring together previously unrelated elements of reality and thus facilitate coalition formation”. It is an umbrella term that includes discursive practices such as “metaphors; analogies; historical references; clichés; appeals to collective fears or senses of guilt” (Hajer, 1995:63). All of these practices have the same function within the context of discursive intercourse in that they create the common ground necessary to facilitate communication. When actors, each with their disparate perception of reality or understanding of what the policy problem is, engage in the process of argumentation with other actors within a policy network, a mechanism is required to create a shared orientation of a policy problem, so that antagonism is reduced and problem closure is achieved. Hajer (1995:63) remarks that these practices are the “discursive cement that creates communicative networks among actors with different or at best overlapping perceptions and understandings”. Storylines therefore

assist in the construction of the policy problem and facilitate the creation of a policy network that is required to reach problem closure.

Storylines are valuable for reducing the tangled mess that could ensue from discursive interaction. In many cases the issues under debate are complex and multifaceted, thereby making problem closure unlikely. Storylines function to reduce this discursive (disciplinary) complexity by providing actors with “a set of symbolic references that suggest a common understanding” (Hajer, 1995:62). However, Hajer (1995) stresses that although storylines may allow for shared orientations, they do not necessarily allow for shared understandings of the policy problem. For example, the storyline that ‘PFM is the only way’ suggests that respondents may have a shared orientation about the future of indigenous forest management in South Africa. This does not mean that all respondents who use this storyline agree on why PFM is the only way. Their perception of the problem and understanding of how and why PFM is the solution differs. The complexity of these differences is hidden behind the storyline, which thus serves to reduce the complexity by suggesting something that more actors would find agreement on and around which a discourse coalition could be formed. Storylines, in reducing discursive complexity, represent complex data so that details are recalled when the storyline is mentioned. For example, the storyline of the ‘pre/post 1994 dispensation’ is an historical reference that brings to mind the shifts that were required in South African government departments and society post 1994. Just by mentioning ‘1994’ these shifts are recalled and so ‘1994’ here brings to mind the shifts and the storyline as a whole without recalling all the political and social complexities associated with it.

In addition to reducing discursive complexity, storylines give permanence to the policy debate by taking on a ritual character. Hajer (1995:63) states that this occurs as storylines “become ‘tropes’ or figures of speech that rationalise a specific approach to what seems to be a coherent problem”. For example, attributing the historical ‘fences and fines’ approach to natural resource management as the reason PFM was needed in South Africa has been given permanence in the South African people-parks debate. When the people-parks issue is raised, the issue of fences and fines is automatically linked, which serves to entrench this concept in the debate, despite there being alternative approaches. It makes sense to talk about ‘fences and fines’ when the issue of people and parks is raised even though the veracity of this logic has not been critiqued. In this way a particular perspective is associated with a policy problem owing to the repetition of the storyline within which that perspective is encapsulated.

Storylines also assist in the process of positioning. According to Hajer (1995) they are the devices through which actors are positioned. For example, DWAF might be positioned as the ‘experts’ or ‘developers’ in the management of indigenous forests; some actors might be positioned as ‘the ones to blame’ or ‘the ones at fault’. Through positioning, discourse coalitions are formed. The influence of storylines in discourse formation is a feature that distinguishes discourse coalitions from other, traditional political coalitions. Hajer (1995:66) remarks that “it is storylines, not interests which form the basis of the coalition whereby storylines can potentially change previous understandings of what the actors’ interests are”. For example, through the promotion of particular storylines, an actor’s interests may appear to shift. Although their interests may remain the same, the storylines may position the actor in a way that suggests a change of interests and necessitates the formation of new coalitions. The actor may be no longer positioned as the law enforcer but rather as the developer.

With respect to the functions of storylines within discourse coalitions, argumentative analysis holds that “in a struggle for discursive hegemony, coalitions are formed among actors (that might perceive their position and interest according to widely different discourses) that, for various reasons are attracted to a specific (set of) storylines” (Hajer, 1995:65). These storylines enable previously independent practices to be related to one another and for a common discourse to emerge which gives these different, independent practices meaning or legitimacy within a given political project. Storylines therefore assist in the formation of discourse coalitions, but in so doing also function to “help people to fit their bit of knowledge, experience or expertise in the larger jigsaw of a policy debate” (Hajer, 2003:6). Hajer (1995) comments that storylines provide a mechanism for actors to construct knowledge about a phenomenon that is ordinarily beyond their realm of experience or expertise and in so doing, expanding their own insight and discursive abilities.

The extent to which a new policy discourse is able to become dominant or hegemonic is dependent upon its attractiveness but also on the cognitive power of its storylines. This power does not come about only by individual strategic choice or by logic but also because of the discursive affinities that are created through storylines (Hajer, 1995). If something has discursive affinity it means that “separate elements might have a similar cognitive or discursive structure which suggest that they belong together” (Hajer, 1995:66-67). Hajer explains this concept using the example of Darwinism. He comments that Darwin borrowed the idea of

‘competition’ from the social sciences and used it as a metaphor to explain an observed phenomenon in the natural world. The concept of competition therefore is a storyline that becomes hegemonic in the natural science evolutionary discourse based on the fact that it sounds plausible owing to it having a similar discursive structure to the meaning of the concept in the social science discourse.

Storylines play a large role in argumentative discourse analysis, both in constructing the problem and creating the opportunities for problem closure. They also are significant to the process of positioning and coalition formation.

Metaphors

Metaphors can be defined as “linguistic devices that convey understanding through comparison” (Hajer, 2003:6) and function to reduce the complexity of policy issues so that different actors are able to engage in communication over them. When it comes to solving problems, there is generally no one who is an expert on all elements of the problem. Metaphors create a common ground between various discourses and also:

“give the actors an opportunity to create their own understanding of the problem, interpreting various elements of knowledge outside their specific realm of competence, or filling in the gaps and ambivalences that were left by the original text” (Hajer, 1995:62).

With reference to Schön (1979) Hajer (1995:61) suggests that metaphors are a useful way of “representing scientific findings in non-scientific discourse”. It is often the case that complex scientific data needs to be recorded in a manner that enables politicians to incorporate it into their political discourse. Incorporation into a political discourse is necessary if the issue is to be seen as politically relevant. The metaphor uses a particular discourse to record issues or data in a format that can be taken up by political discourse. This is how generative metaphors function to reproduce discourse (Hajer, 1995).

Metaphors, along with storylines also assist in the process of discursive closure by allowing the overcoming of fragmentation. Hajer (1995) refers to this as a process whereby complex research is reduced into catchy one-liners or visual representations. Discursive closure results in a loss of meaning and texts being open to various interpretations, but Hajer (1995) emphasises that this should happen in argumentative discourse analysis for conflict to be regulated.

Myths

Myths function along the logic that if something is said often enough and persuasively enough, sooner or later people will come to believe it as truth. Hajer (2003:6) states that myths “bring coherence by explaining why things cohere”. In other words, they bring unity by explaining why people should be united. Myths could either explain unity by consistently relating and reiterating a foundational event (a constitutive myth). They could also encourage people to coalesce to avoid disaster (a dystopian myth). The term ‘dystopia’ is the opposite of utopia and refers to an imaginary place or society in which everything is bad (Goodall, 1987). Thus people cohere to prevent the occurrence of ‘badness’ in an effort to restore a utopia. For example, people may be drawn into a discourse coalition in an effort to halt the destructiveness of certain actions that will ‘destroy’ the beauty or ecological integrity of a natural resource. Therefore, a call to save the forests from destruction could constitute a dystopian myth, whilst a call for people to come together to participate in forest management based on a response to new democracy that removed ‘exclusionary and white dominated management of the past’ could be considered a constitutive myth. Myths result in a shift in thinking and the production of storylines that corroborate the myth.

Layer 2: Policy vocabularies

The second layer comprises an analysis of policy vocabularies. Policy vocabularies refer to “sets of concepts structuring a particular policy, consciously developed by policy makers” (Hajer, 1995:10). This vocabulary functions to structure the thoughts and actions of actors and in so doing, influence the people who read it or who are tasked with its application.

An important distinction between the terms of environmental discourse described in layer 1 and policy vocabularies is that policy vocabularies are a conscious discourse that is written into policy. Through consciously framing a policy problem in a particular way by using particular discourses, policy makers are constructing reality in terms of how they conceptualise what the problem is, why it came about and what can be done to resolve the problem.

The definitional clarity of what exactly a policy vocabulary is, is unclear in the literature. For example, does a policy such as PFM comprise a vocabulary in terms of the words used in various policy documents, or does PFM comprise a range of vocabularies? An example of a popular policy vocabulary in PFM policy documents is sustainability. Words and concepts

associated with the term and drawn on in the policy documents include sustainable use, Sustainable Forest Management, sustainable management, sustainability and sustainable rural development. Actors also often draw on research to marginalise or support/legitimise policy vocabularies (Hajer, 2003). For example, in the PFM policy documents the vocabulary of participation was through references to the international support for collaborative processes, the shift from government to governance, and case studies of PFM that were successful in other countries. The participatory vocabulary was also legitimised by drawing reference from eminent researchers in the field of community based natural resource management such as Borrini-Feyerabend (1996).

Layer 3: Epistemic notions

The final layer of policy discourses comprises an analysis of epistemic notions. They can be defined as a “regularity in the thinking of a particular period, structuring the understanding of reality without actors necessarily being aware of it” (Hajer, 2003:8). This concept can be compared to a ‘state of mind’ whereby concepts (knowledge) of the time, spoken about in other disciplines or debates, come to be incorporated unintentionally into the policy, underpinning particular policies or theories. Epistemic notions could be interpreted as the thinking that predominates at a particular time and are pervasive in society. For example epistemic notions in PFM appear in sectors of society other than the PFM policy arena, and are therefore referred to in this thesis as the ‘discourse of society’. For example, the notion of the accepted wisdom of scientific management could be regarded as epistemic owing to the prominent role that science has in society in legitimising or validating knowledge as a basis for policies. It is not unexpected therefore that this notion is apparent in PFM discourse.

In addition to an analysis of the storylines, myths, metaphors, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions, a study of the terms of policy discourses also includes an analysis of the process of mutual positioning. This is because language plays a large role in the process of argumentation – how actors position one another through language either inadvertently or intentionally and the influence this has on the political conflict that takes place during the policy process (Hajer, 2003). The terms used by actors (how they speak) during discursive intercourse will reveal their position and also the positions they attribute to other actors (their opponents) within the issue network. Some actors will be marginalised, others will dominate, and some will be viewed in a favourable light whilst others will be disregarded or discredited.

Therefore the terms used by actors assist in the creation of discourse coalitions through the process of mutual positioning.

2.6.2. Discourse coalitions

The environmental policy process is not seen to be a static, sedate affair, but is rather a “struggle for discursive hegemony in which actors try to secure support for their definitions of reality” (Hajer, 1995:53). Discourse coalitions are:

“not necessarily based on shared interests and goals, but rather on shared terms and concepts through which meaning is assigned to social and physical processes and the nature of the policy problem under consideration is constructed” (Bulkeley, 2000:734).

Discourse coalitions comprise the sum of sets of storylines, actors who subscribe to and express these storylines, and practices that provide an arena in which discursive activities take place.

It is accepted that actors do not remain in one particular discourse coalition but that depending on the issue at hand, they adopt differing storylines and thus shift between coalitions depending on the institutional context within which they are located (Hajer, 1995; Bulkeley, 2000). Actors within a discourse coalition may not share the same worldview but form a coalition based on their shared understanding of the policy problem. Actors may be in a coalition for a variety of reasons. For example, they may have vested interests that drive them to struggle on behalf of that coalition to convince others that their standpoint regarding the environmental problem is the most appropriate and to position other actors in a particular way (Hajer, 1995). However, throughout this discursive process they may also be positioned by other actors, and gain new insights that cause them to move between coalitions. Thus actors are not cast as the same character (i.e. developer, scientist, policymaker) in the policy process but shift roles, drawing on different storylines. Hajer (1995) refers to this as an argumentative approach to the policy process.

In this approach, the struggle for discursive hegemony that is achievable through the process of argumentation is reliant upon three factors. Firstly, the definition of reality (which is framed by a particular discourse) must be seen to be credible so that actors believe in the subject positioning and live by the structure positionings that the discourse implies. Secondly, the

discourse must be deemed to be acceptable (in terms of either its necessity or appeal); and thirdly, the author or advocate of that definition of reality must be seen to be trustworthy so that doubt is suppressed and flaws accepted (Bulkeley, 2000; Hajer, 1995).

Discursive hegemony is achieved through the processes of discourse structuration and discourse institutionalisation (Bulkeley, 2000; Hajer, 1995). The former refers to a state where the storylines and agents of a discourse coalition achieve coherence and credibility, and their credibility requires them to use the ideas, concepts and categories of a particular discourse (Bulkeley, 2000, Hajer 1995). Ideas become mainstream but are not entrenched in policy. Discourse institutionalisation refers to the process whereby “the concepts articulated by a discourse coalition come to be acted on within the policy process and replace previous understandings of the issue” (Bulkeley, 2000:735). In other words these ideas, concepts and categories gain dominance and are translated into concrete policies and institutional arrangements (Hajer, 1995). Discourse institutionalisation ensures the reproduction of discourse. Sharp (1999:149) distinguishes between three ways in which discourses are institutionalised, namely, when discourses are built into policy statements; when they are expressed through initiatives; and lastly, when they are immortalised in decision-making structures.

Discourse institutionalisation means that it is difficult to erase a discourse. Even though a new discourse may enjoy currency in the political sphere, alternative discourses will continue to be reproduced in terms of existing policies, structures and initiatives.

2.6.3. Institutional practices

The third and final element to be analysed is institutional practice because the struggle for discursive hegemony does not take place in a void but rather in the context of institutional practices. These are the settings in which discourse is produced and where conflicts are played out (Hajer, 1995). They have both written and unwritten rules and structures that govern the manner in which discourse takes place.

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:165), drawing on the work of Edwards and Potter (1992) and Parker (1992) respectively, refer to two categories into which discourse research can be divided, namely the micro-context of conversation and debate, and the macro-context of

institutions and ideologies. The former category focuses on the manner in which people “talk into spaces opened up by the flow of conversation”, where the meaning of a statement is to be found in the conversational context. With regard to the latter macro-context, particular conversations or statements can only take place within specific institutional contexts where it would be appropriate. At an even broader level, certain discourses may go beyond institutional contexts and, although the discourse may be used differently, it would have a meaning in a variety of contexts and function as an ideology. To this end, because “discourses are inflected with nuances of the particular institution in which they are being used” (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999:165) it may be advantageous to study the way in which a discourse works differently across the various institutions within which it operates. In the context of the Participatory Forest Management (PFM) policy and process, attention will focus primarily on the macro-context, investigating how the different stakeholder groups deploy the discourses relating to forest management.

Just as agents play a vital role in the transmission of discourses, so too do institutions. Sharp (1999) states that institutions, like individuals, are inconsistent in the discourses that they produce or transmit, however their inconsistency occurs at a greater scale due to the “volume of discourse reproduction which arises from the policy statements and initiatives” requiring many (contradictory) discourses to be produced (Sharp, 1999:148-149). One of the key areas where institutions and individuals differ in terms of discourse reproduction is with respect to flexibility. Individuals can ‘chop and change’ their statements and actions with relative ease, whilst with institutions there is a degree of permanence (Sharp, 1999).

2.7. CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter is to present the theoretical framework for the research process that was undertaken in order to provide the conceptual foundation upon which further discussions concerning discourse, discourse analysis and the PFM policy process can proceed. Firstly, constructivism is discussed as a valuable paradigm in directing this research because it views reality as a socially constructed phenomenon and presents discourse analysis as an appropriate methodology for understanding the versions of reality that are produced through discourse (Potter, 1997). It follows therefore that environmental problems could be conceived of as socially constructed and that discourse analysis is an appropriate method for understanding how actors have shaped the PFM implementation process.

Secondly, the theory of discourse and the theoretical elements of discourse analysis are presented from a constructivist perspective. This chapter explores the notion of discursive arenas in environmental politics, which provide a foundation for further discussions about the PFM policy process. Environmental politics highlights the role of power in policy-making and its exertion through discourse. Discourse is ascribed a key role in constructing the nature of environmental problems and solutions. The kinds of discursive arenas are discussed and it was suggested that a tiered policy network is the most useful network for thinking about the PFM policy process within which PFM decision-making takes place. This network comprises a definite core, which is a policy community that operates within a wider, more fluid issue network on the periphery of the policy community.

Hajer's (1995; 2003) methodological contribution to environmental discourse theory is also discussed in terms of his argumentative approach to discourse analysis. Argumentative discourse analysis is a method that focuses on the process of argumentation that take place within the policymaking process. This is a process whereby actors position themselves and one another through language and through discursive interaction (Hajer, 1995). Key elements of this approach therefore, are an analysis of the terms of environmental discourse, discourse coalitions and institutional practices (1995; 2003). The terms of policy discourses are "the ways in which biases are structured in textual utterances" (Hajer, 2003:6). Through an analysis of the terms used by people to express meaning, one gains insight into their thoughts and the purpose (intended or unintended) of their discourse. These terms are differentiated into three layers. The first layer includes storylines, which are short statements that pull together previously unrelated elements of reality to allow for shared orientations around a policy problem; metaphors, which are linguistic practices that convey understanding about a policy problem through comparison; and myths which are fictitious statements that are repeated often enough that they are believed to be the truth (Hajer, 2003).

The second layer, policy vocabularies, refers to the concepts that are intentionally used by policymakers in documents to frame a policy problem in a particular way; and the third layer, epistemic notions, refers to ideas that are pervasive in society at a particular time and which are incorporated into policy programmes without necessarily being interrogated for their validity (Hajer, 2003). Discourse analysis proposes that in the policy process it is important to identify and understand discourse coalitions that emerge around storylines. In short, discourse

coalitions are the coalescing of actors around one or more shared terms or concepts that are used to construct the coalition's understanding of a policy problem. It is a discursive environment in which actors engage in the process of argumentation to assert their view of reality and in doing so, achieve discursive hegemony (Hajer, 1995; Bulkeley, 2000). The third layer of Hajer's approach is an analysis of the institutional practices in which these discourses are produced. Institutional practices are the context within which discourses are constructed and where the process of argumentation takes place. An analysis of these practices would include both the written and the unwritten rules and structures that influence these processes.

The second part of the literature review follows in chapter three with a discussion of the concept of ecological modernisation, which is a key framework for this thesis. Ecological modernisation is a theoretical framework that has been applied to environmental politics and policy as a means of conceptualising the changes in approach to the way in which environmental issues are managed in contemporary society (Hajer, 1995; Buttel, 2000). An understanding of this concept is essential if the research findings are to be analysed and the research questions answered.

CHAPTER 3

ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION

“The dirty and ugly industrial caterpillar will transform into a[n] ecological butterfly” (Huber, 1985 in Mol, 1995:37)

3.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the key elements of the concept of ecological modernisation. Ecological modernisation is a theoretical framework that has become increasingly popular among environmentally oriented social scientists as a means of conceptualising and describing the changes that have been taking place in environmental politics and policy since the 1980's (Weale, 1992; Hajer, 1995; Buttel, 2000). Ecological modernisation theory is used in normative and explanatory ways and is a response to the 'deep green' or 'deep red' critiques of modern industrial society. A key argument in ecological modernisation theory is that the environment could be saved from within the modernist project. It is primarily applied to environmental transformations of advanced industrial societies, or to developed countries where environmental concerns revolve primarily around pollution control and prevention rather than natural resource consumption and protection which are issues that developing countries such as South Africa are more concerned (Christoff, 1996; Buttel, 2000; Congreve, 2000; Langhelle, 2000; Mol, 2000; Seippel, 2000; Berger et al., 2001; Sonnenfeld, 2002). Ecological modernisation theory has also been applied prescriptively in that it has been implemented in policies and practices. Ecological modernisation is considered a relevant and currently much debated body of theories that can be used to provide a deeper level of analysis of the case study, and to evaluate the extent to which it is applicable to and helpful in understanding the policy changes (such as PFM) taking place in South Africa.

Ecological modernisation has been conceptualised in a variety of ways over the time that the concept has been in existence (Huber, 1985, cited in Mol, 1995; Hajer, 1995; Christoff, 1996; Blowers and Pain, 1999; Buttel, 2000; Massa and Anderson, 2000). Earlier theorists (for example Huber, 1985, cited in Mol, 1995; Murphy, 2000) conceptualised ecological modernisation in a positive light, as an acceptable way of reconciling environmental needs with the economic demands that are generated by the processes of development and

industrialisation. Later theorists however, are more critical and are sceptical about the extent to which ecological modernisation is able to adequately address environmental problems (Brosius, 1999; Hajer, 1995; Blowers, 1997; Blowers and Pain, 1999; Spaargaren, 2000).

It has been stated that ecological modernisation could be used as a technical theory, a policy discourse and even a belief system (Hajer, 1995; Christoff, 1996; Langhelle, 2000; Seippel, 2000; Berger et al., 2001). The fact that ecological modernisation is both a theory and has also been applied to create a particular mode of environmental management in reality renders it difficult to review. There is, however, a common understanding that constitutes the most prevalent conceptualisation of ecological modernisation. This is discussed in Section 3.2 below. In addition to the various ways in which the concept has been applied, it has also been interpreted as exhibiting different forms, notably strong (or narrow) ecological modernisation and weak (or broad) ecological modernisation. These extremes can be depicted as occurring at either end of an ecological modernisation continuum. These two extreme forms are discussed in Section 3.3 so that the form associated with the mainstream conceptualisation of ecological modernisation becomes clear. Ecological modernisation is posited as one route to achieving sustainable development. Section 3.4 discusses the broad distinction between concepts of ecological modernisation and sustainable development, and illustrates the role that ecological modernisation plays in achieving the objective of strong sustainability. Finally Section 3.5 considers the relevance of ecological modernisation to the developing world context. Ecological modernisation comprises a way of distinguishing and describing the discursive changes taking place in the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape. The theory therefore provides an opportunity for researchers to examine the degree to which this concept is useful or appropriate to the South African context.

3.2. THE THEORY OF ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION

Huber (1985:20 cited in Mol, 1995:37), who is argued by Mol to be the father of ecological modernisation, encapsulated the spirit of ecological modernisation when he said that “the dirty and ugly industrial caterpillar will transform into a[n] ecological butterfly”. Here Huber (1985 in Mol, 1995) alludes to the idea that ecological modernisation is an unavoidable stage in the development of an industrial society where, after industrial breakthrough (the industrial revolution of the late 1700’s and early 1800’s) and the resultant establishment of an industrial society between 1848 and 1980, ecological modernisation asserts itself in the need to reconcile

the impacts of industrial activity with the environment (Murphy, 2000). Ecological modernisation is regarded as a contemporary approach to addressing environmental problems. This approach “assumes that sustainable development can be secured through a process that has come to be termed ecological modernisation” (Blowers and Pain, 1999:265). This process has four main characteristics (Blowers and Pain, 1999), each of which is based on an implicit argument or assumption, and concerns a key element of contemporary society, namely: processes of production and consumption within industry; the economy; the state; and stakeholder participation. Each of these characteristics is described below as a means of introducing the ecological modernisation concept. Thereafter the mainstream conceptualisation of ecological modernisation is interrogated further.

The first characteristic of ecological modernisation is the argument that through introducing ecological criteria into production and consumption processes, both resource consumption and pollution will be reduced to sustainable levels (Blowers and Pain, 1999). An emphasis is placed on the role of technology in refining these processes so that resource utilisation is made more efficient and pollutants are reduced (Christoff, 1996; Blowers, 2000; Murphy, 2000; Berger et al., 2001). For example, the introduction of technology to purify wastewater generated by an industry is environmentally beneficial, because it means that pollutants are prevented from entering water systems such as groundwater or streams. It is also beneficial to industry because, by purifying wastewater, an industry is able to recycle the water rather than having to expend energy on extracting and purifying water from an external source to suit its needs. Chemicals or other materials added to wastewater can be extracted and re-used, thereby reducing the need to buy in further stock of that chemical or material. In this way an industry’s environmental concern can have economic benefits. The economic benefits of being more environmentally friendly are the rationale for the acceptance of ecological modernisation.

The second characteristic of ecological modernisation concerns the market economy, which is seen as the “most efficient and effective way of achieving the objectives of sustainability” (Blowers and Pain, 1999:266). The argument here is that through economic development and the subsequent promotion of a healthy economy, the objectives of sustainability (notably meeting the needs of present and future generations) will be achieved. Blowers and Pain (1999:266) also observe that it is not only markets, but also environmental problems themselves, that can “be seen positively as a resource that can facilitate the creation of wealth”. This is an interesting argument of particular relevance to the PFM case study. PFM places

considerable emphasis on the economic opportunities to be gained from forests and forest products and also from innovative ways in which the local people can be included in people-forest interactions in a manner that is economically beneficial to both the local people and to the entrepreneurs. In this way, for example, the management of the environmental destruction that resulted from people-forest interactions in the past could become an opportunity for wealth creation through the promotion of community-based eco-tourism ventures.

The third characteristic of ecological modernisation is the enabling role of the state through the provision of a regulating framework for environmental protection (Blowers and Pain, 1999). Rather than using prescriptive approaches that engage adversarial discourses endorsing a conflictual relationship between the state and business, the state encourages business to undertake voluntary self-regulation. This is achieved through the provision of “a framework of incentives and standards for environmental performance” (Blowers, 2000:378), which encourages collaboration and complementary relationships through the adoption of collaborative discourses. An example of such agreements in South Africa is the Environmental Management Co-Management Agreement (EMCAs) in the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA, Act 107 of 1998). This approach can also be extended beyond business to apply to the state’s relationship with other stakeholders, such as local communities. For example, the PFM policy is an example of how the state’s role has shifted from enforcement to regulation and monitoring. Rather than enforcing a ‘fences and fines approach’ to indigenous forest management, the state, through PFM, has adopted a participative and collaborative discourse and encourages local communities to work with the state to achieve environmental protection.

The fourth characteristic of ecological modernisation is the emphasis placed on public participation in policy-making/decision-making (Blowers and Pain, 1999). Here it is argued that by achieving participation and consensus through the involvement of diverse groups in society in, for example, decision-making and policy-making forums (bottom-up approaches), the outcomes will be more sustainable than conventional top-down approaches to policy-making/decision-making (Blowers and Pain, 1999). Connelly (2002; Richardson and Connelly, 2005) is critical of the assumption that participation leads to greater sustainability planning. Similarly, this study is also critical of the implicit link between participation and sustainability, and it reveals the difficulties associated with translating the rhetoric of participation in PFM policy into legitimate participatory practices at a local level.

This research investigates the nature of participation that has taken place during the PFM implementation process in a local space. Through discourse analysis, this investigation is able to analyse the policy process in terms of the concept of ecological modernisation. Both co-management and ecological modernisation literature acknowledge that there are differing degrees of participation. It is important to emphasise here that the kind or degree of participation discussed as a feature of mainstream ecological modernisation is conventional participation; a common feature of countries, such as South Africa, that have a liberal democracy (Carmody, 2002) as opposed to an expansive democracy (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003).

Ecological modernisation as a body of theory asserts that in the context of the environment-development debate, 'you can have your cake and eat it'. In other words, societies can continue along the path of modernisation whilst simultaneously overcoming the environmental crises that result from progression along that very path (Gibbs, 2000). One of the principal tenets of ecological modernisation theory is that it "breaks with the idea that environmental needs are in conflict with economic demands; it argues instead that economic growth and the resolution of ecological problems can, in principle, be reconciled" (Hajer, 1996:248). Ecological modernisation "advocates a continuation of the changes which it perceives as already occurring in industrial society" and "makes a virtue of the seemingly inevitable and aligns itself with contemporary trends in the economy, society and politics" (Blowers, 1997:859). In this way, ecological modernisation could be understood as reflexive modernisation, because it is a form of modernisation that uses itself (the process of modernisation), industrialisation, and science to solve the problems that they created in the first place (Buttel, 2000).

Ecological modernisation constitutes a conservative view of social change, described by Blowers (1997) as a "moment of transition", as society continues to pursue the project of modernisation while taking due care and paying attention to environmental constraints. Holm and Stauning (2002:2) regard Jänicke as the inventor of the concept of ecological modernisation and consider his view of ecological modernisation to be a "strategy or belief system of moderate, incremental adjustments to institutions and behaviour". In other words, the environmental problematic is accommodated into the process of modernisation whereby care for the environment is internalised into existing social and political institutions (Hajer, 1995) rather than acting as an instigator of interventions that are conflictual and transformative, and that advocate radical and revolutionary changes in industrial society. Put

succinctly, ecological modernisation theory is a “celebration of contemporary capitalism with a greener face” (Blowers, 1997:854). Similarly Spaargaren (2000:325) notes that “EM [ecological modernisation] theory does not plead for a dismantling of ‘capitalism’ altogether” but rather regards modes of production and consumption as sources of environmental problems and as elements that could be adjusted to minimise these problems. Although often criticised for this conservative view, the ecological modernisation approach, if nothing else, has introduced industry and government to the realm of environmental awareness and protection, and presented it to them in an economically appealing ‘package’.

Christoff (1996) distinguishes three broad categorisations of how ecological modernisation is used, namely descriptively, analytically and normatively. Each of these is discussed briefly as a means of elaborating the concept. It should be recognised, however, that the ethos is the same in all three; it is just that the focus shifts to different aspects of how contemporary society resolves environmental problems.

Firstly, ecological modernisation is used to *describe technological developments* with environmentally beneficial outcomes. The emphasis here is on fine-tuning or adapting technologies to produce a win-win solution. The environment benefits from improved, cleaner technological performance. Industry also benefits, because technological developments are implemented with the aim of maintaining or improving one’s economic advantage. Increasingly, society is demanding cleaner technology and ‘environmentally friendly’ products and processes.

Huber (2000) distinguishes between two interpretations of sustainable development. The first interpretation predominates amongst non-governmental organisations and is an “anti-industrial and anti-modernist strategy of ‘sufficiency’” (Huber, 2000:269), whilst the second predominates amongst industry and business and is a strategy to enable “further economic growth and ecological adaptation of industrial production [and business systems] at the same time” (Huber, 2000:269). Huber (2000) describes this as the ‘efficiency revolution’. This latter interpretation of sustainable development relates to Hajer’s (1996:249) remark that “environmental pollution is framed as a matter of inefficiency”.

Environmental protection is interpreted as a positive sum game where pollution prevention ultimately pays (Hajer, 1995; Seippel, 2000; Berger et al., 2001). According to Dryzek

(1997:142) “there is money in it [ecological modernisation] for business” and by this he means that it is economically beneficial for business to become greener, or more environmentally sound. Seippel (2000:290) summarises Dryzek’s four stated benefits to business as follows:

“Pollution prevention pays, it becomes more expensive to solve the problem in future, a better environment is achieved, and there is money to be made in selling green goods and in prevention products”.

It therefore makes financial sense to transform industrial processes. In a similar vein, Huber (2000) distinguishes between three types of reasons for a firm to become greener. These are legal reasons (the need to comply with the law and administrative regulations); economic reasons (such as preventative cost reduction, cost competitiveness and the pollution and risk prevention to avoid liability charges); and thirdly, social reasons (which includes image, stakeholder demand for firms to be greener, and a good reputation, which is attractive to prospective staff, banks and insurers). This places pressure on industries to maintain or improve their niche in the market by keeping apace with such demands.

In many cases, business and industry would only need to improve their environmental performance by, for example, refining their production systems and/or their technology to make more efficient use of energy and materials and thus enhance their resource productivity (Huber, 2000). Christoff (1996) notes that these technological developments involve remedial or anticipatory strategies and do not reflect or require any meaningful change in corporate, public or political values. This application of ecological modernisation is viewed as a narrow/weak version of ecological modernisation because of its narrowly industrial application that is directed towards adaptation and not transformation. This descriptive application of ecological modernisation differs from Christoff’s second categorisation, which is described below because it is pro-ecological modernisation. Ecological modernisation is seen as the answer to the environmental crisis and this view is markedly different to Hajer’s approach below, which is more critical.

Secondly, according to Christoff’s categorisation of the applications of ecological modernisation, the theory of ecological modernisation is utilised to *analyse the policy process* and detect changes that come about within environmental policy discourse (Christoff, 1996; Hajer, 1995; Buttel, 2000). The focus has shifted away from technological developments and to the policy arena. Hajer (1995) regards ecological modernisation as a policy discourse, a way

of talking about and understanding the changes in environmental policy resulting from the environmental movement in the mid 1980's (Buttel, 2000).

In addition to ecological modernisation being simply a scientific and technical solution to environmental problems (as with the descriptive use of the concept), it is also seen as “a strategy of political accommodation of the radical environmentalist critique of the 1970's” (Christoff, 1996:483; Hajer, 1995; Blowers, 1997). The radical environmentalist critique could be described as anti-modernist and anti-industrial; what Huber (2000:269) terms “the red-green current of the ecology movement”. This critique proposes an alternative society that is characterised by the ethos of self-limitation of material needs, industrial disarmament, withdrawal from the free-world market, and an egalitarian distribution of scarce resources (Huber, 2000). This radical environmentalist critique of society could be construed by the state as a threat to national economic imperatives. At a time when environmental awareness is increasing in society, at a global and local level, it would be inappropriate for governments to disregard environmental concerns. Thus Hajer (1995, in Christoff, 1996:482) suggests that ecological modernisation is a “discursive strategy useful to governments seeking to manage ecological dissent and to relegitimise their social regulatory role”. Hajer (1995) alludes to the idea of cultural politics, where certain issues are problematised over others, and certain courses of action are chosen over others for particular political reasons, perhaps to manage ecological dissent or influence the social order. How governments address issues is a function of their political agenda and social goals.

Brosius (1999) shares Hajer's (1995) scepticism about the efficacy of environmental institutionalisation in addressing environmental problems. To regard ecological modernisation as a policy discourse is to acknowledge the presence of power in the policy network and its influence on the policy process. According to Buttel (2000:58-59), Hajer's view is that ecological modernisation:

“may serve to dilute the political impulse for environmental reforms by obscuring the degree to which economic expansion, growth of consumption, and capital-intensive technological change compromise the ability of states to ensure a quality environment”.

Hunold and Dryzek (2001:4) share Hajer's view when they refer to ecological modernisation as a “compromise oriented discourse”. This theoretical perspective has resonance in the South African context, because it provides an understanding of how ecological modernisation

discourse could be used by the government to manage or counter the more radical (red-green) approaches to indigenous forest management (Kiel and Desfor, 2003). For example, in theory PFM has the potential to be a more radical approach in that it could encourage considerable bottom-up, deliberative and inclusive decision-making approaches to address conservation issues that arise from the people-environment interface. In addition, PFM is framed in a way that is politically and socially acceptable, such as meeting people's social and economic needs and conserving biodiversity through participatory approaches - and in so doing advancing the government's political agenda (i.e. the macro-economic Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy). Therefore, because of its potential and the manner in which it is framed, PFM could win support as the way forward for forest management in South Africa, making "a virtue of the seemingly inevitable and [aligning] itself with contemporary trends in the economy, society and politics" (Blowers, 1997:859). However top-down, consultative, weakly participative decision-making approaches (weak ecological modernisation) could take place in the name of PFM (this scepticism is the focus of investigation in this thesis). The difference between the theory of PFM as a co-management regime, and the reality of implementing such approaches in the South African context could result in the promise of PFM as a radical approach being compromised or attenuated. For the state to commit significant budget to policy development and implementation in one direction, it could reduce the scope for alternative approaches to be implemented. If this scenario is found to be true for the South African context then the state could be perceived as adopting an ecological modernisation approach to indigenous forest management because they are compromising or reducing the radical (social) approach and simultaneously, by having the PFM policy in place, they are moving away from a position that would support hard-line ecological protection which may not be socially or politically acceptable in contemporary South Africa.

Hajer (1995) refers to six realms within policy-making where shifts in talking about business and the environment have taken place. The first realm where this shift has taken place is where techniques or strategies have shifted from remedial and reactive to anticipatory and preventative. The second realm is the shift in the role of science, where science plays a more pro-active and critical role in environmental policy-making. The third realm is the shift in the way nature is conceptualised. Nature is reconceptualised at the macro-economic level and is regarded more as a public good or resource than a free good. The fourth realm in policy-making is shift in existing participatory practices in policy-making processes towards an acknowledgment of new actors in participatory environmental organisations and, to a lesser

extent, local residents. The fifth realm is a shift in thinking at the micro-scale away from the idea that environmental protection increases cost, towards the idea that pollution prevention pays. The sixth and final realm that Hajer (1995) refers to is a shift in the legislative discourse of environmental politics with polluters having to bear the burden of proof rather than the recipients or damaged parties. These realms shall be discussed later in relation to the application of ecological modernisation to PFM in South Africa.

Thirdly, ecological modernisation is used normatively as a *belief system*. Christoff (1996:484) suggests that ecological modernisation “represents a new belief system that articulates and organises ideas of ecological emancipation”. Of all the ways in which the concept of ecological modernisation is used, this is the most radical. It pushes the limits of conventional thinking in that, although it is still concerned with the economic importance of environmental efficiency, it is not purely on the grounds of a sound financial decision that environmental externalities are internalised, but also a moral attitude which results in environmentally aware behaviour. Here the definition of ecological modernisation broadens to incorporate a moral dimension. Ecological modernisation in this sense is “an ideology based around, but extending beyond, the understanding that environmental protection is a precondition of long-term economic development” (Christoff, 1996:484). An ideology is a worldview that has been socially constructed and become a fundamental way in which the world is perceived to operate. Ecological modernisation as an ideology includes the belief that exercising due care for the environment will be beneficial to people in the long run. This is based on the ideological assumption that ‘if we look after the earth, it will look after us’.

In its most rudimentary sense, ecological modernisation is a term which implies that the process of modernisation can proceed unimpeded by ecological problems; it implies ecologically sensitive modernisation. Seippel (2000:300) asserts that “to use the term ‘modernisation’ implies an empirical assertion that the environment has not contributed to a break with modernity”.

It has been shown that there are a number of ways in which the concept of ecological modernisation has been used. The descriptive and normative categorisations of how the term ecological modernisation is applied, frame the concept positively. In both cases ecological modernisation is regarded as the answer to the environmental crisis. However, whereas the former categorisation is solely concerned with economic efficiency and the pursuit of

competitive advantage and economic growth, the latter, whilst concerned about economic efficiency, also incorporates a moral imperative for business to proceed in an environmentally aware manner. The analytical categorisation however, is a critical understanding of the concept of ecological modernisation. A key criticism is that ecological modernisation endorses the political accommodation of more radical environmental initiatives. Rather than competing with each other for dominance, it is argued that all three categorisations should instead be regarded as illustrating different facets of what is in essence the same thing: the management of environmental issues in a manner that is consistent with the goal of modernisation, which is at the forefront of a modern society in general and, it is argued, a developing country in particular.

3.3. WEAK AND STRONG ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION

Ecological modernisation can be applied in a number of ways, depending on how the term is interpreted. Hajer (1993, cited in Gibbs, 2000:12) proposes that there are two interpretations of ecological modernisation, namely a techno-corporatist interpretation, which emphasises the economisation of nature and elitist decision-making structures, and an interpretation that stresses changes to production and consumption but requires that these are undertaken through greater democratisation, redistribution and social justice. These are two vastly different ways of interpreting the same concept, which can confuse its definitional clarity.

In general, the former interpretation can be aligned to the mainstream or normative conceptualisation whilst the latter, which draws more on the moral dimension in the normative use of the term, pushes the limits of mainstream thinking. Christoff (1996; see also Gibbs, 2000 Adams, 2001; and Berger et al., 2001) has characterised these two contrasting interpretations as weak and strong versions of ecological modernisation and places them at opposing ends of a continuum. He suggests that different interpretations or versions of ecological modernisation lie along this continuum according to their “likely efficacy in promoting enduring ecologically sustainable transformations and outcomes across a range of issues and institutions” (Christoff, 1996:490). Versions of ecological modernisation may be described as weak/narrow or strong/broad depending on the “extent to which they are technological or systemic in scope or focus” (Christoff, 1996:490).

Ecological modernisation, in its weak/narrow form, does not take into consideration the social processes such as discursive interaction, and the political processes involved in decision-making. Decisions about changes, it seems, take place through a cost-benefit analysis with there being little scope for the influence of social processes. At a time when sustainable development is high on the agenda of business and government, there is, according to Gibbs (2000:17) “little or no attempt to address issues of equity or democratic participation, which, by contrast are central to sustainable development”. Christoff (1996, in Gibbs, 2000) characterises weak ecological modernisation as:

- a. Technological solutions for managing environmental problems
- b. Technocratic/corporatist styles of policy-making by scientific, economic and political elites
- c. Employed by developed nations who use ecological modernisation to consolidate their global economic advantages
- d. Imposes a single, closed-ended framework on political and economic development.

Weak ecological modernisation, therefore, is technocratic as opposed to deliberative in its policy-making style where technological solutions are implemented to ensure environmental problems are resolved in a manner that is complementary to the pursuit of economic efficiency. It is also noted above that weak ecological modernisation is a feature of developed nations who use ‘green transformations’ in their business for competitive advantage. This is not to say that developing countries are devoid of weak ecological modernisation applications, it is rather that developed countries are in a position to work ecological modernisation to their economic advantage.

Strong/broad ecological modernisation takes issue with the lack of attention paid to social processes. Giddens (1998:57-58) quotes Huber as stating that “there is no doubt that ecological modernisation links social, democratic and ecological concerns more closely than once seemed possible”. Hajer (cited in Gibbs, 2000:12) refers to strong ecological modernisation as reflexive ecological modernisation whereby “political and economic development proceed on the basis of critical self awareness involving public scrutiny and democratic control”. Christoff (1996, in Gibbs, 2000) characterises strong ecological modernisation as comprising:

- a. Broad changes to institutional and economic structures of society incorporating ecological concerns
- b. Open, democratic decision-making with participation and involvement
- c. A concern for the international dimensions of the environment and development
- d. A more open-ended approach with no single view, but multiple possibilities with ecological modernisation providing orientation.

The emphasis on democratic social processes is a consistent feature of strong ecological modernisation. Hajer and Kesselring (1999:15) are careful to distinguish democracy from sustainability by suggesting that both democracy and sustainability should be regarded as “two distinct goals in a broader project of ‘greening society’”. Increased democracy does not necessarily lead to increased sustainability (Hajer and Kesselring, 1999). However, democracy should, by virtue of its intrinsic association with learning and information sharing, assist in ‘greening society’ or ecologically modernising society. Hunold and Dryzek (2001) regard strong ecological modernisation as more attractive from an environmentalist perspective but acknowledge that it may also be a much more difficult goal to attain. Under the strong version, ecological modernisation becomes a concept that is difficult to pin down definitionally. This is illustrated by Pepper’s (1999) summary of the features of ecological modernisation, which covers a wide range of elements. He notes that strong ecological modernisation contemplates:

“An international dimension; non-western development approaches; deeper changes in beliefs and morality; elevating equity, futurity, ecological imperatives by comparison with narrow economic goals; re-embedding society in community, region, ecosystems; limits to modernisation” (Pepper, 1999:3).

A distinction between strong and weak ecological modernisation is of interest to this research because it challenges the conventional wisdom of contemporary approaches to environmental management, which tend to fall within the mainstream weak conceptualisation. It is contended that in South Africa strong forms of ecological modernisation are embodied in policy but in practice it seems that a weak form of ecological modernisation is evident when these policies are implemented. Other authors in South Africa have subsequently been exploring similar ideas in different case studies and there is therefore a growing body of literature within the South African context that supports this contention (for example Oelofse et al., 2006, and Scott and Oelofse, 2005). The reason for the disparity between policy and practice may be due to South Africa having certain socio-economic conditions that predispose it to weak as opposed to strong ecological modernisation. The extent to which this disparity is evidenced in the PFM policy implementation process is a key element of this research and is therefore an issue which is elaborated in the concluding chapter of this research.

The distinction between strong and weak ecological modernisation also provides a starting point for the consideration of PFM in terms of ecological modernisation. This consideration has been made possible by Christoff’s (1996) acknowledgement that the strong/broad

interpretation of ecological modernisation incorporates non-western development and participatory processes. Finally, it provokes the question of whether policies such as PFM could ever achieve sustainability if their implementation is revealed to be consistent with weak ecological modernisation. The extent to which ecological modernisation is valuable, and the form with which PFM is most consistent, is discussed in Chapter Fourteen.

3.4. ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

The concept of sustainable development has received much mileage from academia, has suffused development jargon for over a decade and, since the Rio Earth Summit of 1992, it has become entrenched as one of the key drivers in development policy. Despite its vague definitional clarity and profuse conceptualisations it has had an immense impact on the policy arena because it is a normative theory and an optimistic approach to framing the future. This section briefly explores the relationship between ecological modernisation theory and sustainable development theory as it has been conceptualised in this thesis. Langhelle (2000) argues that the concepts of ecological modernisation and sustainability should not be equated. The position taken in this thesis, which supports Langhelle's (2000) view, is that ecological modernisation is one approach to sustainable development.

The term sustainable development is generally understood to be an objective of development agendas, where development "meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987:43). Lele (1991:610) notes that "putting 'sustainable' and 'development' together becomes a form of societal change that, in addition to meeting traditional developmental objectives, has the objective or constraint of maintaining ecological sustainability". There is a sense that achieving sustainable development is 'it', the destination, where "nature and humanity have come to terms with themselves in a demonstration of mutual respect and forgiveness" (O'Riordan et al., 2000:1). This is also elucidated in the United Nations Environmental Programme's definition, which asserts that sustainable development is development that improves the "quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems" (Yeld, 1993:12). It has been argued that the theory fails to encapsulate the journey towards the destination. Recent writing has termed the transition or pathway towards achieving sustainable development as 'sustainability' (O'Riordan et al, 2000). Whether one has one's sight set on the objective or on the pathway, the spirit of the theory, its intent, its promise and the principles remain the same. The concept

of sustainable development is a holistic perspective of development in that it incorporates and integrates social, economic and environmental components. This is supported by O’Riordan et al., (2000:1) who note that sustainability “unites economic, social and environmental programmes”, and captures “economically and democratically redistributive processes and placing them in ecological and social frames of empowerment and mutual respect”.

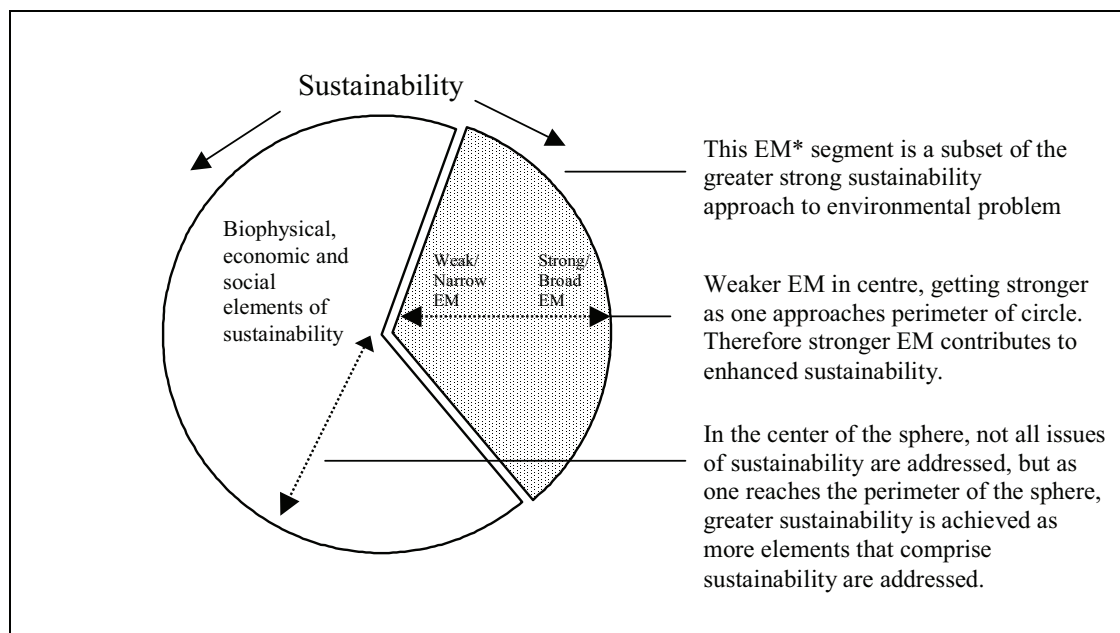
Ecological modernisation is insufficient in itself to bring about increased sustainability within a society or industry, because it does not emphasise the need for substantial structural changes but rather settles for techno-institutional fixes to environmental problems that do not frustrate the prevailing capitalist political system (Hajer, 1995; Langhelle, 2000). To achieve sustainable development, or at least to progress towards improved sustainability, the application of an approach that is more radical is required, what some would term a strong sustainability approach. Strong sustainability is an approach to sustainability that incorporates social and environmental justice and equity concerns and in so doing addresses issues of power and the resultant social inequalities (Blowers, 1997).

Strong sustainability should also not be conflated with strong ecological modernisation (Langhelle, 2000); although it is acknowledged that strong ecological modernisation does conform more closely to stronger approaches of sustainability than weak ecological modernisation. However, an important difference between the two terms is that strong ecological modernisation still takes an anthropocentric view towards the environment: that it is in our best interests to be good custodians of environmental resources, rather than the more radical strong sustainability view that one should be a good custodian because it is morally right and because nature alone is unable to defend itself against the pressures placed upon it by people - nature needs people to act in its defence (Langhelle, 2000).

Furthermore, where ecological modernisation is content with techno-institutional fixes, even if through more participative and socially just means (Hajer, 1993), strong sustainability contends that “nothing less than fundamental social and economic changes” (Blowers, 1997:846) are needed to manage the global ecological crisis. It is adaptation versus transformation, which is also evident when one compares sustainability and ecological modernisation’s assertion about the economy. An ecological modernisation approach does not challenge the capitalist market system that dominates most advanced industrialised societies and endorses the view that the capitalist economic system does not constrain but creates

opportunities for the transition towards sustainability. The strong sustainability discourse on the other hand advocates a substantial restructuring and transformation of the capitalist approach to development (O’Riordan, 1993; Gibbs et al., 1996) to one that is sensitive to the local context and that decreases dependency on external (foreign or national) markets and increases self reliance and autonomy (Pepper, 1999; Blowers, 2000).

Similarly, a weak-sustainability approach should not be conflated with weak ecological modernisation. It is arguable that, to a large degree, much of ecological modernisation thinking can be located within the weak sustainability camp, although there are different ‘degrees of weakness’. This relationship between ecological modernisation and sustainability is depicted in Figure 3.1 below. This figure is a schematic representation that was developed from the literature and a review of the concepts of ecological modernisation and sustainability. The purpose of this schematic representation is to illustrate the link between these concepts as interpreted in this thesis.



*EM = Ecological Modernisation

Figure 3.1. The link between ecological modernisation and sustainability in addressing sustainable development.

In the diagram, if a strong sustainability approach to environmental problem solving is represented by a complete sphere, then ecological modernisation is a segment of the of the sphere, an approach which is part of an all-encompassing strong sustainability approach. The

distance from the center of the sphere represents the degree to which issues of sustainability are addressed. In the center of the sphere, not all issues of sustainability are addressed, but as one reaches the perimeter of the sphere, greater sustainability is achieved as more elements that comprise sustainability are addressed. Therefore, the further one moves away from the centre of the circle, and the more complete the sphere becomes, the stronger the approach to sustainability becomes.

Similarly, within the ecological modernisation segment, weaker ecological modernisation approaches would be located closer to the center of the sphere with stronger approaches being closer to the perimeter. Therefore stronger ecological modernisation contributes to enhanced or stronger sustainability. Ecological modernisation by its very definition and premise cannot be strong sustainability (Langhelle, 2000), but the degree to which it contributes towards strong sustainability is a function of the strength or weakness of the ecological modernisation approach. What Figure 3.1 does not make clear is whether an approach to environmental management that only displays ecological modernisation qualities (even if strong ecological modernisation) could be defined as weak sustainability.

This section has discussed the relationship between ecological modernisation and sustainability in the manner in which they are interpreted in this study. These ideas are drawn on in Chapter Fourteen, where they are discussed in relation to the national and local PFM discourses and the ideological discourses with which they are most consistent.

3.5. ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE DEVELOPING WORLD CONTEXT

Ecological modernisation is a concept that has been used predominantly in advanced industrialised or developed countries because those countries are thought to have the conditions that would make the implementation of such an environmental problem-solving approach feasible (Blowers and Pain, 1999; Adams, 2001). Consequently, according to Blowers (1997:854), it “is a theory based entirely on western industrial experience”. However, the concept has increasingly been applied by researchers to a variety of countries and contexts beyond those initially envisioned by its founders and been found to be a useful concept (Buttel, 2000; Mol, 2000; Sonnenfeld, 2002). In addition to its academic application to developing countries, it is also an approach that is being practiced by developing countries. However,

unlike developed countries such as the Netherlands, Germany and Japan where ecological modernisation has been explicitly been adopted as the approach to environmental policy-making (Murphy, 2000), it is an approach that underlies policy-making in many developing countries owing to its prevalence in the developed world. This creates an opportunity for researchers to examine the degree to which this concept is useful or appropriate to the South African context and what the implications of this are. This section considers some of the literature that endorses the consideration of the applicability of the theory of ecological modernisation in developing countries such as South Africa.

Mol (2000) notes that from the 1990's until the present, the global dimensions of ecological modernisation as well as national studies in non-west European countries (i.e. central and east European nation states, the United States of America and developing countries) have received increasing attention, because prior to the mid 1990's the focus of studies using ecological modernisation as a theoretical framework was primarily on national studies regarding west European countries.

Buttel (2000:59) in distinguishing between different "generations" in the life of ecological modernisation as a theoretical concept, referred to this focus as being in the first generation literature of ecological modernisation. The first generation of ecological modernisation literature was founded on the reforming capacity of institutions in capitalist liberal democracies to improve their impact on the natural environment. These writers regarded ecological modernisation as a positive theory and praised its contributions. Second generation literature, according to Buttel (2000), shifted in focus. This literature still concentrated on capitalist liberal democracies but attempted to identify the socio-political processes through which further modernisation enables (or constrains) beneficial ecological outcomes. Buttel (2000) then introduces what is considered a third "generation" in ecological modernisation literature. This most recent literature is "more concerned with comparative perspectives, including but not limited to the ways in which globalisation processes might catalyse ecological modernisation processes in countries in the South" (Buttel, 2000:59). Theorists writing second and third generation ecological modernisation literature tend to be more critical of the mainstream conceptualisation of the concept.

South Africa is progressing along a path of development that makes the adoption of ecological modernisation more likely. Scott and Oelofse (2005) reflect that ecological modernisation,

which is at the forefront of policy-making in developed countries, is increasingly being adopted as the preferred policy discourse in developing countries too. Carmody (2002) comments on the tendency of South Africa towards becoming integrated into the global economy. After the abolition of sanctions and the liberalisation of the economy, many South African conglomerates took the opportunity to globalise their operations (Carmody, 2002). In many instances, globalisation in South Africa began with regionalisation as it afforded a greater competitive edge. South African companies “used their locational advantages in Africa to achieve economies of scale, and boost profits: using the region as a springboard to globalise” (Simon, 2001 in Carmody, 2002:263).

Globalisation is believed to be a catalyst for ecological modernisation processes because it is associated with market-led economies and a system of free trade. This organisation of the economy around market mechanisms favours the implementation of ecological modernisation, because it is a way in which, in a market-based capitalist (neoliberal) economic system that dominates the global economy, environmental and economic policy can be integrated in way that is profitable for business and contributes towards sustainable development (Gibbs, 2000). South Africa’s adoption of the GEAR¹ (Growth Employment and Redistribution) policy in 1996 signalled the introduction of a free market approach that has neoliberalism as its central principle, and which favours “export-orientated, market-led economic growth” (Hart, 2002:3).

Ecological modernisation may be relevant for developing world contexts, because it provides these countries with an environmental problem solving approach for environmental issues that they will begin to deal with as they progress along the path of development and industrialisation. According to Aseniero (1985, cited in Adams, 2001:102) the “process of modernisation, economic growth and nation-state building that created the modern world-system have long been held up as goals for underindustrialised countries”. If ecological modernisation is the “next necessary or even triumphant stage of an evolutionary process of industrial transformation” (Christoff, 1996:487) then developing countries need to learn from the lessons of the North as the focus of their concerns shift. Their concerns may shift from natural resource consumption and protection to issues that concern developed countries such as pollution control and prevention (Christoff, 1996; Buttel, 2000; Congreve, 2000; Langhelle, 2000; Mol, 2000; Seippel, 2000; Berger et al., 2001; Sonnenfeld, 2002). As countries in the

¹ See Chapter Six for more information about South Africa’s neoliberal political economy.

South follow in the footsteps of the North in pursuit of these goals, they would do well to be critical of such a programme, especially the predominantly weak or mainstream version that has been implemented, and consider the benefits of ensuring that stronger versions are implemented in their counties. This research sets out to do that by applying the theory to a particular case study.

This broadening of the application of ecological modernisation theory creates an opportunity for its application to developing country contexts, such as South Africa, to be explored. This is a key contribution of this thesis. This research, applies ecological modernisation as a theory of cultural politics, to analyse policy discourses in Participatory Forest Management, using the method of discourse analysis.

3.6. CONCLUSION

The theory of ecological modernisation is one of the key bodies of knowledge that frames this research. This set of ideas provides a theoretical framework with which to conduct an analysis of the discourses that are currently shaping the PFM policy implementation process in the southern Cape case study area.

The mainstream conceptualisation of the concept is discussed and attention drawn to its major characteristics. Blowers and Pain (1999) highlight four key characteristics of ecological modernisation theory. Firstly, that applying ecological criteria to production and consumption processes will bring resource consumption and pollution to within sustainable levels. In effect, science and technology is used to improve resource consumption (which is more economically efficient) and thereby reduce environmental impacts. A second key characteristic of ecological modernisation theory is the confidence in the market economy to achieve sustainability. The theory advocates that by promoting a growing market economy and prosperous society the goals of sustainability will be achieved. Thirdly, the theory asserts that the objectives of sustainability will be achieved if the state plays an enabling as opposed to prescriptive role towards environmental regulation. The fourth key characteristic of ecological modernisation theory is the assertion that increased public participation in environmental decision-making will lead to increased sustainability.

This chapter also elaborates the three broad ways in which the theory of ecological modernisation has been applied. These are: to describe technological developments, to analyse the policy process, and to embody a new belief system (Christoff, 1996). These categorisations are elaborated with a view to illustrating the shifts that have taken place in the way in which society resolves environmental problems.

In addition, Christoff's (1996) assertion of an ecological modernisation continuum is discussed and the extremes of the continuum, namely strong and weak ecological modernisation were briefly summarised. This distinction between strong and weak ecological modernisation is of value to this research because it challenges researchers to critically interrogate contemporary approaches to environmental management (which tend to fall within the mainstream, weak conceptualisation) and examines the possibility that there are alternative, more sustainable approaches that could be applied to environmental policy-making. It also provides a starting point for the consideration of PFM in terms of ecological modernisation. This consideration has been made possible by Christoff's (1996) acknowledgement, that the strong/broad interpretation of ecological modernisation incorporates non-western development and participatory processes. The distinction between strong and weak ecological modernisation also provokes the question of whether policies such as PFM could ever be sustainable if their implementation is revealed to be consistent with weak ecological modernisation.

Ecological modernisation and its association with sustainability are discussed. It is suggested that ecological modernisation cannot be conflated with sustainability, but that it should rather be regarded as a part or subset of sustainability. Through asserting a stronger form of ecological modernisation, progress towards sustainable development is advanced, but it cannot advance sustainable development as completely as strong sustainability approaches. Furthermore, implicit in Hajer's (1995) notion of argumentative discourses and his proposal that ecological modernisation is a theory of cultural politics, is a critique of the decision-making that takes place within environmental politics. One critique is the association of mainstream environmental management discourse and practice with capitalist economic imperatives and the influence that such an association has in obfuscating progress towards social and environmental goals (often in the name of sustainable development).

The final part of this chapter discusses the relevance of the concept of ecological modernisation to developing world contexts such as South Africa and it is shown that there has

been a broadening of the application of the concept to incorporate countries and contexts other than developed or advanced industrial countries. The application of ecological modernisation theory will provide a set of ideas about how environmental management issues are constructed and addressed in South Africa, and reveals the influence that competing discourses have on the manner in which a policy process is implemented.

The elements of this body of theory that will be critically reflected upon in the light of empirical results are, firstly, the applicability of the concept to developing countries such as South Africa; and secondly, the value of the continuum of ecological modernisation approaches in explaining the perceived differences between national and local policy discourse around PFM in South Africa.

Chapter Four is the first of a two-part section on natural resource management theory. This chapter lays the foundation for the emergence of the co-management approach, which is a form of environmental governance, in natural resource management. It will also reveal the dominance of colonial paradigms in the manner in which forest resources were managed in the colonies in general and in the southern Cape in South Africa in particular.

CHAPTER 4

COLONIAL PARADIGMS TOWARDS GAME RESERVES AND PARKS: THEIR ORIGINS AND INFLUENCES

“It is only by maintaining enclaved dominions...in which older regimental hierarchies apparently persist, where guests are free to wander, and Nature uncorrupted offers itself up for consumption by select tourists” (Bunn 1996:43).

4.1. INTRODUCTION

This literature review considers the theory of the conceptualisation of the relationship between people and parks, which is part of a significant body of knowledge in the natural resource management literature. This literature is reviewed because it provides the background to the formative colonial ethos that has dominated natural resources and influenced the nature of the relationship between people and parks in many countries. With reference to natural resources, it is necessary to discuss the body of ideas that arose from the process of colonisation because these ideas have shaped natural resource management practice and the environmental discourses that have emerged in South Africa. This thesis argues that such influences have also shaped forest management practice and affected the manner in which strong ecological modernisation innovations such as Participatory Forest Management are implemented.

Early colonial methods and practices of conserving nature² in Africa are largely attributable to developments in the thinking in western nature conservation. These practices were subsequently extended through the process of colonisation to many countries in southern Africa (Child, G., 1996; Pimbert and Pretty, 1997; Alexander and McGregor, 2000; Ramutsindela, 2004). This approach to conservation is still believed to influence contemporary protected areas management in developing countries (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997).

This early western approach to biodiversity conservation, which Pimbert and Pretty (1997:302) have termed a “blueprint approach”, is characterised by a top-down “transfer of technology”

² Latterly referred to in contemporary literature as ‘biodiversity’.

model. Such a model is informed by positivist conservation science and a wilderness³ preservationist ideology, and is subscribed to by professionals whose thinking, values, methods and behaviour in their profession are conventional (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997). This preservationist ideology is discussed in Section 4.2. More importantly, the blueprint approach is best understood as “a set of definite choices of world views and power relations where the choices are between different kinds of use and between different forms of political control” (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997:304). Thus the blueprint approach is not just a practical model for preserving wilderness, it is also an approach which asserts particular worldviews or paradigms and power relations that shape the kind of conservation practices that are played out in local spaces.

In this chapter the origins and influences of the colonial paradigm of wildlife management are examined in Section 4.3. Attention is drawn to four key influences that have shaped people-park relationships in the natural landscapes of the British colonies. Firstly, the status of natural resources in the colonies is discussed. Secondly, the influence of the national park model, and the appeal of such a model to Britain for conserving⁴ nature or wildlife in their African colonies is discussed. Thirdly, the role that events in Britain, namely the processes of industrialisation and urbanisation, played in shaping its colonies (namely the Cape and Natal in South Africa), is explored. The fourth influence that is discussed in Section 4.3 is the influence of Hardin’s (1968) *Tragedy of the Commons* theory on the colonial conceptualisation of the people-park relationship.

The idea of community based conservation or co-management is a contemporary conservation paradigm that has been dominant since the 1990’s. Prior to the acceptance of this approach to managing common property resources, natural resources in colonial Africa were conserved and managed in a manner that alienated local communities from land and natural resources and that established the white settler state as the owners of these resources (Powell, 1998). The emergence of ‘new’ nature conservation approaches such as co-management and community

³ The United States Wilderness Act of 1964 defines ‘wilderness’ as a landscape that appears to have been affected mainly by the forces of nature and where evidence of human interference or impact is significantly barely discernable (Johnston, 1981).

⁴ Conservation is a management term, which means “to manage renewable resources sustainably and to avoid waste from non-renewable resources” (Okidi, 1994:20). This form of resource management is regarded as a more purposive approach than the preservation approach. Preservation means “to set aside and protect selected natural resources such as unique biological or geological formations, endangered or threatened species, representative biomes or other natural or cultural sites of importance” (Okidi, 1994:20).

based natural resource schemes in Africa is as much a consequence of revised understandings of the nature of common property resource systems (Gibson and Marks, 1995; Neumann, 1997; Powell, 1998; Ramutsindela, 2004) as it is a consequence of post-colonial⁵ attempts to dismantle imperialist ideologies about nature and society (Neumann, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997; Ramutsindela, 2004). This chapter therefore draws on two different theories about common property resource systems as a basis for natural resource management, notably Hardin's (1968) *Tragedy of the Commons* and Runge's (1981, cited in Powell, 1998) *Assurance Problem*.

At a conceptual level, the change in resource management approaches from a blueprint approach to collaborative approaches in the 1990's can be interpreted as a reconceptualisation of environmental spaces (for example game reserves, forestry reserves or national parks). The shift in thinking about the people and park relationship is discussed in Section 4.4. It is suggested here that these environmental spaces could be conceptualised as 'spaces of exclusion' under the colonial and apartheid state, because both systems of government entrenched the relative exclusion of society from nature (Ramutsindela, 2004). This was primarily achieved through the creation of protected areas such as national parks and reserves, with strict regulation of access and the nature of activities conducted within these areas. Protection and management was the responsibility of state scientists and managers, with other stakeholders having no access to decision-making about resource management. These restrictions discriminated against black people, according them less or no access or opportunities to utilise natural resources contained within protected areas. They effectively removed the opportunity for what could be termed 'everyday interactions' of people with nature.

More recently, since the 1990's, environmental spaces, formerly referred to as parks and reserves, are increasingly conceptualised as 'spaces of collaboration'. The 'new' nature conservation approaches acknowledge that relationships between society and nature are more integrated and interconnected, and that approaches to management need to accommodate the complexities of this relationship and foster collaboration between stakeholders in order to enhance the conservation of natural resources (Vira, 1999; Ramutsindela, 2004). A key

⁵ Post-colonialism refers to "those societies that were once dominated and/or oppressed by western powers" (Ramutsindela, 2004:1). However, such periodisation does not eliminate the continuing effect that the former coloniser has on the post-colonial society.

research question of this study is whether co-management is more democratic than these hierarchical forms of environmental decision-making.

Much of the literature concerning early conservation paradigms in colonial Africa is focussed on wildlife management approaches in eastern, western and southern Africa in general and on the national park model in particular (Neumann, 1995a, 1995b, 1996, 1997; Powell, 1998; Ramutsindela, 2004; Alexander and McGregor, 2000). This literature is relevant to the southern Cape state forest case study in three respects. Firstly, because literature concerning the management of the southern Cape forests demonstrates that the associated ideologies of the national park ideal are applicable to the southern Cape case study area where the forests are construed as parks⁶.

Secondly, it is significant to note that the southern Cape was subjected to colonial rule. The southern Cape area was colonised first by the Dutch in the 1730's and then by the British, with British settlers arriving in the southern Cape as early as 1804 (van der Merwe, 2002). Many of the landed gentry, however, only settled in Knysna from the 1830's onwards (van der Merwe, 2002). The Dutch East India Company first regulated the southern Cape forests in 1776. Although first a Dutch colony, it was annexed by Britain in 1795. The Dutch resumed leadership in 1803, ruling the colony until Britain's second annexation of the Cape in 1806. It was only after 1806 when they became designated Crown forests (forest belonging to the state), that the southern Cape forests were more comprehensively regulated (van der Merwe, 2002). These forests were therefore subject to the influence of colonial, especially the British, imperial ideologies, values and perceptions concerning wildlife and protected areas and thus early colonial approaches are relevant to the case study area.

Thirdly, the national park ideal and its associated colonial ideologies discussed in Section 4.3 was, according to Ramutsindela (2004), hegemonic during the colonial era as the dominant way of managing natural wilderness areas, and is still hegemonic in the post-colonial dispensation. Literature concerning the management of the southern Cape forests (for example, van der Merwe, 2002; Durrheim, 2003; McCracken, 2004; Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004;

⁶ This interpretation was endorsed in April 2005 when the management of the southern Cape indigenous forests were transferred to the South African National Parks Board (SANParks).

Wills, 2004) and qualitative data obtained during fieldwork research indicate that the national park ideal and its associated ideologies are applicable to the southern Cape case study area.

Section 4.2 discusses the preservationist ideology, which is an influential colonial ideology. It highlights the relationship between the preservationist ideology and science and therefore the influence that this ideology has had on natural resource management practice.

4.2. THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PRESERVATIONIST IDEOLOGY AND SCIENCE

In charting the history of conservation ideologies in colonial Africa, attention is turned towards the preservationist ideology because it has been instrumental in shaping natural resource management approaches during the colonial era, and continues to do so in the post-colonial era (Child, G., 1996; Ramutsindela, 2004). This section considers the relationship between the colonially inspired preservationist ideology and science as this has shaped the way in which people have understood nature and the manner in which it should be managed.

The preservationist ideology was influenced by the seventeenth century Cartesian paradigm of positivism, or what has also been termed scientific rationalism (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997). Preservation is defined as the act of “set[ting] aside and protect[ing] selected natural resources such as unique biological or geological formations, endangered or threatened species, representative biomes or other natural or cultural sites of importance” (Okidi, 1994:20). It differs from the concept of conservation, which recognises the need to preserve natural resources, but balances this with the need for people to utilise and benefit from these resources (Johnston, 1983). The positivist paradigm posits that there exists a reality that is driven by natural laws and that the goal of science is to study “real, empirically observable phenomena and the relationships between phenomena, and that through the study of science, the natural laws could be understood” (Johnston, 1983). The objective of such study is to “discover, predict and control” natural phenomena, and to generate universal laws. Johnston (1983:11) writes that these laws enabled “society...to modify nature”. Another feature of positivist science is its preoccupation with the application of binary logic to understanding reality. The concept of a binary refers to the “division of the world into two all encompassing and mutually exclusive kinds of things” (Cloke et al., 1999). The area in between the two binary opposites is not accounted for in positivist thinking. The implicit anthropocentric element in the concept of

conservation necessitates a fusion of the societal with the natural, which is not possible to achieve within a positivist framework.

The positivist conception of science assumes that the positivist method is the only method of obtaining knowledge (Johnston, 1983). This method is characterised as reductionist because, unlike postmodernism, it rejects the notion of multiple realities or interpretations of reality (Harvey, 1989 in Johnston, 1983). It rejects qualitative interpretations of social phenomena and focuses on quantifying scientific knowledge, which is accepted because its validity can be established (Johnston, 1983). Consequently, positivist research had been undertaken in specialised disciplines (confined predominantly to the natural and physical disciplines). This produces a narrow or reductionistic interpretation of phenomena, for example, environmental problems, because problem solving is biased towards the measurement of what is measurable, i.e. empirical science. This approach discredits the contribution of qualitative data and what Pimbert and Pretty (1997:299) have referred to as “indigenous systems of natural resource management”.

Positivism shaped the preservationist ideology because it resulted in natural resource management efforts being concentrated on the preservation of unspoilt wilderness and the restoration of degraded areas to a more pristine condition through the separation of society from nature (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997). It was believed that the best way to preserve nature was to eliminate the impact of people on nature and to rigorously apply the knowledge of scientific experts. This is evident in the southern Cape case study where a ‘fences and fines’ attitude towards black people prevailed during the colonial and apartheid eras (Horn, 2002). Pimbert and Pretty (1997:300) note that a key assumption of the western preservationist ideology was that “all wildlife populations are fragile entities driven closer to extinction by human use”.

4.3. THE COLONIAL CONCEPTUALISATION OF THE PEOPLE AND PARK RELATIONSHIP

This section examines the influence that British colonial settlers had on conservation in Africa and the factors that influenced the manner in which they conceptualised people-park relationships. In particular, this section explores some of the reasons why colonial officials

pursued a preservationist approach. Conceptualising colonialism⁷ and imperialism⁸ as “simply acts of accumulation and acquisition” obscures the scale of change that conquered peoples experienced (Neumann, 1995b:149). The emotive phrase ‘command and conquer’ is a more appropriate description of imperialism and colonialism because it conveys the notion that these acts were about more than simply amassing land and resources. They were also about exercising power, and about imposing a new set of values, ideals and beliefs. It was not just the land of conquered peoples that European colonisers sought to change to conform to their ideological formations, but also their minds, colonising their “consciousness with the...axioms and aesthetics, of an alien culture” (Comaroff and Comaroff, 1992:235 in Neumann, 1995b:149).

Section 4.3.1 outlines the declining status of wildlife resources in the colonies, whilst Section 4.3.2 discusses how the process of colonisation provided a channel through which events in Britain and also how Northern preservation ideologies and perceptions could impact on the conceptualisation of the relationship between people and parks in southern African colonies. Section 4.3.3 then discusses the influence of a North American approach to nature conservation on the colonial approach to the establishment of national parks in the colonies. Finally Section 4.3.4 discusses Hardin’s (1968) *Tragedy of the Commons* essay and reflects on the impact that this theoretical work had in entrenching a preservationist ideology.

4.3.1. The declining status of natural resources in the colonies

The declining status of natural resources in the colonies is the first factor that encouraged the preservationist approach towards the management of natural resources. Both fauna and flora resources were utilised during the process of colonisation in a manner that was destructive and exploitative. This section explores the decline of wild game in the colonies, as it was an important stimulus for the drafting of legislation to ultimately separate people from wildlife through the establishment of national parks. In addition this section discusses the decline of

⁷ Defined as “unequal territorial relationships among states based on subordination and domination, and typically associated with a distinct form of contemporary capitalism, such as the emergence of monopolies and transnational enterprises” (Johnston, 1981:75).

⁸ A form of rule, defined as “the establishment and maintenance of rule for an extended period of time, by a sovereign power over a subordinate and alien people that is separate from the ruling power” (Johnston, 1981:75). In the South African context the term refers to the system by which the British Empire was sovereign over its colonies in the Cape and Natal prior to 1910.

forest resources, particularly in the southern Cape, which was also a result of colonial expansion.

Wild game was essential to survival during the frontier era. Game provided materials such as whips, harnesses and saddles, and was a valuable trade item often used to sweeten relations with Africans whose land they passed through. Wild animals were also an important source of food for colonists and their slaves, they formed part of the wages for labour and they essentially financed expeditions through the sale of produce, such as skins and ivory (MacKenzie, 1988).

As the Dutch, who arrived at the Cape in 1652, spread inland they often named places based on the animals they encountered in the area. However, MacKenzie (1988) reflects that explorers in second half of the nineteenth century did not find the animals that the place name reflected (for example, Quaggas were no longer to be found at Quagga Fontein, nor Gemsbok at Gemsbok Laagte). It was primarily due to white exploitation of game that, within 150 years of the first Dutch occupation, “settlers, Boers and later British, aided by African hunters, had cleared the entire Colony of game” (MacKenzie, 1988:87). The annexation of the Dutch Colony by Britain reportedly increased the destruction of game in southern Africa because the British brought the Cape into greater contact with the international economy which, according to MacKenzie (1988) resulted in animals being studied and hunted for science and sport (most scientists were themselves also avid hunters).

Although the Dutch East India Company introduced the first game laws into the Cape in 1657, a key law was passed in 1694 that distinguished between protected animals and vermin. An important piece of colonial legislation was proclaimed in 1822 by Lord Charles Somerset, which introduced licences, closed seasons and divided animals into categories according to which they could be hunted. This was partly a response to the realisation that game was being progressively exterminated. Although numerous game laws were subsequently passed, for example in 1886, 1890, 1891, 1894, 1899, 1908 and 1909, they were passed ‘too little too late’ as few game survived and, prior to World War One, the game laws were near impossible to enforce in the Cape Colony (MacKenzie, 1988).

Towards the end of the 1800’s the decline of wildlife in the Cape, Natal, the Orange Free State and the South African Republic “stimulated the first pressure for conservation” (MacKenzie,

1988:86). The Tsetse and rinderpest outbreaks contributed to the overhunting that was taking place. This decline in wildlife mobilised pressure groups to promote legislation, the creation of reserves, and funding societies dedicated to the protection of game. Despite the British history of game legislation and methods of preservation (such as the establishment of private ‘preserves’) they were influenced by the German concept of a game reserve in the 1890’s. The concept of a game reserve was initially rejected owing to the inherent cost of policing that it necessitated being prohibitive. However after the 1900 Conference on African Wildlife, the notion of reserves, as well as other more stringent regulations, were incorporated into colonial legislation by the British and the German colonies (MacKenzie, 1988).

The game reserve, which is the first phase of the move towards conservation, was a form of preservation which:

“was shaped by the social and economic realities of Empire...access to animals was progressively restricted to the elite; animals were to be categorised according to sporting rather than utilitarian characteristics; some were to be specially protected for their rarity, others shot indiscriminately as vermin; separation was to be attempted between areas of human settlement and those appropriate to animal occupation” (MacKenzie, 1988:201).

Thus, game was preserved for sport rather than true conservation. Despite this warped motivation for game reserves, the legislation did enable natural spaces to be set aside for the protection and management of game, even if controlled hunting was still allowed in these spaces. The first move towards preservation through reserves in Africa was in the Boer Republic of the Transvaal where President Paul Kruger suggested to the Volksraad in 1884 that a sanctuary be established for the protection of game to ensure that “children of his generation [could] see and hunt game” (MacKenzie, 1988:227). He called for the prohibition of hunting on some government land to ensure that game was not exterminated in the South African Republic. As a result two areas were proclaimed and legislated in 1890, followed by a third in 1894 and another two in 1895. Sabie game reserve (which later became Kruger National Park) was proclaimed in 1898. Four reserves were established in 1987 in Natal and, although small, helped to protect a few small herds of animals from the devastation of the rinderpest outbreak in 1896.

The second phase of the move towards conservation was the conversion of the reserves into national parks. A significant influential conference was the 1933 Convention Relative to the Preservation of Fauna and Flora in their Natural State in London, which was held on the back

of the International Conference for the Protection of Nature in 1931 in Paris. It was at the 1933 conference that the British delegation that attended the Paris conference presented a draft Convention for the Protection of African Fauna and Flora to the African colonial powers assembled (MacKenzie, 1988). The Convention reaffirmed the 1900 provisions but incorporated provisions concerning new technology. It also simplified the scheduling of animals by reducing the five classes to two classes, namely those requiring special protection and those requiring limited protection. However, the most significant proposal was to establish national parks (MacKenzie, 1988) and strict natural reserves (Steinhart, 2006). Despite being ratified by only a few of the attending parties, the provisions were incorporated into the legislation of the British colonial territories and therefore had an influence of the preservation of natural resources in South Africa.

Provision for the establishment of national parks was necessary because game reserves were quite ineffective in reducing the decline of wildlife resources. MacKenzie (1988) attributes this lack of efficacy to a variety of factors:

- a. Game legislation was complex and difficult to administer
- b. Exemptions were granted to visiting parties which set a poor example
- c. Administrators and police broke the law that they were tasked with upholding outside the reserves
- d. It was difficult to monitor hunting that took place in the reserves
- e. The legislation for game reserves was applied to very different situations. It resulted in an overabundance of wildlife in East and Central Africa, and had little effect in South Africa as much of the game had already been exterminated.

This ineffectiveness was no secret. MacKenzie (1988) reflects that guidebooks of the time encouraged prospective visitors by suggesting that game laws were difficult to enforce. National parks differ from reserves in the following way: whereas reserves are established for the protection and management of game, combined with limited controlled hunting, and human and animal living space was separated to encourage the proliferation of game. National parks, on the other hand, allowed humans into the animals living space but as “visitors, onlookers and photographers rather than as hunters” (MacKenzie, 1988:201). National parks were areas that were under public as opposed to government control, they had legislated boundaries, if they contained white and black settlements, they were to be regulated settlements, they should be sufficiently large to allow migration of animals, and they should be surrounded by game reserves or buffer zones. The concept of the national park model is discussed in greater detail

in Section 4.3.2, however attention is turned briefly to the decline in forest resources of the southern Cape and the need for regulation to protect the resources.

Flora was also in decline as a result of colonial expansion and therefore in need of regulation. The 1933 conference was also significant because it was the first time that the awareness of the destruction to floral resources resulted in the preservation of flora being suggested for inclusion into legislation (MacKenzie, 1988). Tropp (2006:17) writes that as the “ ‘opening’ of the frontier enabled migrating sawyers and settlers from the Eastern Cape to exploit local forests, officials became increasingly concerned with regulating popular forest use, both African and non-African”. In the context of the southern Cape, the emergence of protectionist legislation in the late nineteenth century to regulate use and access to the Crown forests can be attributed to the reported severe decline in timber resources available to the colony (van der Merwe, 2002; Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004). The advance of British imperial conservationism of the Cape, as discussed above, is suggested by Tropp (2006:17) to be the reason for the acceleration of forestry administration in the 1880’s and it is contended that this conservationism is attributed to the growth of “colonial interests in ‘scientific forestry’, the moral ‘salvation’ of South African landscapes, and the sustainability of settler society all merg[ing] in the Cape”. According to Berger (1993, cited in Powell, 1998) measures such as the creation of game reserves, passing of gun laws and the proclamation of royal game, were discriminatory and served to protect colonial interests. The objective of this protective legislation was not the conservation of nature, but rather safeguarding wildlife to maintain the livelihoods of white settlers (MacKenzie, 1987; Powell, 1998; van der Merwe, 2002). Therefore, what was happening in the southern Cape was part of the broader process of colonial park and natural resource management in Southern Africa.

The southern Cape forests were a valuable resource to both the Khoi and the Europeans. Prior to settlement by white people, the southern Cape forests were utilised by the Gonna or Obiqua Khoi of the southern Cape for obtaining the materials necessary for their spears (*Curtisia dentata* – assegaai), poison (*Acokanthera oppositifolia* – common poison bush), beverages (*Cathera edulis* – Bushman’s tea), knobkerries, furniture, dyes, and charcoal (McCracken, 2004). Sim (1907) believes that the Khoi were the least destructive users of forest and woodland. Upon their arrival, colonial settlers in Knysna, like other settlers in Africa, set about subduing nature, eradicating ‘species problematic to their livelihood’ and protecting species beneficial to their livelihood and recreation from the local ‘native’ communities (Owens-

Smith, 1988; Powell, 1998). Indigenous hard wood timber from the Afromontane forests of the southern Cape was favoured by the settlers for building carts and wagons. Wood was also used for gun carriages, shafts of assegais and spears, the handles of axes, the stocks of muskets and rifles, and for knobkerries. The value of wood for military purposes was so great that the British Royal Navy established a naval forest reserve in the Knysna region in 1807 (Brown, 1887, in McCracken, 2004).

Protective legislation introduced throughout the 1800's up until the 1920's was based on the need to ensure that the railway, mining and shipbuilding industries, which were critical for colonial advancement, would have sufficient timber in the future (van der Merwe, 2002; McCracken, 2004). However accounts by van der Merwe (2002), McCracken (2004) and Seydack and Vermeulen (2004), reflect the difficulty in applying protective legislation. The exploitation of forest resources during the Millwood gold rush is an example of the demand placed on timber resources for development. McCracken (2004) writes that it was only in the early 1920's that the idea of setting indigenous forests aside as forest reserves to preserve them as a national heritage emerged. The shift away from indigenous wood as an economic timber crop in favour of exotic plantation timber and imported timber, due to the stripping of indigenous forests and also the decline in wagon building, assisted in the shift towards a conservation-orientated paradigm (after Neumann, 1995b).

4.3.2. The national park model

The national park model arose out of the experience of the United States in establishing Yellowstone National Park and is a model that conceptualises the nature-society relationship in a particular way. Powell (1998) notes that the Yellowstone National Park model was internationalised, with the passing of the Convention Relative to the Preservation of Fauna and Flora in their Natural State in 1933 being used in colonial Africa as a tool to motivate some of its most famous national parks. However, aside from the practical details of establishing such a park, Neumann (1996, 1998) notes that the true value of implementing the United States national park model in the colonies lay in the model's synchrony with imperial views, thereby legitimising and reinforcing imperial rule. It shall be shown that reformatting the landscape according to the national park model in the colonies related more to imprinting colonial ideals about nature-society relationships and the domination of native peoples than to protecting natural resources to conserve nature or biodiversity for its own sake.

The preservation of nature through the establishment of a national park is a model that is based on “the notion that ‘nature’ can be ‘preserved’ from the effects of human agency by legislatively creating a bounded space for nature controlled by a centralised bureaucratic authority” (Neumann, 1998:9). The aim of such a park, as Ghimire (1994:198) notes, is to “preserve scenic beauty and natural wonders, and to meet the educational and recreational needs of the population”. National parks therefore were preserved in the interests of the nation. The establishment of England’s extensive private parks was not the only model available to the colonial authorities for selection for application to African parks (Neumann, 1996). South Africa was engaged in significant discussions with American national parks and wildlife preservation groups in the 1930’s (MacKenzie, 1988) and as such national park model in the United States which played a significant role in shaping the establishment of national parks in southern Africa. As MacKenzie (1988:263) writes:

“Just as southern Africa was used as a model, not always an appropriate one, for the rest of Africa in prognostications about game decline and the need for legislation and reserve provision, so was North America used as a model for the development of national parks. To a large extent, the very different conditions of Africa...were all overridden in favour of a concept which seemed to represent a North American success story, an example of what conscience could do to redress the destructiveness of America’s nineteenth-century frontier and make her flora and fauna available to a population”.

Ghimire (1994) and Neumann (1998) both locate the origin of the national park concept in the United States during the second half of the nineteenth century, and most notably with the establishment of the Yellowstone National Park in 1872. The Yellowstone National Park was the first model of how nature-society relations, as imagined by British imperialists, could be formalised. The term ‘national park’, which was coined by the American George Catlin (Nash, 1982 in Neumann, 1998; Neumann, 1998; Ramutsindela, 2004), has become commonplace and refers to the management of natural resources within a bounded space in by a centralised authority owing to its national significance (after Ghimire, 1994 and Neumann, 1998). It is therefore instructive to consider the origins of the term before considering the early conservation paradigms in colonial Africa.

Powell (1998) with reference to the IUCN (1992) refers to the national park concept as a ‘protected areas approach’ and states that a key feature of this concept or model is that exclusive, ecologically defined nature zones are designated. However, this model emphasised

the consumptive focus of national parks. Ghimire writes (1994:198) that the United States national park model became the “initial impetus for the establishment of national parks in developing countries”. With respect to many African and Asian countries, “parks were originally established to protect larger animals...which were valued by Europeans and North Americans for safari viewing and hunting” (Ghimire, 1994:198). Therefore with these aims in mind, when it became time to propose an approach for the preservation of game in the colonies, the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire (SPFE) in Britain suggested the national park model as the most appropriate model (Neumann, 1996).

In South Africa, although game reserves and other natural areas had been set aside before this (MacKenzie, 1988; Ramutsindela, 2004), the first national park was established in 1926 with the passing of the National Parks Act (Act 46 of 1926) by the Nationalist government (Bulpin, 1983; Pinnock, 2005). In 1927 the reserve was opened to the public for tourism. However this was not the initial vision of the reserve. The first warden appointed to manage the Sabie Reserve⁹ in 1902, Colonel James Stevenson-Hamilton, was given a brief by the *Volksraad*¹⁰ to manage the reserve with a view to “build[ing] up a future hunting reserve” (Pinnock, 2005:121). To this end, Pinnock (2005:119) writes that it was under Stevenson-Hamilton’s “steady hand that the future relationship between humans and the wilderness in southern Africa was to be hammered out”. The nature-society dualism prevailed in the management of the Reserve, because the warden worked to curb the activities of hunters and also the “removal of all human inhabitants from the new reserve” (Pinnock, 2005:119). Bulpin (1983:691) similarly encapsulates this dualism when he writes that the “park was to be a sanctuary for all living things except man, who would alone be controlled”. Stevenson-Hamilton’s change in attitude towards wildlife made the notion of a national park a plausible option. Rather than seeing the preservation of fauna in a reserve for the express purpose of hunting, Stevenson-Hamilton wanted to establish a reserve where wildlife could be preserved for all to enjoy. The ideal of a national park, which was to be held in trust in perpetuity, provided the model for him to realise his goals (Pinnock, 2005). Since its establishment in 1926, nineteen other national parks have been established in South Africa (Ramutsindela, 2004).

⁹ The Sabie Game Reserve was established in 1895 and was later amalgamated with surrounding *veld* to create the larger Kruger National Park in 1926 (Wolhuter, 1965; Bulpin, 1983; Pinnock, 2005).

¹⁰ Dutch and Afrikaans term for the legislative assemblies of the Transvaal and Orange Free State republics.

In the context of the case study area of the southern Cape forests, the application of the preservationist ideology to the management of Crown forest in order to protect them resulted in the fencing off of forests, and the regulation of access to and use of land and natural resources through a system of permits and licenses. In her novel *The Mulberry Forest* Dalene Matthee writes about extreme regulation of Crown land (1990:4):

“Crown land. Crown forest. Crown everything. Every blessed forest warder’s first and last defence. Everything belonged to the Crown: blue buck, bush-buck, bush-pigs, elephants, footpaths, sled-paths, the wagon-road at Deep Walls [Diepwalle]. Every tree in the forest was the Crown’s tree and before you could fell it, the Crown’s licence had to be in your pocket. Before you could lift your gun to shoot a bigfoot, an elephant, Crown’s permission had to be in your pocket as well, for if they caught you without it, it was off to the village with you to pay up or to be thrown in the Crown’s jail”.

Under the first Forest Act in the Cape colony in 1888, the Crown forests were demarcated and became inalienable. Prior to this act being passed, however, Crown forests were already regarded as the property of the Cape Government. In 1886 government officials tried to order prospectors at Millwood to leave, as they were deemed to be trespassers (van der Merwe, 2002). Hunting laws were also introduced with a view to preserving game for white hunters. Certain animals were classified as royal game, which meant that “they could be shot under a special license, and the horns, hides, and skins...were subjected to a 20 per cent export duty” (MacKenzie, 1988:204). For example in 1908, the government at the Cape proclaimed the elephants in Knysna as royal game (van der Merwe, 2002). The preservation of wilderness through such measures ensured the imperial inheritance of wildlife, just as regulations concerning timber harvesting in the southern Cape forests were initially designed with the intention of preserving timber to ensure the sustainability of future supplies.

4.3.3. The consequence of an industrialising England

The process of industrialisation in Britain was the second factor that encouraged the preservationist approach towards natural resources in the colonies. In addition to the American ideal of national parks, the British colonial impact on the preservation of wilderness in their southern African colonies can be linked to broader British ideologies which arose in England during capitalist transitions in eighteenth and nineteenth-century England, and which were subsequently brought to the colonies (Neumann, 1995b). Bunn (1996:43) links the changes that the South African landscape was undergoing in the 1920’s to these transitions in Britain. He writes:

“South Africa in 1920 recapitulates, with differences, the landscape aesthetics and property relations of nineteenth-century Britain. Game reserves are in a sense to agrarian labour pools what the reformed picturesque estate was to the nineteenth-century English village”.

The transition of British society from a feudalist to a capitalist society influenced the way in which land was considered, because it transformed the economic role of land. Land changed from an entity having a use value to an economic commodity having an exchange value. This, according to Neumann (1995b), led to a reconceptualisation of land into one of two categories: either as spaces of production (land that was for practical uses and practices) or as spaces of consumption (land that was for aesthetic observations and practices).

The capitalist transition in England resulted in the privatisation of land and its ownership by English gentry, but it also resulted in the enclosure of common grounds to facilitate productive land uses and establish private landscape parks (Neumann, 1995b). Representations of nature in the rural landscape paintings of prominent European painters shaped the way in which landowners arranged their spaces of consumption (aesthetic landscapes). These painters, according to Neumann (1995b:152), painted idealised representations where “all signs of human labour in rural landscapes were strikingly absent”. This romanticised representation of nature as devoid of human agency perpetuated the impression that picturesque natural landscapes should not include elements of society such as human habitation or agricultural production. Romanticism was furthermore a key contributor to the prevalence of the “artificial separation between society and nature”, which is an example of the binary thinking of positivism that has influenced protected areas management until the present (Ramutsindela, 2004:4).

Neumann (1995b) believes that the English way of seeing the landscape (either as spaces of production or of consumption) was imported into Africa via colonialism and resulted in two distinct ideologies. The first was a production ideology, which focussed on increasing agricultural production in the colonies to fulfil the commercial dream of colonisers. The second was a preservation ideology, which focussed on preserving nature and retaining the vision of Africa as Eden, a primeval wilderness (Ellis, 1994; Neumann, 1995b). For example, Bunn (1996) highlights the need to isolate “uncorrupted” natural areas in order to preserve them as landscapes of consumption. He writes:

“It is only by maintaining enclaved dominions like game reserves, in which older regimental hierarchies apparently persist, where guests are free to wander,

and Nature uncorrupted offers itself up for consumption by select tourists” (Bunn 1996:43).

Similarly, Williams (1973:124) writes that these landscapes:

“are related parts of the same process – superficially opposed in taste but only because in the one case the land is being organised for production, where tenants and labourers work, while in the other case it is being organised for consumption – the view, the ordered proprietary repose, the prospect”.

Williams’s (1973) statement conveys the idea that imposing such a landscape ideology on Africa was part of the process of colonisation, which asserted the power of the colonists over the African people. These land use practices were founded upon the belief in the superiority of European culture over African culture, and a disdain for African land use practices. Ramutsindela (2004:9) refers to these western notions of superiority as the “hierarchical ordering of humans by humans” and as “human gradation”. He believes that these notions, which are “couched in racial stereotypes, account for the dehumanisation of local people under colonial rule” (Ramutsindela, 2004:9). Establishing production and consumption landscapes in the colonies “[justif]ied the violent shift of control over land and resources from local lineages to the state” (Neumann, 1995b:163). In order to create such landscapes, African landscapes and society would need to be significantly reordered to create a sanctuary from the influence of hunting and from the influence of production processes. This meant altering African land rights and land use practices to ensure the separation of (African) society from nature (Ghimire, 1994; Neumann, 1995b). The North American national park model was proposed by the SPFE as the way to achieve this (Neumann, 1996).

In the context of the southern Cape, it is clear from the many colonial uses for indigenous wood felled from the southern Cape forests and the gold that was mined at Millwood that these forests were a landscape of production (after Neumann, 1995b). This was a significant step in the modernisation of the rural South African landscape and progress in development (Bunn, 1996). For example, the growth of the mining industry at Kimberley in 1870 and the proclamation of the Witwatersrand goldfield in 1885 created a demand for timber to construct railway sleepers, shaft props and telegraph poles and “the Knysna forests had to bear the brunt” (van der Merwe, 2002:168). However, it is also evident from the hunting that took place in the forest for recreation by colonists and the significant research that was conducted on the fauna and flora of the forests by naturalists such as Professor Anders Sparrman, Dr. Thunberg, Francis Masson and Francois le Vaillant (Forbes, 1975; Gunn and Codd, 1981; van der Merwe,

2002; Pinnock, 2005), that the forests were also a landscape of consumption. Thus unlike the establishment of national parks which created separate spaces of production and consumption, the southern Cape forests were a production and consumption space where contradictory activities were often found to be in competition at different times in the history of forest management in the region (van der Merwe, 2002; Durrheim, 2003; McCracken, 2004; Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004).

The impetus for the establishment of national parks in the Southern African colonies by the British went a lot deeper than simply carving up the landscape to create landscapes of production and consumption. The shifts in land ownership in England, from common grounds to private land and productive land, evoked fears among the British aristocracy of losing their 'Edenic' Africa (Neumann, 1995b). The preservation of consumptive landscapes for the aristocratic class was initially ensured through the privatisation of land. However, the demise of the wealth and power of the aristocratic way of life in the early part of the twentieth century due to industrialisation resulted in the consequent need for landowners to pay taxes. This meant that it was no longer financially feasible for aristocrats to own extensive private parks for consumptive purposes (Neumann, 1995b).

With the preservation of nature through private consumptive landscapes a thing of the past in England, certain aristocrats pressurised the state to intervene in the quest of the aristocracy for the preservation of England's national heritage (Neumann, 1996). This reflects that the aristocrats petitioning the state for the preservation of the English countryside were the same petitioning for the preservation of African nature through the establishment of national parks in Southern Africa (Neumann, 1995b; 1996). The reasoning for this was that "Africa as Eden has long been part of the consciousness of European explorers and travellers" (Neumann, 1995b:154). The simile conjures up images of a primeval wilderness that is undisturbed, pristine and pure when devoid of human influence¹¹. In a sense, an Edenic Africa is an extreme consumptive landscape and therefore a worthy cause to preserve. Neumann (1996:80) states that "for many aristocratic conservationists the disappearance of an idealised countryside was

¹¹ Interestingly, the principle forest of the Knysna area that people visit is called the 'Garden of Eden'. It has a long-standing and well-known name. It is from this that the district municipality, the 'Eden District' and the East-West route along the coastline, the 'Garden Route', is named. These names evoke similar images to which Neumann is referring.

often as important as the disappearance of an idealised wild Africa in shaping their policy intervention”.

The group of aristocrats, consisting of big game hunters, formed a society. They called themselves the Society for the Preservation of the Wild Fauna of the Empire (SPWFE) and later the Society for the Preservation of the Fauna of the Empire (SPFE). By focussing attention on the plight of a vanishing Eden in Africa, the SPFE attempted to shift the scathing attack of the English public on the aristocratic way of life toward the native hunting practices in the colonies. A notable feature of the upper class was their penchant for hunting. Laws in England entrenched this lifestyle, dividing hunting privilege along class lines (Neumann, 1995b, 1996). The landowning upper class was termed ‘hunters’, whilst the remaining classes who encroached the private parks for wildlife were termed ‘poachers’. These notions of class were imported into the colonies with the national park model. However, the divide there fell along racial lines, with whites termed ‘sportsmen’ and ‘hunters’, and blacks ‘poachers’ (Neumann, 1995b, 1996; Alexander and McGregor, 2000). In the southern Cape, the hunter-poacher divide was not as clear-cut. Settlers who lived in and around the forests working as woodcutters, or engaged in mining-related activities at Millwood in the Knysna forest also killed wildlife, although for sustenance and survival, not for sport (van der Merwe, 2002). An indication of the danger associated with the Knysna forests is provided in Gunn and Codd’s (1981) account of Thunberg’s journey eastwards towards the Gamtoos River. They write: “Near Knysna they [Thunberg and two other companions] had an unpleasant experience of having two of their horses gored to death by an aggressive buffalo” (Gunn and Codd, 1981:348).

The SPFE defended the aristocratic hunting ethic and the preservation of nature in England and Africa. The Society, in justifying the morality of ‘the hunt’, compared this to the hunting practices of the African people and even against white rural settlers in order to raise the credibility of the activities of colonial huntsmen. This was achieved by drawing a distinction between the urban colonial elite who hunt for sport and whose methods were ‘proper’, entailing the exercise of discretion and moderation; and the African ‘poachers’ who hunted wildlife for sustenance and slaughtered indiscriminately (Neumann, 1996). Both native people and white settlers were blamed for the notable decrease in wildlife that many African countries experienced during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Therefore control over access to land and natural resources by the Crown was justified to maintain the European vision of

Edenic Africa. This vision justified the violent alienation of land and resources from local people to the state by outlawing African rights of access to land and natural resources (Neumann, 1992) and legitimised continued hunting by colonialists. This approach has also been described as a ‘fences and fines’ style of management where management officials could be said to have a ‘fortress mentality’, because access to parks and reserves were restricted, often on racial grounds, and trespassers were apprehended (Barrett and Arcese, 1995; Hackle, 1999; Grundy, 2002; van der Merwe, 2002:141; Grundy and Michell, 2004; Willis, 2004).

The SPFE played a central role in the establishment of national parks and subsequent development of parks legislation in Africa (MacKenzie, 1988; Neumann, 1995a; 1995b; 1996; Ramutsindela, 2004). The colonial game laws that were developed by the SPFE for the colonial governments were primarily aimed at regulating access to hunting in national parks rather than conserving and protecting endangered species. As Ramutsindela (2004:26) writes, “South Africa’s Sabie Game Reserve (1898), Mozambique’s Coutadas (1900’s) and Zimbabwe’s Hwange Game Reserve (1938) [were] all developed as a result of the settlers’ quest to control hunting”. In other words, these reserves served to restrict African hunting and allow whites access to hunting, all in the name of protecting wildlife (Neumann, 1998). Hunting legislation discriminated against African people, creating a new category of offender, namely the ‘poacher’, which included all forms of African hunters, thus subjugating African people through colonial imperatives (Ramutsindela, 2004).

The process of industrialisation in England therefore had a significant influence on the landscape ideologies that were introduced in southern African colonies through the process of colonisation. These ideologies are: the production ideology, which encouraged the creation of landscapes of production, and the preservation ideology, which endorsed the preservation of wilderness for the creation of landscapes of consumption. The changing land use and land ownership in England meant that the private landscapes of the English aristocracy were no longer available for consumptive purposes such as hunting and riding. The drive by the English aristocracy for the preservation of English national heritage extended to the preservation of ‘wild’ African natural heritage too and aided the institutionalisation of the national park idea.

Three factors discussed thus far provided the motivation during the colonial era for a preservationist ideology to be applied to resource management in the colonies. These were the declining status of wildlife resources in the colonies, the establishment of Yellowstone

National Park in the United States which became a model national parks elsewhere, and the consequence of an industrialising England. The following section presents a fourth factor that has resulted in the perpetuation of the preservationist ideology into the twentieth century, namely Hardin's *Tragedy of the Commons* essay which was published in 1968.

4.3.4. *Tragedy of the Commons* legitimises preservation ideology

The fourth key factor that influenced the application of a preservationist ideology in the post-colonial period was Hardin's *Tragedy of the Commons* essay published in 1968. Hardin presented a scientific argument concerning the over exploitation of common property resources. The essay was written in the post-colonial era, after many African countries had gained independence. It served to legitimise and perpetuate a colonial preservationist ideology that was already present in natural resource management, and to confirm that the decision-making power over natural resources should remain in the hands of scientists rather than including the knowledge of local people (Powell, 1998). The preservationist ideology was reinforced in the 1960's by the emergent ecocentric environmentalism in the United States, and particularly the Deep Ecology movement (Adams, 2001). This movement presented a moral argument for the need to preserve nature based on its intrinsic worth (Adams, 2001).

Protectionist legislation for natural resources in the colonies was based on the belief that local inhabitants, and not the recreational and economic exploitation executed by white settlers, were to blame for the widespread destruction of natural resources (Berger, 1993 cited in Powell, 1998). For example, in the southern Cape context the woodcutters, who were of the first settlers in the southern Cape, were likened to Amazonian Indians and African Pygmies who "treated trees and wildlife with the same abandon...A man [who] would think nothing of felling a tree simply to get at some honey" (van der Merwe, 2002:31). This perception was legitimised by Hardin's (1968) essay. In this essay, Hardin provides an explanation as to why overexploitation of resources that are held in common takes place. According to Powell (1998:12):

"Hardin's essay implies that the relationship that users of common property...have with natural resources is typically a 'free for all', with no limits on who has rights to use the resources and no regulations associated with individual or collective utilisation".

Hardin (1968) argued that local inhabitants of common property would typically utilise natural resources in an open access manner. This means that there is:

“no defined group of users or owners and the benefit stream is available to anyone; individuals have both a privilege and no right with respect to use rates and maintenance of the asset” (Bromley, 1990:94).

There have been numerous critics of Hardin’s view (for example, Peters, 1987; Ostrom, 1990; McKean, 1992; Selznick, 1992; Pinkerton and Weinstein, 1995, McCay and Jentoft, 1998). This theory of common pool resources raised concern among politicians and environmentalists for the fate of common property natural resources. It also had a significant influence on the policymaking arena in many African countries, because it led to the drafting of a “new centralised approach to conserve biodiversity in the form of ‘preservationist’ protective legislation” (Powell, 1998:13). This theory has been used to legitimate the transfer of common property land and its associated resources (flora and fauna) to state ownership in post-colonial Africa. In most cases this transfer was accompanied by the banning of access to forests and forest products (Powell, 1998). According to Powell (1998:14) this “transfer of ownership generally did not result in the large-scale displacement of local people”, but it did result in “local disempowerment in regard to control over resource utilisation and management”. The preservationist protection legislation was typically enacted and enforced in a top-down manner “without any consultation with the affected communities, or arrangements to assign compensatory rights or revenues” (Powell, 1998:14; Alexander and McGregor, 2000).

The preservationist approach to conservation is problematic because of the state’s inability to control resource exploitation in protected areas. This is largely due to the policing of state land being difficult and costly (Powell, 1998). Local communities on the periphery of protected areas are often “forced because of resource scarcity to encroach upon the resource-rich protected areas” (Lindsay, 1987:155 cited in Powell, 1998). Additionally, the proclamation of protected areas, such as the Tsitsikamma National Park, or the Afromontane forests in the southern Cape, as state land, leads to a reduction in the amount of land available to local communities for the purpose of deriving a livelihood. These communities are consequently forced to intensify or modify their forms of subsistence in a reduced area, which tends to intensify unsustainable land use practices and therefore exacerbate their need to encroach on protected areas (Deihl, 1985, cited in Powell, 1998). Where traditional rules and regulations to control resource utilisation existed, they were overridden by the transfer to state ownership. Hardin’s (1968) argument manifested itself as a self-fulfilling prophecy when natural resources

on communal land were over-exploited by local communities due to the reduced availability of land from which to derive a living.

Liberation from colonial rule provided an opportunity for new ideas about nature to be constructed, along with the political transformation that was taking place, however, Ramutsindela (2004) reflects that this did not occur. Instead, the implementation of more recent protective legislation in the post-colonies “was largely a perpetuation of aesthetic values that had been developed by the colonising countries” (Ramutsindela, 2004:63), what Cordell (1993:66, cited in Powell, 1998:13) has termed the “new wave of colonialism”. Hardin’s (1968) *Tragedy of the Commons* played a key role in legitimising this new wave of colonialism.

Hardin’s (1968) argument endorsed preservation and legitimised the role of scientists in determining the carrying capacity of natural spaces. It also entrenched the nature-society dualism because it argued that common property resources would always be used in an open access manner, which would result in a destruction of that resource. Therefore the only way to prevent destruction is to create spaces of exclusion through conferring ownership and management of the natural resources to the state, and passing legislation to regulate access and use of natural resources. Hardin’s (1968) argument is reductionistic in that the agency of society in conserving common property natural resources was not considered. This is an issue that Runge (1981, cited in Powell, 1998) later critiques (see Section 4.4.3).

4.4. SHIFTS IN THINKING: FROM ‘PEOPLE AS NATURE’ TO ‘PEOPLE IN NATURE’

This section describes the shift in thinking that took place to bring about the contemporary ‘new’ approaches to conservation. The shift from the conceptualisation of environmental spaces as ‘spaces of exclusion’ to ‘spaces of collaboration’ will thus be clarified in order to provide a conceptual framework for the empirical research.

Thus far this chapter has examined the construction of natural spaces both in the western industrialised nations and in southern Africa as ‘spaces of exclusion’, where the preservation of nature is best achieved when society and nature are separated. This separation of people from nature in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was achieved in many cases.

However, there were instances where people and nature co-existed and the dualism was overcome (Neumann, 1995b). For example African people in colonial societies in southern Africa were initially allowed to co-exist with nature (Neumann, 1995b; Schroeder, 1999; Ramutsindela, 2004). This approach nevertheless perpetuated the concept of natural spaces as ‘spaces of exclusion’, because it reconstructed African people *as nature* as opposed to African people *in nature*. Before discussing the factors that contributed to the shift in thinking about the nature-society relationship, the idea of ‘people as nature’ is presented. This will illustrate how in absolute space the closing of the gap between society and nature might still entrench the gap between society and nature in relational space.

In the quest to preserve wilderness in the colonies, African people were not expelled from national parks in a wholesale fashion. Although it was acknowledged that human habitation in such parks was not desirable, in some cases it was felt that “a ‘native’ presence in the parks may be tolerated” (Neumann, 1995b:154). However, this tolerance should not be interpreted as an appreciation of the role of ‘native’ or African people in conserving natural resources, but rather a reflection of the racist attitudes of the colonial government towards the African race. In Neumann’s (1998) view, the romanticised notion of Africa as an Eden did not necessarily exclude the presence of African people in wilderness areas, because their presence was consistent with the prevailing colonial “myth of the noble savage” (Neumann, 1998:18). For example, the Maasai of Tanganyika were permitted to reside within the Serengeti National Park providing they adhered to a ‘bill of rights’ that the British-ruled government had established without the Maasai’s participation. The bill restricted the Maasai in terms of their cultural habits, the weapons they could carry and the houses they could build. They had to use traditional artefacts, building materials and practices so that they could be observed in their primitive state. The intention of the bill was to ensure that, according to the Chairman of the National Park Board of Trustees, the Park is “reserved as a natural habitat for game and for human beings in their primitive state” (1955, in Neumann, 1992:160). Such views endorsed the European vision of an African wilderness where primitive Africans, ‘noble savages’, live amongst the game.

This dehumanising myth of African people as ‘noble savages’ accommodated African people within parks because they were regarded as a more primitive race, less civilised than Europeans, and therefore worth preserving so as to preserve their primitive culture (Neumann, 1998). Therefore, just as one could admire the fauna and flora when visiting a park so too

could the educated and civilised European tourist admire ‘primitive Africans’ in their natural state, as part of the natural landscape. This construction of nature as being inclusive of primitive humans was not original to Africa, as Native American Indians had suffered similar constructions by northern preservationists (Neumann, 1998).

Thus African people were preserved in national parks and game reserves as they exhibited people in their primordial state for their cultural significance. An even more dehumanising argument for the preservation of Africans living in nature was that they were another species of wildlife (Neumann, 1995b). This view is exemplified by the widespread hunting of indigenous people that occurred during the period of the colonial conquest (for example, the Aborigines in Australia, the Pygmies in central Africa, and, in the area of this case study, the Khoi people of the southern Cape (Gall, 2001; Isaacson, 2001). Based on this construction of native people, the SPFE “proposed that ‘primitive’ Africans be protected as part of the fauna” (Neumann, 1995b:155; Schroeder, 1999; Ramutsindela, 2004). Indeed, African people were regarded for a time as a tourism attraction. For example, writing as late as 1937, travel writer Carel Birkby advocated in his book, *Zulu Journey*, that Africans were “exotic parts of the scenery” of Zululand (Brookes, 2005:227). Constructing native African people within protected areas as uncivilised savages at best, and as animals at worst, also served to undermine their integrity and their resource-use regimes, because their activities within parks became regulated and subject to the colonial powers of the park authorities. This was to ensure that their activities would not be discordant with the national park ideal or out of keeping with the idealised conception of traditional African culture (Neumann, 1998). This approach was replaced by one that excluded African people from parks and reserves, and consequently African people were forcibly removed from these natural spaces (see Brookes, 2005). The Natives Land Act (Act 27 of 1913) provided the initial legislative support for forced removals as it made African reserves “the only areas where Africans could lawfully acquire land” (Platzky and Walker, 1985). Subsequent legislation, such as the Natives Administration Act (Act 38 of 1927) and the Development Trust and Land Act (Act 18 of 1936), was passed which reinforced the 1913 Natives Land Act doctrine. Brookes (2005) provides a detailed account of the forced removals that took place in Hluhluwe game reserve in the late 1940’s to exclude local African people and allow for the presentation of the reserve to tourists as “wild Africa” (Brookes, 2005:228).

Towards the latter third of the twentieth century there has been a shift from parks and game reserves being exclusive and state controlled towards more participatory forms of resource use

and management. However, it is difficult to identify one driving force behind this change. The resource management literature attributes the impetus for change to four factors (Barrett and Arcese, 1995; Neumann, 1995a; Pimbert and Pretty, 1997; Powell, 1998; Hackle, 1999; Grundy, 2002). The first three factors are paradigmatic shifts, namely: from a positivist to a post-positivist way of seeing the world; a reconceptualisation in ecological thinking about the concept of ecosystems; and a change in property regime thinking. A fourth factor is the continued destruction of natural resources in these protected areas, despite policies and legislation being developed to control offensive activities. A fifth factor presented here relates to the broader socio-political shift that has taken place away from entrenched systems of government towards systems of governance and democracy. Each of these five factors is discussed separately below, commencing with the conceptual shifts. However it is recognised that the shifts are complex and these factors are interconnected.

4.4.1. The emergence of alternative paradigms to positivism

The first reason for the shift in theory about the relationship between people and nature is the emergence of alternative paradigms to positivism that arose in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Alternative paradigms, or ways of viewing the world, emerged and created the possibility for alternative methodologies to be pursued in the quest to resolve environmental problems. Pimbert and Pretty (1997) reflect that these alternative paradigms emerged due to advances in thinking in areas such as quantum physics, critical theory, non-linear science, chaos theory, constructivist enquiry, postmodernism, and post positivism, all of which, in contrast to positivism, favour pluralistic thinking over the absolute assumptions of the positivist paradigm.

The emergence of alternative paradigms has prompted the recognition that “people traditionally concerned with nature conservation are ill-equipped to solve the root problems affecting it” (Child, B., 1996:371). This recognition necessitated the shift in natural resource management from a binary approach to the nature-society relationship towards a plural, more integrated approach. The focus of conservation initiatives shifted away from the purely biological realm and into a realm where socio-economic concerns are acknowledged as key issues affecting the conservation of natural resources (Child, B., 1996). Alternative approaches to managing the people-nature interface that are cognisant of the full complexity of issues would be required if problems are to be resolved and biodiversity conserved. Consequently, approaches that embrace pluralistic thinking have been adopted, and investigations into

problems reveal the complex, integrated nature of resource issues; issues that could not be addressed through the application of positivist quantitative science (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997).

4.4.2. Shifts in ecological thinking

The change in thinking about ecological systems is the second reason for the shift in thinking about the people-nature relationship. Since the early 1970's there has been a shift in thinking about the biophysical realm from a narrow disciplinary approach towards the 'ecosystems approach'. This approach conceptualises the natural environment as being dynamic and contingent upon both human and natural influences (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997). It is an extension of the systems approach, which recognises the linkages between all components of a system and their interdependence.

Proponents of the ecosystem approach concede that human agency in natural systems does not only have a negative effect on biodiversity, but a positive impact too. The utilisation regimes of people on natural resources are important disturbance processes in the context of ecosystems. However, instead of such processes impacting negatively on biodiversity, there is growing evidence to suggest that such disturbance processes have a positive impact on species richness. This has led to the belief that resource management approaches must take such disturbance processes into account (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997).

The ecosystem approach was not entirely absent during the colonial era. One of the earliest explorers of South Africa alluded to the value of human intervention in ecological systems. In 1772, the Swedish explorer Anders Sparrman wrote that "predators serve, in conjunction with mankind, to keep in a just equilibrium the increase of the animal kingdom, so that it may not exceed the supplies afforded it by the vegetable part of creation [and] lay it to waste" (Pinnock, 2005:117). Although this statement was directed against the wholesale slaughter of wildlife, especially predators, who posed a threat to livestock and thus also agricultural development, Sparrman acknowledged the positive role that humans play in regulating the ecological balance. Such views about nature and people did not influence environmental thinking and practice because, according to Pinnock (2005:117) "these early views...were, however, isolated shouts in the dusty avalanche of colonial expansion" and therefore the hunting and game protection laws that were passed by the colonial government to "curb the slaughter of wildlife...were simply ignored" (Pinnock, 2005:117).

It was only later, when post-positivist thinking predominated from the 1970's, that conservationists adopted a more integrated and holistic approach to managing people and nature, and that the shift towards the adoption of an ecological systems approach became influential. This new approach serves to dispel the conventional positivist view of biodiversity being best preserved if separated from the influences of human agency. It also points to the need for an alternative resource management approach that adopts an integrated view of nature-society relationships and “promotes those social processes which enable local communities to conserve and enhance biodiversity as part of their livelihood system” (Pimbert and Pretty, 1997:307).

4.4.3. A re-imagining of the Commons

The third reason for the shift in thinking about people-nature relationships is the reconceptualisation of the nature of common property resources that arose in response to Hardin's (1968) view in his *Tragedy of the Commons* essay. Despite Hardin's (1968) assertion that common property resources are often used in an open access manner, current research regarding the nature of common property resources does not support this contention (Powell, 1998). Powell (1998:15) comments that common pool resources may appear susceptible to an open access system because they appear to be available to all land users. However, in reality there are “rules of governance and associated moral and ethical structures” of social institutions that restrict use rights and prohibit the indiscriminate or unsustainable utilisation of natural resources (Runge, 1981 and Little and Brokensha, 1987 cited in Powell, 1998:15). Runge (1981) has accordingly proposed an alternative model to Hardin's *Tragedy of the Commons*, namely the ‘Assurance Problem’.

Rather than describing a non co-operative scenario like Hardin (1968), Runge's (1981, cited in Powell, 1998) ‘Assurance Problem’ model describes a scenario whereby “cooperative tenure arrangements can lead to the efficient allocation of resources” in a regulated commons environment (Powell, 1998:104). Using a pay-off matrix, Runge showed that a *Pareto Optimum*¹² could be achieved through users adopting co-operative rather than conflictual behaviour. Since Runge others have also opposed Hardin's *Tragedy of the Commons*

¹² Pareto Optimum is a situation where it is impossible to make an individual better off without making another worse off (Powell, 1998:107).

argument¹³. This modified view of common pool resources challenged the preservationist approach to resource management. It highlighted the problems that non-consultative and top-down approaches, which alienate local people from areas and resources, pose for areas of a high conservation value (Powell, 1998). As these shifts are considerably complex, one cannot ascribe one-to-one cause and effects. Rather there are many contributing factors that have caused this shift in approach where large conservation agencies are moving away from endorsing exclusive protected areas maintained by the state, and toward community based conservation or co-management.

One such agency is the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), which has amended its protected area classification system to reflect the more advanced understanding of common property theory and local management regimes (Lindsay, 1987, cited in Powell, 1998). Eight categories of protected areas were identified, each having a “different legal status and different rules concerning residence, access and use by local communities” (Powell, 1998:15). Three of the categories still hold to the preservationist model of conservation, where restricted residence and resource use occurs within protected areas. The five remaining categories make provision for the granting of use rights by local communities. Two of these categories permit residence in the protected areas (Powell, 1998). Powell (1998) notes that this categorisation was revised in 1993. Of the now seven categories¹⁴, only one category (Strict Nature Reserve) prohibits resource utilisation within the protected area. This would correlate with what was proposed by the wilderness concept.

The shift in the IUCN’s approach to the conservation of biodiversity to incorporate use rights for local communities in protected areas did not necessarily result in actual changes effected by implementing agencies. This is reportedly due to the difficulty that use rights pose for

¹³ See for example Berge (1997) and Powell (1998), who demonstrate that unregulated relationships between people and common pool resources do not necessarily lead to tragedy.

¹⁴ The seven categories Protected Area Management Categories are (IUCN, 1994):

Category 1a: Strict Nature Reserve: protected area managed mainly for science.

Category 1b: Wilderness Area: protected area managed mainly for wilderness protection.

Category 2: National Park: protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation.

Category 3: Natural Monument: protected area managed mainly for conservation of specific natural features.

Category 4: Habitat/Species Management Area: protected area managed mainly for conservation through management intervention.

Category 5: Protected Landscape/Seascape: protected area managed mainly for landscape/seascape conservation and recreation.

Category 6: Managed Resource Protected Area: protected area managed mainly for the sustainable use of natural ecosystems.

implementing agencies achieving their conservation-related objectives in these areas. Powell (1998:16) reflects that this lack of success may be due to “the conservation-related costs incurred on communities, i.e. problem animals and resource alienation, exceed[ing] the conservation-related benefits”. The concept of community based conservation or co-management presented a way around this problem, and its success is evident in the conservation-related co-management projects that emerged and flourished in the 1990’s. According to Powell (1998:16) the assumption upon which co-management is based is “that securing the support and participation of local communities, and in particular indigenous peoples, can serve to protect biodiversity”. The primary goal here is to protect biodiversity even though it is through the incorporation of use rights for local communities.

4.4.4. Continued violation of conservation laws

The fourth reason for the shift in thinking about environmental spaces as spaces of collaboration and not as spaces of exclusion is the continued violation of conservation laws taking place within parks and reserves (Neumann, 1995a; Child, B. 1996; Turner et al., 2001; Shackleton, 2002; Lawes pers. comm., 23/09/2003). Despite attempts to regulate the use of and access to natural resources through policy and legislation, there was a continued use of natural resources by local people, which the colonial state in southern Africa had ruled to be illegal. Therefore the incidence of illegal activities increased over time.

The literature provides two reasons for the continued violation of conservation laws. The first reason is the resistance by local rural people to state conservation policies during the colonial period. Neumann (1995a) comments that the state conservation policies during the colonial period, which outlawed African rights of access to land and natural resources, had the effect of increasing what Scott (1985, in Neumann, 1995a) has termed “everyday forms of resistance”. These forms of resistance (such as illegal hunting, fuel wood theft, grazing trespass) were an expression of resistance to oppressive colonial rule and conservation policies that impacted negatively on the way of life of local communities.

Secondly, neither the state nor local people are able to sustainably manage natural resources independently (Child, B., 1996; Turner et al, 2001; Lawes, pers. comm., 23/09/2003; Shackleton, 2002). Therefore continued resource management by the state will perpetuate the continued violation of conservation laws. The state lacks the resources to manage protected

areas as successfully as it should. The ‘fences and fines approach’ of the past rapidly depleted financial resources and required considerable human resources to maintain barriers and control access. Local rural people living around parks also lacked these resources and were limited in their scientific knowledge pertaining to natural resource management. It became politically inexpedient for the colonial and post-colonial state, acting as custodian, to take an exclusionary protectionist approach to local communities and, regarding them as a threat to the resource, control significant areas of natural environmental heritage without their involvement.

Other authors (Barrett and Arcese, 1995; Hackle, 1999; Grundy, 2002) have also reflected on the failure of the traditional ‘fences and fines’ approach of protected areas management in preserving biodiversity. Neumann (1995a:365) states, in writing about conservation experiences in Tanzania, that the key reason for the failure of the ‘fences and fines’ approach was the:

“lack of due process and the repressive conditions of colonial rule [which] limited the potential for organised political responses by peasant farmers and pastoralists who objected to losing ancestral lands to national parks and reserves”.

To interpret the increased violations of conservation laws as a form of political expression suggests that the solution to conserving biodiversity lies in engaging with local communities about the political-economic relations concerning resource use (Neumann, 1995a). Such thinking suggests that alternative management options are required to address community resistance, and in so doing further the conservation of natural resources. These options should empower oppressed land users and provide opportunities for multiple views concerning natural resource and land use management issues to be heard and also be integrated into decision-making. Co-management regimes potentially provide this opportunity.

The shift in the literature towards acknowledging the role of local communities in conserving nature goes a long way towards addressing the dehumanising conception of African people in relation to protected areas (Neumann, 1995a). The literature suggests that it is only when more collaborative forms of co-management are institutionalised that opportunities are presented for a more equal sharing of power over the control and management of natural resources to take place.

4.4.5. Shifts in the socio-political landscape

Previous discussion regarding the rationale for the emergence of a more collaborative and participatory approach to natural resource management has focussed on the colonial period, however changes in the contemporary period have also contributed to this change in approach. Although the ‘exclusionary’ form of management has continued in the post-colonial period (Ramutsindela, 2004), there has been a global shift in the past two to three decades towards democratisation. This is the fifth reason for the current shift in thinking about parks and game reserves as spaces of collaboration and not as spaces of exclusion, because co-management is an approach that provides scope for the inclusion of such shifts into the realm of natural resource management.

There has been a shift globally from government to governance, and from participation to deliberation (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). This new vocabulary is believed to be more than simply a change in rhetoric; it is rather a reflection of the “appreciation of the importance of new political practices” (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:1). According to Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:1) “new political practices have emerged between institutional layers of the state and between state institutions and societal organisations”. The emergence of new political practices highlights the failure of classical-modernist institutions to deliver through top-down government intervention characterised by the application of rigid and routine solutions to complicated political issues (Hajer, 1995; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). In line with this new dispensation, the state, which is defined as “the set of individuals and organisations legally authorised to make binding decisions for a society”, needs to democratise and engage in governance processes that elicit the active participation of a broader citizenry, so that policymaking is no longer an outcome of contests between political parties (Dryzek, 1996:475; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). These new practices focus on shifting politics and decision-making away from the top-down, centralised forms of government that are a feature of classical-modernist institutions, by engaging in decentralised and democratic processes of governance that incorporate local communities and other stakeholders in decision-making (Dryzek, 1996; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). This is what Dryzek (1996) has referred to as “deepening democracy”, and what Warren (1992, in Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:3) describes as “expansive democracy”.

The process of democratisation is defined broadly as “the progressive inclusion of various groups and categories of people in political life” (Dryzek, 1996:475). Warren (1992, in Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003), however, distinguishes between two kinds of democracy, namely “traditional liberal democracy” and “expansive democracy”. Both kinds are concerned with participation; however the distinguishing feature is the difference in the nature and degree of participation that takes place. Warren (1992, in Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:3) characterises expansive democracy as a policy practice that includes “increased participation, either by means of small-scale direct democracy or through strong linkages between citizens and broad-scale institutions, and by relating decision-making to the persons who are affected”. Traditional liberal democracy on the other hand is a more straightforward participative policy practice. It is simply concerned with including those affected by public policy in the sphere of policy formulation, decision-making and administrative implementation (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Unlike traditional liberal democracy, which generally applies a generic solution to a policy problem, expansive or deliberative democracy is more flexible in that it “strives for the most appropriate way of involving the many ‘others’ that are affected by public policy” in policy formulation, decision-making and administrative implementation (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:24). There has been in the last three decades a groundswell of support for a more participatory form of park management. This was documented and institutionalised at the 2003 World Parks Congress with its theme of ‘Benefits beyond Boundaries’. Here the exclusionary fortress model of parks management was rejected in favour of models that included local communities in the management of parks in order to share in the resources while at the same time conserving biodiversity.

In the context of South Africa, when the country became a democratic state in 1994, the nation embraced the need for change and began a process of transformation¹⁵. Some of the key areas relevant to this research where transformation is taking place are: the political transformation from an apartheid to a post-apartheid society; the shift from a Keynesian to a neoliberal economic system; the replacement of basic-needs development strategies with Local Economic Development (LED) strategies; and the introduction of affirmative action in the workplace to bring about a more racially diverse and representative labour force and share in the economy (Lester et al., 2000). With this commitment to transform came the dismantling of sanctions and South Africa’s re-entry into the international arena. The timing at which this occurred

¹⁵ See Chapter Six for a detailed discussion of the key areas of transformation.

coincided with widespread interest in and experimentation with the co-management approach to natural resource management. In addition, assistance offered by the developed world in the form of donor funding furthered the adoption of this approach by the South African government's forestry and fisheries departments (Sihlophe, 2002; Hara and Raakjær Nielsen, 2003; Hauck and Sowman, 2003; Grundy and Michell, 2004).

Co-management is a natural resource management approach that has emerged within the new political climate. It is a form of management that provides the opportunity for governance to take place in environmental decision-making. This is supported by Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:14) who believe that "the new vocabulary of governance rides the back of new political strategies of co-operation that play out at the margins of traditional classical-modernist political institutions". In South Africa, co-management is a new political strategy of the government (which is a classical-modernist political institution) especially for their forestry and fishery departments. However, a defining feature of co-management is the collaboration of multiple stakeholders. This implies that participants would need to transcend their institutional boundaries. In order for deliberation to be productive in such circumstances, a degree of trust is needed. However, this trust cannot be assumed (Hara and Raakjær Nielsen, 2003). For example, in order for collaboration to take place between forestry officials and community members in the southern Cape, it cannot be assumed that all participants trust each other sufficiently to engage in productive deliberation, especially given the colonial and apartheid eras and the protectionist ideology that predominated among state officials and natural scientists. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:12) echo the views of others (Forester, 1999; Lave and Wenger, 1991; Sabel, Fung and Karkkainen, 1999 all in Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003) when they state that trust is established through "active participation in collective action and problem-solving". In other words, traditional liberal democratic processes do not necessarily foster trust. Rather, through deliberative processes that exhibit expansive democracy, trust is built, which furthers collaborative decision-making. Chapter Fourteen reflects in greater detail on the ways in which a deliberative or expansive democracy can be fostered to ensure that co-management becomes stronger under conditions of governance in forest management in South Africa.

This section has discussed the change in the socio-political landscape that has taken place at a global scale in the past fifteen years and in South Africa since it became a democratic state twelve years ago. This change is characterised by a transition from processes of government to governance, and from consultation to deliberation; that is, away from traditional liberal

democracy towards an expansive democracy (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). In the context of South Africa however, as this thesis will argue, the country has made the transition from government to governance in the form of co-management regimes in natural resource management such as Participatory Forest Management (PFM), but it has not progressed from participation to deliberation. In other words, the state is still engaging in political processes typical of a traditional liberal democracy as opposed to an expansive or deliberative democracy. This research will show that in the context of indigenous forest management in the southern Cape, the state's inability to transform from a liberal to a deliberative democracy is a key setback to the successful implementation of PFM.

4.5. CONCLUSION

This chapter has presented an historical overview of the origins and influences of colonial paradigms in southern Africa as they relate to preservation, the construction of landscapes of production and consumption and also the construction of the relationship between native African people and national parks and other protected areas.

The chapter illustrates the domination of western ideas of nature conservation in the establishment of national parks in southern Africa, and especially the North American national park model. The process of colonisation provided a channel through which the processes of industrialisation and development in Britain, and also Northern preservation ideologies and perceptions, could impact on the management of parks and natural resources in southern African colonies such as the Cape. The application of the preservationist ideology to the management of Crown forest in the southern Cape to protect 'Eden' resulted in the closing off of forests, with access and use of land and natural resources being regulated through the issuing of permits and licenses. This approach to resource management is termed a 'fences and fines' approach or a fortress model of conservation (Barrett and Arcese, 1995; Hackle, 1999; Grundy, 2002; van der Merwe, 2002: 141; Grundy and Michell, 2004; Willis, 2004).

The establishment of national parks and reserves, latterly known as protected areas, served to legitimise imperial rule over the conquered native inhabitants and establish a 'Garden of Eden' in southern Africa as a landscape of consumption. Such landscapes were designed to satisfy the aesthetic imperatives of the white settlers, to dehumanise native African people, and perpetuate the subjugation of black natives and natural resources by white Europeans.

In the context of the southern Cape, it is clear from the many colonial uses for indigenous wood felled from the southern Cape forests and the gold that was mined at Millwood that these forests were a landscape of production. The shift away from indigenous wood as an economic timber crop in favour of exotic plantation timber and imported timber – due to the stripping of indigenous forests and also the decline in wagon building – assisted in the shift towards a conservation-orientated paradigm (after Neumann, 1995b). Thus, unlike the establishment of national parks which created separate spaces of production and consumption, the southern Cape forests were a space where contradicting ideologies existed at different times in the history of forest management in the region. The southern Cape region has been shown to comprise both landscapes of consumption and production since it was first colonised in the early 1700's. This is a feature that has existed and challenged forest management until the present.

The paradigmatic shift in thinking about nature-society relations has also been described. Under colonial and also apartheid rule, nature and society were regarded as separate from each other, and under white domination African people were excluded from parks and game reserves established during this period. The partial dismantling of the nature-society dualism and an acknowledgement of the interconnectedness between people and nature inspired the reconceptualisation of parks and game reserves as spaces of collaboration.

The factors that have contributed to the shift in thinking about nature-society relationships include: firstly, the emergence of alternative paradigms to positivism, which embrace pluralist thinking. Secondly, the shift in ecological thinking towards an ecological systems approach that adopts an integrated view of the nature-society relationship. Thirdly, a re-imagining of the commons as co-operative as opposed to inherently conflictual spaces with regard to the allocation of natural resources. This shift is due to academic contributions by critics of Hardin's (1968) approach to common property resources, such as Runge (1981, cited in Powell, 1998). Fourthly, the continued violation of conservation laws concerning parks and reserves, which has necessitated a revision of resource management approaches; and fifthly, the shift that has taken place in the socio-political landscape towards democratisation and governance that has made the consideration and implementation of alternative ideologies about nature-society relationships possible. These factors are briefly discussed as a means of introducing the concept of co-management, which is a contemporary natural resource

management approach and an alternative to the earlier colonial approaches that are discussed in this chapter. Co-management theory is the framework within which the participatory forest management approach is located and is therefore the subject of Chapter Five.

CHAPTER 5

‘NEW’ NATURE CONSERVATION: THE THEORY OF CO-MANAGEMENT AND ITS APPLICATION IN SOUTH AFRICA’S PFM POLICY

“In a co-management effort, stakeholders agree on sharing among themselves the management functions, rights and responsibilities for a resource or set of resources in a specifically defined geographical area” (Sihlophe, 2002:4).

5.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to present a review of the co-management literature and to explore the application of this body of knowledge in South Africa in terms of the policy of Participatory Forest Management (PFM). This chapter therefore provides the theoretical framework for the PFM policy.

Co-management approaches such as Participatory Forest Management (PFM) are new approaches in protected areas management that are intended to modify to the traditional national park model. Chapter Four identified five important shifts that have taken place in society in general and also in the area of natural resource management which contributed to the emergence of collaborative approaches such as co-management. It also presented a synopsis of the history of natural resource management in Southern Africa and the reasons for the dominance of preservationist ideology in resource management. This chapter should therefore be read together with the previous chapter because it provides a review of the literature related to ‘new’ nature conservation approaches.

The main distinction between colonial and ‘new’ nature conservation approaches is the attempt by the latter to resolve the artificial society-nature dualism was entrenched in colonial thinking due to the domination of the positivist scientific approach at the time. This may be achieved by incorporating communities into nature conservation projects (Ramutsindela, 2004). Co-management is a term that describes a management partnership between the state and local communities for the care of natural resources or local commons such as forests (Vira, 1999), and constitutes an attempt to close the gap between communities and nature and forge a re-

conceptualisation of environmental spaces such as parks and game reserves as spaces of collaboration as opposed to spaces of exclusion.

The theoretical concepts of participation, co-management and participatory forest management are examined in Section 5.2. As South African policy has been influenced by these theories, they provide the framework within which relevant policy initiatives can be assessed (in this case in the context of forestry). Co-management and the Participatory Forest Management (PFM) policy, which is an example of a co-management regime in the South African context, are discussed in Section 5.3. PFM is an example of co-management that has been applied to indigenous forest resources in other countries and, since the mid 1990's, in South Africa.

5.2. THEORIES OF PARTICIPATION AND CO-MANAGEMENT

Literature on the subject of natural resource management strategies, which involve the community, is profuse and varied. It is necessary to draw a distinction between the broader theoretical concepts and their application within a geographical context such as South Africa, where they have been applied to suit the particular context. This section will review the theoretical concepts of participation, co-management and, in the context of forestry, participatory forest management. This will provide the framework for Section 5.3, which focuses on the application of these concepts in South Africa.

5.2.1. The concept of participation

Participation is fundamental in development thinking and practice. It is widely held by governments, funding agents, donors and civil society actors such as non-governmental organisations and multi-lateral agencies that development that does not enlist people's participation in the development process cannot be sustainable and long lasting (Kumar, 2002). However, despite this near consensus on its importance, there is contention about the meaning of participation and how it can be achieved. For example, the Economic Commission for Latin America (1973, in Kumar, 2002:24) defines participation as:

“a voluntary contribution by the people in one or another of the public programmes supposed to contribute to national government, but the people are not expected to take part in shaping the programmes or in criticising its contents”

Cohen and Uphoff (1977), on the other hand, assert that the concept of participation is more encompassing because it includes people's involvement in the entire decision-making process.

They state that:

“participation includes people's involvement in decision-making programmes, in implementing programmes, their sharing in benefits of development programmes and their involvement in efforts to evaluate such programmes” (Cohen and Uphoff, 1977 in Kumar, 2002:24).

Participation is operationalised in various ways in different development interventions and this indicates that it is conceptualised differently. These differences are best demonstrated by the various typologies or models of participation that have been developed (see for example, Arnstein, 1971; Borri-Feyerabend, 1996; White, 1996, Kumar, 2002). Most of these models distinguish between different kinds of participation based on the degree to which local people are actively involved in development processes. For example, White (1996, cited in Freeman, 2000) distinguishes between nominal; instrumental; representative and transformative participation (see Table 5.1). Thus the distinction between, for example, the extremes in White's (1996) model is based on the degree to which there are “elements of empowerment of the public and capacity building to ensure equity and social justice, with action to fight inequality” (Freeman, 2000:35).

Table 5.1. Types of participation (after White, 1996:8, cited in Freeman, 2000).

CATEGORY	DESCRIPTION
Nominal	Legitimation and inclusion, with the main function of display.
Instrumental	Government funding for infrastructure and services reduced, leading to public involvement for efficiency and cost sake, in order to instrumentally achieve a local facility or service.
Representative	Public ensured a voice to provide project sustainability and support, and where people are able to express their own interests.
Transformative	Empowerment takes place, where the public have the practical experience of being involved in considering options, making decisions and taking collective action to fight injustice.

White's participation typology is not unlike that of Pretty et al. (1995, in Kumar, 2002), which describes seven types of participation. These seven types are: passive participation; participation in information giving; participation by consultation; participation for material incentives; functional participation; interactive participation and lastly self-mobilisation (See Table 5.2).

Table 5.2. Typologies of participation (Pretty, 1995, in Kumar, 2002:25).

Typology	Components of Each Type
Passive participation	People participate by being told what is going to happen or what has already happened. It is unilateral announcement by an administration or by project management; people's responses are not taken into account. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
Participation in information-giving	People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researchers and project managers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research or project design are neither shared nor checked for accuracy
Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to views. These external agents define both problems and solutions, and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
Participation for material incentives	People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much <i>in-situ</i> research and bio-prospecting fall in this category, as rural people provide the resources but are not involved in the experimentation or the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.
Functional participation	People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organization. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent.
Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local groups or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
Self- mobilisation	People participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. Such self initiated mobilisation and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distributions of wealth and power.

These types of participation can be viewed along a spectrum (see Figure 5.1), with passive participation (where people are told what to do) at one end, and self-mobilisation (where people are in total control) at the other end of the spectrum. As one moves from passive participation towards self-mobilisation the degree to which local people and outsiders control the process changes. At the passive participation end of the spectrum people have minimal control over the process while outsiders have almost total control. At the self-mobilisation end of the spectrum however, the roles are reversed and local people have almost total control whilst outsiders play a minimal role in processes (Kumar, 2002).

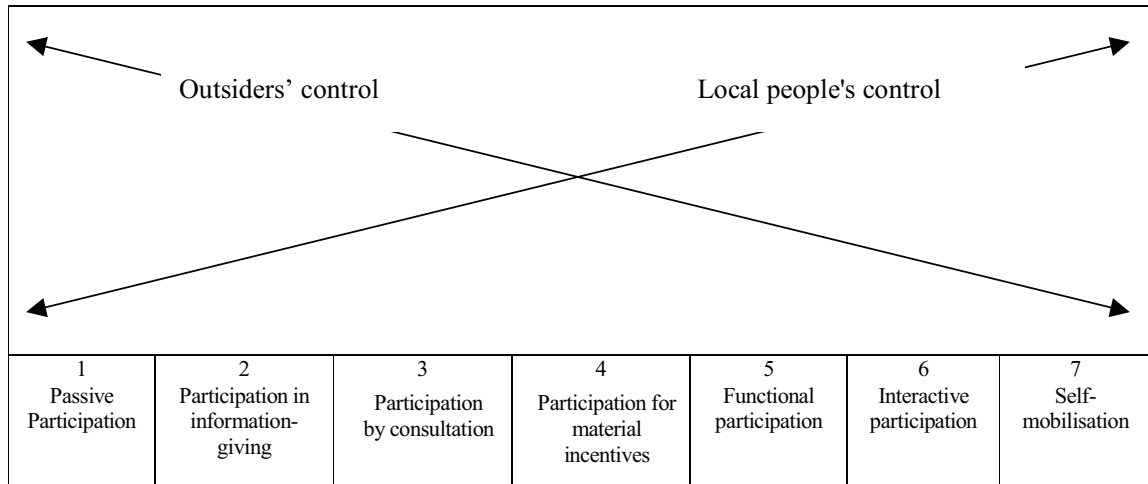


Figure 5.1. Spectrum of participation (from Kumar, 2002:25).

The transformative type of participation in White's (1996) typology and the self-mobilisation end of Pretty's (1995) typology of participation are more in line with strong co-management or deliberative democracy (Dryzek, 1996; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). When using the term participation, therefore, there is a need to qualify the type of participation that is being employed.

Adopting a participatory approach in development is believed to be more than a fashionable option. According to Oakley et al. (1991, in Kumar, 2002) participation is advantageous to development processes in four respects. Firstly, because it is able to "ensure effective utilisation of available resources" (Oakley et al. 1991, in Kumar, 2002:27). When the people work with other agents in achieving development objectives they take responsibility for certain aspects. In sharing the load, expenditure on 'professional' staff is reduced. In addition, capacity is built amongst local people to engage in development processes, which reduces human resource costs in the future.

A second advantage of participation is that by increasing the active involvement of local people, their dependence on outsiders to resolve problems is reduced because they learn to resolve problems at their own level (Oakley et al. 1991, in Kumar, 2002). Participation increases self-reliance, self-confidence and ultimately the ability to effectively control the development process.

A third advantage of participation is that it increases the opportunity for development initiatives to benefit their target groups, which are often the weaker sections of society, as opposed to being tapped by the elite, the non-poor, and the powerful (Oakley et al.1991, in Kumar, 2002). This is due to increased transparency, an increased opportunity for a wide range of participants to be involved, and also to the cost-effectiveness of participation enabling more resources to be made available for a wider coverage of the target group.

The fourth advantage of participation is the increased sustainability of development interventions (Oakley et al.1991, in Kumar, 2002). Development interventions are generally funded by external agents and it is often the case that these projects struggle to sustain the necessary development activity once support or inputs are reduced or removed. An increased involvement of people through participatory processes encourages the continuity of the activities because it creates a sense of ownership over the project which should sustain the level of activity after the external agents have withdrawn their involvement in the project.

Despite these advantages, there are however limitations to involving people in development initiatives by applying a participatory model. Oakley et al. (1991, in Kumar, 2002) have identified four of the main disadvantages of people's participation. Firstly, participation may slow down the start and the progress made in the initial stages of fieldwork, which would then delay the achievement of physical and financial objectives. Secondly, participation may necessitate increased expenditure on material and financial resources because the direction taken by local people in a participatory process may not be the most cost nor time efficient method of implementing an initiative. In a similar vein, a third disadvantage of a participatory process is that once the process is underway, it has to follow its own route and may not progress in a manner previously anticipated. A participatory process should ideally empower local people in decision-making, thereby increasing their control over the process, whilst the role of external agents should ideally diminish (Kumar, 2002). For these external agents to relinquish control and allow the process to unfold is a difficult business. The fourth disadvantage that Kumar (2002) discusses concerns the issue of raised expectations. It is believed that strong or interactive participation (the self-mobilisation end of the spectrum) tends to generate raised expectations about what a project will deliver, however, owing to the involvement of the local people these increased expectations may not be realised (Oakley et al.1991, in Kumar, 2002). According to Kumar (2002:28), local people are often only involved

in projects at the implementation stage because implementing agents seek to avoid these limitations becoming a reality in development, and this is believed to be the reason why “participation remains rhetoric rather than a reality”.

In addition to these four limitations, a variety of other factors can also potentially affect the success of a participatory programme. These factors include: trust between stakeholders; definition of the resource; security of tenure; degree of organisation and cohesiveness of community management bodies; fulfilment of needs; and locally acceptable returns on investment in the collaborative process (Hobley 1996; Murphree 1993 and Campbell et al., 2001; Grundy and Michell, 2004; and von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004). In addition, the success of a participatory management programme such as PFM depends on the following three factors, namely (Grundy and Michell, 2004:686):

- a. Power and the ability to control use of resources
- b. The social cost involved in resource conservation
- c. The value (both direct and indirect) of the resource to users.

Because these factors vary across different regions, it is suggested that it is unwise to apply a blanket participatory method across the country. Rather, it is advisable to assess each individual situation and develop a plan of action with the local people that is appropriate to their social and economic circumstances and which addresses the local environmental context. Carter (1996) maintains that the success of any participatory forestry approach depends largely on its ability to be flexible to local situations.

5.2.2. The concept of co-management

Co-management¹⁶ is a term that describes a particular approach to natural resource management and falls under the broad theme of environmental governance. It is a natural resource management strategy that has been in place within the developing world since the mid 1980's and has become commonplace in natural resource management literature and strategies in South Africa since the mid 1990's (Sihlophe, 2002; Hauck and Sowman, 2003; Grundy and Michell, 2004). Although precise and uniform definitions of co-management are difficult to arrive at, there are some key features that can be ascribed to this management approach. These are included in this section, which discusses various interpretations of co-management.

¹⁶ The concept has also been termed collaborative management, joint management, round table management, shared management, participatory management and user participation (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Grundy and Michell, 2004; Hara and Raakjær Nielsen, 2003; Hauck and Sowman, 2003).

Co-management can be broadly defined as a management strategy that involves more than one party in managing natural resources that is an alternative to conventional top-down approaches. The numerous terms given to co-management give an indication of the spirit of the approach. According to Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) these terms describe a situation in which “some or all of the relevant stakeholders in a protected area are involved in a substantial way in management activities”. Similarly, in his work on Community Based Conservation (CBC) in Africa, Hackel (1999:726) defines CBC as “wildlife conservation efforts that involve rural people as an integral part of a wildlife conservation policy”. Implicit is the idea that natural resource management operations or activities should be shared through the creation of a partnership, with all parties making a substantial contribution (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Turner et al., 2001). By involving local communities in decision-making, it is assumed that local communities will accept management measures more readily (Hara and Raakjær Nielsen, 2003). Turner et al. (2001:41) have noted that parties engaged in co-management usually comprise “the state or other official, public agencies, and local people who use, own or have other (potential) interests in the natural resources”. However, where community-public-private partnerships exist, more than two parties may be involved in the management process. According to this approach, conservationists can no longer be regarded as “gatekeepers to a discussion table that does not have a place set for those whose homeland’s future hangs in the balance” (Alcorn, 1993 in Neumann, 1997:570).

The objective of this approach is to work towards sustainable development by improving access to natural resources, promoting economic development and economic wellbeing whilst also achieving biophysical sustainability (Treseder and Krogman, 2002). In trying to meet these disparate objectives, one of the fundamental goals of the approach is to improve the relationship between management authorities and resource users.

Despite being a relative newcomer to the South African policy arena, co-management has a longer history in other countries¹⁷. It was recognised at the 1992 World Congress on National Parks and Protected Areas in Caracas that:

¹⁷ Within the forestry sector, since 1988 in India as joint forest management (see Khare et al., 2000 and Sekhar, 2000 for a review of the process); in Nepal as community forestry (Sekhar, 2000; Nepal, 2002); and in Thailand and China as co-management (Nepal, 2002). McCracken reflects that similar initiatives have been attempted in Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Ghana, Somalia, Sudan and Uganda (Grundy and Michell, 2004).

“modern management demands involvement of local residents, NGOS, and regional and local governments; that it needs to consider a diversity of institutional arrangements; and that it greatly benefits from more administrative and financial autonomy for individual protected areas” (Barzetti, 1993:86).

Co-management, like participation, is not an uncontested concept. As Goodwin (1998:483) remarks regarding local participation:

“[Its] apparent inclusiveness masks the fact that the concept covers a whole range of approaches to public involvement that are essentially differentiated by the amount of control and influence over decision-making that they offer participants, and the function they are seen as serving by the various interests taking part”.

Similarly, Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) states that there are different versions of co-management, and has proposed a co-management continuum which expresses these versions (see Figure 5.2).

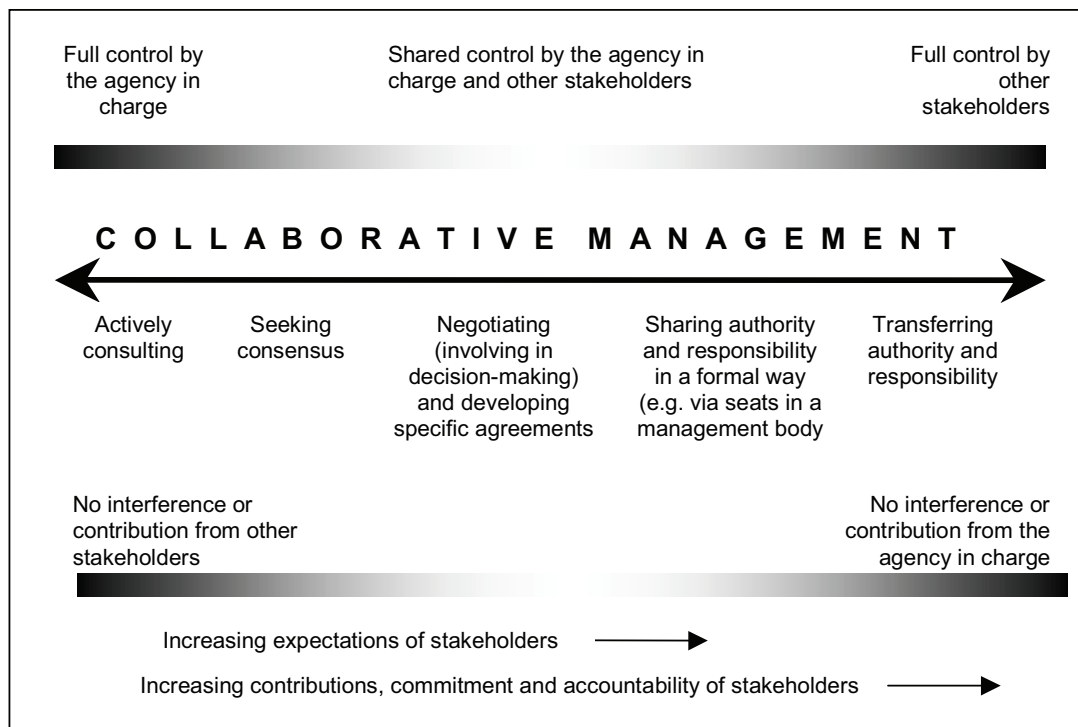


Figure 5.2. The Collaborative Management (Co-management) Continuum (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996:11).

Two extremes are presented: strong co-management and weak co-management. The former extreme, which Sowman (pers. comm., 21/09/2005) prefers to call ‘collaborative co-management’, describes a form of co-management that “includes stakeholders in a

management board or outright devolution of specific authority and responsibility” (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996).

Here, full control sits with other stakeholders rather than with the management agency. The latter weak or mild co-management extreme describes a management situation where the agency in charge has full control. It is a weak form of co-management because according to Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) “consultation and consensus seeking of stakeholders in protected areas management” is the only way in which other stakeholders are included in management processes.

Although Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) acknowledges that co-management could theoretically be interpreted as something that occurs between these two extremes, she proposes that the concept should be used in a broader, more encompassing sense and argues that co-management is a term that should be used when referring to either end of the continuum also. The inference here is that it is not necessarily the kind of participation in which one engages that defines whether or not co-management is taking place, but rather the outcomes of the process. This is because, although all stakeholders may actively participate in a decision-making arena, this may still leave local needs and demands unresolved (Dryzek, 1996). Similarly, consensus seeking and consultation may result in local community concerns being included into a park’s management plan, and should therefore be considered a form of co-management. Figure 5.2 illustrates the broader, more inclusive interpretation of co-management that Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) advocates. This figure refers to possible management situations as seen from the perspective of the agency in charge.

Borrini-Feyerabend’s (1996) inclusive interpretation of co-management is not the mainstream conceptualisation of the concept. Borrini-Feyerabend’s (1996) interpretation has been critiqued and other writers suggest that co-management is a term given to a form of management that exists *between* the two extremes of complete state control on the one hand and total control by local communities (whether users or owners) on the other (Turner et al., 2001; Sihlophe, 2002; Grundy and Michell, 2004). It is debatable whether total control by the state, where they actively consult with local community and other stakeholders, could still be termed a form of co-management; similarly whether full control by the community is in fact a form of co-management. Turner et al. (2001) contests that if co-management is merely consultation with stakeholders, or a form of participation with local owners or users where the final control

remains under state authorities, this could be interpreted as tokenism. *Real* co-management requires that “local users or functional groups have real influence on management decisions” (Turner et al., 2001:41-42). Co-management “involves a formal sharing of powers and responsibilities, and a strong motivation for common understanding” (Turner et al, 2001:41). Sihlophe (2002:4) expresses the concept well when he states that co-management takes place when “stakeholders agree on sharing among themselves the management functions, rights and responsibilities for a resource or set of resources in a specifically defined geographical area”.

It is often thought that the strong version is the ideal version of co-management to work towards; however Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) states that this is not necessarily the most appropriate form. One form of co-management may be ideal for one park whilst it may not work for another area. According to Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) there is no ‘right’ place to be on the continuum, as the style and extent of participation employed should be a factor of social, political and historical contexts. She also notes that a management authority’s position on the continuum should not be regarded as fixed (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). Co-management should rather be seen as a process upon which management embarks; where it is to be expected that the rate and direction of change in the form of co-management being practiced fluctuate over time.

These descriptions of the term express the idea that co-management is a process, where contributions from all parties are respected and valued, and where the hierarchy of power and control over the management process has been levelled. There is debate about using the word ‘equal’ to describe the partnership between parties. Grundy and Michell (2004:682), in writing about participatory forestry, suggest that the concept of participation being “an equal partnership between forest owners and users” is flawed. The varied nature of the participants involved (in terms of cultural and educational backgrounds, for example) makes an equal sharing of management unrealistic. They note, however, that despite the level at which it takes place, participation in the context of forestry is a:

“special requirement of forest management in order to build trust, to ensure management decisions are credible and acceptable to stakeholder groups, to make use of a broad range of ideas, skills and inputs, and to minimise conflict in decision-making” (Grundy and Michell, 2004:682).

This is different to the nature of participation required by co-management as understood by Borrini-Feyerabend (1996), because there is an inference that as long as other stakeholder

groups are not being compromised in any way, the state (or other controlling agency) does not necessarily have to elicit the active involvement of other stakeholders.

Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) provides a concise account of the occasions when pursuit of a management partnership such as co-management is advisable. Firstly, she states that co-management is necessary when it is believed that the active involvement and commitment of stakeholders is crucial for the management of the protected area, invariably the case when areas are either occupied or privately owned. Secondly, a collaborative approach is necessary when local people require access to the resource in order to sustain their livelihood and maintain their cultural practices. Borrini-Feyerabend (1996:8) also lists further particular occasions when partnership agreements should be pursued, namely when:

- a. "The local stakeholders have historically enjoyed customary/legal rights over the territory at stake
- b. Local interests are strongly affected by the way in which the protected area is managed
- c. The decisions to be taken are complex and highly controversial (e.g., different values need to be harmonized or there is disagreement on the ownership status of the land or natural resources)
- d. The agency's previous management has clearly failed to produce the expected results
- e. The various stakeholders are ready to collaborate and request to do so
- f. There is ample time to negotiate."

The difficulty in arriving at a uniform and precise definition of co-management is largely a result of the difficulties associated with interpreting and applying the concept of participation. This difficulty is a common characteristic of co-management and could be why some writers have preferred to use alternative terms to participatory management, such as co-management, shared management and joint management (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Khare et al., 2000; Sekhar, 2000; Horn, 2002a; Nepal, 2002; Hauck and Sowman, 2003; Grundy and Michell, 2004). These terms avoid the confusion and complications that result from the lack of definitional clarity given to concept of participation. It could be argued that co-management is an appropriate management strategy for South Africa on the whole, particularly in the contemporary socio-political context of democratisation. However, the appropriateness of the approach to the southern Cape context is questioned by respondents in this research due to the varied interpretations of the levels of poverty in the area.

The concept of co-management has suffused international natural resource management literature and discourse since the mid 1980's. International trends, in addition to internal

democratic transition, have, in turn, influenced South African resource management policy. Co-management has become an influential approach in the management of natural resources such as game reserves, indigenous forests and coastal zones. It is an approach that demands a significant change in environmental governance and management practices. In the context of forestry, Hobley (1996) notes that for the most part, conventional foresters find the switchover from controlled scientific management to devolved communal responsibility to be a challenging task, and Grundy (2002) questions whether forests and woodlands can be managed simultaneously for production, conservation and development, as is proposed by co-management theory.

5.2.3. The concept of participatory forest management

Participatory forest management is the term used for co-management within the South African indigenous forest management context. It is a participatory management or co-management regime that is particular to the forestry sector and has been codified as a policy, initially within the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry's Indigenous Forest Management Directorate, but since mid 2003 within the Participative Forestry Directorate, and has legal standing through the National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998).

Grundy and Michell (2004:679) note that since the 1980's there has been a "global paradigm shift in forest and woodland policy-making and management planning". This shift has been from what has been termed the 'inform and educate' method, where government took responsibility for managing forests and woodlands for the public, to an approach which, although still concerned with ecological values, is also increasingly socially aware, taking cognisance of the concerns of diverse interest groups in their roles of management and monitoring (Harcharik 1997; Kennedy et al., 1998). The World Forestry Congress of 1978 in Jakarta is thought to be the place where the idea that forestry should be concerned about people and not primarily trees, took root and has since gained prominence the world over (Grundy and Michell, 2004). This new approach has been interpreted and applied to the South African context.

PFM has been defined as "the sharing of products, responsibilities, control and decision-making authority over forest lands between Forest Departments and local user groups" (Hobley, 1996:337). It arose:

“out of the convergence of thinking and debate in three major schools of thought. The first is the conservation movement and its focus on global biodiversity reserves; the second is the concern of political scientists for democracy and the well-being of local peoples; and the third is the development lobby and its call for sustainable use of natural resources” (Hobley, 1996:337).

There is a growing recognition that the biodiversity in pockets of natural forests and woodlands in the developing world is declining. This is a result of the stress being placed on them by population growth, economic development, global climate change and diminishing opportunities to establish new protected areas (Bell, 1987 and Isik et al., 1997). Where in the past a protectionist management approach would have been acceptable, resulting in the creation of forest reserves that excluded local people from access to and use of forests and forest products, conservationists became aware that this approach did little to alleviate the pressure placed on forests in the developing world and their decline. New emphasis was placed on sustainable use and a collaborative management approach to conservation. Sustainable use implies a level of utilisation that:

- a. Addresses local economic needs but does not compromise ecological stability
- b. Proceeds on a participatory basis to reduce poverty whilst simultaneously maintaining human and moral capital
- c. Does not disrupt the environment’s ability to act as a source and a sink for resources
- d. Enables future generations to benefit from the resource in its totality and to not be in a worse position than the present generation (after Goodland, 1995).

Referring to Borrini-Feyerabend’s (1996) co-management continuum in Figure 5.2, there are many differing opinions as to what kind of relationship between managers and local community members constitutes a co-management arrangement. Fundamentally, a collaborative management approach involves local people working with officials to set priorities. This would suggest that the strong extreme of the continuum is not considered co-management, as the state is not understood to have total control over decision-making. However, Grundy and Michell (2004) maintain that it is the officials who are responsible for the process. This would indicate that the weak extreme of the co-management continuum is not considered a form of co-management. PFM is therefore an approach to forest management that has collaborative management and sustainable utilisation as its core components.

This shift in forestry is not an isolated phenomenon; it reflects the international trend towards democracy, and attention to the predicament of the poor and powerless in world politics. Campbell and Luckert (2001, cited in Grundy and Michell, 2004:680) comment that the focus

for development practitioners on technical solutions to problems has given way to greater attention being paid to “the socio-economic aspects of rural development, and to understanding social processes in rural systems”. A significant social aspect that has gained increasing recognition is the need to fundamentally change the balance of power concerning protected areas management and local communities back towards local communities and others who were disempowered under the colonial and apartheid states. Concerning this, Vira (1999:264) believes that participatory management approaches call for a:

“re-orientation of the hierarchical, control-and-regulation-orientated structure of state forest management which has evolved over the last century in a number of countries...The new paradigm of management sees the forest bureaucracy playing a supportive role, encouraging community initiatives and sharing management responsibility”.

Grundy and Michell (2004:680) have termed the 1990’s the “decade of PFM”, as it has been the decade that has seen a proliferation of ideas about the linking of social, economic and environmental aspects of forest management and the encapsulation of this thinking in policy and legislation. Rastogi (1995 in Vira, 1999:264) regards PFM as an integrated approach designed to “link the socio-economic interests of the rural dwellers in and around the forests with the sustainable management of these areas while maintaining environmental stability and ecological security”. Connecting resource management with local interests suggests a change in access and use regulations that enables people to derive benefits from forest resources, without compromising the biological integrity of forests. This infers that sustainable use of natural resources is integral to participatory management approaches.

PFM is reminiscent of the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) formalised in the early 1980’s in Zimbabwe (Child, G., 1996). Here the focus was on conservation through the sustainable utilisation of wildlife¹⁸ outside protected areas (Murphree, 1993; Child, B., 1996; Child, G., 1996). Much can be learnt from CAMPFIRE, which is a decentralised decision-making programme in which communities could participate voluntarily (Child, G., 1996). The aim of the programme was to devolve ownership of wildlife to landholders and local communities and ensure that these owners realised the economic potential of wildlife resources. The motivation was that the profit derived from wildlife conservation was sufficient to “justify selecting wildlife in preference to

¹⁸ The CAMPFIRE model was intended to apply to all wild resources, which includes forest products, grazing and water (Child, G., 1996). However Child (Child, B., 1996) regards its application to wildlife resources to be the most successful.

other land use options”(Child, B., 1996; Child, G., 1996:366). Proponents of the CAMPFIRE project believe that in order for this devolution of ownership to be successful, it is necessary that the balance of power be shifted from centralised to community-based management (Child, B., 1996). This requires that “central government give power to local government and communities” (Child, B., 1996:317).

Child. G (1996:365) believes that CAMPFIRE has “generally benefited wildlife, rural land use, and the people in remote areas”; however it is not without its critiques (Bell 1987; Gibson and Marks, 1995; Alexander and McGregor, 2000; Campbell et al. 2001; Grundy and Michell, 2004). CAMPFIRE as a collaborative initiative is an “antidote to the colonial legacy of technocratic and authoritarian development” (Alexander and McGregor, 2000:605). According to Alexander and McGregor (2000) it was the prototype of collaborative resource management approaches and therefore many lessons were learned from the programme and used to shape later collaborative programmes. One criticism raised by Grundy and Michell (2004) is that these earlier programmes and initiatives tended to be unilateral, where the initiative was undertaken by outsiders with local government leaders and was mistrusted by other stakeholders such as community members. This is supported by Alexander and McGregor (2000:625) comment that “elected councillors were strongly influenced by, and institutionally subordinate to, civil servants who continued to adhere to technocratic and authoritarian attitudes to planning”. Similarly Gibson and Marks (1995:952) who reflect that the balance of power sits with government employees who “make the most important decisions about wildlife-related revenues and quotas”. PFM differs from CAMPFIRE in that it purports to result from a multi-stakeholder process where the initiatives therefore reflect a range of these stakeholders’ values (Bass, 2001a, cited in Grundy and Michell, 2004).

A second criticism raised by Alexander and McGregor (2000:624) concerns CAMPFIRE’s assumption that giving people both an economic and managerial stake wildlife resources would “rectify the legacies of the colonial period when people were deprived of control over game, and create conservationist attitudes towards animals”. This assumption is problematic because it ignores the influence of local context, particularly the histories and aspirations of the people which influence their attitudes towards wildlife (Alexander and McGregor, 2000).

A third criticism of CAMPFIRE, as with other community-based wildlife management schemes, is that it does not adequately comprehend the importance of wildlife to rural residents

and subsequently the incentives for them to stop hunting are insufficient (Gibson and Marks, 1995). A final criticism of the CAMPFIRE scheme that is discussed here is the reliance of these schemes on considerable donor support (Gibson and Marks, 1995). Donors play a considerable role in providing both intellectual support and funding for these programmes, which compromise the goal of sustainability because this flow of aid is not guaranteed indefinitely (Gibson and Marks, 1995).

Grundy and Michell (2004) suggest that the adoption of PFM by protected area authorities holds a number of implications for management. Firstly, there is the recognition that communities have an important role to play in environmental management and development in the forest region. Secondly, forest management plans would include the needs of surrounding communities for forest based resources and would be developed through a decision-making structure that involves a partnership between local people and forest department representatives. Thirdly, in this partnership, local people would gain increased involvement in management and decision-making, legalised access to adjacent forests and woodlands and regulated harvesting of natural forest resources in protected areas. In return, local people should protect forested areas, prevent free grazing of livestock and assist in preventing illegal activities by outsiders. Fourthly, in order for this participatory relationship to achieve its purpose of sustainable forest management, access and participation should be matched with imparting skills and building the knowledge of local people to manage the forest resource sustainably, so that all understand the thinking behind and can contribute effectively to the management plan. In addition, the forest department representatives should be skilled in participatory techniques (Grundy and Michell, 2004).

These are significant changes to traditional ‘command and control’ management approaches that have predominated in natural resource management, and therefore require a serious commitment to the process if the benefits of PFM are to be attained. These factors will be considered in relation to PFM in the southern Cape context in the empirical study.

5.3. CO-MANAGEMENT AND PARTICIPATORY FOREST MANAGEMENT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

The concept of co-management as a global phenomenon and management approach has been reviewed, and attention given to the rationale for its recent emergence. South Africa has a short

history of co-management, which Hauck and Sowman (2003) attribute to the country's socio-political background. Co-management policies such as PFM are a major shift in government's approach to managing the people-nature interface. The following sections explore the application of co-management and participatory forest management to the South African context and the reasons for the government's shift towards such approaches.

5.3.1. Co-management within South Africa

The appearance of co-management in the literature and policy arena in South Africa can be found in sectors such as forestry, fisheries and tourism and dates back to the mid 1990's after South Africa became a democracy. However, as Chapter Four has discussed, participatory environmental governance is also a global phenomenon that has influenced the direction and nature of natural resource management policy. Hara and Raakjær Nielsen (2003) assert that a significant shift in the resource management paradigm took place at the end of the cold war in 1989. This shift was towards "participatory approaches, devolution of authority and decentralisation of powers" (Hara and Raakjær Nielsen, 2003:82). This created the platform for a new environmental policy and legislative framework that required government to decentralise and devolve power to the local level and embrace the principles and approaches of sustainable development (Hauck and Sowman, 2003).

Prior to 1994, South Africa, governed formerly by British colonial authorities and since 1948 by the National Party, was racially segregated. Von Maltitz and Shackleton (2004) assert that the colonial state, which existed from about the mid eighteenth century until 1910:

"parcelled the land into distinct European settlement areas, African communal areas, and the beginning of demarcation of State Forestry and conservation areas. Expansion of European colonisation forced the African population into smaller parcels of land...Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 legislated this divide leaving indigenous people with only 13% of the land area of South Africa" (Von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004:111).

Hackel (1999:727) maintains that it was "the colonial legacy that alienated rural Africans from conservation efforts". This approach dominated much of natural resource management in the developing colonies of the world, and especially countries that were British colonies.

In many cases, despite countries such as India, Zimbabwe and South Africa gaining independence from Britain, the form of natural resource management did not change (Willis,

2004; Ramutsindela, 2004). After 1948, under a Nationalist Government, the prevailing apartheid policy of the time reinforced existing separatist policies and justified the further forced removal of black people from land, privileging white people through their access to resources. Nature reserves in this period were managed without regard for indigenous people who dwelt upon the land. In keeping with the preservationist policy inherited from the colonial period, a 'fences and fines' approach was adopted in game reserves and parks whereby access was restricted and trespassers were apprehended. Protection of biodiversity was the primary focus. Where public access was allowed, a tariff system served to restrict entrance to those who could afford it and in most cases access was reserved for the white portion of the population for recreational purposes (Willis, 2004). It may be that, had it not been for this exclusionary approach, South Africa would not have the wealth of natural resources that it has today because people would have utilised them (Lawes pers. comm., 23/09/2003). However, this exclusionary approach was unsustainable. It was short sighted to believe that one could systematically undermine and marginalise people without there being repercussions.

Tensions over ownership and access to land and resources increased during the apartheid period. Von Maltitz and Shackleton, (2004:115) refer to the relationship at this time between the state (as the custodian of the natural resources) and local communities as "tenuous and uncooperative". This resulted in an increase in illegal activities such as poaching, arson and illegal harvesting, to a level that threatened the biodiversity of these resources. Control and protection was achieved by force using guns, fences, and fines (Grundy and Michell, 2004).

Since South Africa became a democracy in 1994 there has been a substantial shift in the approach adopted towards environmental decision-making in natural resource management. This shift is attributable in part to being back in the global political arena, and also to the internal shift towards democracy. Peart and Wilson (1998) remark that this shift placed South Africa back into the global arena, which afforded policymakers access to international debate, trends and policies. The influence of the environmental movement on government policy-making around the world was subsequently felt in South Africa and resulted in new policies and legislation, which provide the framework for democratic and environmental change. The exclusionary and protectionist approaches to natural resource management were no longer tenable and therefore approaches that were in line with internationally accepted norms and methods, such as co-management, were deemed necessary (Hauck and Sowman, 2003; von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004; Willis, 2004).

PFM is a co-management policy that is particular to indigenous state forests. In South Africa, PFM is the mechanism through which participatory programmes within the forestry sector occur, but elsewhere in the world it has been termed Shared Forest Management, Collaborative Management and Joint Forest Management (Horn, 2002a; Grundy and Michell, 2004).

5.3.2. Participatory forest management (PFM) in South Africa

This section focuses on the application of the approach to the South African context, with particular reference to the manner in which the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) has interpreted the concept. Information contained within this section is sourced predominantly from Department of Water Affairs and Forestry documents, and therefore it gives an indication of the discourse being adopted by DWAF regarding PFM. As this forms part of the primary data that will be analysed, the qualitative data presented in this section has been presented as evidence in its original form.

The Chief Directorate of Forestry (CD:F) within the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) adopted a new approach to indigenous forest management in South Africa in 2000: participatory forest management. It was adopted as the Indigenous Forest Management Directorate's (D:IFM) code of best practice for forest management and is currently being implemented in many ways around the country (DWAF, 2002b). Although PFM originated within the D:IFM as a policy for indigenous state forests, it has since been "scaled up" (DWAF, 2003a:2; Ramboll, 2003:12). Since early 2003, the newly formed Participative Forestry Directorate (D:PF) has assumed responsibility for the policy, which has broadened in scope and is viewed as an approach "for management of all forest types where feasible (indigenous forests, plantations, woodlots and woodlands) and different types of ownership and management (state, provincial, communal, private and community)" (DWAF, 2003a:2). The focus of this thesis is on the applicability of the PFM policy for indigenous forests, as this is most appropriate for the case study area of the southern Cape, which was the selected case study area for the interpretation of the policy at the time of data collection.

Participatory forest management is the term given to an approach taken by the Directorate that is in keeping with South Africa's democratic principles. It is an approach that considers "local people's forest-based needs, their management capabilities, and intends to empower them

through sharing resource-use decision-making” (DWAF, 2002c:4). It is recognised that in addition to having a biophysical and environmental use and value, protected areas also satisfy human physical and spiritual needs. Shackleton et al. (2002:1) and Grundy and Michell (2004:679) refer to this shift in indigenous forest management as a “paradigm shift” in conservation and natural resource management. There has been a shift “away from costly state-centred control towards approaches in which local people play a much more active role” (Shackleton et al., 2002:1). There was a need for the government to develop new methods that enable various stakeholders to “enter into mutually acceptable agreements governing use and management of a range of forest products” (Grundy, 2002:1). In the South African policy forest stakeholders are encouraged to work with officials in “planning, managing and developing state forest land and resources as well as recognising and promoting forest-based livelihoods of poor rural communities” (DWAF, 2002c:1). It has become clear to the Chief Director that “sustainable forest management will only succeed in partnership with communities and other role players or stakeholders” (DWAF, 2002d:1).

Figure 5.3 shows that the participatory forest management continuum encompasses full state control *and* full control by the communities (DWAF, 1999; DWAF, 2002d). International co-management discourse has been embedded in South Africa’s forestry policy. The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry have adopted Borrini-Feyerabend’s (1996) conceptualisation of participation as their framework for participatory management within the forestry context in South Africa (see Figure 5.3). This provides an interesting example of how an understanding of a concept prominent in international literature becomes institutionalised into national policy discourse.

An interpretation of PFM based on this diagram suggests that PFM is a sufficiently broad enough concept to incorporate both ends of the spectrum rather than a portion of the spectrum somewhere between the two extremes. Sekhar (2000) and Obiri and Lawes (2002) however, draw a distinction within the forestry sector between the extremes of the continuum and joint/participatory forest management. Obiri and Lawes (2002) distinguish between state forest management on the one extreme, community forest management on the other extreme, and PFM which exists somewhere between these two extreme management options. This is more consistent with the general conceptualisation of co-management in terms of the definition of

what the term implies¹⁹. Perhaps it is due to the difficulties in defining participation, a principal feature of co-management, that some have preferred to use alternative terms to participatory management (such as joint and shared management).

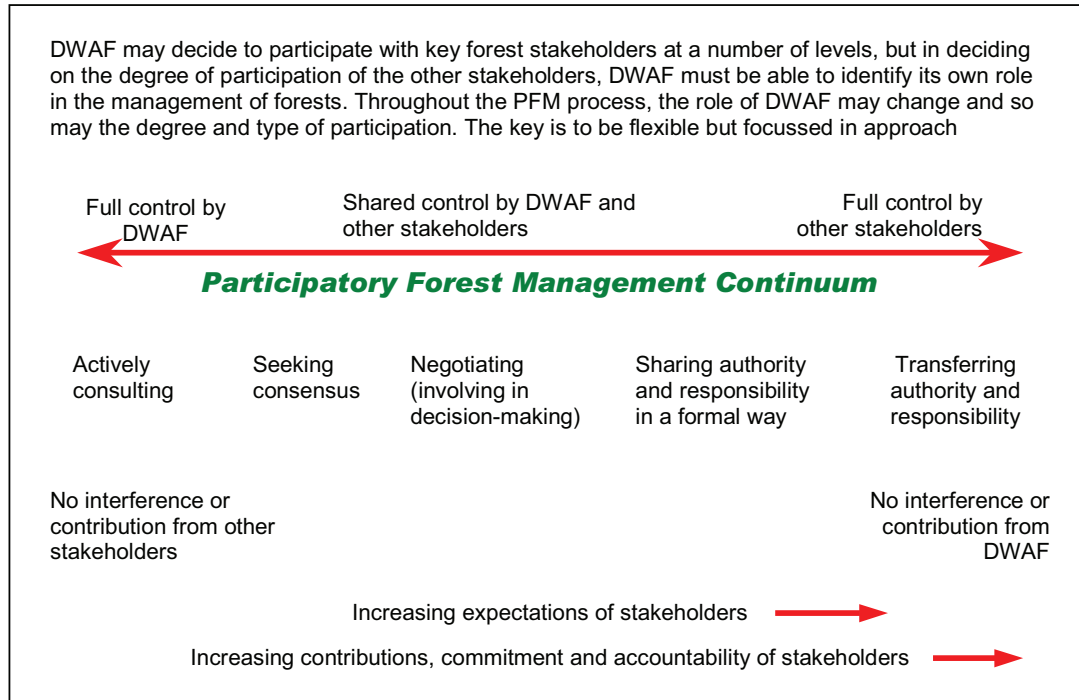


Figure 5.3. The participatory forest management continuum as adopted by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, South Africa (after Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996:11; DWAF, 1999).

The lead-up to the new national strategy for indigenous forest management, within which the principles of PFM form the cornerstone, began as early as the 1994 elections. According to DWAF (2002d:1), “prior to 1994, the management of indigenous forests in South Africa had a narrow scientific focus and there was little concern for the social development potential for forests and forestry”. After the first democratic elections in South Africa, the Chief Directorate of Forestry “inherited de jure responsibility for all state forests previously managed under the jurisdiction of former provinces, homelands and the self-governing territories” (DWAF, 2002c:3). This placed 230 000 ha of forest under the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry management, a substantial increase from its former 91 160 ha of forest.

¹⁹ See also Sekhar, 2000 and Hauck and Sowman, 2003.

It is widely held in the international literature that PFM methods arose as a response to the traditional forestry methods, which failed to cease the precipitous decline in the area and quality of national forests and woodlands (Grundy, 2002). Indigenous forests were historically regarded as spaces of exclusion where local communities were legally denied access and consequently denied any benefits derived from forests (Rapoli, 2002). Legal exclusion was entrenched and enforced through a ‘fences and fines’ approach to prohibit unauthorised access and utilisation of resources. Such an approach to managing the people and park relationship is consistent with the colonial fortress model of conservation that was prevalent in many British colonies and often persisted in the post-colonial era too (Ramutsindela, 2004).

In South Africa indigenous forests were managed for their commercial output or hardwood output, but were primarily conservatively managed in the name of nature conservation (DWAF, 2002a) but also providing for the recreational needs of the white minority in specified areas. It is believed that the exclusionary approach to forest management precipitated conflict between government and rural communities and the subsequent rapid depletion of forest resources due to illegal harvesting in an uncontrolled manner. Against this historical background the South African national government has adopted a considerable social focus, directed by the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy document²⁰ (ANC, 1994; PCAS, 2003), which is a radical shift from past policies and legislation.

Since 1994, substantial political changes have altered the policy and legislative environment as it pertains to forests and woodlands in South Africa, particularly concerning the rights and responsibilities of those using their resources (Von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2002). The process of transformation from within South Africa has resulted in government structures and policies becoming increasingly democratic and transparent. This change has had a significant impact on forest management, away from the exclusionary approach towards a more participatory approach that also incorporates sustainable resource use. This internal restructuring of South African society, coupled with a growing trend internationally towards increasing community participation in forest management, has resulted in the Chief Directorate: Forestry undergoing a “reorientation and transformation process” (DWAF, 2002a:1). Included in this process is the emergence of new forms of institutional structures and management practices for the sustainable management of forests and woodlands. DWAF (DWAF, 2002a) has identified a

²⁰ See Section 6.3 for more information about the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy document.

number of additional characteristics of indigenous forest management in South Africa, which were not in line with South Africa's democratic principles and with international trends. Firstly, it was recognised that their management approach lacked a concern for social management; secondly, there was no considerable attention given to the role that forestry could play in poverty alleviation. Thirdly, the application of scientific management was dedicated to understanding forest fauna and flora and their protection rather than the usefulness of forests and forest products. Finally, DWAF recognised that their management demonstrated "little interest in the yield of non-timber products, non-commercial products and cultural and spiritual services of forests" (DWAF, 2002a:1).

The government undertook to review the policies and legislation governing forests, and by 1997 the review culminated in the National Forestry Action Programme, which was subsequently translated into the National Forest Act (Act 84 of 1998). This Act, together with the National Veld and Forest Fire Act (Act 101 of 1998) provides the mandate for the management of forests on state land (DWAF, 2002c). These two pieces of legislation strive to address the mistakes of past management and achieve the following (DWAF, 2002c:2):

- a. Address sustainable forest utilisation and management
- b. Monitor provincial competency in state indigenous forest management
- c. Promote economic and social development and utilise the development potential of forestry
- d. Give the South African people a greater access to the country's state forests
- e. Improve equability in the distribution of benefits flowing from the forest resources.

The National Forest Act (NFA) is based on the concept of sustainable forest management and brought South Africa in line with international trends in indigenous forest management. The NFA (Act 84 of 1998:16) interpretation of sustainable forest management includes the following principles that apply to all official decisions that affect forests:

- a. Natural forests must not be destroyed save in exceptional circumstances where, in the opinion of the Minister, a proposed new land use is preferable in terms of its economic, social or environmental benefits
- b. A minimum area of each woodland type should be conserved
- c. Forests must be developed and managed so as to-
 - i. conserve biological diversity, ecosystems and habitats;
 - ii. sustain the potential yield of their economic, social and environmental benefits;
 - iii. promote the fair distribution of their economic, social, health and environmental benefits;
 - iv. promote their health and vitality;
 - v. conserve natural resources, especially soil and water;
 - vi. conserve heritage resources and promote aesthetic, cultural and spiritual values; and

- vii. advance persons or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination.

Inclusion of the principle of sustainable forest management did however place considerable responsibility on DWAF, especially since they inherited forests that had been poorly managed in the past, which were spread over 1400 patches, and which were under pressure from rural populations (DWAF, 2002c). In response, D:IFM embarked upon a strategic planning exercise during 1999 that culminated in a strategic goal, which they hoped to achieve by 2005. The goal, which is reflected in the mission statement, can be read as follows:

“To manage, on a sustainable basis, the state indigenous forests with the objective of conserving biodiversity and contributing to the economic, social and spiritual upliftment of South Africa’s people, with special emphasis on poor rural communities” (DWAF, 1999:3 and 2002c:5).

More recently, the vision in the draft policy document encapsulates the goal for forestry in South Africa. The vision for PFM is expressed as follows:

“Through participation in the sustainable management of forest resources a contribution is made from forests to the local economic development, the constitutional rights of all South Africans to use and benefit from the forests, the livelihoods of poor and previously disadvantaged groups” (DWAF, 2003a:4).

PFM was adopted to “promote forest conservation within the context of sustainable development” (DWAF, 2002d:1). It is the approach adopted by D:IFM in all its dealings with indigenous forest management. PFM is an overall framework that seeks to address the following issues (DWAF, 2002c:8):

- a. Providing rights to access forest resources and benefits therein by rural people
- b. Addressing past imbalances through corrective action in both racial and gender equity
- c. Improving relationships between different forest stakeholders
- d. Improving communities’ sense of ownership over forest management decision-making
- e. Providing the mechanism to encourage and promote the establishment of down stream opportunities that are beneficial to both the department and the community.

A key shift in forest management under PFM is the desire to “increase the share of benefits that formerly disadvantaged South Africans derive from the country’s forest resources” (DWAF, 2002a:1). Von Maltitz and Shackleton (2002:20) have stated that the objective of PFM is that “communities adjacent to forest areas should have some level of involvement in the management of the forest, and should also be able to use the forest resource in a sustainable manner”. In order for this to become a reality, Von Maltitz and Shackleton (2002) maintain that community structures, that are based on pre-existing community networks, would need to

be formed to enable communities to enter into Community Forest Management agreements with the state.

In terms of the mandate given to them under the Constitution and departmental policy, the Chief Directorate: Forestry within DWAF has committed itself to five key actions that should assist with the effective and efficient implementation of PFM in South Africa. According to DWAF (2002e; 2003d:1) they will strive to:

- a. Develop and implement incentives that support the conservation of biological diversity and sustainable use of indigenous forests
- b. Promote equitable access to natural forest resources to improve quality of life, culture and traditional values, and restore the dignity of all
- c. Encourage and facilitate economic opportunities that are compatible with and which compliment the conservation and use of indigenous forest through Community Public Private Partnerships
- d. Enhance capacity of communities through appropriate training and education that embraces indigenous knowledge and skills
- e. Promote innovative ways of maximising benefits from indigenous forests through the sustainable use of forest resources.

DWAF also adopted a set of eleven principles to guide their approach and practices for the management of indigenous state forests. The principles reflected in Table 5.3 below are incorporated into their departmental training manuals and the brochures about PFM that are available to the public. This research project aims to determine the extent to which these principles are maintained or applied at a local level.

Table 5.3. DWAF's eleven principles of participatory forest management (DWAF, 1999, 2002c and 2003a).

1	People centred:	For effective forest management, the Directorate must build an understanding of the impact of indigenous forests on rural livelihoods to ensure that people become a priority and that they will be architects of their own development.
2	Participatory and holistic approach	Participatory management will be encouraged as a routine and a style of promoting the involvement of local people in forest management wherever possible.
3	Sustainability	Forest management will be implemented in an economically, socially and environmentally sustainable manner.
4	Transparency	Forest management will be based on transparency and honesty and implemented with a common vision amongst stakeholders.
5	Equity	Forest management will promote a balanced, fair and gender-sensitive approach.
6	Benefits	Forest management will strive to ensure tangible short and long term benefits to local and other stakeholders through, for example, the development of markets and enterprises to increase the values of the forest produce and the

		development of sustainable harvesting practices.
7	Remedial measures	Forest management will ensure that mechanisms are in place to address fairly any conflicts that may arise.
8	Capacity Building	The process of indigenous forest management will promote local empowerment by building capacity and utilising appropriate indigenous knowledge.
9	Cultural and traditional values	Forest management will be based within the current legal and policy framework of South Africa whilst acknowledging cultural and traditional authority.
10	Partnerships	An integrated approach to forest management will be encouraged through partnerships with various stakeholders.
11	Dynamic approach	The Directorate will maintain a pattern of continuous consultation and feedback amongst stakeholders, ensuring that the lessons learned can be applied to modify the process if necessary.

Although the principles highlighted in bold in Table 5.3 have not changed since 1999, the description or explanations of some of the principles have been amended to reflect the broadening of scope beyond indigenous forests and the inclusion of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM).

The philosophy behind PFM has not altered substantially; the alterations to the goals (as reflected in the 1999 mission statement and 2003 vision) are of interest to discourse analysis and are discussed at length in Chapter Eight, where policy vocabularies of PFM in South Africa are discussed.

5.4. CONCLUSION

This chapter reviews the concepts of participation, co-management and PFM and examines how these concepts are applied in South Africa. A theoretical section on participation was included which frames the concepts of co-management and participatory forest management that are elaborated in the chapter. A variety of theoretical models or typologies of participatory programmes are proposed in the literature and this variety reflects the complexity of the subject. However, most of these models differentiate between the various kinds of participation based on the degree to which local people are involved in, and have control over, the process and therefore they resemble the co-management and PFM continuums. These models illustrate that one cannot simply refer to ‘participation’ as occurring in a management process but rather to consider the kind of participation that is taking place because it would give a better indication of the actual process that is being undertaken.

Co-management theory is used to frame the research because it incorporates the debate around state-civil society engagement processes in the field of nature conservation in post-colonial countries. Co-management is a contemporary management strategy that involves multiple stakeholders in decision-making concerning natural resources (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Hackel, 1999; Turner et al., 2001). It is an alternative to earlier approaches that were often top-down, where the state or conservationists were regarded as the gatekeepers to decision-making and the participation of local communities and resource users were either excluded or marginalised.

Many writers agree that there are a variety of versions of co-management. These versions have been expressed as a continuum. The main difference between these versions is the degree to which participants are able to influence or control decision-making (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Goodwin, 1998; Turner et al., 2001; Sihlophe, 2002; Grundy and Michell, 2004). At one end of the continuum is strong co-management (high levels of participation and devolution of decision-making power) and at the other end of the spectrum is weak co-management (low levels of participation and devolution of decision-making power). In general, co-management is interpreted as a management process that occurs between the extremes on the spectrum (Turner et al., 2001; Sihlophe, 2002; Grundy and Michell, 2004). Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) has been criticised by some writers for her inclusive interpretation of the concept of co-management where the extreme ends of the spectrum are still regarded as co-management. Her justification being that it is not the process that is important, as long as the outcome is local needs and demands are resolved (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996). Despite these differing interpretations of the concept, co-management is still regarded as a more appropriate management approach than previous approaches because by aiming to improve the relationship between management and resource users it is hoped that the goal of sustainable development will be achieved (Treseder and Krogman, 2002).

The concept of co-management became prevalent in South Africa from the mid 1990's when literature and policy in the forestry, fisheries and tourism sectors began to reflect the global shift in thinking that was taking place about how natural resources could be managed in a more socially sensitive manner. The shift towards more participative and democratic approaches to natural resource management is considerably different to management approaches that had

prevailed in the past, which alienated local rural people from conservation efforts (Hackel, 1999).

Finally, participatory forest management (PFM) is discussed as a co-management regime that is particular to forestry. It is part of a global shift in woodland and forestry policy-making and management planning away from the government who were regarded as the custodians of these resources for the public towards a more socially aware approach that is mindful of the concerns of a variety of stakeholders and that seeks to include these stakeholders in the management and monitoring of forests and woodlands (Harcharik 1997; Kennedy et al., 1998). Hobley (1996:337) encapsulates this in her definition of PFM where she defines it as “the sharing of products, responsibilities, control and decision-making authority over forest lands between Forest Departments and local user groups”. In theory, PFM links the socio-economic aspects of local people with the sustainable management of forest areas without compromising their environmental stability nor their ecological well-being (Rastogi, 1995 in Vira, 1999).

The concept of PFM was adopted in 2000 as a policy of the South African government towards the management of indigenous forests, plantations, woodlots and woodlands on state, provincial, communal, private and community land. The state acknowledges that within the forestry context there is a need for resource management to be cognisant of: the value that these resources have for people with regard to satisfying their physical and spiritual needs, the need for local people to have an opportunity to exercise their management capabilities by contributing to decision-making and monitoring, and of the need for them to have an opportunity to be empowered to participate in resource-use decision-making (DWAF, 2002c). The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry have adapted Borrini-Feyerabend's (1996) co-management continuum as the model upon which to base their interpretation of participatory management. This interpretation suggests that the government department has adopted Borrini-Feyerabend's (1996) understanding of co-management and this has implications for the implementation process that is analysed in this thesis.

These theoretical concepts and their application to the South African context will be used to frame the research because they provide the basis upon which an understanding of the concepts is made and upon which further interpretations can proceed. This research will contribute to this set of ideas in that it will challenge the accepted wisdom of co-management approaches such as PFM. The research will provide empirical data reflecting the inherent difficulties of

implementing co-management approaches such as PFM. It will be shown that participatory approaches are insufficient to bring about a significant change in the decision-making arena, whereby the balance of power is shifted from the state and scientific experts to include local communities and inhabitants, and that approaches may need to be more deliberative and communicative if they are to be truly collaborative management approaches. However, before an analysis can be conducted, it is necessary to contextualise the research to understand the dynamics of the locality in which PFM is being implemented in the southern Cape, and this is the focus of Chapter Six, which follows.

CHAPTER 6

CONTEXTUAL BACKGROUND TO THE CASE STUDY

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this study is twofold. It is firstly to investigate the implementation of Participatory Forest Management policy at a local level in the southern Cape/Knysna indigenous state forests in South Africa through an analysis of policy discourse. Secondly, it is to determine what happens when ecological modernisation is applied in a developing world context and to what extent co-management is an appropriate management approach given its relationship with ecological modernisation. This chapter aims to contextualise the research by providing an overview of the current South African socio-economic context, the forestry context, participatory forestry management in South African policy, and of the study area. In order to achieve this aim a description of the context is necessary.

Some of the key features of South Africa as a country in transition are discussed in Section 6.2, as this is the broad political context within which South Africa is operating and in which policy is being developed. This section creates a platform for Section 6.3, which summarises the policy context as it pertains to Participatory Forest Management, and Section 6.4, which describes the internal and external institutional restructuring that the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry has been undergoing since 1995 (Kühn et al., 2002).

The location of the case study and the biophysical nature of the southern Cape forests are described in Section 6.5 and 6.6 respectively, whilst Section 6.7 provides information about the forest management context. Section 6.8 describes the socio-economic context of the Eden District Municipality (DC 4), which incorporates the majority of the southern Cape forests, and discusses some important socio-economic issues pertaining to the area that have a bearing on the PFM implementation process. Throughout this chapter some of the issues that may affect the implementation of Participatory Forest Management (PFM) are highlighted. The historical context of the area and the use of the forests are documented in Chapter Four, and this research draws on these studies (McCracken, 2004; Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004; and Von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004).

6.2. SOUTH AFRICA IN TRANSITION: A CONFLICT OF IMPERATIVES

The introduction of PFM policy in 2000 in South Africa came at a time when many significant changes were taking place within the country. Since South Africa's transition to a post-apartheid society in 1994, a range of reform oriented policies and legislation were passed to address the historical inequalities and development challenges within the context of the pressures of a global economy. South Africa has features of both a developed country and a developing country. The features indicative of a developed country place South Africa in a strong position for the state to pursue its economic growth imperative and position itself in the global economy. However those features that are more consistent with a developing country, which are largely a legacy of South Africa's colonial and apartheid history that persist in its post-apartheid, post-colonial dispensation, pose a challenge to the achievement of the economic growth imperative.

The state is in a "dilemma of how to achieve the twin goals of economic growth and pro-active interventions that address the needs of the disadvantaged majorities" (Nel et al., 2002:226). Reference to these goals as 'twin' reflects that it is not expected that the state choose one or the other; both are important, however the pursuit of one goal has implications for how and when the second can be achieved. Although there is a commitment to the state pursuing both approaches (Nel, et al., 2002) limited financial resources and human capacity may result in the policy rhetoric failing to function at the level of implementation. There is a pressing need for the state to persist with its social, pro-poor imperative and address the features that give its 'developing country' status in order to maintain its legitimacy among the majority of the South African population. Participatory Forest Management (PFM) is a policy initiative that could be viewed as the space in which these imperatives played out.

The intention in this section is not to provide a comprehensive account of the changing policy environment, but rather to reflect on the two state imperatives and the tensions between them; achieving on one hand socio-economic development, and on the other achieving market-orientated economic growth (Nel et al., 2002). This provides a macro- scale political and economic framework within which to contextualise the PFM policy and its implementation. Section 6.2.1 first explores the developed-developing country context that was briefly discussed above. Section 6.2.2 then discusses the social, pro-poor imperative and highlights the Reconstruction and Development Programme as an influential strategy in promoting this

imperative. Finally Section 6.2.3 discusses the pro-growth neo-liberal imperative and highlights the role that the Growth Employment and Redistribution policy has played in advancing this agenda.

6.2.1. The developed-developing country context

This section briefly discusses some of the features of South Africa in terms of its status as a developed country and also in terms of its developing country status. In general, South Africa shares some characteristics of the core countries of the north, which are characterised by “high wages, advanced technology, and a diversified economy” (Nel, 2000:116). However, it also shares some characteristics of peripheral countries of the south such as “low wages, rudimentary technology and a simple production mix” (Nel, 2000:116). South Africa has various titles: a developing country, an industrialising country, a middle-income country, a semi-periphery country, and a third world country with first world attributes. These terms convey the idea that South Africa represents conditions of both global extremes; that it is in transition, progressing towards a more ‘developed’ status.

South Africa has been described as a developing economy because of a number of characteristics it displayed in the early post-apartheid transition. These characteristics include (after Nyerere, 1996, cited in Lester et al., 2000:243):

- a. The predominance of subsistence over commercial activities
- b. A narrow disarticulated production base with ill adapted technology
- c. Lopsided development that arose as a result of the urban and racial biases of public policies and development policies
- d. A heavily subsidised import-substituting industrialisation strategy
- e. Weak institutional capabilities.

However, South Africa has also been described as an upper middle-income country owing to its per capita GDP of more than US\$3.160 in 1995, which suggests that the country has sufficient scope, given its wealth of resources, to afford to address its inequalities (Lester et al., 2000).

The presence of these conflicting realities in South Africa poses significant challenges for transformation and restructuring, because the state has to consciously choose an agenda that

integrates the twin imperatives. Transformation is occurring within government departments²¹; within the workplace in general²²; within the education sector where academic institutions are being restructured and curricula redeveloped; and also within the environmental sector where demands for development are being critically scrutinised for their environmental implications.

The challenge facing South Africa in a post-apartheid redistributionist dispensation is to address the development challenges within the context of the pressures of a global economy. The first policy to address this challenge was the Reconstruction and Development Programme adopted in 1994, which is indicative of a pro-poor agenda or social imperative.

6.2.2. The social, pro-poor agenda

A pro-poor approach to development is characterised as an approach that is disparaging of the emphasis that is often placed on the role of the market, and is critical of the “focus on issues of empowerment, participation and community development” (Nel et al., 2002:226). The focus of such an agenda is on addressing the injustices of the past; restoring the disparities between races in the areas of service provision, employment, housing, welfare and access to land; and promoting sustainable growth (Lester et al., 2000). The premise of this agenda is that economic growth will be achieved by first addressing social issues, because through addressing these issues a sound platform will be created whereby members of society will be in a much better position to engage in the economy and thereby grow the economy. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)²³ was a state strategy designed to address these issues, exemplifying this social, pro-poor agenda.

At the broadest level, the most obvious shift in society was from an apartheid to a post-apartheid society. In 1994 the victorious ANC might have imposed radical socialist policies in the form of the Freedom Charter, however the party was pressurised by business and global financial institutions to rather promote the redistributionist Reconstruction and Development Programme (Lester et al., 2000). The RDP was adopted in 1994 as the means by which social disparities could be restored. The policy was regarded as the cornerstone of government policy

²¹ See Section 6.4 for transformation within the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF).

²² For example with the legislated restructuring of the labour force through the Employment Equity Act (Act 55 of 1998) and the Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment Act (Act 53 of 2003).

²³ See Section 6.3 for a synopsis of the Reconstruction and Development Programme.

in 1994 and 1995 development policies (Lester et al., 2000). It was a crucial step in the ANC's strategy to gain legitimacy and to secure support. This document was couched in everyday language and provided a socio-economic and redistributionist agenda to which all South African parties could subscribe. It was therefore crucial for fostering both local and international support for the ANC and establishing its legitimacy. The policy details the nature of social and developmental transformation that South Africa would undergo in the period of post-apartheid transition.

In the context of forestry, the introduction of the RDP policy necessitated changes to the way in which forest management was undertaken. The White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (DWAF, 1996:5) states that the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry "has already redirected its programmes toward RDP goals". The exclusionary, protectionist approach adopted in forestry during apartheid was no longer tenable in the new dispensation; new policies and legislation were needed for the Department to direct an approach to forest management that would be consistent with the principles enshrined in the South African Constitution (No. 108 of 1996) and the RDP.

In response to such policy and legislation, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry drafted the White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (March, 1996). This is the forest policy for South Africa. Through this document, the Department indicates the will to be more inclusive and less dictatorial in its approach, in that the policy will "be pursued by wide participation in formulating and implementing policy and plans for forestry, which will be developed to facilitate the role of people in communities, the private sector, and Government" (DWAF, 1996:21). The PFM policy²⁴ arose out of this White Paper and indicates the state's intention to alter the manner in which it engages with people and the manner in which it formulates and implements policy.

Economic development is also a feature of the RDP with building the economy being one of the objectives of the policy. However, economic initiatives would be applied at the local scale, rather than at the national scale, through what are referred to as 'Local Economic Development' (LED) initiatives (Nel, 2000). The LED initiatives were promoted in the White Paper on Local Government, which was passed in 1998. This White Paper introduced the

²⁴ See Chapter Five.

principle of ‘developmental local government’, which obliges local government to be actively engaged in the economic development of local areas under their jurisdiction. The policy also obligated local governments to play a greater role in job creation and in the improvement of socio-economic conditions (Nel, 2000). Similarly, the Forestry White Paper (DWAF, 1996:5) stipulated that the role of the Government in the context of addressing rural development (a key feature of the RDP strategy) is to “create a facilitative environment for local economic development that will encourage rural people to develop entrepreneurial skills and promote appropriate markets that will implement local economic development”.

At the local level, municipalities have a role to play in facilitating local economic development. For example, they may promote tourism in their area, provide facilities for informal traders, or develop policies for small business support (Nel, 2000). PFM accords well with the concept of LED. PFM is a policy that DWAF has designed to open up access to indigenous forests. The policy also creates an opportunity for local people to access forest and non-forest resources for sustainable utilisation in LED initiatives. It is suggested that what DWAF (2003a) refer to as Forest Enterprise Development (FED), may be a form of Local Economic Development in the context of forestry. The PFM policy aims to provide opportunities for FED to enable people to benefit from forest resources. Therefore, in the context of the southern Cape, the Eden District Municipality could hypothetically work in partnership with DWAF to bring about the implementation of PFM-related LED programmes.

The social pro-poor imperative that has been described will be set in sharp contrast to the pro-growth economic imperative that is discussed below.

6.2.3. The pro-growth economic agenda

The pro-growth economic agenda or imperative differs from the social pro-poor imperative because it emphasises “market-led approaches to business development, which stress competitiveness and investment attraction” (Scott and Pawson, 1999, and Rogerson, 2000, cited in Nel et al., 2002:226). This approach is typified by the Growth, Empowerment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy adopted in 1996. The adoption of the GEAR policy represented a shift in thinking about how growth and redistribution could be achieved. Prior to GEAR, and beginning with the Freedom Charter in 1955, the ANC’s stated approach was the redistribution of capital assets through the nationalisation of key economic sectors. In this earlier approach,

state intervention was central to achieving growth and redistribution. The GEAR strategy, however, replaced these more socialist approaches with a free market approach that has neo-liberalism as its central principle (Nel et al., 2002). The role of the state in achieving growth and redistribution was reduced in favour of a free market approach, where the market would drive the growth and development that South Africa needed and the benefits would trickle down for social development and redistribution. In brief, GEAR outlines a strategy for achieving the RDP objectives.

GEAR is a neo-liberal approach. It has been described as a “package of conservative neo-liberal economic policies” (Hart, 2002:7). According to Hayek (1981), neo-liberalism is a disorderly collection of ideas and theories associated with the desirability of the market as the central plan for the organisation of social, economic and political life. It is a term that has come to describe the “predominantly laissez faire, market-driven economic policies sweeping across the globe” (Cypher and Dietz, 1997:208). In short, neo-liberalism is “export-orientated, market-led economic growth” (Hart, 2002:3) which is the heart of a pro-growth imperative (Nel et al., 2002).

The claim of neo-liberalism is that the free market system is able to maximise human welfare and is therefore the most suitable approach to improving well-being. The free market has been described as comprising “atomistic individuals who know their own autonomously arising needs and wants and who make contracts with other individuals through the mechanisms of the marketplace to satisfy those wants and needs” (Preston, 1996:253). The free market is understood to require minimum state intervention or involvement in order to function most effectively. This approach, encapsulated in the GEAR policy, signified a retreat from the policy of redistributive social change of the RDP (Hart, 2002). In other words, unlike the RDP, which acknowledges state intervention in meeting basic development needs, GEAR looks to the marketplace to address economic growth and thus improve human welfare.

As with other neo-liberal policies, proponents of GEAR maintained that through improved economic performance, redistribution and improved welfare would take place. If a growth rate of 6% per annum by 2000 was achieved, it was believed that this growth would result in increased job creation and increased exports and thereby improve social conditions. No longer was the state expected to have an interventionist role in economics; its role was now facilitatory, with the private sector being the key driver of the economy (Nel, 2000). As a

facilitator to the private sector, the state's role was to reduce state spending and the budget deficit, reduce corporate taxes and foreign exchange controls and control inflation, which would encourage privatisation and wage restraints.

However, many critics have scorned the neo-liberal ideology (Michie and Padayachee, 1997; Lester et al., 2000; Bond, 2002; Carmody, 2002) and therefore also the GEAR policy. Bond (2002), who is scathing about the negative impact that neo-liberal policies have had on socio-ecological inequalities, attributes South Africa's failure to achieve sustainable development (and address these inequalities) primarily to the capitalist mode of production. The market-orientation of decision-makers in government and donor agencies is blamed for the failure of the neo-liberal approach to deliver policies and strategies to provide basic services and achieve land reform. Instead of the anticipated job creation that GEAR should have stimulated, South Africa has experienced increased job losses. Carmody (2002:256) states that "since 1996 when neo-liberal economic reforms were introduced more than a half a million jobs have been lost, in contrast to the 600,000 that were meant to be created". Instead of job creation, South Africa has experienced 'jobless growth' (Nel, 2000; Carmody, 2002). This is a term that describes a situation in which "the economy is expanding mainly in capital-intensive sectors, but simultaneously shedding jobs in the less economically viable, labour intensive sectors" (Lester et al., 2000:256). This is a common feature of developed economies, and in this respect GEAR is at odds with the national state's goal of addressing social inequalities because increasing employment opportunities is an important step towards addressing socio-economic disparities. This feature is problematic for developing countries because a notable feature of these countries is the high levels of poverty.

Further to this, the pursuit of the pro-growth agenda has implications for the manner in which LED initiatives are implemented. This has led Healey and Ilbery (1990, cited in Nel, 2000:122) to describe LED as a "market-driven approach to development intervention", which is prevalent in a neo-liberal market economy. Owing to state cuts in regional development expenditure, LED initiatives, although often facilitated by local government, are largely driven by private sector interventions and this has necessitated a shift in focus. This shift in approach promotes private sector development, the free-market and reduced state intervention, and is more aligned with the neo-liberal GEAR strategy as opposed to the RDP, which is a more needs-based approach to rural development. Therefore, although LED initiatives still promote interventions that capitalise on the economic advantages of a particular locality, rather than

meeting basic needs and addressing rural development issues, such initiatives have been scaled up and are focussed on creating a niche in the global economy. In other words, through the actions of LEDs “individual cities or areas compete in the global market as centres of investment and comparative advantage” (Nel, 2000:122). For example, Knysna and its surrounds may not be able to compete with London or New York as a world capital, or with California, Australia and the Cape Province as producers of superlative wines, but it can compete for a share in the global tourism and/or forest products markets owing to its scenic beauty and accessible Afromontane forests.

In the context of forestry, the introduction of the pro-growth imperative through GEAR has resulted in the need for DWAF to undergo what has been referred to as ‘external’ restructuring (DWAF, 2003a). Although this is discussed in detail in Section 6.4.2, it is necessary here to mention that this restructuring refers to the change in the Department’s role as a manager of state forests. DWAF, like other government departments, has embarked upon a process of privatisation of state assets. State forests (whether indigenous or commercial plantations) are being assigned, delegated or leased to other management agencies (DWAF, 2002b; Kühn et al., 2002), thus removing the management costs and the responsibility from the state. Privatisation is not automatically a negative process; however it does open up the organisation to the pressures of a free market economy. This affects the determination of what is equitable or economically feasible in the context of the need for private business to be profitable.

This section has discussed some of the features in South Africa that are characteristic of a developed country, and also some features which are more consistent with developing countries. This duality creates a condition where the state is faced with seemingly conflicting imperatives; namely, a social, pro-poor agenda or a neo-liberal pro-growth agenda. By way of elaborating on these imperatives, examples of government policy illustrating these imperatives, and demonstrating how these policies and associated imperatives have influenced indigenous forest management policy, were cited. This should provide an indication as to whether the manner in which PFM was implemented in the southern Cape, and therefore the kind of ecological modernisation that transpired throughout the implementation process, could be attributed to the changing socio-political processes in South Africa.

6.3. THE POLICY CONTEXT PERTAINING TO PFM

There are number of policy and regulation documents that are relevant to understanding the policy context surrounding the implementation of Participatory Forest Management in the southern Cape. It is beyond the scope of this research to provide details of each document. However a synopsis of the most relevant national framework documents and forestry-related documents is given below.

6.3.1. National framework documents

This section summarises four key national policy or legislative documents that are broader than the forestry sector but which have shaped the nature of policy development in forestry sector. These are the South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994), Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy (1996), and the National Environmental Management Act (Act 107 of 1998). Each are discussed in relation to their role in shaping the development and implementation of PFM.

South African Constitution (Act 108 of 1996)

This Act is the supreme piece of legislation in South Africa was one of the first acts that were passed with the election of the African National Congress as the ruling party in 1994. The preamble of the South African Constitution Act states that its aim is to:

“heal the divisions of the past and establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; and build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations”.

The purpose of the Act, as indicated by the aim, is to set out the principles by which South Africa is to be governed. Thirty-four principles were enunciated in schedule four of the Act to give effect to these aims and these principles serve to direct the nature of, and the manner in which, policies and programmes would be developed and implemented.

In the context of forestry, the Constitution accords both national and provincial governments concurrently legislative and administrative responsibility for indigenous forests (Willis, 2004)

however the policies and legislation that are discussed later in this section are national initiatives that have arisen in response to the need to transform forestry in South Africa in line with the ANC's social, political and economic agenda.

An important aspect of the Constitution is the transformation of society in order to redress past race-based injustices. In order to achieve transformation a number of policies and programmes were developed, with the Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994) being the overriding programme.

Reconstruction and Development Programme (1994)

The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) is a policy that details the nature of transformation that South Africa is to undergo in its post apartheid transition. The stated goal of the programme was to “mobilise all our people and our country's resources toward the final eradication of apartheid and the building of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future” (ANC, 1994:1). The objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme are (PCAS, 2003):

- a. Meeting basic needs
- b. Building the economy
- c. Democratising the state and society
- d. Developing human resources
- e. Nation building.

Economic development is also a feature of the RDP with building the economy as one of the objectives of the policy but a significant aspect is the approach used to achieve this objective. The RDP is a needs-based approach to rural development because it promotes the achievement of economic growth by first addressing social issues (Lester et al., 2000; Hart, 2002). The policy places the responsibility on government to ensure that all South African citizens have the right to a decent quality of life through the sustainable use of resources (DWAF, 1996, Nel, 2000). In order to achieve this, the government should strive to ensure “equitable access to natural resources, safe and healthy living and working environments and a participatory decision-making process around environmental issues, empowering communities to manage their natural resources” (Willis, 2004:87). In this regard the RDP policy is conceptualised as promoting the government's initial social, pro-poor agenda (Nel et al., 2002).

The RDP is a policy of redistributive social change (Hart, 2002) and this is illustrated in the policy's aim to “supply land to the poorest section of the rural population and aspirant

farmers... [with] security of tenure” (Wells, 1995). The principles of the RDP are built into Integrated Development Plans of local municipalities as well as into all government policies, including those related to forestry.

Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy (1996)

The Growth, Employment and Redistribution policy is a neo-liberal macro-economic strategy that was established in 1996 and outlines a strategy for achieving the RDP objectives. Willis (2004:87) states that the key goals of the policy are:

“A competitive, fast growing economy which creates sufficient jobs for all work seekers; a redistribution of income and opportunities in favour of the poor; a society in which sound health, education, and other services are available to all; and an environment in which homes are secure and places of work are productive”.

However, the approach to addressing economic development differs from the RDP approach in that it does not favour social needs-based development as the key strategy for achieving economic growth (Hart, 2002). The GEAR strategy replaced the socialist approach of the RDP with a free market approach that has neo-liberalism as its guiding principle (Nel et al., 2002). GEAR encourages globalisation and regional economic development, the latter being seen as imperative to social upliftment and countering some of the problems of globalisation (Willis, 2004). A free market approach was favoured over the role of the state in achieving growth and redistribution. This approach is based on the belief that the market would drive the growth and development that South Africa needed and the benefits would trickle down for social development and redistribution.

The National Environmental Management Act (Act 107 of 1998)

The National Environmental Management Act (Act 107 of 1998) is the framework environmental Act of the country which allows for co-management of natural resources and calls for a high degree of public participation to be carried out through the development of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) guidelines (DWAF, 2003a).

6.3.2. Forestry-related policy and legislative documents

This section discusses six key policy or legislative documents that pertain to the forestry sector. The White Paper is the first document that is discussed because it sets out the guiding principles for DWAF, and creates the foundation for the development of a number of policies

and programmes to bring forestry in South Africa in line with the ANC's social, political and economic goals. These policies and programmes include the National Forestry Action Programme (September, 1997), National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998), the Framework for the PFM Programme (July, 1999); the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (November, 2000); the Principles, Criteria, Indicators and Standards for Sustainable Forest Management of natural forests and plantations in South Africa (2002) and the Draft PFM Policy (May 2003). Each are discussed in relation to their role in promoting PFM.

White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (March, 1996)

The White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa is South Africa's forest policy. It expresses the state's goal concerning forestry to "promote a thriving forest sector, to be utilised for the lasting benefit of the nation, and developed and managed to protect the environment" (DWAF, 1996:4). The introduction of the RDP policy in South Africa necessitated changes to the way in which forest management was undertaken and to incorporate the goals of the RDP (DWAF, 1996). The paper is in keeping with the RDP approach as opposed to the GEAR strategy because it promotes state intervention in addressing rural development and facilitating local economic development initiatives.

This document indicates the forestry department's commitment to the principles enshrined in the South African Constitution and sets out the principles that will guide DWAF in the manner in which it will engage with people and in which it will formulate and implement policy. These guiding principles are that:

- a. Forests and forest resources are to be treated as a national asset
- b. Policy is to be formulated and implemented so as to promote democratisation
- c. There should be gender equity
- d. Forestry should promote people-driven development
- e. Forestry should promote consultation in formulating and implementing policy
- f. Forest development should be sustainable
- g. There should be recognition of the scarcity of water resources
- h. Forestry should be a competitive and value-adding sector
- i. Provide decent employment conditions (DWAF, 1996).

The White Paper provides the opportunity for a co-management approach such as PFM to be adopted by DWAF. The document stipulates that policies and plans for forestry will be developed and implemented using a more inclusive and participatory approach and "will be developed to facilitate the role of people in communities, the private sector, and Government" (DWAF, 1996:21). The document contains a separate policy for community forestry out of

which the PFM policy has emerged. Section 2.6 of the White Paper details the policy for community forestry, and Section 2.7 the policy for the conservation of natural forests and woodlands.

Community forestry is endorsed by the national state and a policy is provided. This is a form of forestry that is “designed and applied to meet local social, household, and environmental needs and to favour local economic development” and “is implemented by communities or with the participation of communities” (DWAF, 1996:10). An important detail in the community forestry policy is the proposal that the role of national government should change from that of ‘management’ and rather play a coordinating and enabling role in the promotion of SFM at all levels of governance (Willis, 2004). The PFM policy, as described in Chapter Five, arose out of the community forestry policy in the White Paper and indicates the state’s intention to alter the manner in which it engages with people and the manner in which it formulates and implements policy.

National Forestry Action Programme (September, 1997)

The government undertook to review the policies and legislation governing forests, and by 1997 the review culminated in the National Forestry Action Programme, which was subsequently translated into the National Forest Act (Act 84 of 1998).

South Africa’s National Forestry Action Programme (NFAP) (September, 1997) is regarded as the most appropriate planning process for sustainable forest development and the implementation of Agenda 21. Agenda 21 is a United Nation (UN) programme that is aimed at promoting sustainable development. It is a comprehensive blueprint of action to be taken globally, nationally and locally by organisations of the UN, governments, and major groups in every area in which humans impact on the environment. The number 21 refers to the 21st century (UNCED, 1992).

The NFAP is a strategic plan that provides a framework for implementing forestry policy (Willis, 2004). Forests of all kinds fall under the NFAP, and community forestry is promoted as an important component of the plan for any forest to counter natural woodland and forest degradation by those who rely on fuel wood as an energy source. The concept of participatory forest management is included in this programme as a strategy for both communal and state forests.

Framework for the PFM Programme (July, 1999)

The Framework for the PFM Programme in the Directorate: Indigenous Forest Management (July, 1999) is a document which is analysed in Chapter Eight. It describes PFM and why this approach is necessary in South Africa. It also provides the mission statement of the Directorate, which is (DWAF, 1999:3):

“To manage, on a sustainable basis, the state indigenous forests with the objective of conserving biodiversity and contributing to the economic, social and spiritual upliftment of South Africa’s people, with special emphasis on poor rural communities”

The document also provides the PFM policy statement, and the eleven principles which the Chief Directorate: Forestry has adopted to guide its approach and practices for the management of state indigenous forests (DWAF, 1999).

National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998)

The National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998) is expected to provide the legislative support necessary for the implementation of the forest policy as encapsulated in the 1996 White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (Willis, 2004).

The Act makes provision for the promotion of PFM in South Africa, even though it does not use the phrase specifically. Sustainable Forest Management (SFM) is the key premise of the Act and the stated principles are as follows: *(a)* natural forests must not be destroyed save in exceptional circumstances where, in the opinion of the Minister, a proposed new land use is preferable in terms of its economic, social or environmental benefits; *(b)* a minimum area of each woodland type should be conserved; and *(c)* forests must be developed and managed so as to:

1. Conserve biological diversity, ecosystems and habitats
2. Sustain the potential yield of their economic, social and environmental benefits
3. Promote the fair distribution of their economic, social, health and environmental benefits
4. Promote their health and vitality
5. Conserve natural resources, especially soil and water
6. Conserve heritage resources and promote aesthetic, cultural and spiritual values
7. Advance persons or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination.

This Act also makes legislative provision for the development of criteria and indicators of sustainability of forest resources. According to Shackleton and Willis (2000:25) the Act

“automatically protects all natural forests and places the responsibility for the implementation of the Act with national government”. The government, however, reserves the right to delegate or assign this responsibility to other management agents (Shackleton and Willis, 2000; Kühn et al., 2002; DWAF, 2003a). Provision is made for community involvement in Chapter Four of the Act through the establishment of Community Forestry Agreements (CFA’s) and the development of criteria and indicators for Sustainable Forest Management is prescribed.

The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (November, 2000)

The aim of the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) is to implement integrated rural development programmes across the country that will “attain socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies and universal access to social amenities, able to attract and retain skilled and knowledgeable people who are equipped to contribute to growth and development” (ISRDS, 2000:iv). It is reported to be “idealistic in its vision and practical in its focus on mechanisms of implementation” (ISRDS, 2000:iv). This government strategy arose out of its experience with rural programmes since 1994, and lessons learned from similar endeavours worldwide.

This strategy forms part of the government’s concerted attempt to achieve their development goals, and thereby address the injustices created by past apartheid policies, in a more integrated way. The strategy encourages a participatory approach because addressing issues of rural poverty and underdevelopment is premised on co-operation between the three tiers of government, with the full participation of rural communities and in partnership with all people. Through this programme it is anticipated that rural communities will achieve higher levels of development, receive improved service delivery and experience a deepening of democracy (ISRDS, 2000).

According to DWAF (2003a), use of forests by communities is only part of their livelihood and therefore PFM should be included as part of the Integrated Development Plan.

Principles, Criteria, Indicators and Standards for Sustainable Forest Management of natural forests and plantations in South Africa (2002)

The Principles, Criteria, Indicators and Standards (PCI&S) in this 2002 document are intended as tools to be used for promoting, monitoring and regulating sustainable forest management in South Africa in accordance with the principles laid out in the NFA. They were developed

through intensive stakeholder consultation and at the time of this research were being tested by DWAF and the Committee for Sustainable Forest Management (CSFM).

According to DWAF (2003a), 22 of the 80 indicators have particular reference to PFM, local development and stakeholder participation, and PFM principles fall within ten of the twenty-four criteria.

Draft PFM Policy (May 2003).

This draft document was revised in October 2003, but it is the May 2003 version that has been used here in the analysis because the analysis was already underway when the updated document became available. The draft policy document, which follows from the 1999 Framework document, is “an overview and a synthesis of existing PFM policy in South Africa” with the stated purpose being to “stimulate further development of PFM under the existing mandate and revised organisational structure of DWAF” (DWAF, 2003:2).

For the purpose of analysis, only the White Paper of Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (DWAF, 1996); the National Forests Act (DWAF, 1998); the Framework for the PFM Programme of the Directorate: Indigenous Forest Management (DWAF, 1999) and the Draft PFM Policy (DWAF, 2003) were selected for analysis in this research, the results of which are discussed in Chapter Eight. These four documents were selected on the basis that PFM forms a key component of the documents and they therefore provide the official state rhetoric for PFM and an indication of the way in which the concept of participatory forest management is being conceptualised at a national level.

6.4. INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

It is important to understand the current legal framework as well as the institutional responsibilities for implementing the laws and policies. Participatory Forest Management is being implemented during a time of considerable institutional transformation and reform within the government as a whole but also within the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (Kühn et al., 2002). The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) is a large government department, which has its national office in Pretoria, and ten regional offices scattered throughout the provinces of the country. This department, as mandated by the National Forests Act (NFA, Act 84 of 1998) and the National Veld and Forest Fire Act

(NV&FFA, Act 101 of 1998), has the responsibility to sustainably manage forests on state land. This responsibility initially fell on the Directorate: Indigenous Forest Management (D:IFM) within the Chief Directorate of Forestry (CD:F) of DWAF but since 2003 is the responsibility of the Participative Forestry Directorate (D:PF).

Since 1994 a number of changes have taken place within the department in order to bring South Africa in line with international trends in forest management (DWAF, 2002c). In order for the department to give effect to the changes in policy and legislation, three major changes were made which have implications for the implementation of PFM. Firstly, Section 6.4.1 discusses the internal restructuring of the forestry function within DWAF. Secondly, Section 6.4.2 discusses the external restructuring underway concerning the transfer of State Forest Management Functions. The third major change is the adoption of PFM as best practice approach for forest management in South Africa. However, this third change has been discussed in Chapter Five and therefore the focus of this section will be on internal and external restructuring in DWAF.

6.4.1. Internal restructuring

DWAF has had a number of roles within the Forestry sector in South Africa. The department has managed plantations and indigenous forests; been responsible for developing and implementing policy and legislation; and undertaken scientific research and monitoring. The national office was also in the position of having to regulate its own operations. The Chief Directorate has subsequently been restructured so as to “separate policy and regulation from operations” (DWAF, 2002c:17) and bring the department in line with its anticipated future role as a “regulatory, advisory and monitoring body, divested of management functions” (DWAF, 2003:16). Accordingly, the former Indigenous Forest Management, Commercial, and Community Forestry Directorates which were under the Chief Directorate of Forestry, were dissolved and the following Directorates created, namely: Participative Forestry, Forestry Support, Technical and Information Systems, Regulations and Forest Policy and Strategy. In addition, since 1 April 2002, the Chief Directorate: Forestry and the Chief Directorate: Water Services were joined by two new Chief Directorates that are responsible for both Water and Forestry, the Chief Directorate: Operations and the Chief Directorate: Policy and Regulations (Kühn et al., 2002).

According to Kühn et al. (2002:302) the reason behind this restructuring is the policy that “the Department of Forestry will gradually move out of direct management of state forests, both commercial and indigenous, and strengthen its policy and regulation role in the sector”. The Organogram in Figure 6.1 represents an attempt to outline the structure of DWAF as it applies to PFM in South Africa, from a national level and national office, down to the local level in the southern Cape.

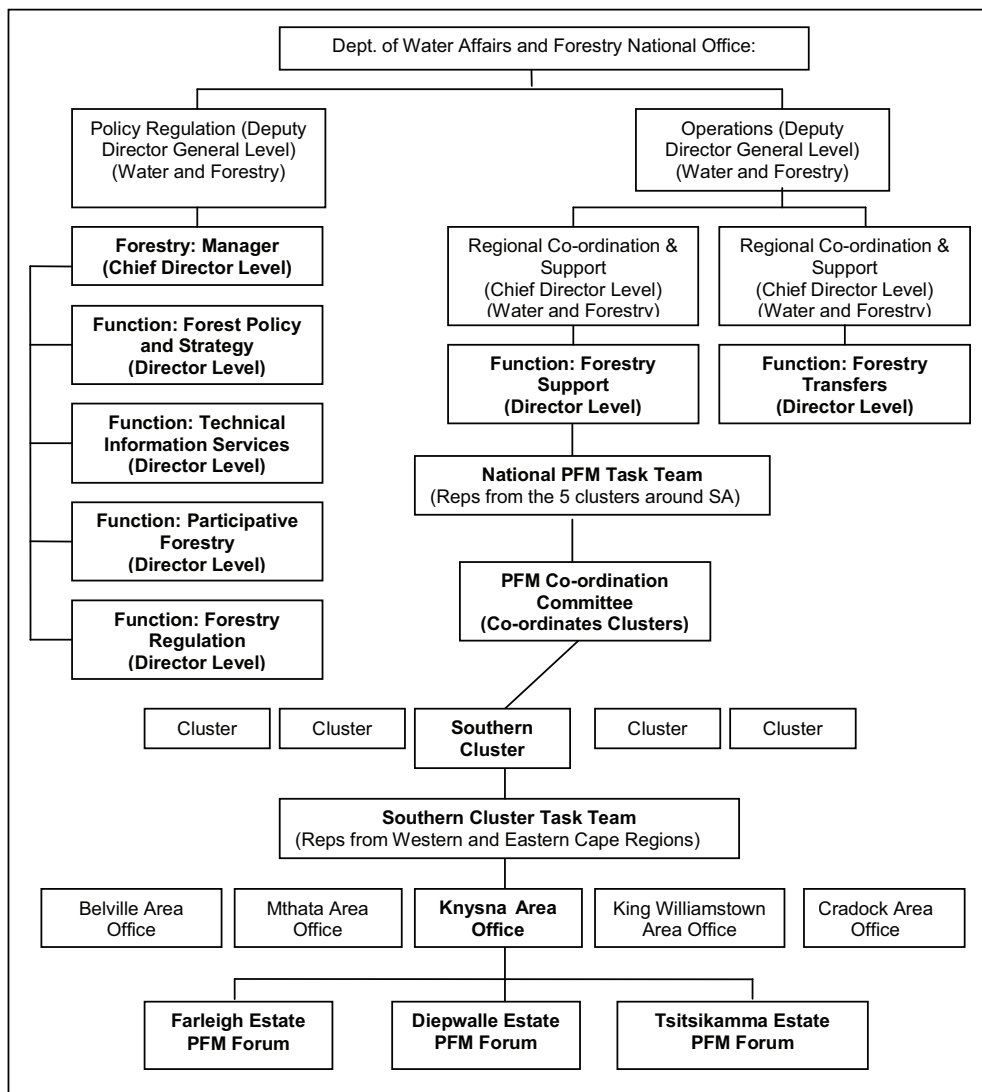


Figure 6.1. The organisational structure of DWAF as it pertains to Participatory Forest Management in the southern Cape (Adapted from Rambøll, 2003:67).²⁵

²⁵ It is acknowledged that this diagram may not be fully accurate but as a result of the restructuring processes underway in DWAF it was difficult to obtain information.

PFM was first introduced in 1997 by the then D:IFM but since the restructuring, it is intended that the operationalisation of PFM will be “scaled-up” across the previous Directorates and will also include the devolution of management functions to local level (DWAF, 2003a). PFM is therefore envisaged as an “approach to all Forestry functions, across forest types [that] will align Forestry functions at regional level with national office’s envisaged future role” (DWAF: 2002:3a). The decision in late 2002 to scale up PFM, thus making it a crosscutting issue to be dealt with concerning all forest types, is seen by DWAF and Ramboll²⁶ to be a reflection of the importance of PFM within the Forestry Function at DWAF Head Office and at regional levels (DWAF, 2003b). This is also reflected in the establishment of a new Forestry Function at Head Office, namely Participative Forestry.

A National PFM Task Team has been formed, which comprises representatives from each of the five clusters around South Africa, including support from representatives from both the Department for International Development (DFID). This Task Team is tasked to provide support for the national restructuring and capacity building for PFM. It is assisted by the DANIDA who is providing support to the CD:F in DWAF to build capacity within the department for the operationalisation of PFM at the local level. The PFM Co-ordination Committee is tasked with co-ordinating the activities of the five clusters that the country is divided into. Working on the same principle as the National Task Team, each cluster meets to discuss issues pertaining to the operationalisation of PFM. For example, the Southern Cluster has a Southern Cluster Task Team and comprises representatives from the Area Offices within the cluster (for the Southern Cluster these are Area offices from within the Western and Eastern Cape Regions). At still a more local level each Area Office holds meetings and has discussions with the Estate Managers from the estates in the area. The responsibility for implementing PFM sits primarily on their shoulders, the lowest level of operation.

6.4.2. External restructuring

The external restructuring currently underway within DWAF refers to the change in the Department’s role as a manager of state forests. An important policy detail contained within

²⁶ Ramboll is the local implementing agency for the Danish Development Agency (DANIDA) in South Africa.

the White Paper (DWAF, 1996) is the proposal that the role of national government should change from management to rather playing a coordinating and enabling role in the promotion of Sustainable Forest Management at all levels of governance (Willis, 2004). This involves the “devolution of all management functions to local level, in most cases to new managing agents” such as provincial government, nature conservation bodies, the South African National Parks (SANParks), or local communities (Kühn et al., 2002; DWAF, 2003a:16) and would apply to both indigenous and commercial state forests. This would assist DWAF in assuming its new role as referee, advisor, regulator and policy-maker (Abbot, pers. comm. 30/01/2003; DWAF, 2003a). The intention is that the D:IFM would cease to exist and that the role of the Chief Directorate: Forestry Operations (whose responsibility it is to issues licences and issue authorisation for use of state forests) will diminish over time, leaving behind the Chief Directorate: Policy and Regulation to regulate and monitor forests that have been assigned, delegated or leased to other management agencies (DWAF, 2002b; Kühn et al., 2002). Within the context of indigenous forests in the southern Cape, the responsibility for managing indigenous state forests is shifting away from the D:IFM within the Department of Forestry to SANParks.

Within the southern Cape, state forest assets fall under the management of the South African National Parks (SANParks). SANParks is a parastatal body that falls under the jurisdiction of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT). The decision-making rests with an 18 member National Parks Board, which comprises nine members appointed by Provincial government and nine appointed by the Minister of DEAT (Horn, 2002b). It is reported that SANParks is primarily self sufficient in that they only receive 15% of their budget from the state and are required to provide their own funding to support their work. In addition, of the 20 national parks under their management, only three are financially profitable and income generated from these parks is used to cross subsidise the others (Horn, 2002c).

Now that the D:IFM’s responsibility has been transferred to SANParks in April 2005, the forests remain as state forests and therefore under the governance of the National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998) and SANParks are empowered to administer the Act and ensure that the provisions of the Act are upheld. As PFM has been captured in the National Forests Act, this means that local people’s legislated rights to participate in forest management, and to access to decision-making and benefit sharing, should not be diminished by the transfer. Two issues have been raised that are of concern for PFM’s implementation. Firstly, SANParks, like

DWAF, have a history of exclusionary resource management, which has been epitomised by forced removals and a ‘fences and fines’ approach to access and control. It remains to be seen whether this historical legacy will affect PFM. Secondly, it has been noted by Horn (2002c) and DWAF (2002b) that the profit motive that is said to drive the parastatal “puts in question the extent to which new management agencies will be willing to engage in meaningful economic benefit-sharing with the D:IFM’s target group” (DWAF, 2002b:26).

It has been noted that the lengthy transfer of management from D:IFM to SANParks resulted in uncertainty amongst staff regarding their future employment status, as retrenchments are perceived to be part and parcel of restructuring. The reported lack of change management processes to facilitate this transformation process has resulted in increased staff turnover and a lack of commitment to PFM. Furthermore, concern has been raised as to whether SANParks will have the same vision, approach and obligations to PFM without having had the ‘buy in’ from the start.

Optimistically, the transfer to SANParks may rectify a problem, which has been termed by many as a “fatal flaw” in the PFM programme (DWAF, 2002b; Vermeulen, W., pers. comm., 28/03/2003 and Horn, pers. comm., 28/03/2003). A criticism of the PFM process is that it is constrained by the central Treasury regulation which “requires D:IFM to return all revenue generated by it to state coffers” (DWAF, 2002b:26). In other words, income generated from local resources (such as permit fees) does not stay in the region or province but is required to go into central coffers. Because SANParks are free to distribute revenue as they choose, the amalgamation with SANParks is likely to address this ‘flaw’.

6.5. PHYSICAL LOCATION OF THE SOUTHERN CAPE FORESTS

The southern Cape forests straddle the Western and Eastern Cape Provinces of South Africa (see Figure 6.2 and Figure 6.3). The ‘southern Cape forests’ or ‘Knysna forest’ (A4) are general names given to the Afromontane forests found around Knysna and Tsitsikamma, which are managed by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry sub-regional office based in Knysna. The Knysna forest is located in the Western Cape Province (southern Cape sub-region) and the Tsitsikamma Forest is located in the Eastern Cape Province (see Figure 6.3). The Outeniqua and Tsitsikamma mountain ranges form a natural boundary to the north of the indigenous forests. The width from the coast to the mountains varies from 15 km to 40 km.



Figure 6.2. Illustration of the provinces of South Africa. The case study area is circled. (DEAT, South Africa).

The forests run in a narrow strip of about 220 km along the coastline, along part of the Garden Route, from Ruitersbos at the Robinson's Pass (west of George) in the west, through the Knysna, Plettenberg Bay and Storms River areas, to Kareedouw in the east, but also including Loerie Nature Reserve at Longmore Plantation, which is further east of Kareedouw (Van der Merwe, 2002; Durrheim, 2003).

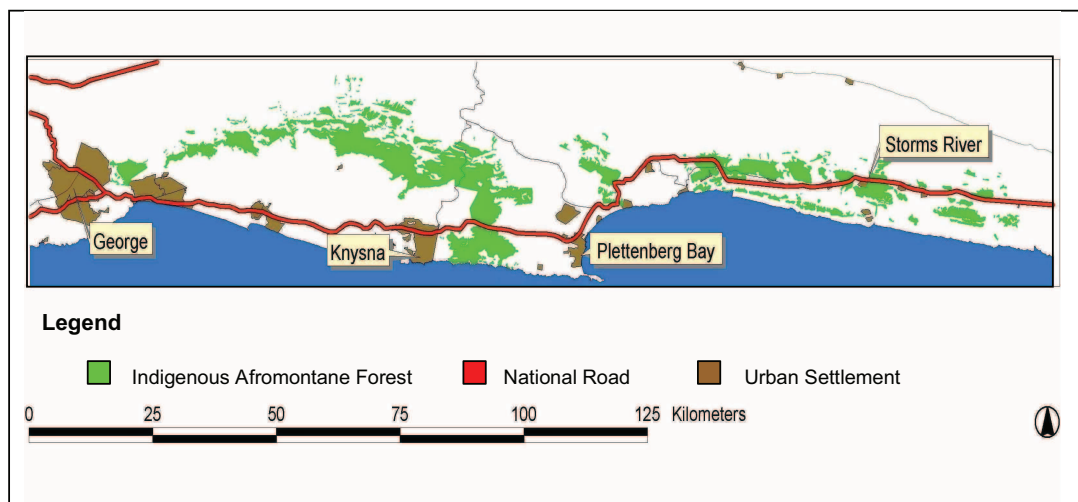


Figure 6.3. Distribution of indigenous forests of the southern Cape (DWAF, South Africa).

For the purpose of this thesis, the term ‘southern Cape’ is taken to mean the region managed by the forestry office of DWAF in Knysna, which extends beyond the sub-region of the Western Cape. Where this sub-region is referenced, special mention shall be made.

Of the approximately 60 500 ha of forest in the region, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), which is based at the Area Office in Knysna, manages 41 538.6 ha or approximately 69% of state forest land. The rest is managed by timber companies and private individuals. The state forest land managed by the Knysna Area Office is divided into three forest estates, namely:

1. **Farleigh Forest Estate:** Includes the areas between George and the Knysna River, consisting of the areas known as Groenkop, Bergplaas, Karatara and Goudveld.
2. **Diepwalle Forest Estate:** Lies between the Knysna River and Plettenberg Bay, consisting of Gouna, Ysternek Nature Reserve, Diepwalle, Fisantehoek and Harkerville.
3. **Tsitsikamma Forest Estate:** Comprises the areas to the east of Plettenberg Bay, namely Whiskey Creek Nature Reserve, Bloukrans, Lottering, Storms River, Bluelilliesbush, Witelsbos and the Loerie Nature Reserve (Durrheim, 2003:2-3).

Not all state forest land comprises indigenous forests only. The Table below indicates the proportion of forested land on each of the forest estates managed by the Area Office.

Table 6.1. Southern Cape and Tsitsikamma forestry conservation areas (ha). (Durrheim, 2003:3)

FOREST ESTATE	FOREST	FYNBOS	OTHER	INFRASTRUCTURE	TOTAL
Farleigh	9585.3 (82.9%)	1752.2	137.7	82.8	11558.0
Diepwalle	14841.4 (85.0%)	2493.8	53.2	66.4	17454.8
Tsitsikamma	11338.7 (90.5%)	1093.1	73.8	20.2	12525.8
TOTAL	35765.4 (86.1%)	5339.1 (12.9%)	264.7 (0.6%)	169.4 (0.4%)	41538.6

The forest land managed by DWAF as custodians on behalf of the state, in addition to comprising indigenous forests (86.1%), also includes fynbos (12.9%); other areas which include former plantation compartments to be rehabilitated, reconstruction areas, and fire belts (0.6%); and land used for infrastructure, such as forest stations, depots, forest villages, pastures, roads (0.4%).

6.6. BIOPHYSICAL CONTEXT: SOUTHERN CAPE FORESTS

The forest biome in the southern Cape is a significant biome and is comprised of Afromontane Forest. Although patches of Afromontane Forest are found in the Northern Province and through KwaZulu-Natal to the Western Cape, it is only along the Garden Route (extending from Knysna to the Tsitsikamma region) and the Lowveld Escarpment that these patches cover areas greater than 1km^2 . Rutherford and Westfall (1994) have only reflected the Garden Route and Lowveld Escarpment as comprising Afromontane Forests owing to their being the largest continually forested areas in South Africa (Meadows, 2000). However, there are other smaller patches to be found elsewhere, as illustrated in Figure 6.4 below.

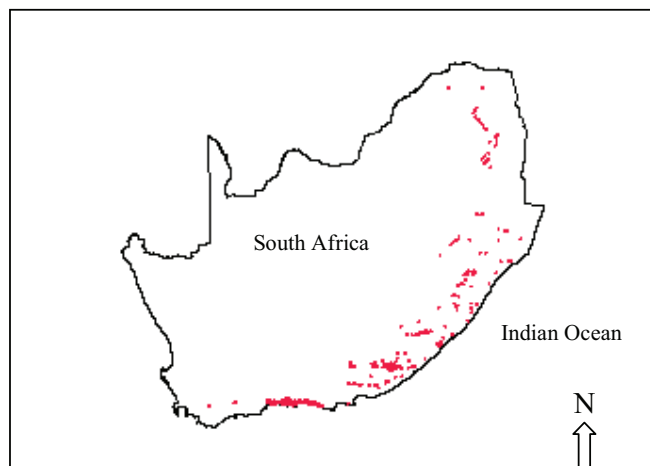


Figure 6.4. Map of South Africa showing areas covered by Afromontane forest (Lubke and McKenzie, 1996).

These forests occur on the south-facing slopes and in ravines where moisture is higher and full benefit of the frontal rain producing systems related to the south-westerly and south-easterly winds can be received. Forests occur in frost-free regions with a rainfall greater than 700 mm per year (Lubke and McKenzie, 1996) and, being “floristically similar to formations occurring throughout the montane region of the African continent thrive under a temperate climate and all year rainfall regime” (Meadows, 2000:382). Fire is regarded as the key environmental parameter restricting the spread of Afromontane Forest. Forests are located predominantly in the moist valleys of the Garden Route which are not susceptible to fire because of their high moisture content. They are also bounded by the sea and the Cape Fold Mountains which prevent their spread into neighbouring grasslands and fynbos (Lubke and McKenzie, 1996). The Knysna forests are underlain by Table Mountain Group sandstones (Meadows, 2000),

what van der Merwe (2002) refers to as a bedrock of quartzitic sandstone. The soils are usually acidic, well developed and mature (van der Merwe, 2002) but may be leached in the higher rainfall areas and shallow on steeper slopes (Lubke and McKenzie, 1996). The region generally experiences high rainfall, varying from 500 mm on the drier coast, to between 1200 mm and 1220 mm in the wetter mountains (van der Merwe, 2002).

The Knysna forests are not considered the most diverse in terms of vegetation. Everard et al (1995, in Meadows, 2000:382) state that in a sample of 20m x 20m plots, mean plant-species richness drops from 28 species per plot in coastal forests along the Indian Ocean to 15 plant species in the Afromontane Forests. Rutherford and Westfall (1994) note that under favourable climatic conditions, the predominant plant physiognomy is phanerophytic, where trees form a continuous canopy with an understory of smaller phanerophytes (trees and large shrubs whose buds are borne on the tips of the branches) and chamaephytes (smaller shrubs and herbs with buds borne closer to the ground). Lubke and McKenzie (1996) and Seydack and Vermeulen (2004) note that the predominant tree species are *Podocarpus latifolius* (Real Yellowwood), *P. falcatus* (Outeniqua Yellowwood), *Ocotea bullata* (White Stinkwood) and *Olea europaea capensis* (Ironwood) and other evergreens. The forests also support an array of ferns (a variety of which in Knysna are harvested for global export, notably the *Rumohra adiantiformis* or seven-weeks fern), lianas and epiphytes.

The southern Cape forests are not the same throughout the region. The variations in temperature, rainfall, gradient, soils and slope all influence the vegetation that is to be found in a particular area. The southern Cape forests have therefore been divided into six climax forest types that are classified according to their structure, species composition and density (see Figure 6.5). All forest types do however exhibit a layered structure as described above that is characteristic of Afromontane forests. Figure 6.5 depicts a generalised classification of the forest types. Each type shall be briefly described²⁷.

According to Durrheim (2003), most of the high forest occurs on the coastal plateau and foothills of the mountains. The drier forest types predominate on the coastal escarpment and also the steep slopes of the river valleys, whilst the medium moist and moist high forest types occur on the coastal plains and are the tallest forest type. These medium-moist and moist high

²⁷ See van der Merwe (2002) for a more comprehensive description.

forest types contain the largest, highest value trees. Wetter forest types are to be found on steep mountain slopes where soils are very shallow and poorly drained. Durrheim (2003) distinguishes eight climax forest types, adding very very dry scrub and very very wet scrub to the classification types depicted by van der Westhuizen in van der Merwe (2002:61).

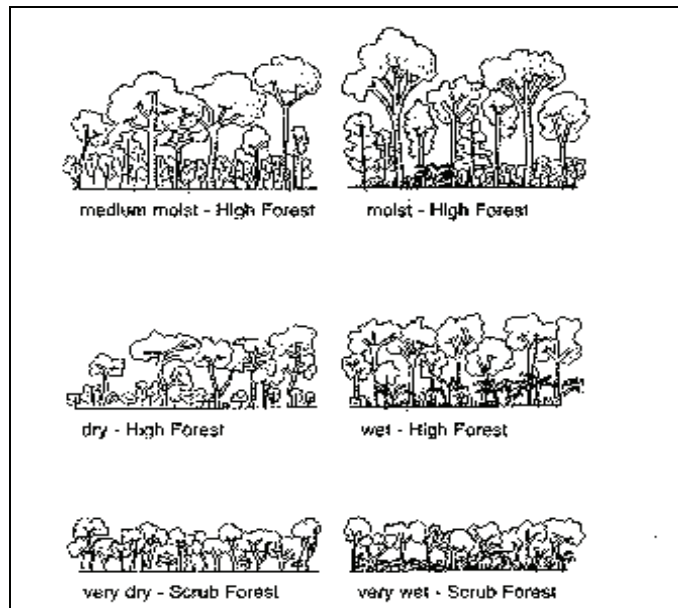


Figure 6.5. Generalised classification of forests (sketch by van der Westhuizen, in der Merwe, 2002:61)

It has often been debated that these forests had a wider distribution in the past and that human activity has destroyed this, leaving a patchy distribution in their wake (Meadows, 2000). However Meadows and Linder (1993, cited in Meadows, 2000) and Seydack and Vermeulen (2004) have contested this. Despite this uncertainty, the reality remains that the forest biome is “one of the most geographically restricted biomes in the country” (Meadows, 2000:382) and covers less than 0.25% of southern Africa’s surface area (Lubke and McKenzie, 1996). This contributes to the Cape Province being termed a “global biodiversity hotspot” (Meadows, 2000:367), being treated as an area of high conservation priority and having stringent access and use regulations applied to it.

6.7. FOREST MANAGEMENT CONTEXT

PFM is a multiple-use management approach to indigenous forestry. This approach influences the nature of activities that take place within the forests; to this end it is beneficial to provide a

brief description of how this approach has been implemented. The Knysna forests are divided into five management classes “aimed at the optimal and sustainable use of the forests” (van der Merwe, 2002:128). This approach has been applied to the forests since 1970 ²⁸.

State forest land in the southern Cape has been classified into eight climax forest types based on their structure, species composition and density (Durrheim, 2003). In addition, in order to aid the practicalities of forest management and research, forest and fynbos are subdivided into blocks, compartments and sub-compartments. These compartments and sub-compartments have in turn been allocated to one of the five management classes, which will determine the activities that take place within that unit. The management classes are described in Table 6.2.

According to Durrheim (2003:4), these classes are “based on the nature of the resource (forest type, location, accessibility, site factors and ecological constraints) and the long-term management objectives for the particular compartment (nature conservation, forest product utilisation or outdoor recreation)”.

The Area office of DWAF in Knysna obtained certification under the Forestry Stewardship Council in December 2002 for the southern Cape forests. The Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) is an international non-profit organisation founded in 1993 to support environmentally appropriate, socially beneficial, and economically viable management of the world's forests. This is done through the establishment of a global standard of recognised and respected principles and criteria for forest management with which management bodies must comply. According to a press report, DWAF note that achieving this certification will bring benefits “not only in terms of monitoring but also in terms of market access” (DWAF, 2003c).

The southern Cape forests are the only indigenous forests in South Africa to be Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) certified, and are one of only two forest areas in Africa that are certified. This “enhances export potential for the wood and furniture that people make from it, thus confirming the Department’s commitment to sustainable forest management” (DWAF, 2003c).

²⁸ For a detailed study of the history of forest management in the Knysna Forests, see McCracken, 2004; Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004 and van der Merwe, 2002.

Table 6.2. The DWAF Indigenous Forest Management classes (Data from Durrheim, 2003 and van der Merwe, 2002).

Management Class A	Timber utilisation (25.9%)*	Comprises only moist and medium moist high forest compartments where timber exploitation is practically feasible (regarding slope and accessibility), the growing stock potential is favourable for utilisation and timber exploitation is reconcilable with the broad management objective of conservation (i.e. the ecologically less sensitive compartments). The Senility Criteria Harvesting Yield Regulation System is applied to harvesting, which is aimed at making the best use of timber whilst simultaneously incurring the least possible impact on the forest ecosystem. Only trees that show visible signs of senility (in the last 10 years of their life cycle) are selected for harvesting.
Management Class B	Protection (44.8%)*	Includes compartments that are unsuitable for timber harvesting because of ecological sensitivity and the nature of growing stock (i.e. where regeneration does not occur readily). These are mainly compartments from the very wet and very dry forest types, but also include steep or inaccessible areas of the moist and medium moist high forest types. Recreation and harvesting of seven-week ferns are restricted to the less vulnerable areas and exotic invader control is a key activity in this management class.
Management Class C	Nature Reserves (27.3%)*	Includes representative samples from all six forest types and also areas with particular biological or landscape features. These forest areas benefit from an increased conservation status, include nine declared nature reserves and serve as a control for management activities that take place in other management classes. No timber or fern harvesting is allowed, however recreation activities are permitted in less sensitive areas, affording the tourist unspoilt environments.
Management Class D	Recreation (0.4%)*	Set aside for intensive recreation activities such as picnicking and accommodation facilities. It could occur in any forest type, provided mechanisms are put in place to reduce the environmental impact of tourism. However to date compartments in very very dry scrub, wet high forest and very wet scrub forest types have not been allocated to this management class. Outdoor recreation such as hiking, day-walks, cycling and horse riding can also be permitted as a secondary management objective in other management classes
Management Class E	Ecological Research (1.2%)*	Includes compartments of any forest type that is used exclusively for long-term ecological or silvicultural research.

* Percentage of forest surface allocated to this management class.

PFM projects would be seen to benefit from these forests having such an accreditation because it would improve the value of both consumptive and non-consumptive timber resources that are made available to the public. For example, wooden items on sale would attain a higher price if the wood had an FSC stamp.

The FSC certification has a strong social focus, which, for DWAF, is where PFM is seen to play a vital role. The mission of the FSC “includes improvement of the quality of life and relief of poverty, for forest dependant people and workers” (FSC, 2003). The FSC website (<http://www.fscoax.org>) states that:

“focusing on the social aspects of forestry requires taking a holistic approach to the interaction between the social chamber constituents - (indigenous peoples, workers, and community and small-scale forest users) and forest management and the environment. This involves considering industrial forestry as well as all other uses of the forest like subsistence harvesting, the use of non-timber forest products (NTFP) and uses for recreational, cultural or spiritual purposes”.

The need for PFM to be implemented is seen in DWAF’s obligation to maintain their FSC certification, thus upholding the international recognition that they receive for the manner in which they manage both timber and non-timber related forest products. Having an international accreditation such as FSC demonstrates DWAF’s commitment in meeting obligations with respect to international conventions, and assuring downstream users of forest products that the products are from sustainably managed forests (DWAF, 2003c).

PFM should be understood as an approach to forest management that is consistent with DWAF’s FSC criteria. It is also an approach that is to be implemented in the context of the management classification system that DWAF have in operation.

6.8. SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF FORESTRY IN THE SOUTHERN CAPE

This information is useful for providing an indication of some of the socio-economic issues in the southern Cape of which policies, projects and other initiatives should be cognisant. This description of the socio-economic context within which PFM in the southern Cape is being implemented has been principally derived from the 2001 Statistics South Africa data for the Eden District Municipality. Information pertaining to the population of the district; its age structure; division across race groups; educational levels; employment status; language; infrastructure; monthly individual income and annual household income levels; and the contribution of various economic sectors (particularly forestry and tourism) to the Gross Geographic Product (GGP) are provided.

The southern Cape forests are spread across a number of administrative boundaries. They straddle the Western and Eastern Cape provinces and also numerous municipal boundaries. Obtaining socio-economic data is consequently a complicated procedure. For this reason, socio-economic data for the Eden District Municipality is presented, firstly because the majority of the forested area falls within this boundary, but also because it is representative of the broader socio-economic context of the people within the southern Cape region.

In general, the regional socio-economic context mirrors the national socio-economic context when it comes to the three most influential issues facing this local area, namely Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome (AIDS), poverty and unemployment. These are the pressing issues facing local government in the study area also. Figure 6.6 depicts a cartoon from the Mail and Guardian Newspaper (16/04/2004) illustrating this through a parody of the legend of Saint George slaying the dragon.

Unemployment, poverty AIDS, are depicted in the caricature of a three-headed monster that President Mbeki, who represents the state, has to slay. The remainder of this section provides greater detail regarding these social and economic challenges as well as other socio-economic data.



Figure 6.6. Cartoon from the Mail and Guardian (16/04/2004).

The total population of the Eden District is 454923 individuals, nearly half a million. More than half of the population are Coloured (58.4%), with the white population group being the second largest (21.5%) followed by the African population (19.9%). The Indian population group is marginal, comprising only 0.2% of the total population.

Figure 6.7 below illustrates the age-sex structure for the population of the Eden District Municipality. There are marginally more females than males in the region (51.2% as opposed

to 48.8%). This gender balance is not unusual, but given that the greatest difference between the two sexes occurs within the 35-64 age range it is suggested that female headed households may predominate in the region, with males moving away to work in the larger centres.

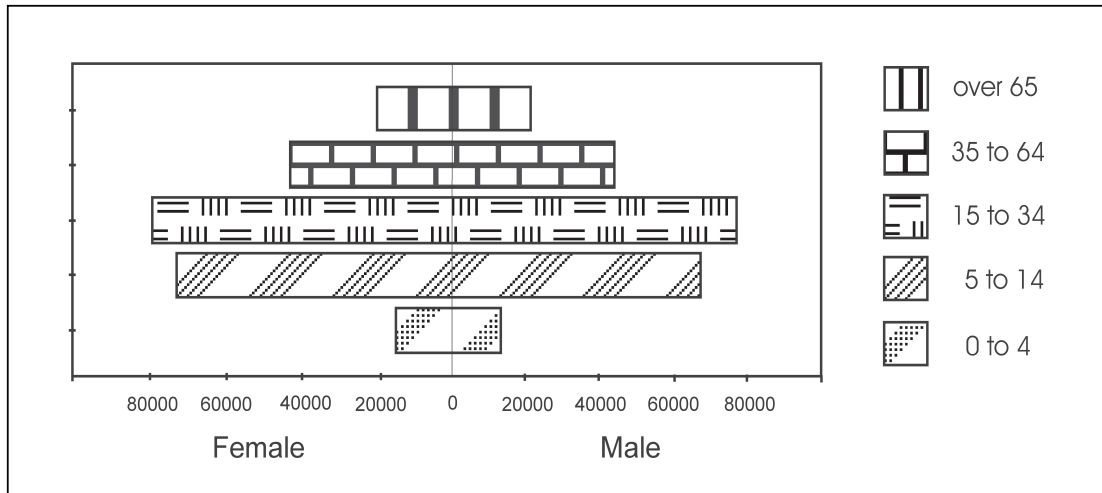


Figure 6.7. Age-sex structure for the population of the Eden District Municipality in South Africa for 2001 (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

This is supported by Horn (2002b) and Cunningham (pers. comm., 09/10/2003) who both attribute the occurrence of female-headed households in the region to the migrant labour system. Horn (2002b) describes women as suffering from “cultural and social patriarchal domination” in that they:

“have less access to employment opportunities in the formal sector, receive less wages than men when they are employed, and are more often employed as seasonal and casual workers. They are also constrained by norms preventing their full participation in decision-making processes and restricting their rights of access to resources and to benefits deriving from resources” (Horn, 2002b:15).

With reference to this disparity between men and women, Horn (2002b) states that poverty has a clearly gendered dimension and that poverty alleviation programmes should be focused on women. DWAF have taken cognisance of this in their PFM policy. The framework policy stated that: “whilst the Department will promote the active participation of women, the poor, the weak and children in indigenous forest management, and to see that their forest-based needs and problems are attended to, it must also be mindful of the social construction of gender” (DWAF, 1999:8-9).

DWAF's commitment to addressing gender equity is reflected in a comment by Knysna Official 1 (2003) who commented that:

“there are a lot of politics involved, it is not always the poorest of the poor people that do receive the benefits and that is still a thing that we have to address. And gender also, we must focus on women, that's not happening at this stage. We have started an excellent fern-picking project at Farleigh and we focus on that, that it must be women, and that project is running...we concentrate on women”

Similarly, one of the foresters interviewed commented that “the forum themselves then worked out a small equity employment thingy there, 70% women, preferably women with children” (Forester 1, 2003).

All 11 of South Africa's official languages are spoken in the district. Afrikaans is the most dominant, being the home language of 75.6% of the population. IsiXhosa is the language of 17.2% and English 6.2% of the population. Each of the eight remaining official languages is the home language of less than one percent of the total population. Language is an important element of the social context, because it is a key component of the PFM implementation and communication process, and has implications for the level of participation that is encouraged from stakeholders.

Statistics of the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) infection rates for the region are unavailable; however one receives an indication of the likely incidences of HIV and AIDS in the region from the data available for the Western and Eastern Cape provinces (see Table 6.3 below).

In a survey amongst women attending antenatal clinics in South Africa it was found that in 1999 the Western Cape had the lowest prevalence of infection and the Eastern Cape the fourth lowest infection level (DOH, 2000; Stannard, 2001). The incidence of HIV and AIDS does not appear to be a significant issue in the region if one compares it with other regions and other social issues; however infection levels are on the increase with the Western Cape evidencing a 36.5% rate of increase from 5.2% in 1998 to 7.1% in 1999 (Stannard, 2001).

Table 6.3. HIV infection rates from 1996-1999 across South Africa's nine provinces (Stannard, 2001).

	W. Cape	E. Cape	N. Cape	Free State	KwaZulu-Natal	Mpumalanga	Northern Province	Gauteng	North West
1996	3.1	8.1	6.5	17.5	19.9	15.8	7.9	15.5	25.1
1997	6.3	12.6	8.6	19.6	26.9	22.6	8.2	17.1	18.1
1998	5.2	15.9	9.9	22.8	32.5	30.0	11.5	22.5	21.3
1999	7.1	18.0	10.1	27.9	32.5	27.3	11.4	23.9	23.0

Figures given as percentage estimated HIV infection (95% CI).

Education levels amongst the population in the district are reflected in Figure 6.8 below. Only 7.8% of the population over 20 years of age have no schooling; of those who have some schooling, 36.5% have never reached high school, whilst only 31.8% have completed grade 12 or higher.

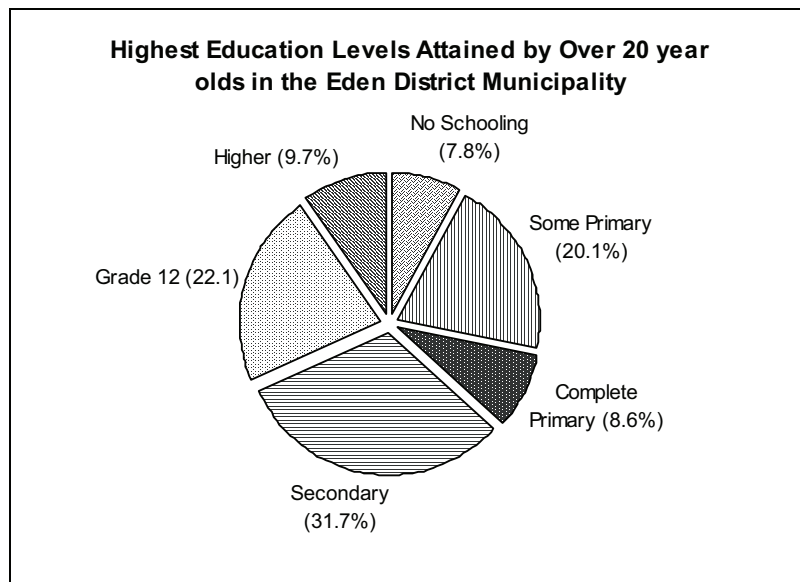


Figure 6.8. Highest Education Levels Attained by Over 20 year olds in the Eden District Municipality of South Africa in 2001 (Statistics South Africa, 2003).

The labour force comprises all people between the age of 15 and 65 within the population group who are economically active. Within the Eden District 185 907 people, 62.2% of the population are economically active. Of this labour force, 136 718 or 73.5% are employed and

49 189 (26.5%) are unemployed in the district. A relatively high percentage of the population (112 996 people or 37.8%) are, however, not economically active. This means that, although they are of age to be employed, they are unable to work for a variety of reasons: still being engaged in education, military service, disability or being a homemaker. Some of these people would be engaged in the informal sector economy, which is not reflected in the statistics.

Approximately 49 000 people are unemployed in the District. The Municipal Demarcation Board (MDB) Categorisation Report for the Garden Route (2003) describes two patterns of unemployment. The first pattern is the comparatively high levels of unemployment in the major towns and the second pattern is unemployment in remote rural areas. The latter unemployment pattern is regarded as more problematic because unlike urban residents who are believed to have a “greater variety of survival options available to them” (MDB, 2003:4) residents in remote areas are more limited in their options, with their situation being compounded by generally higher rates of illiteracy and lower skills levels.

Regarding income earned by the population of the Eden District, Figure 6.9 and Figure 6.10 depict the individual monthly and annual household incomes respectively. These graphs provide an indication of the relative poverty of the area. For example, in Figure 6.9, 56% of the population in the district receives no monthly income. This figure seems high but correlates with the labour force data. In a population where approximately 54.3% of the population is not working because they are either not economically active or they are unemployed, it would be reasonable to assume that a high proportion of the population would receive no monthly income. However, this data does not reflect income earned from pension payouts or other ‘informal’ earnings and it is suggested that such gaps in reporting reveal the difficulty of obtaining accurate census data. Of those who do receive an income, the highest category of income earned is between R401-R800 a month. Less than 2% of the population receives R12 801 or more per month. It can be seen that the greatest proportion of the population has a very low monthly income. Even though it would seem that the unemployment figure of 56% in Figure 6.9 is too high, this graph gives an indication of the relative disparities in the distribution of income in the District.

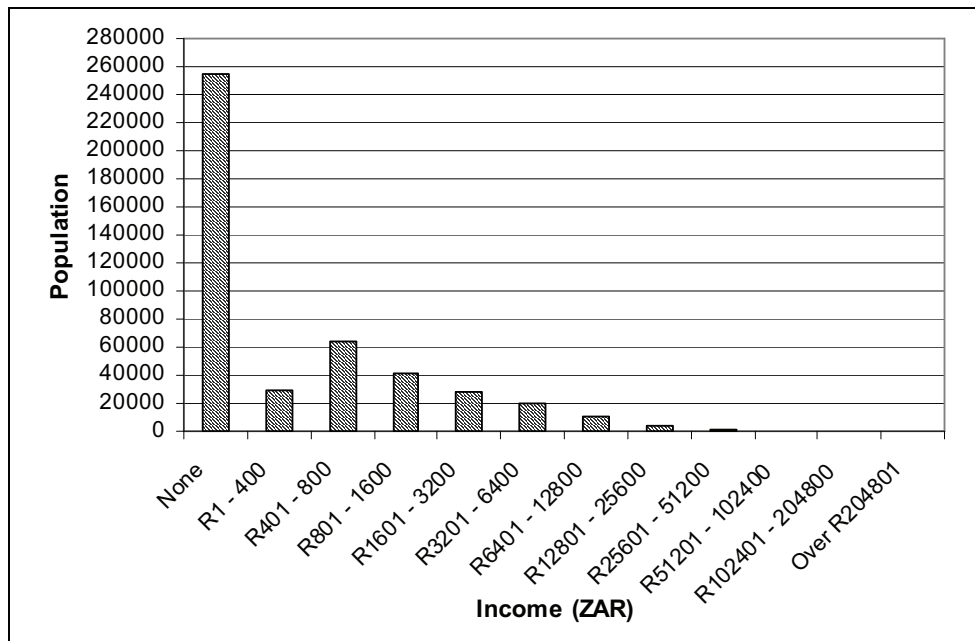


Figure 6.9. The Individual Monthly Income for the Eden District Municipality of South Africa for 2001 (Source: Statistics South Africa, 2003).

From Figure 6.10 below, which illustrates the annual household income for the Eden District Municipality, it can be seen that 24 623 or 20.6% of 120 743 households receive between R9 601 and R19 200 per annum. This equates to R1 600 per month.

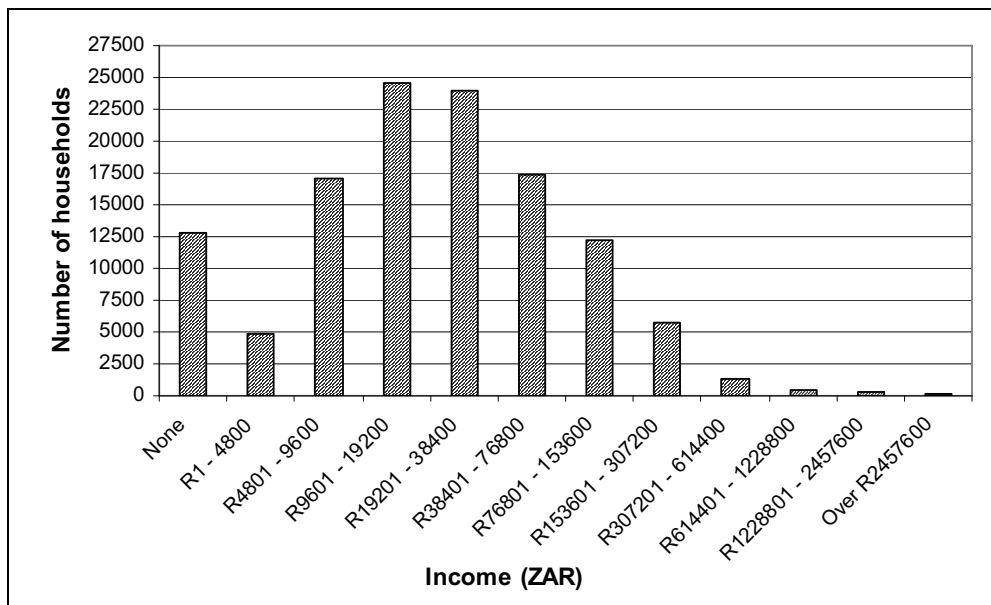


Figure 6.10. The Annual Household Income for the Eden District Municipality of South Africa for 2001 (Data from Statistics South Africa, 2003).

The second highest proportion of households (23 958 or 19.9%) receives between R19 201-R38 400 per annum. The differentiation between the ‘haves’ and the ‘have-nots’ is not as clear in Figure 6.9 as it is in Figure 6.10, and the bell curve reflected by the data indicates that the annual household income is more indicative of a normal distribution, save for the 12810 households (10.4%) who receive no annual income.

On the whole, residents in the Eden District appear to have above average infrastructure available to them. Formal housing makes up 83.1% of all households; 85.5% have electricity; 82.5% have a weekly municipal refuse disposal service; 71.6% have a flushing toilet and 58.9% water piped to their dwelling, while 24.8% have a tap inside their yards (Statistics South Africa, 2003). This marked improvement in living conditions in comparison to other districts and provinces is attributed to the Masakhane²⁹ and Reconstruction and Development Programmes (see Section 6.2) and sets the district in sharp contrast to other areas where PFM is being implemented, such as the Transkei or Northern KwaZulu-Natal. Horn remarks that PFM in the southern Cape starts out from “a better socio-economic base than in other provinces” (Horn, 2002a:15).

With reference to the southern Cape, one problem the DWAF Knysna Area Office has experienced is the reported absence of local groupings living in close proximity to the forests (DWAF, 2002d). The southern Cape, unlike the Mpumalanga and Limpopo provinces, does not experience the conventional problems that characterise ‘people-park’ conflicts, in that the socio-economic profile of communities living adjacent to these indigenous forests may not represent the interface between very poor communities and forests in South Africa. This creates confusion amongst forest managers as to who the stakeholders in PFM are.

In the field work for this research it was often heard in the southern Cape that “PFM is for the poorest of the poor” and that there were no resource poor communities in close proximity to the forest boundaries. PFM was, as a result, seen to be less urgent in this region. This is not necessarily a correct assumption and its veracity is yet to be ascertained. However, despite this uncertainty, such assumptions are likely to have significant implications for the

²⁹ The Masakhane Campaign is “part of the broad national strategy to create conditions necessary for the success of the RDP. It is aimed at mobilising all sectors of society to be actively involved in redressing imbalances of the past and creating a society characterised by new values and norms, a new consciousness and sense of responsibility among all citizens to transform governance and build a united nation” (SACG, 2006).

implementation of PFM because they affect the degree to which those tasked with implementing the policy and those having to accept its implementation deem PFM to be an appropriate policy for the region.

The final socio-economic issue to describe is the contribution that the forestry and tourism sectors make to the Gross Regional Product (GRP) and employment (see Table 6.4 below), and also the role that the forests are seen to play in relation to tourism in the region.

Table 6.4. Contribution per Economic Sector in terms of GGP and Employment for 1998 (Wesgro, 1998 in MDB Categorisation Report, 2003).

SECTOR	GROSS REGIONAL PRODUCT		EMPLOYMENT	
	R'000	%	No.	%
Agriculture, forestry, fishing	278 917	9.4	13 200	10.1
Mining	17 927	0.6	4 500	3.4
Manufacturing	397 271	13.4	18 560	14.2
Construction and repairs	269 539	9.2	20 000	15.3
Electricity and water	125 379	4.2	740	0.57
Trade	378 483	12.8	9 100	7.0
Tourism	254 481	8.7	11 200	8.6
Transport communication	195 964	6.6	6 100	4.7
Financial and business services	458 453	15.5	7 600	5.8
Government and community services, social and personal services	578 277	19.6	22 800	17.5
Survival self employment and unemployment	(14 773)	(0.5)	17 375	13.3
Total GRP	2 954 691	100	131 175	100

Forestry, along with fishing and agriculture contributes only 9.4% to the GRP of the Eden District Municipality, and is the fifth highest sector which contributes to the GRP. The tourism sector follows, contributing 8.7%. It is also interesting to note that the contribution of tourism to employment in the region is 8.6% whilst that of agriculture, forestry and fishing is 10.1%. It would seem that the contribution of these sectors to employment and GRP is much less than other sectors. The categorisation report indicates that the forestry sector's contribution is increasing owing to the increased demand for timber products and the perception that the tourism sector is the "most important growth sector in [the] regional economy" (MDB,

2003:10). The growth in tourism experienced in 1997, where there was a 25% increase in the number of visitors to South Africa from 1996, is expected to continue, which should result in an increase in the percentage contribution of the tourism sector to the regional coffers. Knysna is purported to have benefited the most from tourism as a result of its scenic location, the quality of life of the urban environment, and the tourism orientated attitude of business and residents in the town (MDB, 2003).

Bertram (pers. comm., 02/10/2003) the Knysna Tourism Officer in 2003, places a high value on the southern Cape forests and their role in enhancing tourism in the region. He stated that eco-tourism in the forests could assist Knysna in providing year-round activities for tourists in that when the weather is not ideal for water sports and seaside activities; visitors could still explore the forests and participate in forest-related activities. Some forest-related economic activities include hiking, short walks, quad biking, river rafting, treetop canopy tours, horse riding, kiosks and cafés at scenic spots, abseiling, bird watching, visits to places of historic interest or scenic beauty, and the provision of accommodation facilities in the form of camp sites and bed and breakfast venues. Eco-tourism is regarded as a sustainable economic activity and is therefore promoted within PFM as a viable option for local economic development and poverty alleviation initiatives. It has, however, also been recognised that the ability of forests to single-handedly achieve these goals through increasing employment levels in and around the forests is unrealistic, and that forestry can only be part of the solution to these problems in the region (Sondergaard, pers. comm., 04/12/2003). The inability of forestry-related tourism to provide increased employment opportunities does not nullify its ability to increase its contribution to the GRP, especially if it is tied to adventure-tourism and eco-tourism ventures in towns such as George and Knysna. Having said this, DWAF are aware of this and have implemented measures to ensure that these ventures contribute to the rural economy by giving a percentage of the income earned by these forest activities to rural communities (Knysna Official 2, 2003; Local Business Owner 1, 2003).

In conclusion, it is apparent that the southern Cape region is one of many disparities. It covers a large geographical area, which incorporates a diverse range of settlement types, from affluent estates to single-roomed RDP dwellings. Despite the Western Cape being defined by Government South Africa (GoSA) as “the second wealthiest province” (Horn, 2002b:14) it has also been characterised by respondents exhibiting abject poverty where people live below the breadline (Horn, 2002b; Henley, pers. comm., 08/10/2003; Cunningham, pers. comm.,

09/10/2003). This disparity and the differing perceptions held by respondents regarding the level of poverty in the region have implications for PFM, which are elaborated upon in Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven.

6.9. CONCLUSION

Within the context of the southern Cape forests, which are a substantial indigenous Afromontane forest biome of both local and global significance, PFM is regarded as a best practice approach to forest management and an approach that is in keeping with the forest management principle of sustainable utilisation. This approach to forest management, which is supported in the NFA, has evolved in the policy arena from the early 1990's and has culminated in a PFM policy. PFM is perceived to play a role in alleviating poverty in the region and generating employment; however, the increasing incidences of HIV and AIDS in the region presents a challenge to PFM in that it could undermine progress made by PFM in terms of capacity building. DWAF's realignment of their forest function has implications for the future implementation of PFM as the responsibility for implementing the policy would sit with SANParks; however, DWAF would still have an influence on this process in that they would play an advisory and regulatory role to SANParks. Inclusion of PFM into forest management by the management agents has been aided by the drive for Knysna to obtain their FSC certification, which places great importance on participatory approaches.

Chapter Six has provided information pertaining to the context of South Africa as a society in the process of transformation and the policy context as it pertains to PFM is discussed. This chapter has highlighted the conflicting pro-poor and pro-growth imperatives that pose a challenge to the state undergoing an intensive process of transformation in the post-apartheid dispensation. The Reconstruction and Development Programme, and the Growth, Empowerment and Redistribution were highlighted as state policies that typify these two different imperatives, and the implications of these imperatives or approaches for forestry in South Africa are discussed.

DWAF is the government department that is tasked with implementing PFM and in particular, the Participative Forestry Directorate within the department. PFM is being implemented at a time when significant changes are taking place in the state forestry sector. Firstly, internal restructuring is taking place within DWAF to enable the department to relinquish the

management functions it performed in the past and fulfil its new role regulator, advisor and monitor of forestry activities (DWAF, 2002c). An important feature of the internal restructuring is the operationalisation of PFM has been extended beyond indigenous forests and is now regarded as a cross-cutting issue that is an approach for all forestry functions, and across all forest types (DWAF, 2003a). Secondly, external restructuring is also underway within DWAF to facilitate its role change from its management role towards its new role as referee, advisor, and policy-maker. This is achieved through the devolution of management functions to a local level, and where feasible, to new management agents, such as SANParks in the context of the state forests in the southern Cape.

This chapter has also provided information concerning the micro-context of the case study area. This includes information pertaining to the physical location, the biophysical environment, the forest management context, and the socio-economic context of the southern Cape region. The southern Cape indigenous forests straddle both the Western and Eastern Cape Provinces and extend along the coastline in a narrow strip of about 220 km. Two thirds of the forest in the region is state forest land and is divided into three forest estates, namely: Farleigh, Diepwalle, and Tsitsikamma. The Afromontaine forests of the southern Cape are one of only two large, continually forested areas in South Africa (Meadows, 2000). These forests thrive on the frost-free south facing slopes and in ravines of the southern Cape that have moist, mostly acidic, well-developed and mature soils and receive rainfall throughout the year (Lubke and McKenzie, 1996; Meadows, 2000; van der Merwe, 2002).

The Knysna forests are divided into five management classes to ensure the optimal and sustainable use of the forests. These classes are based on the forest type, location, accessibility, site factors and ecological constraints, in addition to the long-term management objectives for the compartment within which the resource is located (Durrheim, 2003). A significant feature of the Knysna Area Office forest management programme is their need to maintain their FSC certification as this demonstrates that DWAF are meeting various international obligations and that forest products are obtained from sustainably managed forests (DWAF, 2003c).

The socio-economic context of the southern Cape region is characterised as being predominantly coloured (58.4%) and Afrikaans speaking (75.6%) (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Although the incidence of HIV and AIDS in the region is lower than in other regions of South Africa, the HIV infection rate is increasing over time (Stannard, 2001). Education levels

in the Eden District are reasonable, with 31.8% of the population over 20 years of age having completed grade 12 or higher, and only 7.8% having no schooling (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Unemployment in the region is problematic, with 37.8% of the economically active portion of the population being unemployed. This would explain why 56% of the Eden District Municipality population receive no monthly income (Statistics South Africa, 2003). Despite the high levels of financial poverty in the region, residents of the Eden District Municipality, living conditions are generally better than other districts in South Africa as residents appear to have above average infrastructure available to them (Statistics South Africa, 2003). This socio-economic context underscores the need for rural development initiatives to be implemented in the region and illustrates the need for a participatory forest management programme to be implemented, which will enable a more equitable sharing of the benefits that can be derived from indigenous forests.

The contextual background has been presented with a view to creating the backdrop against which an investigation into the discourses around the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape can be analysed and interpreted. Chapter Seven presents the methodology used in this research to collect and analyse the research data from which further discussions about the PFM implementation process and about co-management approaches in South Africa can take place in the concluding chapter.

CHAPTER 7 METHODOLOGY

“Beginning allows for beginning again, where the work of reflection and iteration are parts of the sustained activity” (Allen, 2003:14).

7.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter describes the methodology that has been employed for this research. Kitchin and Tate (2000:6) define a methodology as “a coherent set of rules and procedures which can be used to investigate a phenomenon or situation within a framework dictated by epistemological and ontological ideas”. In other words, methodology refers to the process of how a researcher would study what can be known. The aim of this chapter therefore is to explain the research process and elucidate why such a process was undertaken in the context of the discipline and theory within which the project has been framed and the aim of the research.

The aim of this research is twofold. Firstly, the theoretical aim is to explore how ecological modernisation and discourse analysis can be used to critically review the conceptualisation and implementation of a progressive natural resource management approach (PFM) in a developing world context. Secondly, the empirical aim of this research is to investigate the implementation of Participatory Forest Management policy at a local level in the southern Cape/Knysna indigenous state forests in South Africa. In order to achieve the aim, six objectives were developed. These objectives operated as a guideline for the research process. The research process therefore sought:

1. To examine PFM policy process in Indigenous Forest Management in the southern Cape to understand how actors view PFM and to explore how it is being implemented in this region.
2. To deconstruct the discourse of PFM using Hajer’s approach to discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995) by determining the storylines, the policy vocabularies and epistemic notions related to PFM policy; identifying the key discourses and discourse coalitions that emerged during the PFM implementation process; and understanding how the institutional practices of DWAF affect the PFM implementation process.
3. To investigate two case studies of forest-related projects underway in the southern Cape to identify challenges to implementing a co-management regime such as PFM at the project level, and to understand what effect the prevalent PFM discourse has on the outcomes of PFM projects.

4. To examine the degree to which the concept of ecological modernisation is an appropriate way of conceptualising the policy discourse of PFM.
5. To investigate how the form of co-management as reflected by PFM, relates to strong and weak ecological modernisation.
6. To elucidate any implications that an analysis of the southern Cape case study might have for future policy implementation processes both in the southern Cape and elsewhere in South Africa.

The methodology has been designed in a way that enables the research questions that are embedded in the above-listed objectives to be answered. This will become evident as the elements of the research process are described in this chapter.

An outline of the research process adopted here, which is a deductive and qualitative process, is provided in Section 7.2. This provides the context for a discussion about the methods of data collection, sampling and analysis (Sections 7.4, 7.5 and 7.6 respectively). Section 7.3 discusses the implications of upgrading the research to a Doctorate from a Masters thesis. Throughout the chapter the additional research that was required to upgrade the research to a doctoral study has been indicated. This inclusion is appropriate because the methodology of upgrading had implications for the process and timing according to which various aspects of the research process were undertaken. Before concluding the chapter in Section 7.8, a discussion of some of the limitations of the research methodology is provided in Section 7.7.

7.2. RESEARCH DESIGN

The research process falls within the realm of qualitative research, and uses deductive reasoning as its strategy for generating data. It is qualitative because it is an approach that is orientated around the collection of data from oral sources, thereby placing an emphasis on the use of language and discourse rather than converting data to numeric values, as is the case with quantitative methods (Kitchin and Tate, 2000).

The study is deductive because the research process began with a key question about the nature of participation that takes place within PFM practice in South Africa. It was hypothesised that PFM is consistent with strong ecological modernisation at the level of policy but that it is more consistent with weak ecological modernisation at the level of implementation within a local space. The theoretical frameworks of ecological modernisation and co-management guided the research process. After reviewing the literature on participation, PFM, co-management, and

ecological modernisation, a conceptual framework was devised (see Figure 7.1) which guided the research process. These theoretical frameworks influenced the kinds of questions that respondents were asked and the way in which the case study material has been interpreted.

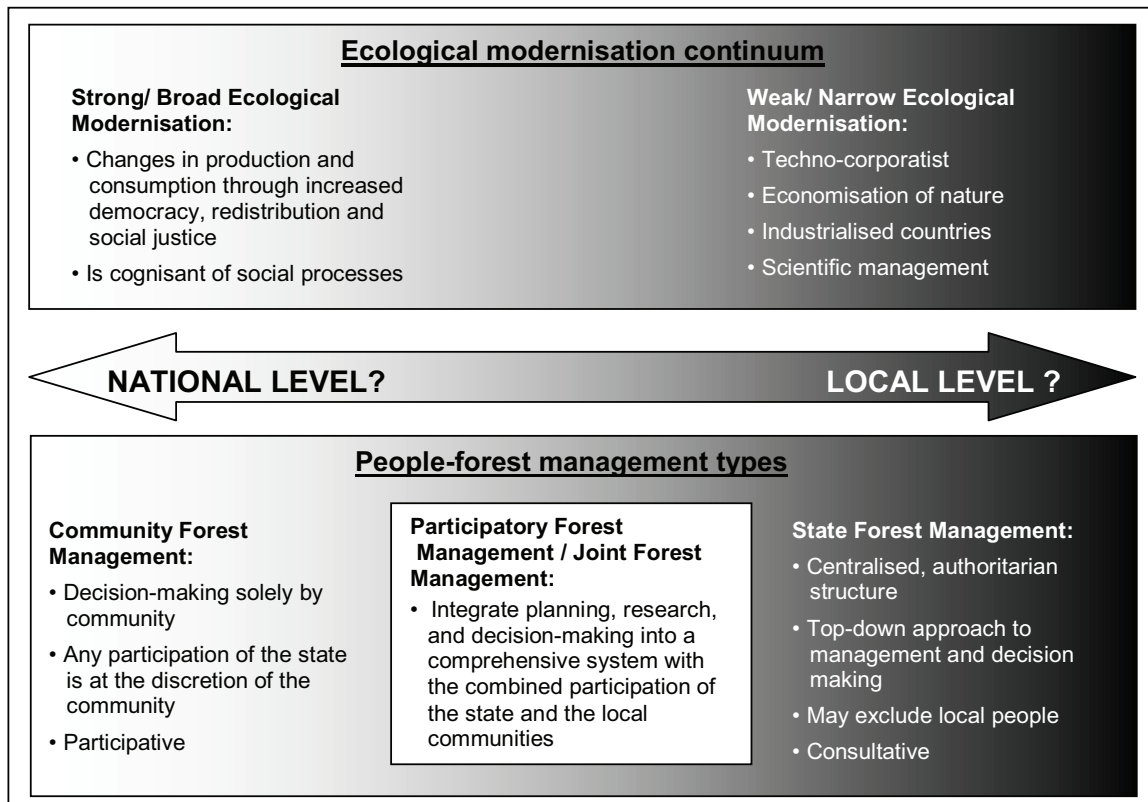


Figure 7.1. Theoretical framework used to direct the study (after Christoff, 1996 and Obiri and Lawes, 2002).

Both bodies of literature make reference to a continuum. The ecological modernisation literature distinguishes between strong and weak ecological modernisation and acknowledges that there are also versions of ecological modernisation that occur between either extremes (Christoff, 1996). The co-management literature also incorporates the concept of a continuum, notably the PFM continuum (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; DWAF, 1999) and Obiri and Lawes' (2002) people-forest management type continuum. Obiri and Lawes' (2002) continuum is incorporated into the framework because it is more consistent with the researcher's interpretation of participatory forest management, i.e. as a form of management that sits between the one extreme of community forest management and the other extreme of state forest management. Both bodies of literature therefore portray different forms of society and environment management options, which are reflected in Figure 7.1.

The framework in Figure 7.1 also includes an indication that different kinds of environmental management may take place at both a national and at a local level. The question marks within the arrow link back to the aim of the research; which is to ascertain whether the nature of PFM implementation at a local level in the case study area differs from the national level policy discourse, and whether this difference is more closely aligned to strong or to weak ecological modernisation theory. By addressing this question through the application of these theoretical concepts to a case study this research will add to these bodies of theory.

The research adopts a constructivist approach. This approach promotes the view that it is only through studying how actors construct the world that one gains an understanding of it (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). This approach assumes that there is a material reality which exists in and of itself, but it is only when this 'reality' is interpreted and constructed discursively that it becomes understandable. How this reality is constructed through language is a result of a combination of social, cultural, moral, political and other influences. These discursive constructions of reality articulate particular agendas and therefore it is arguable whether a discourse could ever be neutral (Potter, 1997; Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999; Bergeå and Ljung, 2003).

This constructivist approach has influenced the methodology of the study because, in order to study the empirical case study of the implementation of the PFM policy in the southern Cape, numerous actors would need to be interviewed and their constructions of reality analysed. Each actor brings to a situation their own combination of social, political, historical or moral issues that lead them to interpret the situation in their own way and so construct their reality in a different manner to another actor. For example, one actor may be adamant that the PFM process is a fully participative process, whilst another may have a different social and political background, which leads them to conclude that the process is not participative. There are likely to be contrasting views of reality, but the challenge is not to find the 'objective truth', which would be a positivist approach, but rather to understand why actors are led to interpret and construct reality in their particular way. This kind of analysis is especially beneficial to a study about a policy implementation process, because it affords a deeper level of analysis that may provide answers as to why the process has unfolded in a particular way.

To this end, discourse analysis is an appropriate methodology for understanding the social construction of reality, as it focuses on the manner in which versions of the world, of society,

events and environmental problems and solutions are produced in discourse (Potter, 1997). However, before discussing this method of analysis, implications of upgrading the research from a Masters to a Doctoral thesis is discussed in Section 7.3 and the method of data collection is described in Section 7.4.

7.3. THE IMPLICATIONS OF UPGRADING FROM A MASTERS TO A DOCTORAL DEGREE

This research began in mid 2002 as a Masters thesis; however, at the suggestion of examiners and colleagues, the decision to upgrade this research for submission as Doctoral research was made. As Said (1978: viii) reflects, to have begun a project “implies return and repetition rather than, say, simple linear accomplishment”. Or as Allen (2003:14), in reference to Said’s quote, observes “beginning allows for beginning again, where the work of reflection and iteration are parts of the sustained activity”. Assuming this view of research implies that to resume this research endeavour for submission as a PhD would not simply be a case of minor editing, as this would suggest that the research has been accomplished, that is, it is at the end of its linear path. Rather, resuming this research presents an opportunity to begin again: to rethink the research already accomplished, refine the aims and objectives, develop a set of theoretical questions, elaborate the theoretical underpinnings, assess the adequacy of the fieldwork and rework the outcomes in a more clear and incisive manner in order to demonstrate the original theoretical contribution that this research makes to the literature.

In order to upgrade the research, five changes were made to the research process. Three research questions were added for the PhD. Firstly, the framing research question concerning the appropriateness of ecological modernisation to explain the relationship between society and environment in a developing world context was included. Its appropriateness is now assessed in terms of its theoretical contribution to understanding a South African policy and also in terms of whether an ecological modernisation approach to environmental problems is appropriate in South Africa given its social and political context. Secondly a question is asked regarding co-management and whether it is more democratic than previous hierarchical forms of environmental management. This question requires a deeper investigation into the earlier approaches and also into how PFM, as form of co-management in the forestry context, is being implemented at a local level. The third research question interrogates the appropriateness of

mainstream ecological modernisation to addressing environmental problems in the South African context.

In addition to the inclusion of these research questions, two changes were also made to the research objectives. The fourth research objective was added in order to increase the depth of the empirical research. Two existing PFM projects that were initiated before December 2004 will be researched and analysed with a view to understanding the challenges associated with implementing PFM, and to understand the effect that PFM discourse has on project implementation. This addition is discussed in Section 7.4. The fifth research objective was also included for the PhD research. This objective, which requires an investigation into the relationship between ecological modernisation and co-management literature, is central to answering the three research questions. The original Masters research was revised to reflect the methodological alterations that would be required to address these additional research questions and research objectives and elevate the research to the level of a Doctoral research project. These changes are discussed in Section 7.4 and 7.5 below.

7.4. DATA COLLECTION

A variety of data are used in this research in order to obtain information about the local context of the southern Cape and to identify the discourses associated with participatory forest management at a national and local scale. Both secondary and primary data sources have been used. Primary data sources refer to data that is generated by the researcher, whilst secondary data sources refer to data that is generated by someone other than the researcher (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Primary data sources comprised interviews that were selected using a purposive sampling technique, as well as unanalysed brochures and documentary data included in policy documents, legislation and technical reports; whilst secondary data sources include Internet sources, journal articles and books.

The process of upgrading this research from a Masters to a PhD necessitated the collection of additional primary and secondary data. As each of the various collection methods are discussed below, a distinction has been drawn between the first two phases of data collection that were conducted for the Masters research and a third phase that was conducted for the doctoral research so as to indicate the additional contribution that was made for the upgraded research.

7.4.1. Primary sources

Two phases of interviewing were initially undertaken for the Masters research, namely a pilot study (administering the first interview schedule) and the second phase of interviewing which involved the administration of the second interview schedule. Thereafter a third phase of interviewing was conducted for the PhD. In all cases a purposive sampling technique was applied. This technique enabled the volume of potential interviewees to be reduced and the most appropriate case study area to be selected.

a. Interviews

The interviewing technique used was the administration of a one-on-one semi-structured, open-ended interview schedule. This was applied in all three phases of the interviewing process, namely the pilot and the two succeeding detailed interview phases. Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 in Section 7.5 on the sampling approach adopted for the study show the respondents that were interviewed for each phase of interviewing. An open-ended question refers to the fact that the interviewee's responses are "not constrained to categories provided by the interviewer; actors can give whatever answer they wish" (Kitchin and Tate, 2000:213). The interviews are semi-structured in the sense that although the interviewer has control over the conversation and all interviewees are asked the same basic questions, there is greater flexibility in the questioning. The ordering of questions can differ across interviews and some questions may be left out if they are deemed inappropriate to the interviewee (Robinson, 1998; Kitchin and Tate, 2000). Respondents were thus allowed greater scope for "elaboration and general discussion rather than just being presented with a set of fixed questions or questions demanding only fixed responses" (Robinson, 1998:413). This form of interviewing was adopted for the research because it provided respondents with an opportunity to respond in whatever manner they wished to without feeling that they were being directed to respond in a particular way. This kind of response would enable the researcher to identify the storylines, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions that respondents use and in so doing deconstruct the PFM policy discourse as it applies to the case study area.

In the constructivist paradigm, interviews are not regarded as a means to an end, in other words, the means to obtaining the truth about something, or even facts and feelings. Rather an interview is an "arena in which particular linguistic patterns (typical phrases, metaphors,

arguments, and stories) can come to the fore” (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999:153). The meanings created in an interview are co-constructed between the interviewer and the interviewee and it is acknowledged that the interviewer is involved in the construction of the reality being presented.

Semi-structured, open-ended interviews were conducted in the three phases of interviewing. Once respondents had been interviewed, the tapes from the interviews were transcribed and notes of comments made prior to and after taping were added. All the files of the interviews were then copied and pasted onto one file in Microsoft Word. This was done to make it easier to conduct key word searches through the material.

The first phase comprised exploratory research, which was aimed at ascertaining the viability and the scope of project, establishing contacts with key people involved in PFM and getting a sense of the issues in the area. Information was gathered through conducting semi-structured open-ended interviews with stakeholders involved in the PFM process in Knysna. These interviews were informal in style and approach and therefore a comprehensive schedule of questions was not compiled. A few general questions were devised instead to direct the flow of the conversation³⁰. This research, conducted in the last week of March 2003, was useful for shaping the direction that the research was to take, and also for developing questions for the second phase of interviewing.

The second phase of interviews was designed to be more probing and in-depth in nature in order to draw out the discourses and elements of the discourses. This was achieved by asking a range of specific questions about the PFM implementation process as it applied to the southern Cape case study, the respondent’s role in PFM and their understanding of the policy³¹. Some questions were closed-ended in the sense that they required yes/no answers. For example, questions like ‘is there a need for PFM in the Southern Cape?’ or ‘is there an alternative option to PFM?’ but these were followed by requests for explanations or justifications. As the interviews were recorded, the style of the interviews was more formal than the exploratory phase and a schedule of questions was prepared to ensure a smooth flow of questioning. These questions provided the stimulus for respondents to express their views and for discussion to be

³⁰ See Appendix One.

³¹ See Appendix Two.

generated, and in many cases questions were omitted from and added to the interview depending on the progress of the interview.

This phase was conducted in October 2003 after the exploratory research and an extensive literature review had been conducted. Interviews were recorded, using a tape recorder, to capture discursive elements and typically lasted about 45 minutes.

In addition to obtaining factual information about PFM and its implementation in Knysna, questions were designed with the intention of drawing out discursive elements. Hajer's (2003) methodological framework for discourse analysis includes the following discursive elements: storylines around which coalitions are formed, dominant myths and metaphors, epistemic notions and policy vocabularies which are defined in Section 7.6. It was also hoped that the actors would give an indication of how they position themselves in relation to others and how others position them. It should be noted that although these elements may have been drawn out from the exploratory research, and identified in the interview, it was not the explicit focus of the first phase of interviewing.

Upgrading the research from a Masters to a PhD required additional empirical, primary data to be collected relating to the PFM implementation process at the project level in the southern Cape. A third interview schedule was compiled and the interviews conducted in October 2005 (see Table 7.3). A total of nine people were interviewed in this third phase. The focus of the interviews and fieldwork concerned two case studies of projects that were underway in the southern Cape, namely the harvesting of Seven Weeks Fern and the Millwood mining project in the Farleigh Forest Estate. This phase of data collection was undertaken via interviews with people who are involved in the projects directly, or who have been part of the Farleigh forum. The purpose of these interviews was to understand how PFM policy is transpiring in reality and to investigate the influence, if any, that PFM discourse has on the intended outcomes of PFM policy initiatives.

The objectives of this third phase of interviewing were threefold; firstly, to ascertain and elicit substantive data about some of the actual issues that actors implementing PFM at the project level have to address.

A second objective was to confirm and support the results obtained through the Masters research. In this respect, this third phase could be conceptualised as a ‘ground truthing’ exercise. ‘Ground truthing’ is a term borrowed from the remote sensing literature. It refers to the act of physically going into the field to collect reference data that will enable the validity of satellite images to be verified and irregularities to be clarified, and therefore aid the analysis and interpretation of (remotely sensed) data (Lillesand and Kiefer, 1994). In the context of this research, ‘ground truthing’ refers to the third phase of interviewing, which sought to verify the preliminary findings from the data analysis that was conducted on the second interview phase data. It was anticipated that the discourses that emerged from the analysis of the data from the first and second interview phases would be reiterated in the interviews and would therefore confirm the research that has already been conducted.

The third objective was to investigate the existence of a relationship between the discourses that are identified and actual project implementation, thereby answering the question ‘does discourse matter?’ in the context of policy implementation. It was of interest to investigate whether some of the terms of environmental discourse already identified at a broader level are identifiable at a project level.

With these aims in mind, two DWAF staff members and two other respondents per project were identified for interviews. The format of the interview schedule for phase three was also open-ended, semi-structured and intensive, being focused at the project level as opposed to the broader PFM policy level. The sample of respondents was, as with the other phases of interviewing, also purposive; however, the focus of the questioning was aimed more specifically at two particular case studies of PFM projects that were reportedly unfolding in the region, namely: the Seven Weeks Fern Harvesting Project and the Millwood Mining Project at Farleigh Forest Estate³².

In order to maintain the confidentiality of the respondents interviewed in the second and third phase of interviewing, their names are excluded from the analysis chapter, and only their actor grouping provided. Where information was gained from individuals outside of an interview setting and where information was contextual or non-PFM related, this has been differentiated by referencing the source as personal communication (pers. comm.).

³² See Appendix Three.

Concerning the interviewing methods used for data collection, Kitchin and Tate (2000) refer to this format as an interview guide approach and have identified some of its shortcomings. They caution that this free form approach may result in certain issues being unintentionally left out. In addition, data analysis may be more complicated as the variations in the ordering and wording of questions decrease the comparability of the data across interviewees. Despite these shortcomings, this technique was regarded as the most appropriate for the research.

b. Documentary sources

Primary data was also collected and reviewed in order to enhance the understanding of the contextual background within which this study is situated, particularly the social, economic, policy, institutional, forest management and biophysical context. In addition, documentary sources were also analysed in order to identify policy vocabularies. Data sources included census data, maps, newspaper articles, DWAF reports, books and various policy documents. The researcher assisted with the editing of Lawes et al. (2004), *The Use and Socio-Economic Value of Indigenous Forests and Woodland Resources in South Africa*, which provided access to valuable information about the forestry context in South Africa. (Lawes et al. is of course a secondary rather than a primary source). The Statistics South Africa 2001 census data hosted on the Demarcation website (<http://www.demarcation.org.za>) provided a useful starting point for understanding the socio-economic context; this was manipulated into a more coherent and appropriate format for the contextual chapter. Owing to the case study area of the southern Cape straddling two provinces and including a number of local municipalities, the Eden District Municipality (which is a regional municipality) was deemed a suitable administrative boundary to use in order to reflect the contextual information.

7.4.2. Secondary sources

Secondary data was collected and reviewed to assist with the construction of the theoretical framework for this research (namely ecological modernisation, co-management, discourse analysis and constructivism).

A range of texts were analysed and interpreted. Sources include journal articles, books, and Internet sites containing research documents and demographic statistics. These secondary sources are regarded as “the means by which ideas and discourses are circulated in our society”

(Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999:153). Kitchin and Tate (2000) regard these sources of information as providing comprehensive analyses of how institutions and individuals think and react. Within the constructivist paradigm these sources of data are just as valuable as 'first-hand' data or experiences. Unlike interpretivism which would "seek to reconstruct the author's motives and intentions by seeking to understand what the author really meant where she or he wrote the document", constructionist analysis believes that "a document carries meaning independent of what its author's intentions were" (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999:153).

Upgrading the research necessitated that higher order questions be asked of the research process. In order to answer these questions, additional research data needed to be collected. Additional literature was reviewed in order to update the empirical data and to extend the scope of the research. Additional secondary data included a review of literature on postmodernism; the origins and influence of colonial paradigms on nature conservation approaches in South Africa, the relevance of ecological modernisation to the developing world and participatory forest management theory and PFM policy implementation in South Africa.

In order to reflect on the idea of South Africa as a society in transition and to better contextualise the social and political environment within which the PFM policy implementation process is occurring, additional contextual literature pertaining to South Africa as a society in transition was reviewed. This review included sources related to apartheid, neoliberalism, local economic development (LED) initiatives and employment equity in the workplace and the economy.

7.5. SAMPLING

The purposive sampling approach was used to select the case study area for the study and to identify which actors should be interviewed.

7.5.1. Sampling of study area

Regarding the case study area, a technique was needed to determine which indigenous state forest in South Africa would be the most appropriate location in which to conduct fieldwork. Indigenous forests differ in terms of their biophysical nature (for example, Woodland or Afromontane); their physical extent; their accessibility; their safety and the predominant

language of the foresters and surrounding communities. All these factors were considered and it was decided that the southern Cape indigenous state forests (which comprise the Knysna and Tsitsikamma forests) was the most appropriate area to study. A brief justification for this selection is provided below.

The southern Cape indigenous state forests comprise the most significant portion of South Africa's Afromontane forest (Meadows, 2000); therefore, due to the ecological significance and sensitivity of the forest, it would be beneficial to study the politics of implementation of the PFM policy. In addition, this area is generally regarded to be safer for people to travel in and around the forests and as a single, white female this factor played a significant role in determining the case study area.

The area is predominantly Afrikaans speaking; however English is also spoken, especially among the researchers, foresters in the southern Cape and officials at the DWAF Head Office in Pretoria. Being English speaking, the researcher conducted the majority of the interviews in English, and where Afrikaans was spoken; the researcher was sufficiently conversant in the Afrikaans language to avoid the need for an interpreter who by his or her presence and interpretation of the conversation may have influenced the nature of the data collected.

The southern Cape forests, which fall under the management jurisdiction of the DWAF Office situated in Knysna, have a reputation for being one of the most well managed indigenous forests in South Africa (Knysna Official 1, 2003). The southern Cape forests are also reputed to constitute a place of forest science expertise where:

“ecological and silvicultural research projects have been carried out in the forests over a period of several decades, contributing greatly to our current knowledge of the forests” (Durrheim and Vermeulen, 1996 in van der Merwe, 2002:142).

Forest science research, which prospered in the region in the late 1880's (van der Merwe, 2002), has provided the basis for the current management systems. Given its reputation as a place of technical and scientific expertise, it makes for an interesting case study to apply ecological modernisation theory and discourse analysis.

7.5.2. Sampling of respondents

In all instances actors for all three interview phases were selected using a purposive or targeted sampling technique. This type of sample is also known as a “judgemental sample” because it is “based on judgement derived from prior experience” (Kitchin and Tate, 2000:54). Particular respondents were selected for interviewing based on either their position within the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, their level of involvement in PFM in the Knysna area, or their interest in the subject of PFM (for example certain researchers). The purposive sampling technique was adopted for each of the three phases of interviews. Tables 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 show which actors were selected for interviewing in each of the interview phases. Actors interviewed in the exploratory phase are listed in Table 7.1, whilst Table 7.2 provides a list of the actor groupings interviewed in the second phase and Table 7.3 the actor groupings interviewed for the third phase.

Table 7.1. Actors interviewed in the exploratory research phase.

ACTOR	ORGANISATION	POSITION IN ORGANISATION
Ms J Horn	Development Consultant/ Researcher	Independent
Ms Neziswa	DWAF, Diepwalle	Forester
Mr N Oosthuizen	DWAF, Farleigh	Forester
Mr M Lucas	DWAF, Knysna Area Office	Regional Forest Manager
Mr W Vermeulen	DWAF, Knysna Area Office	Forest Scientist
Dr Seydack	DWAF, Knysna Area Office	Forest Scientist
Ms C Witcher	DWAF, Tsitsikamma	Forester
Mr T Geldenhuis	Forest Ferns	Manager
Mr A Wentworth	Storms River Adventures	Owner
Ms F Gelderbloem	Tsitsikamma Forum	Khoisan Village Manager

Purposive sampling is a subjective sampling method where interviewees are selected based on the “sort of response they are likely to give and the responses the interviewer is looking for” (Kitchin and Tate, 2000:54). This entailed targeting particular people in order to obtain responses from specific stakeholder groups. This would provide an indication of the dominant discourses being used by the stakeholder group they represent and to gain explanatory information about PFM in Knysna. Purposive sampling allows more detailed information to be

gathered and affords the means to obtain the potential range of attitudes, perceptions and discourses that relate to PFM.

Table 7.2. Actor groupings in second phase of interviewing.

ACTOR GROUP	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Community Representatives	6
Donor Representatives	2
Forest Guards	2
Forest Scientists	2
Foresters	5
Head Office Officials	3
Knysna Officials	3
Researchers	3
Southern Cape Tourism	1
Local Business Owners	2

Table 7.3. Actor groupings in third phase of interviewing.

ACTOR GROUP	NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS
Community Representatives	1
Forest Scientists	1
Foresters	1
Head Office Officials	0
Knysna Officials	1
Local Business Owners	3
Interested Parties	2

It should be noted that in some cases the researcher was unable to secure an interview with a particular actor, as they were unavailable at the time she was in their area (either Pretoria or Knysna). Therefore the purposive sampling technique was not totally effective as the researcher had to interview whoever was available at the time instead. This is one of the difficulties of qualitative data collection, which is elaborated in Section 7.7.

7.6. DATA ANALYSIS

Hajer's (1995; 2003) argumentative approach, which is the approach that was adopted in this research, is described in Chapter Two and the methodological elements of this approach to discourse are elaborated. These methodological elements include: the terms of policy discourse (storylines, myths, metaphors, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions); discourse coalitions and institutional practices. Section 7.6.1 briefly summarises the methodological aspects of discourse analysis that were discussed in Chapter Two and highlights the key contributions that discourse analysis makes to the research process. Section 7.6.2 proceeds with an account of the process embarked upon to analyse the collected data. Finally, in Section 7.6.3 the additional analytical processes that were adopted in the research in order to upgrade the research are discussed.

7.6.1. Discourse analysis

According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999:154), the aim of all forms of constructivist analysis is to reveal the "cultural materials from which particular utterances, texts or events have been constructed". Discourse analysis is a popular method of constructivist analysis. Hajer's (2003) argumentative approach was selected here as the method of analysis. This method of analysis is briefly described below as it relates to the research and the key elements of Hajer's (1995; 2003) approach to discourse analysis summarised in Figure 7.2. Thereafter the key contributions discourse analysis are discussed with a view to justifying the use of this approach in this research.

The figure shows that the key aim of the research is to analyse the discourses of PFM policy and practice. The first step involves analysing the oral evidence to determine if there are any groups which share the same discourse, i.e., the existence of discourse coalitions. Analysis of discourse coalitions in the data should include an investigation into whether any discourse coalitions are present in the PFM policy context, and what the storylines or terms of policy discourse are that enabled the development of these coalitions. Analysis would also identify agents in the coalition, their interests and values, and how these interests and values both influence and are influenced by coalitions.

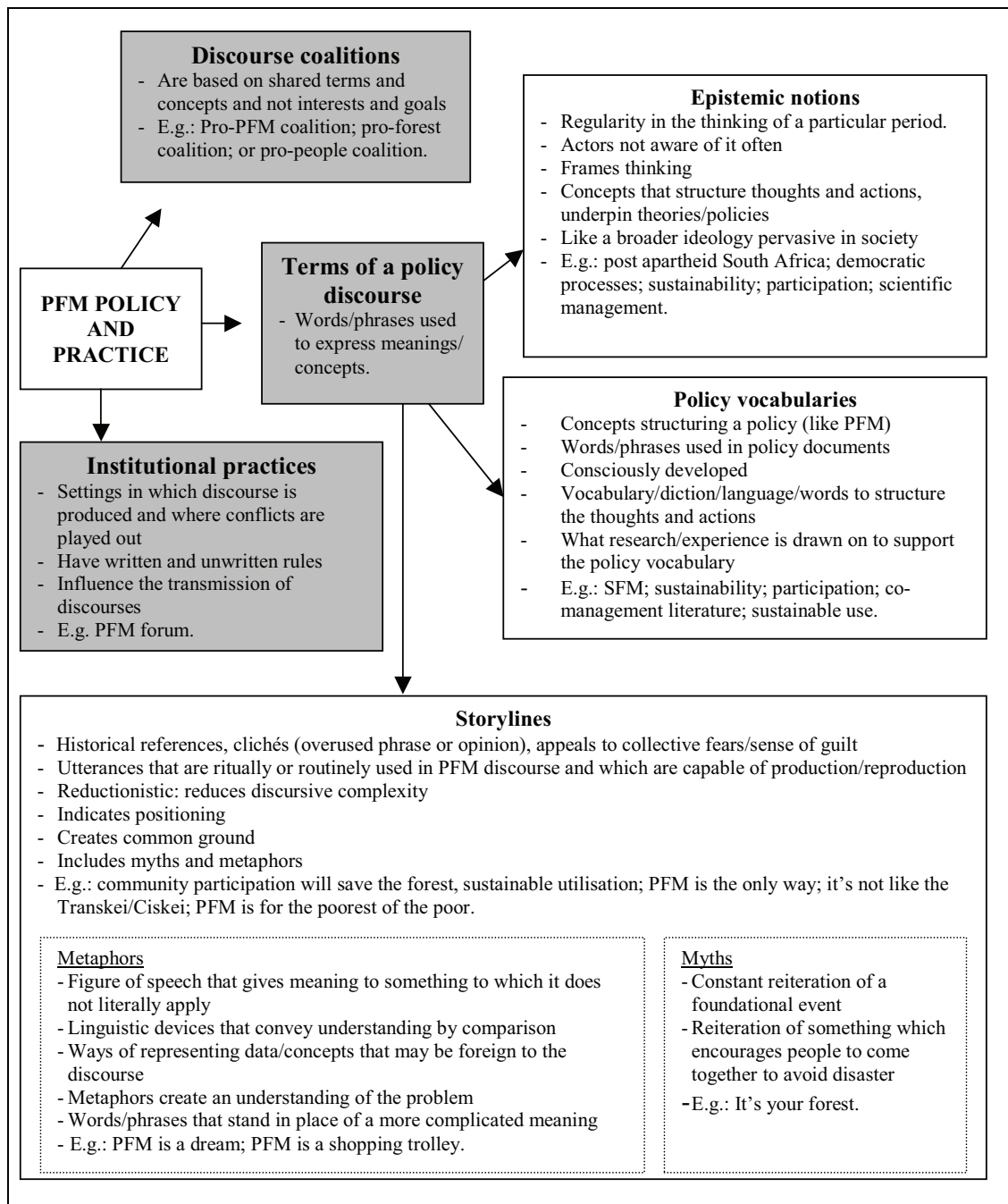


Figure 7.2. Structure of the method of analysis (after Hajer 1995).

The analysis necessary also needs to provide an understanding of the institutional practices, which are the settings in which discourse is produced and where conflicts are played out (Hajer, 1995). When analysing institutional practices, it is prudent to consider the power relations between actors; the relationships between dominant policy communities (such as a

government department like DWAF) and other coalitions within the issue network; and the influence of particular actors in policy development such as donor agencies. These areas shall be considered when analysing the institutional practices relating to the case study area.

The analysis will reveal the terms of the policy discourse. The ‘terms’ of the policy discourse refer to the words or phrases that are used to express meanings or concepts (Hajer, 1995). This includes three layers, namely storylines, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions. The first layer of analysis is the storylines that have emerged regarding PFM policy and practice, and the function that these storylines perform within the PFM discourse. An analysis of the second layer, policy vocabularies, entails an investigation into the vocabulary or diction/language on which actors draw when writing policy documents. For this reason, policy vocabularies are interpreted as the ‘discourse of the policy’ in this thesis. The third layer of analysis concerns the identification of epistemic notions that are used by actors in their PFM discourse. Epistemic notions refer to concepts, which are pervasive in contemporary society, being drawn into the PFM policy discourse and in so doing shaping the way in which the policy is interpreted.

Figure 7.2, in addition to summarising the key elements of discourse analysis, also provides some examples of the elements from the case study in order to elucidate the concepts. Section 7.6.2 presents the process used to analyse each of the aforementioned elements of discourse analysis in more detail.

a. The contributions of discourse analysis

Discourse analysis highlights the significance of ‘texts’. Jacobs (1999:210) states that “discourse analysis brings to the fore the ways in which texts are deployed to legitimise policy action, how they are received and acted upon”. This is because texts and writing are context laden; they are not merely the written version of speech acts. As such, discourse analysis is not about the blatant or superficial meaning of a text, but rather penetrating beneath this level and uncovering its unintended meanings and connotations. The representation of phenomena (in policies or policy processes) in texts has implications for the manner in which they are interpreted and the audiences they affect. Hajer (1993:45) comments that the “study of discourse opens new possibilities to study the political mobilisation of bias”. Discourse

analysis is a valuable tool in that through its application in revealing the intricacies of texts, it may facilitate a more critical approach to policy-making.

Discourse analysis also illuminates why particular (environmental) constructions are advantaged whilst others are rejected or suppressed, and the impact of this selection process over the decision-making arena and policy outcomes. It is a useful method for uncovering the politics behind the problematisation of particular phenomena, the perceived ‘most appropriate’ solutions to these problems, and finally the consequences that result. Jacobs (1999:211) notes that discourse analysis “helps to illustrate how ideology and power conflicts impact on both the definition of a problem and subsequent government interventions”.

Discourse analysis has value in that it is able to explore the changes that are transforming the nation-state (Jacobs, 1999). In South Africa, there has been substantial transformation since the mid 1990’s from a nationalist apartheid state to a democratic post-apartheid society and government. Discourse analysis is one tool that can be employed to investigate such transformations in both policy and implementation.

b. The limitations of discourse analysis

According to Jacobs (1999) there are three key criticisms that have been levelled against discourse analysis which are potential limitations for the research process. These are, firstly, its relativist approach to reality; secondly, its apparent privileging of agency over structure, and thirdly, the inherent bias in its approach to research. Each of these criticisms is discussed below.

Firstly, discourse analysis is based upon a relativist perspective of reality. This view of reality has been criticised by the natural sciences because it denies the existence of an objective reality that can be impartially known. This makes it difficult to make judgements between competing claims or interpretations about reality (Jacobs, 1999). This criticism can be avoided and credibility improved through ensuring that researchers use only accounts from a discourse analysis that are coherent and that are linked to established interpretations. The extent to which a new observation or insight is accepted depends on its practical utility and its ability to provide persuasive interpretations of social practices. The relativism critique can also be countered by reframing the research, not as a means to finding ‘the truth’ but rather to finding

plausible explanations of events. This is consistent with the constructionist paradigm and the post-modern approach. Research is more about “adjudication between rival interpretations, followed by a provisional rather than a determinate explanation” (Bevir and Rhodes, 1998, cited in Jacobs, 1999:208). Jacobs comments that social science should not be involved with finding facts but rather with expanding “critical interpretations of the processes taking place within their field of enquiry”.

Secondly, discourse analysis has been criticised for being reductionistic regarding the influence of structure and agency on the policy process. It is claimed that the Foucauldian approach to discourse analysis places far too much emphasis on the role of agency (actor subjectivity and utterances) and denigrates the role of structure (external factors such as institutional factors, policy instruments and resources at actors’ disposal) (Jacobs, 1999). With regard to environmental policy, Weiland (2003), who echoes the thoughts of Heijden (1999) and Murphy (2000), states that the view that regards environmental politics as being constituted by discourse “neglects some of the more traditional variables of political analysis” (Weiland, 2003:4). Jacobs (1999:209) refutes such criticisms, stating in concert with Giddens (1984) that research that applies policy-orientated discourses recognises the “duality of ‘structure’ and ‘agency’, where structure both shapes and is in turn shaped by actions of individual agency”. It is accepted that policy practice is entrenched in the wider political context and is not separate from it.

The third criticism levelled against discourse analysis is the allegation of bias or partiality in the analytical process associated with a discursive event. It is acknowledged that bias is inherent in social science research. So too with discourse analysis, which “entails a process of active choice, idealisation, selection and closure by the researcher” (Jacobs, 1999:209). When undertaking discourse analysis it is advisable that the approach be reflexive, that interpretations and assumptions - which are necessary in informing the research process, that are made about the process being analysed - are explicitly acknowledged, and then organised.

7.6.2. Process of analysis

An analysis of the research data entailed working methodically through the elements of Hajer’s (1995; 2003) argumentative approach to discourse analysis. The terms of the policy discourse, namely storylines, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions were first analysed. Thereafter

the PFM policy and practice was analysed in terms of the discourse coalitions and institutional practices that are evident.

Data was first interrogated in terms of *storylines*, which are terms and statements that are used in policy discourse to create shared orientations about a policy problem thereby enabling actors to work together to resolve a policy problem. This was for two reasons. Firstly, because the researcher had a more definite idea of what storylines were, as the literature had more to say about them than epistemic notions and policy vocabularies; and secondly because it helped the researcher become more familiar with the data, which would prove useful when trying to draw out the epistemic notions at a later stage. After reading through the data to familiarise the researcher, a list of recurring ideas or frequently used words or terms was made. These became the storylines of the PFM policy. Where responses are not exactly the same across respondents, a phrase is used which captures the essence of the storyline.

The second component of analysis comprised an analysis of four key policy documents in terms of the *policy vocabularies* that were used. These are the concepts structuring a policy. The literature is less clear about how to proceed with such an analysis and therefore it was decided to focus solely on the written policy texts and the discourses used therein, and not to incorporate interview material, except to substantiate or explain something. The decision as to which policy documents to analyse was determined by the date of the document. It was ideal to obtain a range of documents, from the earlier stages of the policy process to the most current document. The selection was determined by taking consideration of the purpose of the document. There has since 2000 been a proliferation of PFM documents and was therefore necessary to select those documents that encapsulated the concept and rhetoric of PFM and the position of DWAF most succinctly. In order to make sense of what vocabularies were used and how their usage differed across the various documents, a table was constructed³³ and asterisks were used to indicate the frequency with which specific terms and words were used. The table provided the basis for an analysis of both the vocabularies and the trends in usage across the policy documents under evaluation.

In order to draw out the *epistemic notions* (broader ideology or frame of thinking) surrounding the PFM policy, it was necessary to take a more holistic approach and to consider the data in

³³ See Table 8.1.

relation to societal discourse in South Africa in general. This is necessary because the degree to which policy vocabularies and storylines are accepted and become hegemonic is determined largely by ideas and discourses that are commonplace in society. Three epistemic notions are described and discussed in the analysis.

An analysis of discourse coalitions and institutional practices emerging out of the PFM debate are the final components of Hajer's (1995) argumentative approach to discourse analysis. The former are the discursive settings, and the latter are the groupings of actors who share the same discourse. With both of these sections however, it is acknowledged that this analysis is incomplete and tentative. The difficulty of conducting an analysis of these elements is detailed in Section 7.7 along with a discussion of additional limitations of the research process.

7.6.3. Additional data analysis requirements for upgrading the research

The data analysis for the PhD builds on the empirical analysis conducted for the Masters research (presented in Chapters Eight through to Twelve). The PhD extends this empirical analysis by analysing the data collected from the third phase of interviewing (presented in Chapter Thirteen). Chapter Fourteen presents a discussion of all the empirical results of the research and then reflects on the theoretical questions of the thesis.

The additional analysis entailed the following inclusions in order to ensure that the aim and objectives of the research are addressed. Firstly, data collected from the third phase of interviewing, where the focus of questioning concerned the implementation of two PFM projects in the Farleigh Forest Estate, is analysed in the light of data that has already been conducted. This data deepens the analysis through providing an in-depth analysis of PFM projects described in the Masters research. This analysis provides a set of findings regarding the application of PFM policy to PFM projects.

Secondly, the applicability of the concept of ecological modernisation to PFM was analysed with a view to challenging the predominant way in which ecological modernisation has been conceptualised (i.e. as a theory that is relevant to the developed world and to advanced industrial societies) thereby contributing to that body of knowledge. Although this has been discussed in the Masters thesis to a limited extent, the argument has been reworked to incorporate the broadened aims and objectives of the research. The appropriateness of the

concept of ecological modernisation is now assessed with regard to its theoretical contribution to understanding a South African policy, and also in terms of whether an ecological modernisation approach to environmental problems is appropriate in South Africa, given its social and political context.

Thirdly, the PFM implementation process in the South African context, which is an example of environmental management in a developing country context, was analysed as an example of a weak ecological modernisation process. Here the degree to which mainstream ecological modernisation is an appropriate approach to addressing environmental problems in South Africa is examined.

Fourthly, the linkages or relationship between the concepts of co-management and ecological modernisation are examined. In particular this additional analysis investigates how the form of co-management that is reflected by the South African PFM policy relates to strong and weak conceptualisations of ecological modernisation theory.

Additional analysis also included further reflection on the value of discourse analysis and the contribution that post-modern constructivist research can make to the research field of participatory forest management in indigenous forests. Finally, the appropriateness of co-management as a management approach is considered given its relationship with ecological modernisation.

These additional analytical components to the research elevate the research already embarked upon for the Masters degree to a higher theoretical level, in order that a substantial theoretical contribution can be made to the debate around the management of people-environment relations.

7.7. LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

It is acknowledged at the outset that qualitative research is not a wholly objective exercise. This is largely attributable to the nature of what is being researched and where the data is to be found, because in both cases people (and their concomitant beliefs and understandings) are instrumental to the process, and the interactions between the researcher and people are not

detached or impersonal. Three key limitations of the research process are identified and briefly discussed.

A limitation, which is common in many qualitative studies, was the unavoidable influence that the researcher had on the research process. The researcher's influence is evident in the choice of the study area (which was discussed in Section 7.5.1). It is acknowledged that different results may have been obtained had a different case study area been chosen, and thus different conclusions drawn. However, the value of case specific research in providing comprehensive data about a process should not be overlooked. Although the extent to which the age, gender and race of the researcher affects the research process is difficult to determine, it is accepted that these factors do exert an influence on the data collection process, especially in the forestry sector which is, generally speaking, technical, political and male dominated.

A third, but also unavoidable, way in which the researcher may have influenced the research process is the interpretation of data. The data collection stage of the research process required that the researcher conduct interviews and note the responses. Where a tape recorder was not used (in the pilot interviews and in two of the secondary interviews) the researcher had to write notes. Owing to the difficulty of writing everything down, it follows that the researcher had to select what were deemed the most vital pieces of information and in writing the information down interpret what the respondent had said. In this way the researcher shaped the kind of data that was collected. The researcher's influence on the data analysis stage is also acknowledged. The researcher was required to draw out epistemic notions, policy vocabularies and storylines from the collected data, which required some value judgments and interpretations to be made. It is possible that another researcher may draw out different results as he/she would bring different interests, knowledge and background to the process and therefore make different interpretations of the data.

Secondly, it was not possible to interview some of the people who have been instrumental in the policy-making and implementation processes. When attempting to contact respondents for the first and second interviewing phases, it was difficult to make contact with the most appropriate people to interview because they had either resigned or been reappointed to another position within DWAF. This is largely attributable to the transformation that DWAF is currently undergoing, which has resulted in frequent internal transfers and a higher staff

turnover. Consequently, some respondents interviewed were relatively new to the PFM process and were thus unable to provide detailed responses to particular questions.

Thirdly, it was not possible to gain access to many of the meetings or circulated minutes of meetings, owing to the logistics involved in getting to the meetings and not receiving such data despite requesting permission for access to it. This limitation was partially addressed by one interview respondent giving the researcher his copies of the minutes he had for the Farleigh PFM forum. These minutes provided an indication of attendees to the forum meetings, matters discussed, the minute-taking style, and the range of projects that were proposed as PFM projects for the Farleigh Forest Estate. In addition, due to the critical nature of this research, it was difficult to secure assistance to obtain primary data. These limitations have impacted negatively on the sections of analysis concerning institutional practices and discourse coalitions; however, an attempt has been made to apply Hajer's (1995; 2003) concepts to the data that was available in order to illustrate how this approach may be useful in understanding more about the PFM context and implementation process.

Three limitations to the research process have been briefly described. These are summarised as follows: the influence of the researcher on the process in terms of on the choice of the case study area, her demographic profile and her influence on the data collected and the analysis undertaken; the difficulty in contacting people due to the internal restructuring of DWAF; and the influence of logistics and politics in the lack of access to meetings and information. The results of the data analysis are presented and discussed in Chapters Eight, Nine, Ten, Eleven and Twelve.

7.8. CONCLUSION

This chapter discusses the methodological approach that has been adopted for this research, namely a deductive and qualitative approach supported by the constructivist paradigm. This broad methodological approach has informed the design of the research process by shaping the data collection and analysis processes.

The implications of upgrading the research from a Masters to a Doctoral thesis are discussed. A distinction has been made between the methodology that was followed for the Masters research and the additional components that were added in the course of upgrading the research

to a Doctoral level. These alterations include the introduction of three research questions, and addition of two research objectives to the research design. Primary and secondary sources of data collection were then discussed. Primary data sources refer to data that is generated by the researcher (Kitchin and Tate, 2000) and include data gathered using interviews; documentary sources such as newspaper articles, DWAF reports and policy documents. The interviews, which were semi-structured and open-ended, were conducted with actors at a national level (including DWAF Head Office officials and donor agents) and also with actors at a local level in the case study area (including DWAF officials, community representatives, local business owners and other interested parties). In addition, three independent researchers were interviewed in order to obtain their view on certain issues. Secondary data sources refer to data that is generated by someone other than the researcher (Kitchin and Tate, 2000). For the most part, secondary data sources provided the majority of the material for the literature review and included literature concerning postmodernism, ecological modernisation, co-management, neoliberalism, South African history, participatory forest management theory and PFM policy implementation in South Africa.

The subject of sampling is discussed. Concerning the selection of the case study area, a variety of factors were considered in the sampling process. These include their biophysical nature; their physical extent; their accessibility; their safety and the predominant language of the foresters and surrounding communities associated with the forested area. All actors were selected according to a purposive sampling technique, where particular people were targeted to be interviewed in order to obtain responses from the stakeholder group they represent.

The methodology that was adopted for the data analysis component of the research is Hajer's (1995; 2003) argumentative approach to discourse analysis. The methodological aspects of discourse analysis, as applied by Hajer in his argumentative approach, are summarised. These aspects include the terms of policy discourse, namely storylines, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions; discourse coalitions and institutional practices. In addition, the contributions of discourse analysis are discussed as a means of justifying the application of this methodology to the research. A significant contribution is the role that discourse analysis plays in highlighting the ways in which texts legitimise policy actions, how these policy actions are received and how they are acted upon (Jacobs, 1999). Discourse analysis is a methodology that reveals why certain constructions of reality are favoured over others and what impact this

selection process has on policy implementation or the manner in which problems are resolved (Hajer, 1995; 1996; Rein and Schön, 1993).

This chapter has highlighted some of the contributions that discourse analysis has made to social science research. These are, that discourse analysis highlights the significance of ‘texts’ by penetrating beneath this level and uncovering the unintended meanings and connotations; that discourse illuminates why particular constructions are advantaged whilst others are rejected or suppressed; and lastly, that discourse enables one to explore the changes that are transforming the nation-state. Three key criticisms that have been levelled at discourse analysis were also examined. These are that it promotes a relativist version of reality; that it is reductionistic; and that it is alleged to encourage bias in the analytical process. Despite these criticisms of discourse analysis, the contributions indicate the advantages of having used discourse analysis as the methodology and the value of this approach is reflected in the detailed analysis that has emerged of the PFM implementation process in the southern Cape.

This chapter also discusses the process of analysis that was followed, in other words, how Hajer’s (1995; 2003) argumentative approach was applied to the research data. The qualitative methodology used to identify and analyses the key epistemic notions, policy vocabularies, storylines, discourse coalitions and institutional practices in the research data is described. The final component of this section entails a discussion about the additional data analysis requirements that were necessary in order to upgrade the research from a Masters to a Doctoral thesis. Significant additions are the inclusion of a third phase of interviewing which would enable a deeper level of empirical analysis to be conducted at a local level about how PFM projects were being implemented within the Farleigh Forest Estate. Secondly, a deeper theoretical analysis of the appropriateness of the concept of ecological modernisation is assessed with regard to its theoretical contribution to understanding a South African policy. Thirdly, the PFM implementation process in the South African context was analysed as an example of a weak ecological modernisation process and the degree to which an ecological modernisation approach is applicable to solving environmental problems in South Africa is examined. Finally, relationship between the concepts of co-management and ecological modernisation are examined, and in particular, how the form of co-management that is reflected by the South African PFM policy relates to strong and weak conceptualisations of ecological modernisation theory.

Finally, the limitations of the research process, and the implications of these limitations for the results of this study are examined. These include the limitation of the positionality of the researcher (although this is a salient feature of qualitative constructivist research); limitations to the research process that resulted from internal restructuring with the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry; and limitations that resulted from the researcher being restricted to access to meetings and information. Despite these limitations the research process has generated a comprehensive set of results. These results are spread across the three following chapters. Chapter Eight analyses the first two layers of the terms of environmental discourse, namely epistemic notions and policy vocabularies. Chapter Nine, Ten and Eleven analyses the key storylines that have emerged in the PFM policy discourse according three categorisations: what is PFM, why PFM and PFM in practice. Finally Chapter Twelve analyses the discourse coalitions and institutional practices that are discernable in the PFM policy discourse in South Africa.

CHAPTER 8

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS 1

THE EPISTEMIC NOTIONS AND POLICY VOCABULARIES OF PFM

8.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the first of five chapters that present the results and analysis of the discourse of Participatory Forest Management (PFM), specifically its implementation in the southern Cape region. It should therefore be read in conjunction with these chapters. Altogether, these three chapters will contribute to achieving the aim of the thesis, which is to investigate the implementation of Participatory Forest Management policy at a local level in the southern Cape/Knysna indigenous state forests in South Africa through an analysis of policy discourse. This analysis would enable the extent to which the concept of ecological modernisation is valuable in understanding a policy process in a developing world context and the extent to which co-management is an appropriate management approach given its relationship with ecological modernisation to be determined.

Hajer's (1995; 2003) method of argumentative policy analysis is applied here and comprises three elements: firstly, the study of the terms of environmental discourse (i.e. epistemic notions, policy vocabularies, and storylines); secondly, an investigation into the formation of discourse coalitions around particular terms; and lastly, an analysis of institutional practices that have originated as a result of the PFM discourse. This chapter discusses the results and analysis of the first two terms of environmental discourse. The identification and analysis of three epistemic notions are discussed first in Section 8.2, and then in Section 8.3 some of the key policy vocabularies are presented. By way of concluding this chapter, Section 8.4 presents a summary of the findings. The following three chapters, Chapter Nine, Ten and Eleven will discuss the remaining terms of environmental discourse, namely the storylines of PFM, and then Chapter Twelve will discuss the discourse coalitions and institutional practices that are related to PFM discourses. Finally, Chapter Thirteen will present the two particular PFM projects underway in the Farleigh Forest Estate.

It should be stated at the outset that the following five chapters do not aim to present '*the truth*' or test the veracity of respondents' statements but rather to represent the '*multiple truths*' that

are reflected in discourse, and particularly storylines. Hajer's (1995; 2003) argumentative approach provides a valuable framework for data analysis and for ordering the results because it analyses discourse at three levels: epistemic notions, policy vocabularies and storylines.

8.2. EPISTEMIC NOTIONS

Epistemic notions are the first of Hajer's (2003) terms of environmental discourse to be discussed. Epistemic notions refer to terms that are used at a more general level in South Africa and hence provide the useful starting point of the analysis. An epistemic notion has been defined as "a regularity in the thinking of a particular period, structuring the understanding of reality without actors necessarily being aware of it" (Hajer, 2003:8) and could be interpreted as the thinking that predominates at a particular time and is pervasive in society. Epistemic notions therefore could be considered as the 'discourse of society' because they appear in sectors of society other than the PFM policy arena.

The research shows that three notions or ideas frame Participatory Forest Management (PFM) discourse. Although they emerged in the research process through the identification and analysis of storylines and policy vocabularies, they are discussed first because of the influential role they play in shaping discourse. These three framing epistemic notions are: transformation in South Africa, sustainability and scientific management. These notions are pervasive in society; they have been incorporated in rhetoric, policies and legislation beyond that of natural resource management and have in one way or another been taken up by scientists, managers and lay people alike. According to Hajer (2003:8), epistemic notions refer to a "regularity in thinking of a particular period"; it could be said that the three framing notions have predominated in South African discourse in the 1990's and have persisted until the present, structuring thoughts and actions in environmental management. It is suggested that those storylines and policy vocabularies that have epistemic qualities or that resonate with epistemic notions become institutionalised.

Changes in the political arena are not confined to policy and legislation. Political changes shape society when policy and legislation are implemented. Hajer's (2003) epistemic notions are individual words, however in this thesis an epistemic notion is applied to mean 'the thinking that predominates' and is not confined to a particular word but rather the thinking that

has influenced the manner in which people think and speak about PFM, and its origin and application in South Africa.

Each epistemic notion shall be discussed below as it applies to the case of PFM in South Africa. Epistemic notions are reflected in a discourse through storylines and policy vocabularies that are articulated by actors. Therefore particular examples that show the incorporation of these epistemic notions into PFM discourse can be found in these terms of policy discourse, which are discussed in following sections.

8.2.1. Transformation in South Africa

The notion of transformation in South Africa is a predominant feature of the post-apartheid period. Remembered as being the year that South Africa held its first democratic elections, 1994 is a landmark year in South Africa's history. This year marked the shift from a society characterised by the National Party's apartheid or separatist policies, towards one committed to transformation. In a reconstituted South Africa, the principles of democracy were to be instilled into every facet of society. Almost a decade later the African National Congress (ANC) government, having drafted the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy in 1994 and promulgated the South African Constitution in 1996, has enacted and reformed numerous policies and legislation which are in accordance with these documents and incorporate the principles of democracy and sustainability. The application of these principles is reflected in the government's attention to issues such as poverty alleviation, social justice, and equality in an effort to redress the injustices of the past.

It became evident from the data collected that a number of actors referred to the transition from an apartheid to a post-apartheid society as the reason that PFM was introduced in South Africa. They cited 1994 as the turning point, when it became politically incorrect to continue to manage forests in the manner in which the Forest Department was accustomed. Pre-1994 was seen as an era in which a "fortress conservation strategy" (Forester 1, 2003) or a "fences and fines approach" (Researcher 1, 2003; van der Merwe, 2002: 141; Knysna Official 2, 2003; Community Representative 2, 2003) was applied to the indigenous state forests, where fences were erected to keep people out (Community Representative 3, 2003; Forester 4, 2003). Trespassers were fined or prosecuted, and access to forests was only allowed for a "privileged [white] group" (Forester 1, 2003) or privileged white minority (DWAF, 1999; Knysna Official

2, 2003; van der Merwe, 2002:139). After the elections in 1994, these approaches to forestry were seen by the actors to be unacceptable and inappropriate in the 'new South Africa'. A post-apartheid transition made it possible for South Africa to adopt a new approach to forest management. As Van der Merwe states (2002: 139):

“Real change in the forest management policy only came about with the rapid transformation of South African society since the first democratic elections in 1994. The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry adopted Participatory Forest Management (PFM) in 2000 in response to the political and pragmatic demands brought about by the changing social climate”.

The PFM discourse is suffused with rhetoric typical of the post-apartheid epoch in South Africa, and in this regard it is argued that the socio-political climate in the country has influenced the kinds of policies that are deemed acceptable to implement in South Africa. 'Transformation in South Africa' is an epistemic notion because, in addition to its prevalence in PFM discourse, it is also prevalent in broader societal discourse. Using the epistemic notion highlights the concern with moral issues related to redress in South African society: adjusting policies, social practices and economic systems so as to ensure a democratic and socially just society.

8.2.2. Sustainability

The second epistemic notion that became apparent through the research process is the term 'sustainability'. The concept of sustainability is derived from the sustainable development discourse which, although in existence since the early 1970's, was the catch phrase of the 1990's and is still enjoying currency in both international and local political, social, environmental and economic arenas. Sustainable development implies that one needs to be cognisant of the well-being of future generations, ensuring that actions carried out in the present do not leave future generations in a worse position than the current generation finds itself (Adams, 2001). It is also about ecological sustainability and about intra-generational equity. Both poverty and the unequal distribution of resources amongst the present generation are acknowledged as key causes of environmental degradation. No longer can human activities continue to marginalise segments of society; instead benefits need to reach a broad spectrum of people, but attention should be focused on improving the quality of human life and therefore redressing past injustices and alleviating poverty with a view to reducing environmental degradation (Adams, 2001).

The term ‘sustainable development’ is a contested notion and has raised interesting debate, particularly regarding its feasibility in ‘the real world’ given its normative tendencies. It is worth noting that the concept has evolved since the ideas were first introduced at the Stockholm Conference in 1972. Usage of the term, however, only gained currency after the World Conference on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987, where it was defined and its focus on inter and intra-generational equity placed on the international agenda (O’Riordan, 1993). It has its origins in ecological sustainability and initially implied the harvesting of natural resources without damaging future supplies (Baker et al., 1997). The concept therefore initially had a biophysical focus, and this is evident in the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) statement that “the ultimate aim of the World Conservation Strategy...was to achieve ‘sustainable development through conservation of living resources’” (Lele, 1991:610). According to Lele, this notion has broadened in scope since then to include social constructs that have an effect on the ecological sustainability of the human-nature interaction. Within forestry the notion of sustainability is not an entirely new concept. Its presence in forestry preceded its introduction into the environmental arena in the 1980’s. When asked about the concept of sustainable forest management one actor replied that the concept of sustainability had been around in Knysna since de Vasselot’s time (Forest Scientist 1, 2003). De Vasselot de Regné was appointed as the Superintendent of Woods and Forests by the Cape government in 1880 and after moving to Knysna in 1881, he:

“set to work to develop a more efficient management system based on the concepts of the section system, and on the principle of matching timber removal with the rate of forest growth” (van der Merwe, 2002:43).

The ‘section system’ refers to a management system that “provided for the spatial concentration of annual selective fellings to delineated sections of forest under the license system” (Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004:312). Forests are divided into sections. Timber is harvested in sections and this allows parts of the forest to recover and regenerate for a period of 40 years (Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004). Van der Merwe (2002:169) later refers to the “principle of matching timber removal with the rate of forest growth” as “the principle of sustainable utilisation”. This application of the term ‘sustainability’ does not incorporate the social sustainability and economic sustainability components that are widely discussed in the literature on sustainable development (Adil Khan, 1995; Atkinson et al., 1997; Lele, 1991; Yeld, 1993). The application of the term ‘sustainability’ in South African forestry is typical of its use in forestry discourse worldwide. Brosius (1999), in writing about institutional development of the international rain forest campaign in Sarawak, East Malaysia, describes a

similar experience. Sustainability was initially applied to the concept ‘sustained yield management’ which had an inherently “economistic focus on timber yields” (Brosius, 1999:45). Forests were managed principally so that they could be harvested. In a post-Brundtland dispensation this was seen to be unfavourable and was replaced by ‘sustainable forest management’. In conceptual terms the notion of sustainability “was intended to project a more benign, caring image” (Brosius, 1999:45). Even though the meaning of the term in the Malaysian and South African cases has changed over the years in the forestry context, the lexical similarities of the terms enabled the various governments to assert that their “commitment to the idea of sustainability was a long-standing one” (Brosius, 1999:45).

Subsequent to the term sustainability being applied initially to a timber-harvesting regime, its application in South Africa in the context of forestry broadened with the introduction of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM). SFM received much attention at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992 where the role of forests in achieving sustainable development was highlighted. There is consensus that SFM (which applies to both plantations and indigenous forests) represents a “paradigm of managing forests as complex ecosystems which provide people with a wide array of economic and environmental goods and services” (Wijewardana et al., 1997:2). In its application to South Africa, SFM has been defined in the Draft PFM Policy document as the “management and protection of forest resources to sustain the values of forest resources for future generations” (DWAF, 2003a:5). This definition of SFM has incorporated the inter-generational equity or futurity idea of sustainable development. However, a criticism of the definition is that in using the term ‘sustain’, DWAF has not provided sufficient detail about what it means for a resource to be sustainably used. However, PFM is regarded by government as an important policy that will assist the government in achieving SFM. It is an “integrated approach that contributes to achieve the goal of Sustainable Forest Management of forests in South Africa” and is “part of the national forest policy for Sustainable Forest Management in South Africa” (DWAF, 2003a:2).

Once again the concept of sustainability and other terms such as ‘sustain’ and ‘sustained’ derived from the term sustainable, and which carry meanings associated with sustainable development, extend beyond forestry and are evident in society in general. There is no universal understanding of what it means to be sustainable; it raises questions such as ‘Sustainable for whom? To what degree? For how long? How does it relate to natural (environmental) processes such as climate change?’ Despite the contested and varied

understanding of what the term means, its normative usage is widespread amongst politicians, environmentalists, academics and . This epistemic notion has become an accepted wisdom and brings a moral dimension to policies and actions. The principles of sustainability include participation, democracy, equity and justice and are therefore aligned with the post-apartheid epistemic notion. In addition, like the post-apartheid transformation epistemic notion, the sustainability notion is in line with the international humanitarian movement, which lends credibility to the concept and ensures its entrenchment in local discourses.

8.2.3. Scientific management

The third epistemic notion is the accepted wisdom of scientific management. The role of science in substantiating or validating products, policies and approaches is established in society. Hajer (1995) refers to 'science-based policy making' as a form of environmental management. This notion has grown to epistemic proportions because of the powerful role of science and the influence that scientific discourse has in society. The essence of this notion could be encapsulated by the idea that 'if the scientists say it is right then it must be right' which is a thinking that is in the minds of many and is not limited to those involved in forestry.

Scientific management is an epistemic notion because it is inconceivable in contemporary thinking that natural resources could be treated in any other manner. The conventional management approach is dominated by a western scientific management paradigm, and to accept an alternative approach would almost require a paradigm shift. Within this paradigm nature needs to be subdued, compartmentalised and broken down into its constituent parts in order for it to be analysed, understood and managed, with the objective of controlling and manipulating it to ensure optimum benefits. Benefits could range from consumptive uses of forest resources such as timber, mushrooms and honey to non-consumptive uses such as recreation, cultural and spiritual benefits. It could even be argued that research is a benefit or non-consumptive use to be derived from the activity of managing forest resources because people derive employment and satisfaction from scientific endeavour. There may be alternatives to scientific management. For example, one alternative could be to leave the forest resource to 'look after itself' or 'let nature take its course' without human intervention. Another approach could be to allow access to and utilisation of forest resources to take place unimpeded by rules and regulations. In this case it would be accepted that the forest is a resource to be used for the benefit of people and that when the resource is depleted to the

extent that it does not meet people's needs, people will move on to seek other resources as they did before they became sedentary. These approaches seem impractical, irresponsible and unsustainable in a society guided and dominated by a western (scientific) management paradigm. A third alternative approach, which challenges scientific management, is the turn in theory and practice towards the use of 'indigenous' or 'local' knowledge in management. However, this perspective of knowledge was not articulated in the Knysna case study and is therefore not elaborated here.

In the context of the southern Cape, Nimmo (1976, in van der Merwe, 2002:133) describes the role of the authorities in the management of the southern Cape forests, writing that:

“the management of such forests is an extremely complicated scientific business. Steadily they are being brought under control, composition and conditions in each area studied, salients closed, burns healed, exotic invasions repelled”.

Knysna has a reputation for having the most technically and scientifically well-managed forests in South Africa. The belief that the southern Cape forests are a flagship, being the only indigenous forests in South Africa that are Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) certified and “one of the best rainforest management and timber yield regulation systems in the world” (van der Merwe, 2002:132) is testimony to the positive role that science has played in the protection and management of the forests.

This epistemic notion is indicative of an ecological modernisation paradigm. Scientific management is a key characteristic of what Christoff (1996) refers to as ‘weak ecological modernisation’ where “technocratic/corporatist styles of policy making by scientific, economic and political elites” predominate, and rational and pragmatic thinking is favoured above moral or ethical principles.

The extent to which these notions have influenced the PFM discourse will become clear in the remainder of this chapter when PFM policy vocabularies are examined and in Chapter Nine, Ten and Eleven where storylines are discussed. The following section discusses the concept of policy vocabularies as it applies to the southern Cape context, where the key words and ideas that comprise the PFM policy documents are identified and analysed.

8.3. POLICY VOCABULARIES

The second layer of the analysis of the terms of policy discourse comprises an analysis of the policy vocabularies of PFM that are reflected in certain policy documents. Policy vocabularies, which are the body of words or concepts used in a particular language or in a particular sphere, differ from epistemic notions and storylines in that they are consciously developed by policy makers (Hajer, 2003). Words and concepts are used deliberately in policy documents, and function to give the policy structure. They also function to influence the thoughts and actions of people who read it or who are tasked with its application. A review of the policy vocabularies of PFM gives an indication of the terms that play a role in shaping the manner in which PFM is applied and understood in the South African context. In addition to providing a brief description of the key words and concepts that comprise the PFM policy vocabularies in South Africa, it is of interest to also consider where they originate (which legislation, theories, debates or international trends legitimise their inclusion into policy); why they may have been chosen; and lastly what the implications of their use in the policy documents are.

Although policy vocabularies are also to be found in the discourse of respondents interviewed, the focus is on official PFM discourse as reflected in policy documents. Four policy documents were selected for analysis, namely the White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (DWAF, 1996); the National Forests Act (DWAF, 1998); the Framework for the PFM Programme of the Directorate: Indigenous Forest Management (DWAF, 1999) and the Draft PFM Policy (DWAF, 2003a). The scope of analysis has been restricted to indigenous forests or what the policies refer to as natural forests, which do not include policies or policy vocabularies pertaining to woodlands or plantations.

Policy makers at a national level at Head Office³⁴ in Pretoria have chosen the vocabulary to be used in PFM policy documents. Table 8.1 below shows the policy vocabularies that can be identified from four of the key forestry policy documents and the prevalence with which concepts or words that pertain to a particular vocabulary appear in each document. This section summarises the dominant groupings or sets of vocabularies that comprise the national PFM policy discourse (see Table 8.1). Thereafter some of the trends that have been observed in the development of the policy from 1996 to 2003 are discussed.

³⁴ Where reference is made to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry Head Office in Pretoria, it shall be termed 'Head Office'.

Certain words and concepts are found right across the 1996, 1998, 1999 and the 2003 policy documents. These were introduced in the White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development (1996) and have been carried all the way through to the most recent 2003 Draft PFM Policy. This lends consistency and stability to the ideas contained in the policy and could be termed an ‘enduring’ vocabulary. This ‘enduring’ vocabulary, where the word or concept appears in all four policy documents, consists of the following words/concepts: sustainable management; sustainable forest management (SFM); benefit sharing; sustainable use/harvesting of resources; participation; ensuring that local communities receive benefits and opportunities from forest resources; rights; the use of incentives to encourage sustainable management of forest resources; previously disadvantaged individuals/groups; and finally the idea of community based methods of management. Although some of the words are repeated across the policies, the degree to which they have been used is not consistent and reflects the changes that have taken place in PFM policy. The following discussion highlights some of the trends in evolution of the policy vocabulary and elucidates some of the reasons for these trends.

A key trend in PFM policy has been the shifting emphasis on community forestry. Community forestry is “forestry designed and applied to meet local social, household, and environmental needs and to favour local economic development. It is implemented by communities or with the participation of communities” (DWAF, 1996:10). The focus of community forestry within DWAF prior to PFM, however, was on farm forestry, agroforestry, community or village planting, woodlots and woodland management by rural people, as well as tree planting in urban and peri-urban areas (DWAF, 1996) and excluded the scope of indigenous forests to provide for local needs. Indigenous forest management was regarded as a separate entity to community forestry. The new policy for community forestry, as reflected in the White Paper, broadens the scope of community forestry to include the role natural forests and woodlands play in the economies and livelihoods of local communities. The government recognises the need for benefits arising from the sustainable management of forests and woodlands to accrue to local communities and, in the context of forests on state land, for the state to manage these resources in partnership with local communities. It is acknowledged that the likelihood of communities ever completely managing an indigenous state forest is unlikely owing to DWAF’s “legal responsibility to the nation” (DWAF, 1996:23). For the first time, the concept of PFM - not the specific phrase, but the ideas behind it - is introduced into South African forestry policy and supersedes the previous elements of community forestry.

Table 8.1. Synopsis of the dominant policy vocabularies across four key PFM policy documents³⁵.

Policy vocabulary	Concept/ Word	White paper (1996)	NFA (1998)	IFM policy framework (1999)	Draft PFM policy (2003)	Total occurrences across all 4 documents
Sustainability	Sustainable use	** (2)	** (2)	*** (3)	***** (7)	14
	Sustainable Forest Management (SFM)	*** (3)	***** ***** ***** ** (23)	***** (5)	***** ***** ***** (17)	48
	Sustainable Management	***** (9)	***** * (8)	** (2)	**** (4)	23
	Sustainability	***** ***** (17)		** (2)	** (2)	21
	Sustainable rural development				** (2)	2
Participation	Participation	***** (9)	* (1)	***** (9)	***** (9)	28
	Participate	**** (5)	*** (3)		*** (3)	11
	Partnerships	** (2)		***** ** (14)	***** (6)	22
	Participatory	* (1)	***** ***** ***** ***** ***** (33)	***** ***** ***** ***** (43)	***** *** (12)	89
Integration	Integrated approach	* (1)	* (1)	*** (3)	(2)	7
	Link with Integrated Development Plans	* (1)		* (1)	**** (4)	6
	Integrated element of SFM				* (1)	1
Social justice	Previously disadvantaged groups/individuals	* (1)	* (1)	** (2)	***** (7)	11
	Disadvantaged by unfair discrimination		**** (4)	* (1)	** (2)	7
	Equity	***** (7)		***** (7)	***** (5)	19
	Poverty alleviation/relief			* (1)	***** (7)	8
	Poverty	* (1)				1
	Poor	** (2)		**** (4)	* (1)	7
Constitutional rights	Rights	***** * (10)	***** *** (17)	*** (3)	***** (8)	38

³⁵ The asterisk * indicates how many times the word or phrase appears in a particular policy document.

Policy vocabulary	Concept/ Word	White paper (1996)	NFA (1998)	IFM policy framework (1999)	Draft PFM policy (2003)	Total occurrences across all 4 documents
	Right/s of access		***** (7)	** (2)	**** (4)	13
	Right/s to use		***** (5)	* (1)	*** (3)	9
	Right to benefit	* (1)		* (1)	***** (5)	7
	Right to manage		* (1)	* (1)	***** (7)	9
	Right to participate			* (1)	* (1)	2
Benefits	Maximising benefits	* (1)		* (1)	* (1)	3
	Sharing of benefits	* (1)		* (1)	*** (3)	5
	Fair distribution of benefits		* (1)		** (2)	3
	Tangible benefits			*** (3)	***** (8)	11
	Intangible benefits				* (1)	1
Environmental management	Multiple use forestry	* (1)			* (1)	2
	Incentives	**** (4)	*** (3)	***** (5)	*** (3)	15
	Continuum			*** (3)		3
	Capacity	***** (12)		**** (4)	***** (5)	21
	Adaptive management			*** (3)		3
	Win-win	* (1)		* (1)	* (1)	3
	Mutual benefits				* (1)	1
	Community forestry	***** (36)	***** * (8)	(2)	***** (5)	51
	Community forestry agreement		***** (18)		** (2)	20
	Manage	***** (6)	*** (3)		***** (6)	15
Economic development	Local Economic Development	***** (7)		**** (4)	***** (8)	19
	Forest enterprise development				***** (6)	6
	Rural development	***** (18)		* (1)	*** (3)	22
Moderation	Where feasible				* (1)	1
	Realistic ambition level				** (2)	2
	PFM as a contribution				**** (4)	4

The policy for indigenous forest management also underwent a broadening of focus to include an “emphasis on community based methods in managing resources” (DWAF, 1996:24). Government recognised that local communities have the right to benefit from natural forests and woodlands. The sustainable harvesting of indigenous resources (for local benefit and for the enhancement of commercial opportunities) was stated as a means of protecting both forest and woodland resources, and the application of incentives to encourage sustainable management of forests and woodlands was endorsed. This necessitated a change in forest legislation. The ‘old’ Forest Act (Act 122 of 1984) was repealed (with the exception of sections dealing with offences and penalties, enforcement, and general and transitional provisions) and a ‘new’ National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998) was enacted. As can be seen from Table 8.1, the new Act emphasised terms/words such as sustainable forest management (23); sustainable management (8); participatory (33); rights (17); and community forestry agreements (18), but also included the ‘enduring’ policy vocabulary that was discussed earlier³⁶. The numbers in brackets indicate the number of times the word or term was used. The new NFA adopted the concept of ‘community forestry agreements’ (18) over ‘community forestry’ (8). Similarly, the principles of sustainable forest management are detailed in Chapter Two of the Act and are intended to apply to and guide all official decisions pertaining to forests. Again, although the phrase ‘participatory forest management’ has not been used explicitly, the ideals or ethos of the concept are provided for in the definition of the SFM principles and the Act’s provision for Community Forestry Agreements (CFAs). This could explain why the frequency of the ‘community forestry’ term has decreased (from 36 references in the White Paper to eight in the NFA) and the use of the terms ‘sustainable forest management’ and ‘CFAs’ have increased in the Act (from three and zero references respectively in the White Paper to 23 and 18 respectively in the NFA).

The 1999 and 2003 policy documents are more specific to PFM and refer to PFM as a mechanism through which the principles of SFM can be applied and a “significant contribution” (DWAF, 2003a:5) can be made to SFM. The 2003 Draft PFM Policy states that “PFM is an integrated element of achieving Sustainable Forest Management. PFM is not going

³⁶ The ‘enduring’ policy vocabulary consists of the following words/concepts: sustainable management; sustainable forest management (SFM); benefit sharing; sustainable use/harvesting of resources; participation; ensuring that local communities receive benefits and opportunities from forest resources; rights; the use of incentives to encourage sustainable management of forest resources; previously disadvantaged individuals/groups; and finally the idea of community based methods of management.

to be an *end* in itself, but PFM shall contribute to objectives such as Sustainable Forest Management and Local Economic Development” (DWAF, 2003a:5). Reference to CFAs has decreased to zero references in the 1999 IFM Policy Framework and two references in the Draft PFM Policy document, and the conceptualisation of PFM has taken place through the NFA interpretation of SFM, which has in turn influenced the PFM policy vocabulary to reflect the concept of sustainable development.

A second noticeable trend is the change in the manner in which the epistemic notion of sustainability is applied in the policy documents. Its application becomes more focused in recent documents and begins to reflect international trends associated with the concept. It is also interesting to note that the application of sustainability in the forestry context also reflects an ecological modernisation paradigm because it becomes incorporated into management rhetoric. The terms ‘sustainability’ and ‘sustainable management’ decrease in prevalence in the policy documents (from 17 and nine respectively in the White Paper, to two and four in the Draft PFM Policy document) whilst ‘sustainable use’ and ‘sustainable forest management’ increase (from two and three respectively in the White Paper, to 7 and 17 in the Draft PFM Policy document). In addition, concepts associated with the principles of sustainable development such as ‘participatory’, ‘rights’ (including all forms); and ‘previously disadvantaged’ are mentioned more frequently (from 1, 11, and 1 respectively in the White Paper, to 12, 28 and 7 in the Draft PFM Policy document). New words and concepts such as ‘tangible benefits’ and ‘poverty alleviation/relief’ emerge in the 1999 Framework document and are given added importance in the 2003 Draft PFM Policy document. It is only in this latter document that the idea of ‘intangible benefits’, for example recreational and spiritual benefits that can be derived from the forest, emerges as a concept in the policy. The policy vocabulary has shifted from vague references to sustainability and has matured to include more concrete, action-orientated and management elements of the concept. This reveals a shift in the policy as DWAF is attempting to operationalise the concept by breaking it down into its constituent parts.

Since 1994 a ‘rights-based’ vocabulary has suffused policy and legislation in South Africa in general, which has granted a multitude of rights to people in South Africa who were previously denied basic human rights. This development in the political arena, which was influenced by the international human rights movement, was enshrined in the South African Constitution (108 of 1996), which is the supreme law of the country. In the context of forestry a third trend

is evident in this policy vocabulary. In the 1996 White Paper the rights vocabulary was used in reference to worker's rights, trade union rights, restitution of land rights and labour rights. Rights specifically pertaining to the concept of PFM are few; only in one case has reference been made to the right for local communities to have the benefit of the forest resource. The 'right to use' idea was not used in connection with "major indigenous forests" (DWAF, 1996:19) but rather with regard to SAFCOL's right to "use relevant State forests".

In addition to multiple uses of the word 'right/s' in the new NFA, rights of access to and use of forest resources comprise the greatest component of the PFM related rights-based vocabulary. Part 1 of Chapter Four of the NFA grants everyone 'reasonable' access to natural forests for recreation, education, culture or spiritual fulfilment and also qualifies this right by stipulating conditions under which access may or may not be granted. Part 2 of the same chapter of the Act also, in acknowledging the benefits that can be obtained from the forest, gives the state the power to grant (and exempt people from the need for) licenses and servitudes. The Act also gives the state the power to enter into lease agreements and community forestry agreements with local people, to enable people in the use, management, control and operation of state forests, and the forest produce therein.

In the 1999 IFM Policy Framework document, the frequency of usage of the 'rights' vocabulary decreases (from ten in the White Paper to three in the Framework document), but it encompasses all the key ideas about rights that were discussed earlier. This decrease could occur because for the first time the document is more specific and focused on PFM and the policy starts to take shape in elaborating the concept of rights as it applies to the context of forests and forest management. This reason however, does not account for the prevalence of the word in the 2003 Draft PFM Policy. Despite the brevity of the document (15 pages excluding annexures, which is almost half the size of the preceding three documents) the word 'right/s' has been used more than 25 times. Here the 'rights' concept is entrenched in the policy vocabulary of the PFM policy discourse, the majority of which is associated with the right to manage the forest resource. It could be argued that DWAF still controls the rights of people in one way or another when it comes to managing forest resources because it is DWAF who decide the "degree and type of participation that is most appropriate" and the nature of the community's role in the management process (DWAF, 1999:6). So although the prevalence of the term may increase, it is important to note the power relations associated with the relinquishing of rights, where the state retains the ultimate power in the dispensing of rights.

A fourth trend is the introduction of what could be termed a vocabulary of moderation or precaution. It is only in the 2003 Draft Policy document that policy makers have tempered the original optimism of the concept of PFM and used words indicating a more conservative approach to the application of the concept. Words and concepts such as ‘where feasible’; and references to the ‘ambition level’ needing to be ‘realistic’; ‘modest’ and ‘reflected in the availability, budget, institutional organisation, and skills and attitudes of staff’ have been introduced with a view to “avoid creating unrealistic expectations and failed PFM interventions” (DWAF, 2003a:7). Here one sees recognition by government that the aspirations of PFM for local communities and the aspirations that some communities may have for PFM are not always pragmatic or possible. Some may argue that this is a more rational and realistic approach to co-management in South Africa and that there was a need to temper earlier post-apartheid enthusiasm, which had inspired policies such as the South African Constitution and the RDP (the ideologies of which are subsequently reflected in the policies and legislation passed during the late 1990’s) and which is reflected in PFM policy.

The 1999 Framework document introduced the idea of a participatory forest management continuum into PFM policy, including Borrini Feyerabend’s (1996) participation continuum as a model. In Horn’s (2000) PFM Pilot Review, which is a description of what was happening in PFM at that time, the concept of the participation continuum was also mentioned. Although, by describing this pilot PFM process through the application of the concept of a participation continuum, Horn does not legitimise or justify the process. The incorporation of the participation continuum into PFM documentation aided the incorporation of the continuum concept into PFM discourse. Here the idea that DWAF can select the degree and type of participation it sees as appropriate to a particular context is presented as an acceptable approach to the implementation of PFM. The document states that “whilst the Department does not have to rigidly locate itself on the PFM continuum, it must realise that the nature of its roles and responsibilities will be influenced by its position on the continuum.” (DWAF, 1999:5). In this context the word ‘continuum’ is also part of the moderation/precautionary vocabulary.

The 2003 Draft PFM Policy acknowledges that “there are no definitions of PFM but there will be guiding principles. The context of PFM will differ case-by-case within the guiding principles for PFM according to the community needs and capacity, and forest resources

involved” (DWAF, 2003a:3). The ideal of community management and ownership of natural resources (the extreme left of the continuum) and the ideal of local communities maximising forest benefits and having rights to access and use of forest resources become just some of the manifold options that exist for government under the pretext of implementing PFM. These ideals are reserved for cases where it is ‘feasible’ and ‘realistic’.

Of interest to this vocabulary of moderation is the effect that the local context has had on national policy. Horn’s review of the pilot process (drafted in 1999 and finalised in 2000) influenced the introduction of a continuum in the 1999 Framework document. It would appear that the moderation vocabulary in the 2003 Draft PFM Policy document has been influenced largely by the storylines arising from the southern Cape region, particularly the ‘raised expectations’ and ‘broken promises’ storylines³⁷. The movement of two staff members played a key role in aiding the transmission of this storyline from a local level to national level where it influenced the policy vocabulary of the 2003 Draft PFM policy document. Both staff members were estate managers, one from the Eastern Cape and the other from northern KwaZulu-Natal, and they were transferred to the southern Cape to step up the implementation of PFM in the region, which was lagging behind other regions in implementation (Head Office Official 3, 2003). Both brought to the southern Cape a passion and optimism for PFM that was rooted in their experiences of the injustice of people-park relationships and the scope for participatory practices to improve the lives of local communities at the park interface. Both individuals played a large part in conveying the policy vocabulary of the 1999 Framework document to local DWAF officials, local community members and other stakeholders in the region as that document formed the basis of the understanding of PFM at the time. Both staff members were subsequently transferred to the IFM Directorate at Head Office in Pretoria to assist with the national policy PFM process.

Based on these events, as related by the Head Office Official, it would be reasonable to suggest that once the storylines about ‘raised expectations’ and ‘broken promises’ started filtering back to Head Office, it became apparent that the initial enthusiasm for what PFM could do in a region for the local people and the level of involvement that one could realistically expect to achieve had created a level of ambition for the implementation of the policy that was not realistic, and that therefore subsequent communication and policy about PFM needed to be

³⁷ See Chapter Eleven.

tempered. These two staff members in particular could understand where these ideas were coming from. They were aware of the local context and the manner in which PFM was promoted to local communities, DWAF staff and other stakeholders in the southern Cape in order to get it mainstreamed in the region.

The fifth and final trend to discuss in the policy vocabulary of PFM relates to the economic sector. The idea of economic development, particularly local or rural economic development, is inextricably linked to that of PFM. For the most part this arises from the manner in which the concept of sustainable development has been interpreted since the Brundtland Commission. Here the idea that social, economic and environmental sustainability could be simultaneously achieved in development initiatives is advanced³⁸. The 2003 Draft PFM Policy document sees the introduction of a new concept into the PFM vocabulary; that of ‘Forest Enterprise Development’, which is mentioned six times. Previously, interpretation of the economic component of sustainability in the context of forestry was confined to ‘Local Economic Development’ (7) and ‘rural development’ (18) but these are generic concepts that needed to be refined in order to be applied. ‘Enterprise development’ is defined by DWAF as the contribution that forests can make towards rural development (through linking with Integrated Development Plans) including economic opportunities through Forest Enterprise Development (FED) and is one of the three stated objectives of PFM (DWAF, 2003a). The concept of FED incorporates both the involvement of private sector enterprises and local community-based enterprises in forest management and decision-making, but in order to be in line with PFM policy, the securing of the “active local involvement for the benefit to local communities” (DWAF, 2003a:4) must be central to any business opportunity for forest enterprise.

Although some words are repeated across the policies, the degree to which they have been used is not consistent and reflects the changes that have taken place in policy around PFM as the concept has matured. It is evident from the documents that the policy vocabulary of PFM has evolved as the policy itself has evolved. This is not unusual but rather to be expected as the policy makers have refined the intricacies of the government’s position regarding PFM.

³⁸ See Chapter Three and Chapter Fourteen for discussions of PFM in the context of sustainability and ecological modernisation.

8.4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter has described and analysed three epistemic notions and trends in the policy vocabularies of four key policy documents that predominate in the South African discourse of PFM as it pertains to the case study area of the southern Cape forests (see Table 8.2 and 8.3).

Table 8.2. Summary of the terms of the PFM policy discourse: epistemic notions.

TERMS OF THE POLICY DISCOURSE	NOTES
EPISTEMIC NOTIONS	
• Transformation in South Africa	Result of the post-apartheid epoch which emerged in 1994, PFM discourse is suffused with rhetoric that is typical of this period.
• Sustainability	An accepted wisdom and brings a moral dimension to policies and actions. Includes social, economic, ecological and governance issues.
• Scientific Management	Role of science in substantiating or validating products, policies and approaches is established in society.

Three epistemic notions are identified in the South African PFM discourse (see Table 8.2). It was shown that these notions are epistemic because they are prevalent in South African societal, political and economic discourse in general, but have also found their way into the PFM discourse. The first epistemic notion is the idea of transformation in South Africa. South Africa's transition from an apartheid to a post apartheid society during the 1990's necessitated a change in the discourse of society away from a racial conservative discourse towards a more liberal, inclusive and non-racial discourse. This shift necessitated alterations in policy and legislation in order to redress the injustices of the past and the research has revealed that respondents perceive this shift in the socio-political climate as the key motivation for the introduction of PFM in South Africa. The PFM discourse is filled with rhetoric that is characteristic of the post-apartheid transformation in South Africa. It is argued that it is the changes in broader society that have shaped the kinds of policies and discourse that is deemed to be acceptable. When respondents use the epistemic notion 'transformation in South Africa' they allude to the issues related to redress in South African society.

The second epistemic notion that is identified in the research is the idea of sustainability. This concept is derived from the sustainable development discourse and refers to the need for actions to be executed in a manner that does not leave future generations in a worse position than the current generation finds itself (Adams, 2001). It incorporates intra-generational equity

concerns (O’Riordan, 1993) with the well-being of future and current generations and is understood to include the biophysical, economic and social environments (O’Riordan et al., 2000). Although the concept of sustainability has been used in the forestry context since the late 1800’s, it initially had a biophysical focus, ensuring that the rate of timber removal did not exceed the rate of forest growth (Van der Merwe, 2002). The subsequent incorporation of social, governance and economic components into the concept came with the introduction of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM) into the DWAF management discourse and this arose out of the broader normative conceptualisation of the notion of sustainability that is prevalent in other social and political sectors. PFM is regarded as an intrinsic mechanism to the DWAF achieving its goal of SFM (DWAF, 2003a). For the PFM discourse to incorporate the epistemic notion sustainability lends credibility to the policy.

The third epistemic notion that is revealed in the research is the idea of scientific management. Much of the PFM implementation process in the southern Cape rests on the role of forest scientists to ensure that consumptive and non-consumptive forest benefits are derived in a manner that is sustainable. Scientific management is an epistemic notion because the accepted wisdom of scientists and their role in validating products, policies and approaches is a phenomenon that extends beyond the forestry industry and is pervasive in contemporary society.

This chapter has also discussed elements of the policy vocabulary of PFM as it has appeared in the White Paper on Sustainable Forest Development in South Africa (DWAF, 1996); the National Forests Act (DWAF, 1998); the Framework for the PFM Programme of the Directorate: Indigenous Forest Management (DWAF, 1999) and the Draft PFM Policy (DWAF, 2003a) (see Table 8.3). A policy vocabulary refers to words or ideas that are consciously chosen by policy makers to be incorporated into policy documents (Hajer, 2003) and which function to structure thoughts and actions regarding a particular policy initiative such as PFM.

The first policy vocabulary that was identified in the research is an ‘enduring’ policy vocabulary. This refers to those words or concepts that have been repeated across the four policy documents. This group of concepts or words includes the following: sustainable management; sustainable forest management (SFM); benefit sharing; sustainable use/harvesting of resources; participation; ensuring that local communities receive benefits and

opportunities from forest resources; rights; the use of incentives to encourage sustainable management of forest resources; previously disadvantaged individuals/groups; and finally the idea of community based methods of management. This ‘enduring’ policy vocabulary has the effect of giving stability to the PFM policy and consistency to the key concept of PFM. The degree to which terms and concepts have been used in each document differs and provides an indication of the changes that have taken place between 1996 and 2003 in the thinking behind PFM.

Table 8.3. Summary of the terms of the PFM policy discourse: policy vocabularies.

TERMS OF THE POLICY DISCOURSE	NOTES
POLICY VOCABULARIES	
• ‘Enduring’ policy vocabulary	Words or concepts that are found in all four policy documents.
• Shifting emphasis on community forestry	Community forestry definition broadened from farm forestry, agroforestry, community/village planting, woodlots and woodland management by rural people, to include the scope of indigenous forests to provide for local needs.
• Rights-based vocabulary	Right to use and benefit from forests and forest products, which is supported in NFA for PFM.
• Vocabulary of moderation	Original optimism tempered.
• Economic vocabulary	Emphasis shift from broad Local Economic Development and rural development to Forest Enterprise Development.

Five key trends in the shifts in the policy vocabulary were identified and discussed, see Table 8.3. The first trend is the shifting emphasis on community forestry. Prior to 1996 community forestry was centred within DWAF on ensuring that black communities had sufficient timber resources to meet their basic needs such as firewood and fencing poles. Since the 1996 White Paper however the concept of community forestry was broadened to include the role that natural forests and woodlands play in the economies and livelihoods of local communities, and for the need for the state to manage these resources in partnership with local communities. This was later endorsed by the NFA (Act 84 of 1998) by making provision for Community Forestry Agreements.

A second trend is the change in the manner in which the sustainability epistemic notion has been applied in policy. Initial documents are imbued with terms such as ‘sustainability’ and ‘sustainable management’, but their prevalence in later policy documents decreases, whilst phrases such as ‘sustainable use’ and ‘sustainable forest management’ increase in prevalence.

Words and concepts that are implicit in references to sustainability also increase which suggests that policy makers have attempted to operationalise the concept of sustainability by breaking the normative and often vague concept down into its constituent parts and providing policy directives for these parts.

A third trend is the change in the rights-based vocabulary. The 1996 White Paper incorporated the concept of rights, but only in connection with worker's rights, labour rights and land restitution rights. This changed in the NFA and subsequent documents included rights concerning access to, use of and, especially in the 2003 Draft PFM policy document, the right to manage indigenous forest resources.

The incorporation of a vocabulary of moderation or precaution into more recent policy is the fourth key trend in the PFM policy vocabulary. This vocabulary arose in the 2003 Draft Policy document and reveals a tempering or toning down of the original optimism about the PFM policy that is reflected in prior documents. This indicates a recognition on the part of government that their levels of ambition for PFM implementation was not always pragmatic. This vocabulary indicated the realisation that different approaches to co-management and levels of participation are required for different contexts. The research revealed that the experiences of government officials and input from researchers regarding the PFM implementation process in the southern Cape played a significant role in shaping the national policy discourse with respect to the introduction of this policy vocabulary.

The final key trend is the shift in the way in which the economic component of sustainability is interpreted in policy documents. The concepts of Local Economic Development and rural development that were adopted in early documents gave way in the 2003 Draft Policy document to Forest Enterprise Development. Central to this concept is the active involvement of local communities with private sector enterprises in economic opportunities that are forest related such that local community members derive economic benefits from the enterprises (DWAF, 2003). Forest Enterprise Development is not inconsistent with Local Economic Development and rural development initiatives, because it is the application of these broader these initiatives to the forestry (and PFM) context.

Storylines are Hajer's (1995; 2003) third term of environmental discourse. Chapter Nine is the first of three chapters on the storylines that have been discursively produced in the PFM

discourse and will present three key storylines that have emerged from the research data concerning what respondents understand about the notion of PFM. Under the title, “what is PFM?” the storylines: ‘PFM is the only way’, ‘PFM is a continuum’, and ‘sustainable utilisation’ are discussed.

CHAPTER 9

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS 2

PFM STORYLINES: WHAT IS PFM?

9.1. INTRODUCTION

This is the second of five chapters that present the results and analysis of the research conducted in the southern Cape concerning the implementation of Participatory Forest Management (PFM). Hajer's (1995; 2003) method of policy analysis has been applied and comprises three elements. Firstly, the study of the terms of environmental discourse about PFM (i.e. epistemic notions, policy vocabularies and storylines); secondly, an investigation into the formation of discourse coalitions around particular terms; and lastly, an analysis of institutional practices that have originated as a result of the PFM discourse.

The previous chapter discussed epistemic notions and policy vocabularies. This chapter is the first of three chapters that present both the results and analysis of the storylines that are discursively produced in the PFM discourse. The analysis revealed that the twelve storylines clustered into three groups. The first group of storylines define PFM and answer the question 'what is PFM'. The second group of storylines justify why PFM has come about and answer the question 'why PFM'. The third and largest group of storylines relate to the practice of PFM. This chapter will discuss three key storylines that have emerged from the research data concerning the first group, what respondents understand about the notion of PFM. Under the title, 'What is PFM' the storylines: 'PFM is the only way', 'PFM is a continuum', and 'sustainable utilisation' are discussed in Section 9.3. However, Section 9.2 precedes this discussion and presents a synopsis of the concept of storylines, which was explained in Chapter Two. Finally, Section 9.4 concludes the chapter by summarising the findings that are discussed.

9.2. SYNOPSIS OF STORYLINES

Storylines are narratives that are capable of production and reproduction and which are ritually or routinely used in a discourse (Hajer, 1995; 2003). They have the function of indicating the positioning of actors/respondents, creating the common ground necessary for the formation of

discourse coalitions and also sustaining societal support for particular policy programmes, such as PFM, owing to their persuasive power (Hajer, 1995). Essentially, storylines function to provide an argument for a particular reason or set of reasons. In as much as storylines assist in generating a shared orientation around an issue or policy, they also assist the individual who uses the storyline to consolidate his or her own understanding and avoid cognitive dissonance. Storylines often ‘conceal’ a multitude of issues that are complex and contested (Hajer, 1995). The analysis that follows will elaborate on some of the issues that the storylines conceal thereby illustrating how, through concealment, shared orientations are generated and communicative networks are established. Through the analysis of interview data, the key storylines that revolve around PFM are identified and the possible function that they fulfil critically discussed.

According to Hajer (1995), these storylines could include historical references or clichés and may appeal to a collective sense of fear or guilt. Myths and metaphors are also particular types of storylines. Statements made by respondents were identified as key storylines and discussed in this section for one of two reasons. Either a statement was selected if the majority or all of the respondents took it up, or if it was an interesting storyline that, although restricted to a particular grouping of respondents, succinctly encapsulated their position on PFM. Where myths and metaphors were encountered during analysis, these are discussed as such, as part of the storylines of PFM.

9.3. WHAT IS PFM?

This section identifies and provides a detailed analysis of the first group or cluster of storylines. Interview questions were designed with a view to providing an opportunity for respondents to explain the PFM approach, as they understand it³⁹. For example, respondents were asked how they would describe PFM. They were also asked whether there is an alternative option to PFM, and how they would define the participation required by PFM. Of the twelve storylines that emerged from the analysis of the responses to these and other questions, three of the storylines could be clustered into a group that answers the question ‘what is PFM’.

³⁹ See Appendix One and Two.

Three storylines that define PFM and answer the question ‘what is PFM’ are discussed. These storylines are that: ‘PFM is the only way’; ‘PFM is a continuum’; and that PFM is about ‘sustainable utilisation’. These storylines are summarised in Table 9.1 below where the number of respondents who used the storyline within an actor grouping is shown in the third column.

Table 9.1. The first group of storylines around PFM in the southern Cape: what is PFM?

ISSUE	STORY LINE	RESPONDENTS
WHAT IS PFM?	PFM is the only way	Community Representatives: 1 Donor Representatives: 1 Forest Scientists: 1 Foresters: 2 Head Office Officials: 2 Knysna Officials: 1 Researchers: 2 10
	PFM is a continuum	Donor Representatives: 2 Head Office Officials: 2 Researchers: 3 7
	Sustainable utilisation	Community Representatives: 1 Donor Representatives: 2 Forest Scientist: 1 Forester: 1 Head Office Officials: 1 Knysna Officials: 2 Researchers: 1 Southern Cape Tourism: 1 10

9.3.1. PFM is the only way

This storyline argues that PFM is the only way to manage forests in South Africa today. When asked about the possibility of implementing an approach other than PFM, ten out of thirty three respondents replied that ‘PFM is the only way’, that there are no alternatives or options in South Africa but to practice PFM. The catchphrase ‘PFM is the only way’ is a storyline that encapsulates this sentiment and suggests the existence of a pro-PFM discourse coalition. This discourse coalition comprises a range of actors, such as forest scientists, social scientists, government officials, community representatives and international donor agents (see Table 9.1).

In short, PFM is seen as the management approach by which concerns and problems raised by environmentalists, human rights advocates, private sector and forestry service officials can be addressed (Heerman and Otto, 1999). This storyline functions as a mechanism that creates the common ground necessary for actors to communicate. All actors in this pro-PFM coalition

agreed that PFM is the way forward for indigenous forest management in South Africa; they shared the same orientation or direction, and this became a starting point for further discussions around the intricacies of applying this approach. Discussions in this section will show that despite sharing the same orientation, that ‘PFM is the only way’, respondents differed in respect of the reasons provided to validate this storyline, which supports Hajer’s (1995) argument that shared orientations do not necessarily mean shared understandings of the policy problem. Different actors want PFM to be implemented for different reasons. Four key reasons why PFM is the only way are identified from the interview data and discussed below, namely that PFM is the only way forward in a progressive and transformative country such as South Africa; that PFM is the only middle ground option; that PFM is the only way because it is an approach that has been adopted in numerous developed and developing countries; and lastly, that PFM is the only way in which the use value of forests to local communities can be acknowledged.

Concerning the first reason, that PFM is regarded as the only way forward in a progressive and transformative country such as South Africa, one group of respondents were of the opinion that ‘PFM is the only way’ forward, because other alternatives would be regressive, going backwards. This view was shared predominantly among the DWAF staff in Knysna. A Knysna forester stated:

“It is not really possible to have an alternative. The other alternative is to have an ‘everybody out approach’ and that’s not going to work. You either talk to people or you don’t. You have them involved or you don’t. PFM is just a forum, there may be other ways or means, maybe an association, whatever, but it’s the same thing. It’s participation, co-operation, people get involved in forest management. If you go any other way you’re going back, not forward” (Forester 4, 2003).

Similarly a Knysna official stated that “the other option will be to go back to where we were, in the sense that it’s no entry signs all over the show, and I don’t think that’s an option” (Knysna Official 2, 2003) and one forester proposed that:

“there is an alternative; there are always alternatives to anything. A better or worse alternative that’s the thing. We could go back to fortress conservation...it did not work in the past. Well it worked in the sense of we thought it was working” (Forester 1, 2003).

From these statements it is apparent that participation and co-operation are seen as the only way, and no matter what one calls it, whether it is Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) or Joint Forest Management (JFM), this approach to forest management is the only way to manage indigenous forests. This is the basis of a co-

management approach and is linked to current international approaches to forestry where the developmental role of forestry is advocated (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Hobley, 1996; Hackel, 1999; Turner et al., 2001; Sihlophe, 2002; Grundy and Michell, 2004). A community representative encapsulates this idea well when she states that “maybe they change the name and give it three different names and keep the concept, because I think there is nothing wrong with the concept. I don’t know how many other possibilities there are to get the same results that PFM can get” (Community Representative 3, 2003). One Head Office official reflected that there was a need to redress the injustices of the apartheid era in order to ensure social, economic and ecological sustainability and “move from that paradigm because it was no longer an appropriate management regime for the realities that we were facing as a country” (Head Office Official 2, 2003). He stated that one could “scale up and put a Chinese army of people out there with guns and erect fences” but that this would be in conflict with the new dispensation, which was focused on restoring rights and transferring benefits to communities.

The ‘transformation in South Africa’ epistemic notion can be identified in this storyline where, in the post-apartheid era, new approaches to natural resource management should be implemented that are in line with the new dispensation. PFM is understood to be an evaluative ‘either-or’ approach in that one either embraces the new dispensation and practices PFM, or one does not and reverts back to the ‘fences and fences’ or ‘fortress conservation’ approach. It is important to note that PFM is supported as a means of redressing past injustices and accepted as an appropriate way forward for forestry in South Africa. It also creates an opportunity for a more radical or stronger version of ecological modernisation to be applied in forest management because it advocates a rejection of the ‘traditional’ approaches.

A second reason for PFM being seen as being the only way is that it is acknowledged as being the middle ground between the two opposing approaches of complete state forest management and complete community forest management. A researcher who was interviewed regarded the alternatives as being “bleak” (Researcher 2, 2003). He suggested that one alternative is State Forest Management which would be a “return to good old fashioned game ranger attitudes”, going back to the fences and fines approach to management which, for both political and pragmatic reasons, is not feasible (Researcher 2, 2003). He proposed an alternative at the other end of the spectrum, Community Forest Management (CFM), which, according to this researcher was seen as “giving too much to the community” (Researcher 2, 2003). It is recognised that the forests cannot just be given over to the communities as suggested in the one

extreme of the PFM continuum because forests are a national heritage and are legally protected by, and the responsibility of, the state which is the custodian of the resource (Researcher 2, 2003). The Knysna forests are regarded as public land that is part of South Africa's national heritage and the world's natural heritage. Therefore it would be irresponsible for DWAF to give state forest land over to communities, especially without support, and expect them to manage it sustainably (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Researcher 2, 2003).

The social context is seen to play a significant role in determining what kind of forest management approach is appropriate in an area and in the current South African context. PFM, as a middle ground option, is argued by respondents to be the most appropriate management approach and therefore the only way forward. Therefore, having said that regarding PFM as the 'only way' provides an opportunity for a more radical or stronger version of ecological modernisation to be applied, the rationale that PFM is the most appropriate middle ground option is indicative of a weaker form of the ecological modernisation paradigm being applied. The reasoning presented is that social transformation can be accommodated in environmental management within the parameters set by scientific management to purportedly create a win-win scenario between people and the environment.

A third reason given as to why 'PFM is the only way' is its adoption internationally. PFM is practiced in developing countries such as India, Tanzania, Nepal, China, Philippines, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Kenya, but also in developed countries such as Denmark. Shackleton (2002) and a researcher (Researcher 3, 2003) both reflected that PFM is an "international drive" and has been a feature of international policy efforts in forestry for the past two decades. PFM, as with Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and Joint Forest Management (JFM), is seen as part of a global recognition of the need to increase community participation in the management of forest resources and ensure that communities derive benefits from forest resources. One researcher (Researcher 1, 2003) and a donor representative (Donor Representative 2, 2003) have referred to PFM as an "international trend" whilst another donor representative (Donor Representative 1, 2003) described it as "in vogue and very much at an international level" and a forest scientist that it is "an international sort of thing" (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). PFM is recognised internationally as the only way to ensure the social, economic and ecological sustainability of the forest resource. It is based on the premise that in order to save the forests, past social injustices must be addressed; poverty must

be alleviated through access to tangible benefits; and communities must share with the state the responsibility for forest management (Head Office Official 3, 2003; Researcher 1, 2003; Researcher 2, 2003). It is also in line with the priorities of international donor agencies such as DFID and DANIDA (Donor Representative 2, 2003) and therefore increases the possibility of the South African government obtaining both financial and human resource assistance from these agencies to implement PFM.

This third reason provided by respondents for PFM to be the ‘only way’ is linked directly with global trends. From this perspective, this storyline accords well with the ‘scientific management’ epistemic notion because it places great emphasis on scientific knowledge ‘out there’ in the international arena, that if the experts in the developed world advocate PFM as the only way then this would apply to South Africa also. It would be impractical to suggest that South Africa should not take heed of international trends and research, however care should be taken to ensure that the application of this knowledge and experience is adapted to suit South Africa’s particular context and is not implemented in a “blueprint or off-the-shelf manner” (Shackleton, 2002:10).

A fourth reason given for PFM being the only way is that it is perceived to be a way of acknowledging the use value of forests to communities. Communities are using and have always used forest resources; there is a need to acknowledge this and to formalise it because it is a reality in South Africa (Researcher 3, 2003). Some people use forest resources as a livelihood strategy and in this way forests play their part in reducing poverty. One researcher stated that “people will find a way [to access forest resources] if it means putting food on the table” (Researcher 3, 2003). PFM is seen by some as the only way to address the issue of poverty in the context of indigenous forests.

Although respondents were confident that ‘PFM is the only way’, it is important to stress that they believed this to be true for the micro scale level of each forest estate. Seven respondents also acknowledged that regionally PFM should only be regarded as part of the solution to socio-economic issues and that PFM should be integrated with other social, economic and development opportunities (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Donor Representative 2 2003; Forester 1, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Head Office Official 2, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003; Researcher 3, 2003). This is in keeping with the vocabulary of moderation in the 2003

Draft PFM Policy document, which advocates a more pragmatic approach to implementing PFM at a local level.

It is of interest to note that while PFM is seen as part of the solution in the context of social and economic problems, when discussing the fate of forests and threats to the biophysical integrity of the forest resource, the pro-PFM discourse coalition advocated PFM as *the* way to save the forests. In this view it is proposed that forests can only be conserved through involving more people in decision-making and management and giving them access to the economy through Forest Enterprise Development. It could be argued that this storyline, that PFM is the only way, functions as a dystopian myth because people are encouraged to embrace PFM to avoid disaster (the destruction of the forests) – there is no other way to save the forests than to practice PFM. It has a mythic quality because to say that ‘PFM is the only way’ to save the forests is too simplistic. There *may* be alternative approaches that may save the forests but respondents found it difficult to ‘think outside the box’ in terms of what these alternatives could be. In addition to destruction due to human interaction with the forests, problems such as alien invasive plants, global warming, and institutional restructuring have also been regarded by respondents as key threats to the forest. However they are accorded a lower priority or status. This shows that the ‘PFM is the only way’ storyline gained currency and permanence in the policy debate around indigenous forest management.

9.3.2. PFM is a continuum

The storyline that ‘PFM is a continuum’ means that the participatory approach to implementing PFM could allow the state varying degrees of participation with forest stakeholders. Respondents recognise that throughout the PFM process the role of DWAF may change and so too therefore the degree of participation in which the state engages. This is supported in a brochure issued by DWAF (Figure 5.2), which implies that PFM should be a sufficiently flexible approach to enable it to adapt to local contexts. Thus the kind of participation that one can expect would vary across differing contexts within South Africa.

This storyline is most prevalent at Head Office (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Donor Representative 2, 2003; Head Office Official 2, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003). This storyline was also used by three researchers (Researcher 1, 2003; Researcher 2, 2003; Researcher 3, 2003) and is to be found in much academic literature surrounding CBNRM and

PFM/JFM (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Goodwin, 1998; Sekhar, 2000; Turner et al., 2001; Obiri and Lawes, 2002; Sihlophe, 2002; Grundy and Michell, 2004). This storyline is also incorporated into the 1999 IFM Policy Framework (DWAF, 1999). Even though it was not a widespread storyline in that it was confined to Head Office (see Table 9.1), it is included because it encapsulates how PFM is conceptualised at the national level. The concept of the continuum as a policy vocabulary of moderation or precaution has been described in Chapter Eight where it featured in the 1999 IFM policy document. This section will focus on its value as a storyline in PFM discourse.

A donor representative stated that:

“it is also a continuum and it is not a blueprint. You know, you apply the principles in your own context and that context may be quite different in each case and in the way your relationship between stakeholders, the forest and you as the estate forester, estate manager or estate facilitator... The nature of that PFM might vary between poor rural and isolated communities up in, you know, behind Mthata somewhere, and an area like Knysna where you have got good infrastructure, high tourism potential, your economic and poverty levels are much better, your literacy levels are much lower and so on. So the nature of how you put in place a PFM model in Knysna might be quite different” (Donor Representative 1, 2003).

Similarly, with reference to the continuum (DWAF, 1999), a Head Office official commented that “you can decide where you want to situate PFM, from total state control no access, to no state control and ownership in actual fact from communities and the models sort of [have] varying ranges” (Head Office Official 3, 2003). The idea is to find a point on the participation continuum that would be the most appropriate for the particular context within which it is being applied. One donor representative emphasised that the participatory level chosen should be realistic and be determined by a “realistic level of ambition” (Donor Representative 2, 2003). Reference to PFM as a continuum has persuasive power because it appeals to a sense of reason and rationality. It is acknowledged that it is unrealistic to assume that one approach could be used as a blueprint and be replicated across varying contexts; it makes sense to speak of a continuum and therefore this is a convincing and persuasive storyline in PFM discourse.

The concept of participation is complex and is debated at length by academics and practitioners alike (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; White, 1996; Dryzek, 1996; Connelly, 2002; Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). There are many debates around what participation is, what it means and how it is achieved. To engage in discourse about PFM using the storyline that it is a continuum,

goes a long way to reducing the complexity of the participation debate. In the 'PFM as a continuum' storyline, participation is context dependent, and can vary between the extremes of full control by the state (State Forest Management) and full control by the communities (CFM). This creates the common ground necessary between actors for further discursive engagement to take place, because it is possible that politicians, scientists and human rights advocates could frame their arguments within this storyline.

In as much as this storyline is advantageous to the policy debate because it legitimises a range of approaches, it is argued that it also makes it easier for the state to avoid the implications of what it means to be participatory. 'Participatory' management carries with it certain assumptions. In the context of this study these assumptions would be that local people and stakeholders other than DWAF would be involved in the management of forest resources, that they would be included in decision-making around that resource, that they are involved in monitoring and regulation, and that they would have a share in the benefits arising from forests. Local people are not ignorant of these assumptions; they have a sense of what the term participation means and it is misleading to use the term in a manner that is contrary to its conventional conceptualisation. A community representative echoes this when he says "one shouldn't call it participatory forestry when it is not participatory. It's an insult to say you're doing the work and you're not" (Community Representative 2, 2003).

The statement of Community Representative Two above reflects the power of discourse (in this case a participatory discourse) in creating the impression that a participatory process is underway through PFM when others perceive what transpires at a local level to be the antithesis of what the state asserts. In this way this storyline reflects ecological modernisation from a cultural politics perspective because it shows how discourse is influenced by rhetoric and may serve to portray a group of actors in a particular way. For example, the storyline supports both 'stronger' and 'weaker' versions of participation. This enables the state to continue to use the term 'participation' to describe its PFM approach and portray it in a complimentary way. However, others may argue that the reality is different; that instead of being a process that is people-driven and which challenges a top-down management approach, participation in PFM risks becoming a process that is just factored into a traditional management regime. It does not affect 'business as usual' because it engages in 'participation' based on state-controlled or orchestrated co-option and not bottom-up participation. Although this may be a seemingly pessimistic view of DWAF in Knysna in terms of the goals of PFM,

statements from interview respondents in the proceeding paragraphs support this assessment of the kind of participation that is taking place in Knysna with regard to PFM. This also supports Grundy and Michell (2004:687) who believe that “lip service paid to participation is just as dangerous as top-down management”.

It could be argued that for the state to regard PFM as a continuum is to avoid the challenging elements of practicing participatory forestry. With reference to PFM as a continuum, Shackleton (2002:7) notes that “many analysts say that this is compromising the ultimate objectives of PFM”. The kind of participation that has taken place in Knysna has been criticised. For example, one researcher stated that, “it is nothing more than consultation. The leftish [more State Forest Management] end of the continuum. It’s certainly not participatory in terms of co-management. It’s lip service” (Researcher 1, 2003). A community representative refers to it as “state controlled participation” (Community Representative 5, 2003) whilst another community representative also criticised the forums, stating that “nothing meaningful” is happening and that rather than meeting to “please the people and listen to proposals” one should stop meeting because “it is a waste of time” (Community Representative 3, 2003). A third community representative echoed these sentiments, admitting that although it is “nice to interact and have communication, it’s not a forum that’s happening. It’s not effective activity” (Community Representative 2, 2003). One community representative felt that she and the community representatives who are invited to attend PFM meetings are patronised (Community Representative 3, 2003). She candidly remarked:

“Don’t waste my time inviting me to meetings for tea and coffee and *koek*⁴⁰, because I have got enough of that. I’m not stupid, I don’t want to come and faff here, I want positive stuff happening...It makes me look at it and say, we’re back there because inviting us, transporting us to the meeting, we’re going to Knysna! Get us scones with jam and cream and coffee and sorry guys, nobody’s available to present this meeting because Michael Peter is transferred to Head Office and we’re just doing his *afskeid*⁴¹ you know. That is bullshit. That is totally unacceptable. It makes me feel, I have got a little bit of knowledge, maybe a little bit more than the rest of the people, ok, and I feel sorry for those people because they feel so special going to Knysna and getting scones and cream, but they don’t really understand how they are being bullshitted” (Community Representative 3, 2003).

DWAF are still in control of the participation process and decision-making in the forums. Forest Guard 1 believes that the communities should participate more in the forum meetings.

⁴⁰ Afrikaans word meaning ‘cake’.

⁴¹ Afrikaans word meaning ‘farewell’.

He feels that they are not really involved in the process, that the decision-making has already taken place when the decisions are put to the community. The PFM forums in Knysna, which are comprised primarily of local community representatives and DWAF staff, only have the advisory responsibility for recommending a PFM project to Scientific Services; they do not have the authority and decision-making powers to approve a project as Scientific Services have the ultimate veto (Forester 1, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003; Researcher 1, 2003). This level of participation is in line with the both the 2003 PFM Draft Policy document regarding PFM Committees (2003:13) and a donor representative (Donor Representative 2, 2003). This representative acknowledged that it is unrealistic for PFM to be anything more than:

“a hearing phase whereby we have created a dialogue between surrounding communities and whatever they have, their concerns and so on are taken into consideration by the management agency. Anything beyond that is beyond a realistic level of ambition” (Donor Representative 2, 2003).

This kind of participation is more to the right end of the continuum, a more conservative and pragmatic application of the concept of participation. By using the storyline of a continuum, it is possible to avoid discussions about relinquishing control through devolution of power from the state to local people, which is central to the concepts of participation and co-management, by arguing that such degrees of participation are inappropriate for a particular local context. One researcher questioned whether the state and conservation agencies that represent the state are ready to appreciate all that PFM entails (Researcher 2, 2003). He suggested that PFM includes the possibility that these actors should be prepared to relinquish their independence and enter into a bargaining forum where they may not end up being in control of everything that takes place on state land. This researcher inferred that if one were to engage in participation in a “real” sense, this control might be lost (Researcher 2, 2003). This sentiment concurs with the co-management literature. For example, Turner et al. (2001:41-42) state that co-management requires that “local users or functional groups have real influence on management decisions” and that it “involves a formal sharing of powers and responsibilities, and a strong motivation for common understanding”.

There are two critical factors that influence the degree of control that DWAF is able to relinquish. The first factor concerns the process of transformation. In the South African context, transformation refers to a post apartheid process of social and political change to establish democracy and social equity. Despite it being politically desirable to engage in

participation with local communities and other forest stakeholders, and there being significant pressure on government departments such as DWAF to show that they have transformed, one researcher suggested that DWAF's inability to work with people reflects that they are not ready for change (Researcher 1, 2003). This is reflected in the activities of Knysna staff, some who have resigned while others have applied to be reassigned to a post that does not require engagement with local communities. Two Head Office officials have referred to this as passive resistance to transformation (Head Office Official 3, 2003 and Head Official 2, 2003). This is supported by a donor representative who observed that DWAF is an institution that is still not "transformed sufficiently to enable it to practice PFM faithfully" (Donor Representative 1, 2003). There is the sense that one can have a plethora of policies, legislation, best practice approaches and directives, but unless individuals within an institution are transformed so that principles of democracy and social equity become part of their cognitive set (their thought processes), the institutions shall not be transformed and in a position to implement radical approaches such as the more participative and socially just form of PFM.

The second critical factor that influences the amount of control that DWAF will relinquish is capacity of local people, and whether they have sufficient knowledge and skills to be in a position to manage forest resources responsibly. Local departments are afraid to let go (Researcher 3, 2003) and in order to maintain their control, the following justifications (all of which are significant reasons why the southern Cape forests need to be protected) are given: Firstly, that the Knysna forests are one of the best preserved and well managed Afromontane forests in southern Africa, that they comprise only about 1.7% of the total South African land cover and that therefore they are a scarce resource which should be carefully and scientifically managed. Secondly, a researcher noted that people also fall back on the "we don't know what we're dealing with" line as a reason to not let go, suggesting that the management of a resource cannot be passed on if scientists do not fully understand the resource (Researcher 3, 2003). This reflects the precautionary principle, which is well accepted in mainstream environmental management and which may be a necessary position to adopt given the conservation significance of the Afromontane forests in the region. Management of forest resources requires people who have the necessary intellectual capacity and capabilities and presently in South Africa, this is a significant constraint (Donor Representative 1, 2003). A community representative expressed this in the following way:

"DWAF has always controlled the forest and I think right now, with nobody actually having enough knowledge and skills, they are still controlling the forest,

because how can people on a local level that don't have enough knowledge actually make a meaningful contribution and express how they feel" (Community Representative 3, 2003).

Similarly, another community representative also recognised that it is possible for communities to be in a position where they can manage a resource, but that this will take time because it must be a thorough process which starts with capacity building and skills development (Community Representative 5, 2003). The longer communities are not capacity built, the longer it will take before communities are given the option to participate in forest management. In accepting these justifications, the DWAF office at Knysna legitimises its conservative application of participatory approaches thus maintaining its control over the process and over forest management.

The concept of PFM being a continuum was introduced into the South African PFM policy discourse in the DWAF strategy plan by Horn (2000) when she conducted a review of the pilot projects of PFM. Her draft findings were included in the 1999 IFM Policy Framework document before the review was finalised in 2000. The policy vocabulary influenced the discourse and shaped the interpretation of PFM at a national level. This is reflected in its adoption of PFM as a continuum as a storyline. This creates the platform for a tempering of the concept of participation and justification for doing so. This storyline encompasses differing levels of participation within the concept of PFM. This makes it difficult to record changes to the PFM process when the term participation has been used so broadly. Therefore, even if DWAF were to operate at a local level in a 'truly' participative manner, these actions may be difficult to record because they acquire the same label as something for which people previously had a very different interpretation.

9.3.3. Sustainable utilisation

This section analyses the storyline of 'sustainable utilisation'. It is not surprising that the storyline of 'sustainable utilisation' is to be found in the PFM discourse in South Africa. The concept of sustainability has already been discussed as an epistemic notion and the shifting application of the concept in the policies as a policy vocabulary has been examined. It is evident from the regularity with which the term is used during interviews with respondents and in government documents that it is commonplace in forestry discourse in general and in PFM

discourse in particular. Table 9.1 reflects that it is a widespread storyline within the South African PFM discourse.

On the whole, respondents from DWAF in Knysna used the catchphrase ‘sustainable’ in connection with the utilisation or harvesting of forest resources, implying that the benefits that communities derive from forests should be accessed on a sustainable basis (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Forester 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003), whilst Head Office respondents predominantly used the term ‘sustainable’ in relation to forest management (Donor Representative 2, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Head Office Official 2, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003). The ‘sustainable utilisation’ storyline has become entrenched in the policy debate around PFM, becoming a cliché or repetitious expression that, for the most part, is uncontested and something on which most actors would agree. When engaging in discourse about PFM, it makes sense to talk about ‘sustainable utilisation’ (Forester 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003), “sustainable harvesting” (Forester 1, 2003) or ensuring benefits are made available to communities on a ‘sustainable basis’ (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Donor Representative 2, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003) because it sounds intuitively and morally ‘right’ and it can be argued that this is due to sustainability being an epistemic notion.

An obvious function of the ‘sustainable utilisation’ storyline, given its strong epistemic qualities, is that it creates common ground for a wide variety of actors (who all subscribe to the notion of sustainability) to come together. However, although the catchphrase ‘sustainable utilisation’ is used by a variety of actors, it should not be assumed that these actors all share the same understanding of the term. Discourse is complex because, as Hajer (1995) emphasises, although storylines may allow for shared orientations, they do not always allow for shared understandings of the policy problem and this hampers problem resolution. The concept of sustainability includes both inter-generational and intra-generational principles. With reference to the former, ‘sustainable utilisation’ for the forest and forest resources means that utilisation regimes should be at a level where current use would not hamper the ability of future generations to derive a similar benefit from the same forest resource. Current management of the forest would secure the forests for the future to supply future needs. This use of the storyline has been commonplace in Knysna since the 1880’s when de Vasselot de Regné was appointed Superintendent of Woods and Forests by the Cape government (van der Merwe,

2002). He applied the principle of ‘sustainable utilisation’ to forest management. This meant that timber removal was matched with the rate of forest growth (van der Merwe, 2002). A forest scientist in Knysna made reference to this history when he stated that “the concept of sustainability has been around since de Vasselot and multipurpose management has been around in the southern Cape since the 1960’s/1970’s” but admitted that sustainability was more concerned with futurity than with “other issues” (Forest Scientist 1, 2003). The storyline of ‘sustainable utilisation’ has a biophysical focus. It refers to the perfection of the scientific management of the forests to ensure a supply that would not exceed the demand for timber in the future, and is less concerned with the social and local developmental aspects, which now comprise accepted components of sustainability. As such it is evidence of a ‘weak’ ecological modernisation approach that excludes social issues such as poverty and development (Blowers and Pain, 1999).

Today, sustainability also means that in the process of ensuring that the needs of future generations are secured through wise management of resources in the present, the well-being of current generations is not compromised at their expense, and that the principles of social justice and equity are upheld between societal groups. The inclusion of this intra-generational component is consistent with the popular WCED definition of sustainable development, which is development that “meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs” (WCED, 1987:43).

Brosius (1999), in writing about institutional development with respect to the international rainforest campaign in the east Malaysian Rainforest, also refers to the term sustainability and the change in its usage over time. He distinguishes between the meaning of sustainability as it is applied in the concept of sustained yield management which had an “economistic focus on timber yield” and the subsequent replacement of this meaning of sustainability with what he refers to as the “greener contours of post-Brundtland sustainability” which “was intended to project a more benign caring image of Malaysia’s stewardship” (Brosius, 1999:45).

Shackleton (2002:2) observes that the shift in the concept of conservation is a recent one. She states that in the past, “the concept of conservation was dominated by a primary interest in flora and fauna for its scientific and existence value rather than utility value, a lack of social concern, and protection by force”. Grundy and Michell (2004) also support this view and suggest that the broadening of focus after 1994 was pushed by government, but also partly by

the global shifts towards increasingly participatory styles of forest management. One Head Office official alluded to the region's focus on ecological sustainability when he referred to a conversation he had with foresters in Knysna upon his arrival. In trying to explain the changes that needed to take place in Knysna, he said to the foresters that:

“the idea is not to stop doing sustainable forest management at an ecological level and open forests up for communities and let them harvest unsustainably. What we're saying is that we need to get the socio-economic aspects of it, right up to where you guys are ecologically” (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

The above quote suggests that Knysna was effective in managing the biophysical environment of the indigenous forests to ensure 'sustainable utilisation' but that much work was needed to increase the scope of their management activities to include social aspects. In discussions about the value of Forest Stewardship Council (FSC) for the furniture market in South Africa, this Head Office official likewise distinguished between the socio-economic and the ecological aspects of sustainability. Here he described the FSC as:

“an international forest certifying body that would basically green label products that come out of the Knysna forests saying they have been environmentally, economically and socially sustainably produced or that systems are in place to ensure that ultimately they would be sustainably produced” (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

To have FSC certification means that “furniture and arts and crafts now that have been produced in a socio-economically sustainable manner, not just an ecologically sustainable manner because that was always there” (Head Office Official 3, 2003). Timber from the southern Cape forests is reportedly marketed as 'environmentally sustainably produced', owing to scientific management of the forests and the system of timber harvesting. The same official remarked that:

“this system is recognised internationally as being among the best, if not the best for multi-species multi-age forests. Now add to that an FSC certification that says community's interests are also being addressed, and economically this impact that these guys have on the forest, because there is an impact, is economically sustainable at least as well. Price goes up” (Head Office Official 3 (2003).

PFM is understood to be a way of integrating the socio-economic components to the ecological component of sustainability. PFM has been referred to as “being seen as a way of doing sustainable forest management” (Head Office Official 2, 2003). This view is supported in the Draft PFM Policy. Here PFM is applied as a principle of Sustainable Forest Management (SFM) in order to achieve Key Focus Area 5 concerning community involvement namely, to “ensure that communities and disadvantaged groups are empowered to make use of tree and

forest resources to support sustainable livelihoods” (DWAF, 2003:8). PFM is viewed in this policy as a means to achieving two of the nine principles in the National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998), notably to “promote the fair distribution of their economic, social, health and environmental benefits; and to advance persons or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination” (DWAF, 2003a:6). PFM is therefore regarded as an approach that will assist DWAF in achieving and maintaining its FSC certification for the southern Cape indigenous forests. In effect, PFM will increase the economic value of the southern Cape forests both locally and internationally. The economic value of the forests would increase locally because tourists could be made to pay more to engage in activities that take place in an FSC certified forest. They could also pay more to purchase curios fashioned from FSC stamped wood and therefore local revenue would be expected to increase. The international value of timber would be expected to increase; exported wood with an FSC stamp being expected to fetch a higher market value because of the international scarcity of such timber.

It is evident that the mainstream understanding of what the ‘sustainable utilisation’ storyline means in the context of indigenous forest management has changed over time, increasing in scope to include more than the inter-generational component and the ecological focus. In addition, it may be difficult to understand exactly what actors mean when they use this storyline. What one groups of actors may regard as sustainable may differ to another group. For example, in many cases respondents were confident that eco-tourism ventures in the forest are a sustainable activity for a number of reasons. Firstly, it became evident from the data collected that respondents perceived eco-tourism to have a low environmental impact. Secondly, they believed that eco-tourism would generate employment opportunities for local people. Thirdly, that other local economic spin-offs may be generated through eco-tourism. Fourthly, that there would be an increased potential for local spending which would distribute economic benefits from the primary eco-tourism venture; and lastly, that eco-tourism ventures would enable local people to have more disposable income to spend on improving their living environment such as upgrading their energy source, their housing, their mode of transport.

However, despite all these benefits, another actor may regard eco-tourism as unsustainable as it encourages people to be dependent on external income. For example, a community representative believes that it is more sustainable to live in a more localised manner, where one looks after oneself through growing organic gardens and selling produce to a localised market, rather than looking after the wealthy by providing for and facilitating their leisure (Community

Representative 5, 2003). With reference to international literature, one respondent emphasised the involvement of local people through the provision of tangible benefits as the way to ensure the sustainability of forests (Researcher 1, 2003). This is not the place to debate these differing viewpoints, but rather to highlight that, as Giddens (1984) and Hajer (1996) have suggested, actors push their interpretation of reality through the construction of frames of reference, or mental constructs in which “facts, values, theories, and interests are integrated” (Rein and Schön, 1993:145). These differing frames of reference or mental constructs result in people having varying perceptions of what makes something sustainable. It is because of these varying perceptions that it should not be assumed that all actors mean the same thing when they apply the storyline ‘sustainable utilisation’.

From the interviews conducted it became apparent that this storyline has a more subtle function than simply being a catchall phrase that creates common ground. It can also be used as a way that the scientists or forestry experts exercise control over what happens in the forests. From this perspective this storyline accords well with the ‘scientific management’ epistemic notion. It is only the scientists who can determine a “sustainable module” (Forester 1, 2003) for harvesting of, for example *Rooi Wortel*⁴²; determine the “prescriptions” on how fern harvesting could be conducted on a sustainable basis (Forest Scientist 2, 2003); or determine the ‘sustainable utilisation’ of medicinal plants for both commercial and consumptive uses by developing “systems based on ecological research” (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). A forester in Knysna commented that once Scientific Services have established that a project is “environmentally sound, sustainable, then these people of the forums have quite a lot of control” (Forester 4, 2003). This indicates that it is essentially the scientist’s responsibility to determine the sustainability of a project, to determine whether it is ‘safe’ to pass it on to the forum for them to then make recommendations about it. The forum’s recommendations are based primarily on whether a particular project will benefit local people. The impression is created that the scientists are set apart from the community and do not form part of the decision-making body. The need for scientific research on systems of ‘sustainable utilisation’ to be influenced by society’s needs has been acknowledged. For example, a Forest Scientist in Knysna reflected that ecological research into medicinal plants has been influenced by the needs of the poor and the rural (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). This research has stimulated research into alternative resources and alternative parts of a plant (for example harvesting the leaves

⁴² Afrikaans term for the Red Carrot, Latin name *Bulbine latifolia*. The root is used to make a medicinal tea.

instead of the bark). It has also encouraged research into methods of packaging and marketing products to mainstream the product. This reduces its illegal status so as to reduce the price and thus pressure on the resource.

The ‘sustainable utilisation’ storyline has strong linkages with the epistemic notion of sustainability, which has entrenched it and given it permanence in the policy debate around participatory forest management. The vocabulary of sustainability is prevalent in PFM policy documents with the storyline of ‘sustainable utilisation’, which is mentioned in the NFA as one of the seven principles of sustainable forest management, increasing in its frequency of usage in the most recent 2003 Draft PFM Policy document. It has been shown in this section that the storyline is also commonplace in the local spoken discourse of PFM, but that different actors may have varying interpretations of what sustainability means.

9.4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Three storylines that relate to the question ‘what is PFM’ are identified and analysed in this chapter. These storylines, namely that ‘PFM is the only way’, that ‘PFM is a continuum’ and ‘sustainable utilisation’ were revealed through the interviewing process and predominate in the South African discourse of PFM as it pertains to the case study area of the southern Cape forests. Table 9.2 provides a summary of the three storylines that are discussed in this chapter.

Table 9.2. Summary of storylines: what is PFM?

TERMS OF THE POLICY DISCOURSE		NOTES
STORYLINES		
WHAT IS PFM?	• PFM is the only way	• There are no alternatives or options in South Africa but to practice PFM. • Creates the common ground necessary for actors to communicate, despite actors having differing reasons as to why ‘PFM is the only way’.
	• PFM is a continuum	• Encapsulates how PFM is conceptualised at the national level. • Advantageous to the policy debate because it legitimises a range of approaches.
	• Sustainable utilisation	• Entrenched in the policy debate around PFM. • A cliché or repetitious expression that is generally uncontested and something which most actors would agree on. • It makes sense to talk about ‘sustainable utilisation’ because it sounds intuitively and morally ‘right’.

This analysis has also demonstrated how storylines function in a discourse to conceal a multitude of truths, arguments, understandings and contradictions. Storylines also function as a way in which actors can coalesce to discuss and work out the implementation of the PFM policy. Some of the issues surrounding the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape, which are often hidden behind the catchphrases, clichés, metaphors, historical references and other often-used statements, are discussed and are summarised below. Where appropriate, comments have been made regarding the paradigm within which implementation is occurring, to show how the theory of ecological modernisation could be applied to understand environmental policy-making in the context of PFM in South Africa. The value of this paradigm is discussed as part of the conclusion to this study in Chapter Fourteen.

There is widespread agreement that ‘PFM is the only way’ in indigenous forest management to redress past injustices and place South Africa on a sound footing internationally in terms of demonstrating its progressive and democratic policies. The policy also has currency with international approaches to Community Based Natural Resource Management that are grounded in the ‘sustainability’ epistemic notion and sustainability policy vocabulary that are discussed in Chapter Eight. These terms of environmental discourse lend credibility to the storyline that ‘PFM is the only way’. Thirdly, PFM is regarded as the only way because it is an approach to forest management that is better than the alternatives, such as complete state control at one end of the participation continuum, or complete control by local communities at the other end. PFM in this instance is the best middle ground approach to forest management, and is a compromise between the two extreme approaches of the continuum. Despite these respondents’ different understandings as to why PFM is the only way, it is contended here that this storyline provided the shared orientation that is necessary to enable the ten respondents (see Table 9.1) who used this storyline in their PFM discourse to coalesce to ensure that PFM is implemented in the southern Cape.

Passive resistance to the implementation of PFM is apparent in the weaker approach to participation that is adopted and which is legitimised through the ‘PFM is a continuum’ storyline that arises from DWAF at Head Office. This storyline is indicative of the policy vocabulary of moderation or precaution that is discussed in Chapter Eight because it creates an opportunity for weaker, less deliberative forms of participation to be applied and justified which is more consistent with a weak or mainstream conceptualisation of ecological modernisation. Given the range of resistance to PFM it is not surprising therefore that

pessimistic storylines relating to the manner in which PFM is being implemented emerge. These are discussed in Chapter Eleven and include storylines such as ‘nothing has changed’, ‘nothing is happening/has happened’ and ‘raised expectations and broken promises’. These storylines give a negative impression of how PFM is being implemented locally.

The ‘sustainable utilisation’ storyline is interesting because it conveys two important ideas. Firstly, the origin of the phrase precedes the 1987 Brundtland Commission conceptualisation of ‘sustainable development’ because it was a concept used in forestry in the 1880’s albeit in a different way (van der Merwe, 2002). This has the effect of demonstrating Forestry’s longstanding commitment to sustainability, despite the alteration of the definition from a concern with yield management to the post-Brundtland incorporation of social issues into the biophysical and economic concerns of Forestry. PFM is regarded as a way of integrating the socio-economic components to the ecological component of sustainability and thus achieving the goal of sustainable forest management. Secondly, the ‘sustainable utilisation’ storyline entrenches the ‘scientific management’ epistemic notion because it conveys the idea that the kind and degree of utilisation would need to be monitored and measured scientifically to ascertain whether it falls within the parameters of sustainability. This reinforces the controlling role that foresters, who ‘are not social development workers’, and forest scientists play in forest management and in decision-making concerning PFM projects in particular and over forest management in general. Thirdly, this storyline supports the ‘eco-tourism/tourism in the forest’ storyline that is discussed in Chapter Eleven. Eco-tourism or forest based tourism is generally promoted as the most appropriate non-consumptive and most sustainable forest use and economic opportunity that that forests can provide and therefore features often in the PFM discourse.

The storylines of ‘PFM is the only way’, ‘PFM is a continuum’ and ‘sustainable utilisation’, along with the three storylines that are discussed in Chapter Ten which answer the question ‘why PFM’, affirm the implementation of PFM and the positive attributes of the policy. However it became apparent that despite the reiteration of these six storylines the PFM implementation in practice (as evidenced in the southern Cape through interviews) demonstrates passive resistance to the process. This is made most apparent through the storylines that are discussed in Chapter Eleven concerning PFM implementation in practice.

CHAPTER 10

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS 3

PFM STORYLINES: WHY PFM?

10.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter continues from Chapter Nine and is the third of five results and analysis chapters. The analysis revealed that the twelve storylines clustered into three groups. The first group of storylines define Participatory Forest Management (PFM) and answer the question ‘what is PFM’. The second group of storylines justify why PFM has come about and answer the question ‘why PFM’. The third and largest group of storylines relate to the practice of PFM in terms of how PFM is being implemented in the southern Cape. This chapter presents the results and analysis for the second cluster of PFM storylines that have emerged from the research process in Section 10.2, which are then summarised in the conclusion in Section 10.3.

10.2. WHY PFM?

Interview respondents were asked three questions that related to why an approach such as PFM is being implemented across the country in general, and in the southern Cape in particular⁴³. Respondents were asked whether they believed there was a need for PFM in the Southern Cape. They were also asked why they think this approach to forest management is being promoted, and why this approach, which is a radical change in forest management, is being implemented by DWAF just prior to the management of indigenous forests being handed over to SANParks. From responses to these and other questions asked during the semi-structured interviews that took place three storylines emerged as to why PFM is seen to be necessary in South Africa.

The three storylines that are discussed in this chapter are: firstly, references to there being ‘fences around forests’, and that the forests were subjected to a ‘fences and fines’ style of management; secondly, that PFM is needed in order for the community to be the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry’s ‘eyes and ears’; and thirdly, that PFM is regarded as the way forward in the ‘pre/post 1994 dispensation’. Each of these storylines and the number of

⁴³ See Appendix Two.

respondents who used the storyline within an actor grouping are summarised in Table 10.1 below.

Table 10.1. The second group of storylines around PFM in the southern Cape: why PFM?

ISSUE	STORY LINE	RESPONDENTS
WHY PFM?	Fences around forests	Community Representatives: 4 Forester: 2 Head Office Officials: 1 Knysna Officials: 2 9
	The community are our eyes and ears	Donor Representatives: 1 Foresters: 2 Forest Guard: 1 Head Office Officials: 1 Knysna Officials: 2 7
	Pre/post 1994 dispensation	Community Representatives: 1 Donor Representatives: 1 Forest Scientists: 1 Foresters: 2 Knysna Officials: 2 7

10.2.1. Fences around forests

The ‘fences around forests’ phrase is the fourth storyline to be discussed. This phrase has been used to encapsulate the sentiment expressed by four of the Knysna staff, four community representatives and two Head Office respondents. These respondents made reference to an exclusive approach to forest management which entailed the erection of fences to control access and the issuing of fines for trespassing and transgressions. Hence the term ‘fences and fines’ is often interchangeable with the ‘fences around forests’ storyline. The ‘fences around forests’ storyline is most prevalent at the local level among the community representatives and DWAF staff (see Table 10.1). One Knysna Official used the term ‘fences and fines’, as a catchy, succinct phrase to describe, to a group of students in 2003 the management approach that gave way to PFM (Knysna Official 2, 2003). This is also often the phrase used in academic literature discussing this approach to forest management, and has also been used in the Draft PFM Policy document to refer to a kind of “regulation, which excludes local use” (DWAF, 2003a:6). This management approach has also been referred to as ‘fortress conservation’ where “the natural forest was closed off and only a few people derived benefits, albeit access to the forests, a privileged few” (Forester 1, 2003).

This storyline is an historical reference linked to the ‘pre-1994 dispensation’ storyline. It suggests a shared understanding between actors of the reason why PFM should be

implemented. This understanding is based on the idea that, owing to the new democratic dispensation in South Africa post 1994, the institutional practices taking place within DWAF were believed to be politically incorrect and in need of rectification. One Knysna Official expressed this when she stated:

“I think there is a need for PFM everywhere in the sense that previously we had these no entry signs all over the show, and nobody was allowed to benefit from the forests. And I’m not just talking about economic benefit, I’m talking about spiritual and...They weren’t allowed in. The only thing they allowed in was tourists that had money to go in and have cars and drive in and go and have a look at the big tree. So the normal people or the real people of South Africa didn’t have that” (Knysna Official 2, 2003).

Others have also referred to the ‘no entry’ concept. It has been stated that “they [DWAF] tend to make fences and rules to keep people out” (Community Representative 2, 2003) whilst another respondent, in referring to the pre-1994 dispensation suggested that “there might have been a total ‘you’re out and that’s it’ and ‘keep everybody out’ policy which has subsequently changed to a ‘consumptive and non-consumptive, sustainable use of forest’ policy” (Forester 4, 2003). The Eastern Cape has been compared with the southern Cape in this respect. Where a respondent stated that the Eastern Cape never had “all this enforcement and building of fences around forests” (Community Representative 3, 2003).

In trying to ascertain the origin of this storyline it became apparent that the answer is not obvious. Were there in fact fences around the southern Cape forests or is this just a metaphor used to express the kind of control exercised by DWAF staff to regulate access, where the storyline takes on a mythical quality and is used as one of the key drivers in persuading people that PFM is the right approach? One forester is adamant that the southern Cape has never had fences around the forest. Once again the comparison was made between the southern Cape and other parts of South Africa where he said:

“You go into the Ciskei, Transkei, KwaZulu-Natal, those areas still even up to today a lot of these forests there are fences around. Never as far as I can remember was there any fence around these forests, never, and never was there no access to communities in this area” (Knysna Official 1, 2003).

Elsewhere he referred to the southern Cape as a ‘unique situation’ in that there were no fences around the forests; that it was not closed off to communities. This is contrasted with earlier statements regarding fences around the forest and the comment that people in the Eastern Cape “were left to do what they wanted to do in their piece of kingdom. There was not all this enforcement and building of fences around forests” as in the southern Cape and later adds that

some fences, such as the one at Varkdrift, have never been removed (Community Representative 3, 2003). This respondent referred to a pool at Varkdrift near Coldstream, where she used to swim as a child, which subsequently became out of bounds because a fence had been erected to reduce the potential of veld fires and community members accessing the forest for firewood. She recalls that there had never been a fire, nor any destruction of the forest for firewood because the community was located near a sawmill and thus had ample access to firewood (Community Representative 3, 2003). When asked why she thought the fence was erected, she replied “you ask me! To keep people out of the forest because it was law, you don’t go in there – this is our [DWAF’s] property” (Community Representative 3, 2003). A community representative from Covie⁴⁴ testified to the apartheid policy that excluded people from the forest. She refers to the “apartheid years”⁴⁵ stating that:

“in those days that people were forced out. It was the apartheid years and it was not the people that are now here, all those people have gone. In those days people, we did not have the privilege to, you could not even walk in there, you could not do anything in the forest. Nothing...not at all. If they catch you in the forest then you will get a fine” (Community Representative 1, 2003).⁴⁶

Similarly another community representative from Stormsrivier refers to the strict controls on access but comments on the positive change that has taken place since the implementation of PFM in the Tsitsikamma forest estate. She stated:

“Other times...from what I know of Forestry, you couldn’t even move in the forest. Even if you wanted to take a path, a shortcut path, then it was trespassing. And today you can move much more in the forest since PFM was put in place...You couldn’t pick medicine in case you got caught, but today you have entry to the forest” (Community Representative 4, 2003).⁴⁷

Oelofse (pers. comm., 14/07/2004) raised an interesting point regarding the geographic location of these respondents. She remarked that there might be a difference between the Tsitsikamma forest and the Knysna forests (comprising the Diepwalle and Farleigh forest

⁴⁴ Covie is a small coloured rural settlement of less than 200 inhabitants which falls within the boundaries of the Tsitsikamma national Park (Kleinbooi and Lahiff, 2007).

⁴⁵ Original Afrikaans: ‘apartheidsjare’ (Community Representative 1, 2003).

⁴⁶ Original Afrikaans: ‘Soos in daardie dae was wat die mense uitgedwing was. Toe was dit in die apartheidsjare gewees en dit was nie die mense wat nou hier is, al daai mense is al weg. Mettertye toe het n mens, ons het nie voorreg gehad om, jy mag nie eers daarin loop nie, jy mag niks daar gedoen het in die bos nie. Niks nie... glad nie. As hulle jou trap in die bos dan kry jy ‘n fine’ (Community Representative 1, 2003).

⁴⁷ Original Afrikaans: ‘Ander kere...nog wat ek van Bosbou weet, kon jy nie eers in die bos in beweeg nie, of jy op n paaitjie, wat jy n kortpad paaidjie miskien gevat het dan was dit trespassing. En vandag kan jy baie meer in Bosbou inbeweeg since die PFM daar gesit is... Jy kon nie medisyne gaan pluk nie,laat jy dan gevang word, maar vandag het jy toegang tot die bos’ (Community Representative 4, 2003).

estates) because comments about strict controls, i.e. the storyline of fences around forests, are produced by communities that neighbour Tsitsikamma, such as Covie and Stormsrivier.

Although unsubstantiated, this could be a likely result of the higher conservation status that was assigned to the Tsitsikamma area owing to its National Park status. Another likely reason for the difference between the Knysna and Tsitsikamma areas is that they have a different social history. For example, the lower Tsitsikamma forest area near Humansdorp was the site of a “savage process” (Platzky and Walker, 1985:189) of forced removals in 1977/78. According to Platzky and Walker (1985) four hundred families were moved from a number of small scheduled reserves. This included Doriskraal Location, Fingo Location, The Gap, Palmietrivier Location, Snyklip Location, Wittekleibosch Location and Witte Els Bosch (Platzky and Walker, 1985). These families were moved 300 kilometers away to the Elukhanyweni settlement in the Keiskammahoek district of the Ciskei (Platzky and Walker, 1985). The land from which they were removed was land that was granted to their predecessors, the Mfengu, in 1835 by the British in return for their support during the frontier wars (Bergh and Visagie, 1985, Maylam, 2003), however it was later scheduled (set aside as a native reserve) in terms of the 1913 Land Act (Platzky and Walker, 1985). Notice to move was given on 21 April 1975 and, after much resistance, the Tsitsikamma reserves were empty by the end of January 1978 (Platzky and Walker, 1985). The resistance and anger surrounding these forced removals may account for the need for increased regulation of access to the forests, such as through the erection of fences.

There was a racial element to the control over access and utilisation of forest resources before and during apartheid. The Knysna forests were restricted to white people who could afford to pay the entrance fees and permit fees to enjoy the scenic beauty of the indigenous state forests. However, in certain areas the protectionist paradigm of Forestry prevented even white, so-called privileged people access to pristine nature reserves where they have a policy of no utilisation (DWAF, 2003d; Forest Scientist 2, 2003). A Head Office official also referred to the “blanket approach” that was adopted for the issuing of fines across racial barriers (Head Office Official 3, 2003). He regards the ‘fences and fines’ approach as being ‘non-racist’ because:

“the white guys were also spot fined, you drop a piece of paper, spot fine. It really was fences and fines. But for the whole community because it was kind of regarded as South Africa’s flagship and there would be absolutely no tolerance of anything that was outside of the rules for utilisation of those forests” (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

The concept of 'fences and fines' represents more than the mere application of South Africa's racist policies. It is rooted in an approach to managing the people-nature interface that was not unique to the southern Cape. This approach was an accepted ideology that was commonplace in western thinking prior to the 1990's and is still prevalent to a degree. People and nature were conceived of as separate entities. The notion that people need to experience nature, that they should have access to nature for psychological and spiritual wellbeing, and for people to be understood as being a part of nature was uncommon. Instead nature was something pristine to be safeguarded from the public who, not having an understanding of the intricacies of natural processes and systems, could not be trusted to protect nature (Neumann, 1995b; Pimbert and Pretty, 1997; Hackel, 1999; Ramutsindela, 2004). The protectionist paradigm prevailed, being seen as the most appropriate way of thinking about resource management - remove people from the parks and the resource will be safe. Fences were erected in the southern Cape forests where possible and boom gates and guards regulated access. Tariffs were also charged and this, in addition to generating income that contributes towards maintenance and management costs, created a disincentive to some people to enter the forest, thus also functioning as a regulatory tool.

It would be true to say that around certain areas of indigenous forest, fences were erected to restrict access. However, given the size of the forested area, it is reasonable to assume that the entire perimeter of forested area could not be fenced off. When asked about the difficulties of regulating access to the forests, one forest scientist replied that one could not put up maps every kilometre to direct people where they should go to in order gain access to the forest and/or forest resources (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). He noted that there are signs up along the main roads (such as the road to Uniondale where you travel through Diepwalle, or on the N2 to Port Elizabeth where you drive through Plaatbos and Witelsbos) indicating that one needs a permit, or indicating which areas are nature reserves (such as Sinclair Nature Reserve). This scientist felt that the PFM forums could play an important role in spreading the word to people in the rural areas as to where they could go to obtain various forest resources and where to obtain permits. It is perhaps in this sense that the official in Knysna referred to the southern Cape forests as not having fences around them (Knysna Official 1, 2003). Despite the lack of physical fences overall to control access, it would seem that access was controlled through more subtle yet pervasive means. A forest guard from Farleigh speaks about the hatred that people in the community felt towards the forest guards and the police who used to shoot people. Thus fear operated as a mental barrier to entering the forest. He stated that:

“The people were scared of them, in the past the policemen shot people, the soldiers shot people; that’s what people in the past believed...But the situation has changed, those things have been put away, it is evidence that those people carried weapons for their safety, it was not their goal to shoot people, it was for their safety because there was relationship of trust between them. But today, there are still people today that hate the men in uniform, so those things will take years, but the majority today accept each other” (Forest Guard 4, 2003).⁴⁸

This statement conveys the idea that subtle means were also used to regulate access to the forests in addition to the more aggressive ways of regulating access such as shooting people or threatening people with firearms. The presence of guards at gateposts wearing uniforms presented a deterrent because they were often associated with the state army and police who were tasked with enforcing the Nationalist policies of the time and so elicited fear from black people. Similarly, a representative from the Covie community refers to the fear that people felt

about entering the forest because they were not allowed into the forest. She commented that “they shouldn’t go into the forest, the people always had that fear that they would catch you in the forest”⁴⁹ (Community Representative 1, 2003). One of the reasons given for the Covie community not having made use of the provisions in Chapter Four of the National Forests Act (NFA, Act 84 of 1998) to use and access state forests (such as going into the forest to collect wood) is that they do not have “that framework to do things that they can now do”⁵⁰ (Community Representative 1, 2003). This perception is supported by Kühn et al. (2002:302) who state that it is “as a result of past policies, the public, especially the rural poor, think forests are no-go areas”. In other words, their restriction from the forest in the past has persisted until the present even though the policy and laws have changed in the interim.

Adopting the storyline of ‘fences around the forest’ and ‘fences and fines’ is indicative of the protectionist paradigm within which DWAF was overtly operating prior to the implementation of the PFM approach. PFM is seen to be a change in the approach to managing the people-forest

⁴⁸ Original Afrikaans: ‘Die mense was bang vir hulle, in die gelede het die polisiemanne hulle net mense geskiet, die soldate het die mense geskiet, in vroë jare; dis hoe die mense geglo... Maar die saak het nou al verander, daai goed is weggiesit, dit is bewyse dat daai mense het net daai goete gedra vir hom vir ’n velighieds vir hom, dit was nie ’n doel om mense te skiet nie, dit was vir veiligheid vir hom omdat daar nie n vertroulike verhouding was tussen hulle nie. Maar vandag – daar is nog mense wat vandag die polisie, die man in uniform, haat so daai ding gaan lang jare nog vat, maar die meerderheid vandag, hulle aanvaar mekaar die mense’ (Forest Guard 2, 2003).

⁴⁹ Original Afrikaans: ‘hulle nie mos in die bos gaan nie, het die mense nog altyd daardie vrees vir as hulle hulle kry in die bos’ (Community Representative 1, 2003).

⁵⁰ Original Afrikaans: ‘daardie *framework* om dinge te doen as wat hulle kan doen nou’ (Community Representative 1, 2003).

interface. Although there may still be signs up as a means of warning people about the consequences of contravening the NFA (Forest Guard 1, 2003) (see Plate 10.1), the emphasis has shifted from the issuing of ‘spot fines’ and immediate prosecutions, to a softer approach whereby instead of enforcement, transgressors are issued with warnings and educated about their rights and responsibilities first (Kühn et al., 2002; Head Office Official 3, 2003).

One Head Office official from Pretoria stated that in the Western Cape, PFM is more about warnings and education than enforcement in comparison to the Eastern Cape, because people are better educated and literate (Head Office 1, 2003). This is confirmed in a comment by a Tsitsikamma forest guard who stated: “my job was only protection, arresting people in the forest. Now my job is to teach them, uplift them. In that sense PFM is our job” (Forest Guard 1, 2003).

Permits are still required for entrance to certain areas, either self-issue permits or permits issued by forest guards, or for some activities such as commercial ventures, harvesting of forest resources for non-consumptive use, the felling of protected trees and harvesting in protected areas, and for consumptive use (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). This is in keeping with the policy vocabulary of rights (to use, access, benefit and manage) that is present in PFM policy documents.

The vocabulary of rights is embedded in the NFA, which legislates the conditions under which use and access rights can be granted, as well as the 2003 Draft PFM policy document where the rights vocabulary is most profuse. Permits are still regarded as a way in which one can monitor who is in the forest, where they are and what they are doing. Although permits function to free up access to resources, they are also reported to enhance control through encouraging a cooperative relationship with local communities and other stakeholders. One forester reported that if “you give them permits; you’ve got a much better control over your resource than you have by saying ‘stay out’” (Forester 1, 2003).

It has been shown that the ‘fences around forests’ storyline is a prevalent one in the South African PFM discourse and the discourse in Knysna in particular. This storyline is used as a metaphor for referring to past approaches, which have now been rejected. It is used in contemporary PFM discourse as a counter statement to show the change in the approach to forest management and to profile the contemporary adoption of PFM.

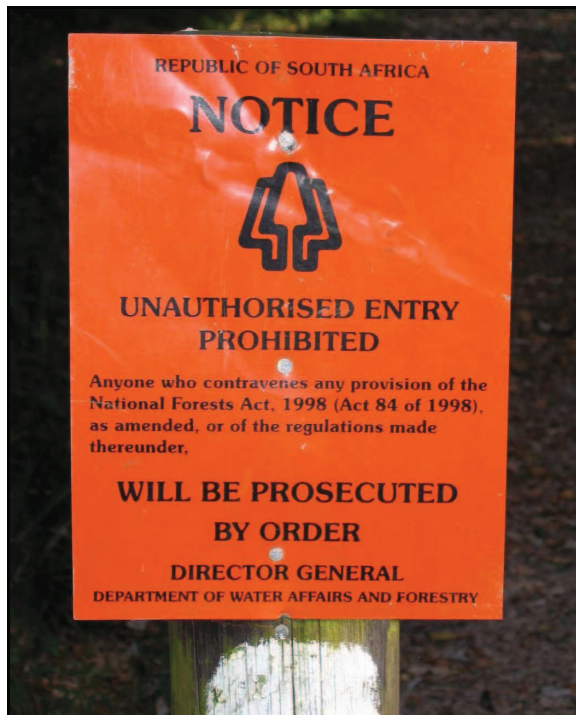


Plate 10.1. Sign posted at an entrance to the Tsitsikamma Forest located opposite the main road from the Covie community.

It should, however, be noted that the exclusionary and protectionist approach to forest management for which this storyline is euphemistic is also found within broader participatory or co-management forestry discourse. Hackel (1999:726) refers to “exclusionary protectionist policies”, Sihlophe (2002:2) to “draconian command and control” approaches and Nepal (2002:750) to “non-indigenous, exclusionary, nature-focused and authoritative” approaches that preceded co-management. This resonance with international literature could also account for its regular use within PFM discourse.

10.2.2. The community are our eyes and ears

The storyline that ‘the community are our eyes and ears’ is a metaphor that refers to members of the local rural community assisting the government in their task of monitoring forest access and resource utilisation. Through involving local communities in PFM, communities will buy into conservation and will want to assist in monitoring forest access and utilisation. This idea is also one that can be found in international discourse pertaining to PFM (Brown, 1999). Reference to the community being DWAF’s ‘eyes and ears’ (Knysna Official 1, 2003) is a succinct phrase used by one respondent. It is also referred to by six other respondents, all of

whom, with the exception of one Donor Representative, were DWAF staff, predominantly from the Knysna Area Office (see Table 10.1). Referring to there being more eyes watching what goes on in the forests, it was stated that forest users “become watchdogs, carers of the forest” (Head Office Official 2, 2003). Similarly, a Farleigh forest guard stated that:

“now we have another arm which says ‘the eyes, they are now more than two eyes’, where I looked with two eyes, there are more, about six or seven other eyes which also cover the area and say that we as a group can clearly manage the forest together” (Forest Guard 2, 2003).⁵¹

This storyline is a fundamental premise upon which PFM is founded; that forest protection will increase with the increased involvement of stakeholders in forest management. It is widely acknowledged that, for both political and pragmatic reasons the ‘fortress mentality’ or ‘fences and fines’ approach is no longer an appropriate management strategy. It is proposed that this storyline functions to provide a plausible reason for DWAF staff at a local level to implement PFM. Two aspects have become apparent from the interviews as to how PFM is beneficial with this area of forest management. Firstly, it provides a practical benefit in that “daily management is made easier” (Forester 2, 2003) because “now we get people helping us” (Knysna Official 2, 2003). The ‘eyes and ears’ storyline aligns well with the lack of capacity argument propounded by DWAF staff, both locally and nationally. It is widely held that PFM is an approach that includes particular forest users in the protection and management of state forests in partnership with the government. This is seen to be the most sensible way of managing forests owing to the financial constraints on forest departments and the lack of human resources available to effectively and efficiently conserve the biological integrity of forest resources (Brown, 1999; Brown et al, 2002; Forester 1, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; and Knysna Official 2, 2003; Obiri and Lawes, 2002; Researcher 1, 2003; Researcher 2, 2003; and Shackleton, 2002).

The key word underlying this storyline is ‘partnership’ (Donor Representative 2, 2003; DWAF, 2003a). The draft PFM policy document (DWAF, 2003a:5) states that “for PFM to succeed, communities must be partners with forest agencies, other forest users and stakeholders in the management of forest resources”. A partnership implies that there should be something in it for all parties involved; co-management of forests should be to the mutual

⁵¹ Original Afrikaans: ‘Maar nou het ons darem nou ’n ander arm wat ons sê ‘die oë hulle is nou meer as twee oë’ waar ek met twee gekyk het, daar is meer, omtrent nou ses of sewe ander oë wat ook afstaan wat die plek kan dek en sê ‘ons as ’n groep saam duidelik die bos saam bestuur’ (Forest Guard 2, 2003).

benefit of all parties. If communities seek to derive tangible benefits from the forests, which is their right under the 1998 NFA, then there is a responsibility that accompanies that right. Another respondent in Knysna expressed this concept in the following way:

“I am not only referring to the communities having benefits out of the forests, I mean we should have something as well. They can set up sort of a neighbourhood watch themselves and report any irregularities to us, so it’s a give and take situation...I mean, they must have a sense of ownership of the forest, they must have a sense of responsibility for protecting the resource as well, and utilising it sustainably” (Forester 1, 2003).

The thinking is part of the rights and principles based legislation which developed post-1994 in South Africa, where, if a right is accorded an individual, so too is there a responsibility accompanying that right which, in this case, is joint responsibility for monitoring forest access and utilisation.

The second, related benefit of PFM in relation to ‘the community are our eyes and ears’ storyline is that the PFM forums become a forum for dialogue between DWAF staff and stakeholders (Donor Representative 2, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003; Researcher 2, 2003). One community representative stated that the PFM forums created an opportunity for community people to interact with DWAF staff, to get to know them and feel comfortable to approach them (Community Representative 4, 2003). Forester 4 (2003), from Tsitsikamma Forest Estate, vouched for the impact that the forums have had in strengthening the relationship between DWAF and the community to report problems and transgressions. She stated that “people before may have kept their mouth shut in the past, they might now come and phone and report that someone is cutting timber, whereas before they might not have cared. They know it’s wrong and against legislation and they report it” (Forester 4, 2003). Similarly a forester posted at Farleigh Forest Estate commented that since the introduction of PFM “people call to report problems, they feel more free to communicate” (Forester 2, 2003). The forest guard also stated that because the community are a part of the forest, they play a role in its management and assist DWAF so that together the forest can be protected (Forest Guard 2, 2003). He stated:

“Now they are a part. They are now a part of the forest so they also now play a part, they also have responsibility because they are also a part of the forest. If something goes wrong in the forest, then they are as responsible as we are to say “what are you looking for here, who are you, where do you come from?” If they can’t get clarity then they say to forestry, “you can now. We found something out, are you aware of these people?” So they start to become another arm, it

makes our arm a little longer, and they now love the forest, just like us, we feel they are our friend, you know, on the road with us” (Forest Guard 2, 2003).⁵²

Like the ‘fences around the forest’ storyline, the ‘community are our eyes and ears’ storyline is indicative of DWAF’s protectionist paradigm. However, it differs in that it does not point to past practices and policies but rather illustrates that to a certain degree DWAF is *still* operating from within this protectionist paradigm because PFM is advocated as a means of ensuring the conservation or protection of biodiversity rather than a way in which forest resources can be utilised sustainably as a means of eradicating poverty and improving their livelihoods. It has been argued that the approach of soliciting the involvement of communities to conserve and protect biodiversity and not to benefit poor communities is a ‘nature conservation’ or ‘protectionist’ paradigm (Donor Representative 1, 2003). The difference between these two approaches is subtle. The question is whether the motivation for PFM is community upliftment and poverty alleviation, which is one of the key goals of the post-apartheid South African government, or whether it is conservation. This respondent referred to the implementation of PFM from within the protectionist paradigm as problematic internationally and cited this as one of the key reasons PFM initiatives have failed in certain countries (Donor Representative 1, 2003). There is more to participation than achieving the conservation of biodiversity through sustainable use. PFM is not just about halting or reducing deforestation as was the case in Tanzania where participatory forestry or joint forestry failed (Donor Representative 1, 2003). The goal for involving communities in the management of forest resources should rather be to produce tangible benefits for communities and improve their livelihoods, because then it will demonstrate the benefits of conserving a resource to communities in a tangible way (Donor Representative 1, 2003). This is the way in which PFM is understood and successfully applied in India and the sub-continent and is therefore a more appropriate approach to PFM for South Africa (Donor Representative 1, 2003).

One of the key projects in which DFID is involved within DWAF is to enable DWAF to understand its role and how it differs from, for example, the Department of Environmental

⁵² Original Afrikaans: ‘Hulle is nou ’n deel van die bos so hulle speel ook nou ’n rol, hulle het ook nou antwoordelikheid omdat hulle ook ’n deel in die bos. As iets skeef gaan in die bos, dan is hulle net so verantwoordelik as ons nou want hulle is ’n deel om op te tree en sê “wat soek jy hier, wie is jy, van waar kom jy”. As hy hulle nie kan duidelikheid kry dan sê hy vir Forestry “Jy kan maar. Hier vind ons so ’n ding hier uit, is julle bewus van hierdie mense?” so hulle begin ook ’n ander arm wat ons se arm nou ’n bietjie langer maak nou in die bos bietjie saamvat, en hulle is nou lief vir die bos, net soos ons, ons voel hulle is ons vriend, jy weet, die pad saam met ons’ (Forest Guard 2, 2003).

Affairs and Tourism (DEAT). One donor representative argued that DWAF's role is not nature or biodiversity conservation, which is the role of provincial conservation agencies or South African National Parks (SANParks), a parastatal agency under DEAT (Donor Representative 1, 2003). According to this respondent, Forestry's role is the use and management of forests. DWAF and DEAT are reportedly operating from different paradigms, use versus conservation. Forestry came about because forests were being exploited by colonists for timber and for shipbuilding. Exotic plantations were established "not to protect the forest, but because they realised that their resource was running out and they needed renewable resources and so they started planting man-made forests" (Donor Representative 1, 2003).

Initially, the mission statement of PFM when it was located within the Indigenous Forest Management Directorate (D:IFM) was "the sustainable management of indigenous forests for biodiversity conservation and economic, social and spiritual upliftment of South Africa's people, with a special emphasis on poor rural communities" (DWAF, 1999:3). It could be argued that the PFM policy reflects what could be labelled a 'sustainability paradigm' given the vocabulary of sustainability and reference to the elements of sustainability found in the policy documents. The mission statement places equal weight on environmental (biodiversity conservation), economic and social elements of sustainability, creating the impression that, through PFM, all three elements can be achieved. The vision also has both the "conservation and sustainable use of natural indigenous forests for the benefit of all" as its stated goals. It is more the manner in which this mission is undertaken that is indicative of the protectionist paradigm to which Donor Representative 1 refers. Is PFM a means to conserving biodiversity, where the benefit is socio-economic upliftment through sustainable use; or is PFM a means to sustaining livelihoods through sustainable use where the benefit is the conservation of biodiversity? These statements sound the same but the rationale for each is very different.

It is the former to which Donor Representative 1 is referring when he speaks of a protectionist or nature conservation paradigm within which DWAF is still working. It is difficult to have both conservation of biodiversity and socio-economic upliftment as the goals for PFM in indigenous state forests because of the aforementioned conflict in paradigms and departmental roles. This conflict, which becomes apparent when PFM is implemented locally, raises questions around the sustainability epistemic notion and whether one can realistically achieve sustainable development in indigenous forests.

It is suggested that this is one reason for DWAF having scaled up PFM, placing it within its own Directorate: Participative Forestry (D:PF) and extending the application of the policy beyond indigenous forests to include plantations and woodlots. As a D:PF goal, sustainability may be more realistic than a D:IFM goal. PFM may work better in plantations and woodlots because then, “you’re not doing it for biodiversity conservation you’re doing it for communities to work with the government to generate benefits which they then profit from and can be invested” (Donor Representative 1, 2003). It is possible to avoid the conflict of interests between biodiversity conservation and social justice issues when dealing with plantations because the economic product is an exotic species that tolerates higher levels of human interference and can provide a greater range of employment benefits for more people. Interestingly, the vision for PFM in the new D: PF reflects a shift away from a focus on biodiversity conservation and the application of PFM beyond indigenous state forests. The revised vision states:

“Through participation in the sustainable management of forest resources a contribution is made from forests to the local economic development, the constitutional rights of all South Africans to use and benefit from the forests, the livelihoods of poor and previously disadvantaged groups” (DWAF, 2003a:4).

The emphasis has shifted away from biodiversity conservation as a stated goal, and rather embraces a socially orientated paradigm that is distinct from the biodiversity conservation paradigm from which the ‘eyes and ears’ storyline arises. Despite the change in emphasis in government policy the continued promotion of PFM through use of the ‘eyes and ears’ storyline indicates that the protectionist paradigm is still a dominant way of conceptualising the need for PFM in the southern Cape.

10.2.3. Pre/post 1994 dispensation

Another storyline in the PFM discourse is the regular historical reference to the pre/post 1994 dispensation. This storyline is closely linked to the ‘transformation in South Africa’ epistemic notion discussed in Chapter Eight. It became apparent from the interviews conducted that this storyline was used primarily by the Knysna staff (Forester 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003).

The year 1994 was a watershed year in the history of South Africa. It marked an important shift in South African society; in its policies and legislation, its practices, its leaders and the

attitude of its people as it transformed from a totalitarian apartheid society to a democratic post-apartheid society. This change also required a transformation of government departments, including DWAF, from what one respondent referred to as an “apartheid, exclusive [and] prohibitive organisation, to one which is inclusive and enabling” (Donor Representative 1, 2003). Just mentioning ‘1994’ recalls this moment of transformation and so the ‘1994’ storyline here functions as a metaphor because mention of the year ‘1994’ invokes the whole issue of societal transformation (Hajer, 1995), which is a historical reference to the ‘pre/post 1994 dispensation’. This brings to mind the shifts that were required in South African government departments and society post 1994. Most of the respondents would agree that this storyline is aligned with PFM, given its principles and mission statement in South Africa’s post 1994 societal context.

Pre-1994 references include mention of the exclusionary ‘fences and fines’ approach (Forester 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003). One Knysna Official was of the opinion that “pre-1994 we all were saying you know, there was this no entry thing as I said, forests belong to the government and we are the sole owner” (Knysna Official 2, 2003). This respondent also alluded to the state’s protectionist attitude towards state assets. This attitude predominated during the colonial era where indigenous forests were protected and managed in the interests of, firstly, the Dutch East India Company, and then the British Crown (McCracken, 2004; Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004; van der Merwe, 2002). Indigenous forest resources became the property of the Crown and were managed to provide the needs of the naval shipyards of the Cape Colony and Britain. Conservators and rangers protected the forests and the first closure of the forest to woodcutters was based on the future demand for timber utilisation, to ensure that the Colony could provide for future needs (van der Merwe, 2002). This attitude persisted when South Africa gained independence from Britain in 1961 and became a republic. People perceived the forests as “government property” (Head Office Official 2, 2003). The (privileged) public was allowed access to the forest to make use of extensive facilities and activities such as picnic sites and day walks. The idea that entrepreneurs and private individuals could apply for a license to operate intensive activities, such as the present day Treetop Canopy Tour in Tsitsikamma, was discouraged and was not part of their outdoor recreational plan, which determined the nature of activities that could be undertaken in the forests (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). It was only in 1994 that the State, as the custodian of this national heritage, assumed the responsibility of managing forests for the benefit of all its citizens and for future generations. This ties in with another pre-1994

reference mentioned by one forester. Before 1994 only ‘privileged groups’ could derive economic benefits from the forest and gain access to and enjoy the recreational facilities offered by DWAF in the indigenous state forests (Forester 1, 2003). The political changes of 1994 meant that resources needed to be more fairly distributed amongst what has been referred to as the “bigger population” (Forester 1, 2003).

Reference to post 1994 was made when respondents explained the reason why PFM was adopted in South Africa. One respondent believed that PFM was implemented because it was an accepted forestry policy in other countries at the time when the new government came into power (Knysna Official 1, 2003). He stated that “after the 1994 elections when all new people were in place...[they] went out in search for the best options like they have done all over the world”. There was a need to address the socio-economic disparities between white and black people that apartheid precipitated. In addition, the socio-political climate in South Africa adopted the progressive democratic policies that were predominating globally. PFM was seen as a way to achieve this more progressive thinking in the context of forestry.

It is interesting that the ‘1994’ storyline was only adopted by DWAF staff in Knysna and this begs the question: what is its function in their discourse? It is suggested that the repetition of this storyline serves to make known that the staff are aware of the effect that the change in the political dispensation has had on forest management. It serves to emphasise the changes that the department has undergone in order to bring it in line with the political and social realities of a post apartheid South Africa and the transformation that has taken place. Its usage suggests the need to convey political support for post apartheid transformation. Whether such transformation has taken place or whether ‘nothing has changed’ and ‘nothing has happened’ in practice would need to be assessed. The reiteration of this ‘1994’ storyline in the PFM discourse however creates the impression of significant transformation through PFM policy.

10.3. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

Twelve prominent storylines are identified in the PFM discourse concerning the implementation of the policy in the southern Cape. This chapter presents three of these storylines, namely ‘fences around forests’, ‘the community are our eyes and ears’ and the ‘pre/post 1994 dispensation’. These storylines answer the question ‘why PFM’ and have therefore been clustered together (see Table 10.2).

Table 10.2. Summary of storylines: why PFM?

TERMS OF THE POLICY DISCOURSE		NOTES
STORYLINES		
WHY PFM?	Fences around forests	- Most prevalent at the local level among the community representatives and DWAF staff. - Reference to an exclusive approach to forest management that entailed the erection of fences to control access and the issuing of fines for trespassing and transgressions.
	The community are our eyes and ears	- Conveys the idea that by involving local communities in PFM, they will buy into conservation and will want to assist in monitoring forest access and utilisation, thereby conserving the forest. - Indicative of a prevailing protectionist paradigm.
	Pre/post 1994 dispensation	Regular historical reference to the pre/post 1994 dispensation, which is closely linked to the 'transformation in South Africa' epistemic notion.

The first storyline that is discussed is the 'fences around forests' storyline. This is a catchphrase for an exclusive approach to forest management that was an accepted western ideology. This approach, which was also referred to as fortress conservation (Forester 1, 2003) and a 'fences and fines' (Head Office Official 3, 2003, Knysna Official 2, 2003) style of management, achieved the objectives of conservation by separating people from nature through the construction of fences and by enlisting guards to ensure that 'unwelcome' people were kept on the periphery of conservation areas. It is unclear from the data collected whether there were in fact fences around the southern Cape forests. However, the data did reveal that the issue is not the physical barriers imposed by the government to regulate access to the forests, but rather the mental barriers that were created by instilling fear in the local communities (Forest Guard 4, 2003; Community Representative 1, 2003). PFM is understood as the preferred alternative to this exclusive approach where a softer stance is taken on dealing with infringements to forestry regulations and access control is reduced to enable increased consumptive and non-consumptive use of forests. However, despite this change in policy, fear is still perpetuated through the continued presence of uniformed guards, gates and signs, which function as deterrents because they are a reminder of past exclusive policies.

The 'fences around forests' storyline has a similar function to the 'PFM is the only way' storyline that is discussed in the previous chapter because it is a counter statement in contemporary PFM discourse. In emphasising the incorrect nature of past approaches to forest

management and thereby profiling the contemporary adoption of PFM, the reiteration of this storyline lends credibility to the PFM policy.

The second storyline, ‘the community are our eyes and ears’ is a key storyline in the PFM discourse because it conveys the idea that forest protection will be enhanced by increasing the involvement of local communities in forest management. This is a significant feature of co-management and community based conservation (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Hackel, 1999) and is a contemporary response to the ‘fortress conservation’ approaches of the past. As with the ‘fences around forests’ and ‘PFM is the only way’ storylines, ‘the community are our eyes and ears’ lends credibility to the PFM policy because it is a catchphrase that justifies PFM providing a pragmatic reason for DWAF staff at a local level to implement PFM given the financial and staff constraints of the department.

The ‘community are our eyes and ears’ storyline signals a more politically expedient approach to forest management through PFM. It suggests that local communities share the responsibility for the forest. However, its presence in the PFM discourse is a concern for some respondents who feel that it is indicative of the protectionist paradigm, where the focus is on biodiversity conservation rather than on social development through improved utilisation for forest resources. The protectionist paradigm directed past approaches and is reportedly the reason why PFM initiatives have not been as successful as envisaged (Donor Representative 1, 2003). Even though the vision of PFM (DWAF, 2003a) has shifted away from a focus on biodiversity conservation to reflect a more socially orientated approach that focuses on alleviating poverty through sustainable resource use, the prevalence of this storyline in local PFM discourse reflects that the focus of the department has not changed significantly at the level of policy implementation. Therefore the storyline indicates increased community involvement, but it also indicates the presence of a protectionist as opposed to a socially orientated paradigm from which the policy is being implemented.

The third storyline that is analysed is the historical reference to the ‘pre/post 1994 dispensation’. This storyline refers to South Africa’s transition in 1994 from a totalitarian apartheid society to a democratic post-apartheid society and was reiterated predominantly by DWAF staff as a way of explaining the need for PFM to be implemented in South Africa. The reiteration of this storyline suggests an acknowledgement of the need for DWAF to change

their approach to forest management and to convey their political support for post-apartheid transformation.

The three storylines, namely: 'the community are our eyes and ears', the 'fences around forests' and the 'pre/post 1994 dispensation' that are analysed and discussed in this chapter suggest the reasons why PFM was implemented, not only in the southern Cape, but in South Africa in general. They also function to generate enthusiasm for PFM and obtain the buy-in from both local communities and foresters in Knysna. The efficacy of a policy is tested by the degree of success it achieves at the level of implementation. Chapter Eleven discusses the final cluster of storylines, which is 'PFM policy in practice'. The focus here is on how an analysis of the PFM discourse of respondents provides insight into how PFM policy implementation in the southern Cape has taken place.

CHAPTER 11

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS 4

PFM STORYLINES: PFM IN PRACTICE?

11.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter continues from Chapter Ten and is the fourth of five results and analysis chapters. The analysis revealed that the twelve storylines clustered into three groups. The first group of storylines define Participatory Forest Management (PFM) and answer the question ‘what is PFM’. The second group of storylines justify why PFM has come about and answer the question ‘why PFM’. This chapter is concerned with the analysis of the third and largest group of storylines, which relate to the practice of PFM. Section 11.2 discusses six storylines that are clustered under the heading ‘PFM in practice’. Thereafter, by way of concluding the chapter, Section 11.3 provides a synopsis of these storylines.

11.2. PFM IN PRACTICE

‘PFM in practice’ is the third and final category of storylines to be discussed. These storylines relate to how respondents perceived the implementation process of the PFM policy in the southern Cape region. Although the responses that were analysed were not confined only to these questions, the following six questions provided respondents with an opportunity to express their views about PFM in the southern Cape. Respondents were asked how they would describe PFM and what their first impressions of the policy/approach were. They were also asked whether PFM has been met with any opposition or resistance; whether there is a need for PFM in the Southern Cape; and how they felt about the role and functioning of the PFM forums. A fifth question related to levels of poverty. Respondents were asked to describe the level of affluence in the Knysna region and what the implications of this affluence are for the implementation of PFM.

From the interviews conducted it emerged that there are six key phrases that are related to the practice of PFM, which were repeated among respondents and which can be interpreted as storylines within the PFM discourse. These are: the constant reference to the belief that ‘the southern Cape is not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei’; that ‘the cart is running before the

horse’; that there is a high degree of ‘raised expectations and broken promises’ associated with the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape; that ‘foresters are not social development workers’; that despite the fact that PFM has been a policy initiative in the southern Cape since early 2000, there is constant reference to the perception that ‘nothing has happened’ and finally that there is the potential for ‘eco-tourism/tourism in the forest’. Each of these storylines are discussed in turn with a view to developing an understanding of how PFM is being practiced or implemented at a local level in the southern Cape. Table 11.1 summarises the third group of storylines and provides an indication of the number of respondents who used the storyline within an actor grouping.

Table 11.1. The third group of storylines around PFM in the southern Cape: PFM in practice.

ISSUE	STORY LINE	RESPONDENTS
PFM IN PRACTICE	We’re not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei	Community Representatives: 1 Forest Scientists: 1 Foresters: 2 Head Office Officials: 2. Knysna Officials: 2 Researchers: 2 10
	The cart before the horse	Foresters: 2 Head Office Officials: 1 Knysna Officials: 1 Researchers: 1 5
	Raised expectations and broken promises	Community Representatives: 2 Donor Representatives: 2; Forest Scientists: 1 Foresters: 1 Head Office Officials: 2 Knysna Officials: 2 Researchers: 2 Southern Cape Tourism: 1 13
	Foresters are not social development workers	Donor Representatives: 1 Head Office Officials: 3 4
	Nothing has happened	Community Representatives: 5 Forest Guards: 1 Foresters: 2 Researchers: 1 Southern Cape Tourism: 1 10
	The potential for eco-tourism/tourism in the forest	Community Representatives: 1 Donor Representatives: 1 Forest Scientists: 1 Foresters: 1 Head Office Officials: 1 Knysna Officials: 1 Researchers: 2 Southern Cape Tourism: 1 Local Business Owners: 2 11

11.2.1. We're not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei

Respondents were quick to draw a distinction between the indigenous forests of the Eastern Cape province or old Transkei/Ciskei region and those in the southern Cape. The Eastern Cape/Transkei forests have historically been located in traditional authority areas and have consequently been exposed to higher levels of forest resource utilisation. By saying that 'we're not like the Eastern Cape' in response to issues of resource dependence, forest status and poverty, respondents show resistance to the policy when they explain away the need for PFM in their region and the urgency in getting PFM mainstreamed. This storyline was prevalent among five Knysna staff, two researchers, one community representative and two Head Office staff members. In one case a respondent distinguished the southern Cape from KwaZulu-Natal also, whilst another respondent set the southern Cape apart from "other regions".

The Eastern Cape Province is regarded as a region where rural communities depend on the indigenous forests to sustain their livelihood, which is not believed to be the case in the southern Cape. As one forester succinctly puts it:

"You'll see PFM differs quite a lot in what PFM is practiced in the southern Cape. As I said, here the emphasis is totally on tourist developments, on deriving economic benefits. In the Eastern Cape you'll find it still boils down to sustaining livelihoods, people are really dependent on forest produce for their daily livelihood, which is here not the case. No one is dependent on any fuel wood in this area, no one is dependent on any forest produce, mushrooms for basic food or what the case is, whereas in the rest of the country it is the case" (Forester 1, 2003).

The Eastern Cape is a region where forests are under substantial pressure from local people who "have traditionally lived off the forest" (Forester 4, 2003) and still access forests for fuel wood, animals and medicinal properties, and clear forests for cultivation (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Researcher 2, 2003). One respondent stated that "we don't allow hunting at Tsitsikamma because people have never relied on it like in the Eastern Cape where it was more a way of life" (Forester 4, 2003). Another respondent commented that "there is no historical dependency of communities on the forest to sustain their livelihood. There is none. We haven't got any neighbouring communities to our indigenous forests in this area" (Forester 1, 2003). It was also reported that settlement patterns in the southern Cape differed from other regions in South Africa; that there are not "huge numbers of people from deeply rural ethnic groupings and backgrounds who are dependent on forests" (Head Office Official 3, 2003). Therefore, unlike the Eastern Cape, there was reported to be no

“recipe for conflict” (Head Office Official 3, 2003) in Knysna and thus no real need to engage with people, especially since the people that were in close proximity to the forests were DWAF and SAFCOL staff. Where forests fell on tribal land, traditional authorities often regulated them in conjunction with the South African state (Tropp, 2006) but they were not regulated and controlled to the same extent that the southern Cape forests were (Researcher 3, 2003).

One respondent stated that:

“in the Transkei it’s the people living there, the Xhosa people, they have been run by Xhosa people; they have been managed by the chiefs. In the southern Cape there was none of that. Those people were left to their own devices over there. They were left to do what they wanted to do in their piece of kingdom. There was not all this enforcement and building of fences around forests” (Community Representative 3, 2003).

This respondent referred to the southern Cape as being “more westernised” in the sense that the region is reported to not have the same traditional communal rights of use as in the Eastern Cape. In the southern Cape state forest management has been characterised by its strict access control, which according to this respondent, restricted traditional activities associated with the forest. It is assumed by respondents who have adopted the ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei’ storyline that it is only because the Eastern Cape was not managed in this manner that local people historically derived benefits from the forests in the Eastern Cape.

In the initial stages of the implementation of PFM, the Knysna Office⁵³ understood PFM to be applicable in areas where people relied on forests for their livelihood; they were not aware of the forest based enterprises aspect (Kühn et al., 2002; Forester 1, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003). Discussing the response of Knysna to PFM, a forester stated that “it [forest based enterprise] was not part of the initial PFM prophecy at that stage so the answer was given back to Head Office saying ‘we’re not going to do PFM in this region because there is no PFM to be done in this region’” (Forester 1, 2003). The perception that there is no dependence on forest resources is dominant in the southern Cape. The reduced dependence on forest resources to sustain livelihoods as an argument against the need for PFM supports Brown’s (1999) observation that moist forests are often characterised by quite low population densities in comparison to adjacent areas of dry land forest. He states that these low population densities are also “likely to be less subject to major pressure on the resource. Again, this may diminish the level of state interest in a participatory approach in such environments” (Brown, 1999:4). It

⁵³ Where reference is made to the Knysna Area Office, which manages the southern Cape forests, either ‘Knysna’ or ‘Knysna Office’ is used.

would seem plausible that the southern Cape forests were seen as less of a priority for the implementation of PFM as a result of this reported difference in the level of dependency of communities on forest resources. For this reason, it was seven years before Head Office actively pushed PFM in the southern Cape.

The ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape’ storyline is also used when comparing the status of the forests. Indigenous forests in the Eastern Cape are described as being “totally denuded, like a park with one or two big trees” (Forester 4, 2003); being areas where there is “still forest destruction taking place, clearing for agricultural land” (Forest Scientist 2, 2003) and where it is being burnt too regularly (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). These are impacts that are a consequence of the activities of local communities. These activities result in small patches of indigenous forests, which makes it more difficult to manage than the bigger patches such as those in the southern Cape. The southern Cape forests are described as technically and scientifically well managed and one of the most well preserved Afromontane forests in southern Africa (Head Office Official 2, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003). The negative impact of local communities on the forests in the Eastern Cape is evident in the PFM discourse, setting it in sharp contrast with the southern Cape context. Contrasting these two regions is part of the discursive argument that the state of the forests in the southern Cape is not as bad as the rest of the country; that the forests are not under the same pressures as other regions and that therefore there is no real need to practice PFM because PFM is about utilising forest resources to sustain rural livelihoods or to protect biodiversity in areas of higher population pressure.

The third issue where the ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape’ storyline was expressed was around poverty. Respondents contrasted the poverty experienced by rural communities in the southern Cape with that of the Eastern Cape, which is a poorer region (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Head Office Official 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003; Researcher 1, 2003). The poverty differentials between the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape are largely a result of South Africa’s apartheid history. The old Transkei and Ciskei (which now comprise a significant portion of the present-day Eastern Cape) were homelands during the apartheid regime and as such, people living in these areas were marginalised and underdeveloped by the Nationalist government and denied financial and educational resources. The homelands therefore lagged behind the rest of South Africa during its growth and development. Also, the southern Cape is set apart from the Eastern Cape in that it tends to have a higher level of

education, employment, literacy, and lower incidences of HIV and AIDS⁵⁴, which all assist in reducing the vulnerability of people to poverty in the region. One respondent explicitly linked forest dependence and poverty, commenting that the level of affluence in the southern Cape is “generally higher than, for example, the Eastern Cape, and as such dependence on the forest resource is quite limited compared to other areas” (Head Office Official 1, 2003). Similarly people living in Knysna are “not the poorest of the poor like in the rural Transkei” (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). When asked to describe the level of affluence of the region, most respondents replied that it was affluent, that there was a lot of money in the region, but many also acknowledged that there were very poor people in the region too (Community Representative 3, 2003; Community Representative 5, 2003; Horn, 2002; Researcher 1, 2003). Inequality in the southern Cape is evident in the social landscape as wealth (portrayed by exclusive, up-market developments) is sharply juxtaposed poverty in the adjacent townships and rural areas surrounding towns such as George, Sedgefield, Knysna and Plettenberg Bay. One respondent remarked that:

“You can’t believe how many very very wealthy foreigners own property here so I’m considering them as residents too ok. There is large money here. And the level of poverty? Enormous. Scary scary. I will take you down the road here and show you children that have not eaten for three days” (Community Representative 5, 2003).

Another respondent related a story about a family in Coldstream who were robbed of groceries that were in their house and suggested that this was an indication that there are poor people living in the region and related this poverty largely to the high rate of unemployment in the region (Community Representative 3, 2003).

In the PFM discourse poverty in the southern Cape region was never really seen as a legitimate reason to implement PFM. The DWAF mission statement for PFM places a “special emphasis on poor rural communities” (DWAF, 1999:3) and others have referred to PFM being for “the poorest of the poor” (Forester 1, 2003; Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003). However, it would seem that the southern Cape was not considered in isolation, as a unique local context with its own relative levels of poverty within which PFM should be applied. The level of rural poverty was overlooked, either because of obvious wealth in the region, which is a result of the high level of foreign investment in the property market and the increased spending by both foreign and South African citizens alike on tourism and tourism-related activities, or because it

⁵⁴ See socio-economic context in Chapter Six.

was not seen to be poor enough in comparison to other regions of the country such as the Eastern Cape or Limpopo. This confirms the meaning contained in the storyline ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape’ that PFM is not appropriate for the southern Cape. This is reflected in the following statement “if you look at the Act, the Act clearly, if you look at the Act you see the Ciskei and the Transkei and those areas” (Knysna Official 1, 2003).

The ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape’ storyline functions to create the impression that the indigenous forests in Knysna are not like forest estates in other regions. In one sense, this storyline is a myth because it creates the illusion that the gap between the Eastern Cape and the southern Cape is wider than it is in reality. Furthermore, it supports the belief that if the southern Cape is not like the Eastern Cape, then the issue of forest destruction, which the Eastern Cape has had to deal with, and which is on the increase in the southern Cape, will not become an issue for them. As one respondent stated:

“They mustn’t think that because things are going smoothly now it will go smoothly forever, they must be proactive instead of reactive. Don’t come down to the southern Cape once they have realised that half of a forest that they never visited is actually destroyed because they thought they had no problem here. One of these days people will wake up and smell the coffee and realise that they can actually smuggle with yellowwoods and they will go and find them and cut them. Big money. They must do things now to prevent that kind of thing happening” (Community Representative 3, 2003).

It could be argued that the southern Cape is different to the Eastern Cape historically, that in the past the issues that foresters had to address in the Eastern Cape have differed substantially from those with which Knysna had to deal. However, it has been reported by Knysna respondents that the incidences of snaring, poaching and theft (for example of timber and ferns) is increasing, and that the forests are coming under increased pressure from the people living in the low cost housing or “squatter” developments, which are arising adjacent to the forests in the region (Forester 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003). This is largely attributable to the rapid growth that Knysna is currently undergoing, which provides an attraction to more and more low-income people who are in search of employment in the construction and service sectors. The response from Head Office was that they want to:

“ensure that communities whom ever they were, white, black, coloured, small, large; whatever their background, educational levels...were being given full opportunity to exercise their rights in terms of rights in the forest” (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

The DWAF Head Office felt that there was a need to change the mindset of the Knysna staff to “get people to think about something they had never been forced to think about previously” (Head Office Official 2, 2003) and to convince them that despite the perception that they were not like the Eastern Cape and were not under significant pressure, “PFM is a must and it has to happen” (Head Office Official 2, 2003).

Increasingly the mythic storyline that ‘we are not like the Eastern Cape’ is losing credibility as a reason to put off implementing PFM as people become more aware of the pressures that the increase of low cost housing developments adjacent to the forests and heightened levels of unemployment and poverty in the region are having on the forests.

11.2.2. Cart before the horse

An interesting storyline that emerged was the notion that PFM was implemented in the southern Cape too hastily, that the cart was running ahead of the horses (Forester 1, 2003; Forester 3, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; Researcher 1, 2003) or, as another respondent commented, that the “tail was wagging the dog” (Head Office Official 3, 2003). To ‘put the cart before the horse’ is a figure of speech used to express the feeling that something is being rushed or done before it is ready. To say that the cart is running before the horse, or as the notion has also been phrased, that the horses are running behind the cart, suggests that efficiency and efficacy are compromised, that the timing of an activity is inappropriate and that the speed at which the cart is moving is too fast for the horse to keep up, and thus the cart overtakes the horse.

This storyline is an analogy that encapsulates the manner in which PFM implementation is perceived at a local level in the southern Cape. There are two possible interpretations of what the ‘cart before the horse’ storyline suggests. Firstly, just as a horse leads a cart in a particular direction and provides the impetus for movement, so too is the perception of respondents at a local level that the DWAF Head Office should provide policy guidance and support to the regional offices tasked with policy implementation. For the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape to be referred to by as putting the ‘cart before the horse’ suggests that PFM implementation in Knysna was running ahead of Head Office and that as a result Head Office was unable to provide the support Knysna needed during implementation (Forester 3, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003). For a cart to overtake the horse would

render the cart is out of control and this metaphor therefore suggests that the timing of policy implementation was inappropriate to the extent that the efficiency and efficacy of the policy are compromised, implementation was ‘out of control’.

Another interpretation of the storyline is that PFM (the cart) was running ahead of what needed to happen in the southern Cape (the horse) in order for PFM to be effectively implemented. The sudden rush to get PFM mainstreamed did not allow sufficient time for capacity building to take place in the Knysna Office in order that the staff could learn about the new way in which forest management was to be approached. Furthermore, Integrated Development Plans for municipalities in the region and for the region as a whole were in their embryonic stages and the storyline presents the idea that it may have been more beneficial for PFM to be integrated into these plans rather than to envisage that DWAF was going to single-handedly solve the socio-economic problems in the region through PFM. Both interpretations underscore the notion that the policy-making process was not sufficiently advanced to facilitate an effective and efficient policy implementation process.

Interviews conducted at a local level in 2003 reveal that Knysna was pressured into getting PFM up and running, establishing PFM forums at each of the forest estates in the region, and ensuring that at least one PFM project was underway in each of the estates. In general, foresters were exasperated at the manner in which the process unfolded and the lack of clarity and guidance which should have been forthcoming from Head Office. This is not to say that Head Office did nothing; they have tried to support Knysna, but it would appear that this support was inadequate and late in coming. One forester stated:

“If we started doing PFM from tomorrow onwards it will be a much easier task. With at least something in place. When we started doing PFM five years ago there was nothing in place, there was nothing in place. It was almost, for me, to implement PFM very hastily at that stage was almost to please superiors, for the sake of having something in place. It was really; the horses were at the back of the horse cart. That’s why I find it frustrating at present. If we start PFM tomorrow we will do it in a much more orderly way, a much more guided way than it was at that stage...we got a message from Head Office from certain officials that said PFM can float you or it can sink you. And Knysna it’s time for you to practice PFM, here’s a deadline. And we were like scrambling all about; there was no guidelines, no policies in place. They said to us you practice PFM we want the communities to participate in the management of your forests. Let them derive the economic benefits and the expectations that were raised were horrific” (Forester 1, 2003).

Similarly, it was commented that “PFM also started on the wrong foot...that the cart is still running in front of the horses. We’re trying to do PFM and we are trying to do the best that we can but there are no policies in place, no real guidance in place” (Knysna Official 1, 2003). It is stated that an adaptive management approach is being applied to the implementation process, where DWAF will fix the ‘car’ [PFM] as they go (Forester 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003). The evidence suggests that this could be seen as a reactive management approach, which is inconsistent with one of the six key characteristics of ecological modernisation; that is, the shift from remedial and reactive to anticipatory and preventative strategies of policy-making (Christoff, 1996). In theory PFM is anticipatory in nature because it is a policy that attempts to put in place mechanisms such as participatory forums to deal with issues and conflict, and to develop management plans through participatory processes which are acceptable to all and which provide a strategy for the sustainable management and utilisation of the forest. However, the manner of implementation in Knysna was reactive because Knysna was reacting to Head Office’s requirement that PFM forums be institutionalised immediately, regardless of what the local circumstances may have dictated.

Part of the discourse encapsulated in the ‘cart before the horse’ storyline is a perception at a local level that PFM was being pushed by Head Office because of the important role that it plays in the FSC certification process (Community Representative 3, 2003; Community Representative 5, 2003; Head Office Official 2, 2003). It is not questioned that Knysna is exceptional in their technical and scientific management of indigenous forests; however, the social component of the certification was found to be inadequate. In order for Knysna to obtain their certification, they had to make significant changes to their management approach in the area of community participation and engagement. It was believed that “in the beginning it was all fire and hot and now it’s just dead and I’ve raised this up, actually posed this question: did you do it to get your FSC certification?” (Community Representative 3, 2003). Another community representative also linked PFM with the FSC drive, emphasising that PFM exhibits the characteristics of the “washing penguins syndrome” where business and industry have to “be seen to be doing something” (Community Representative 5, 2003). This respondent sees policies and approaches like PFM as tantamount to the ‘green washing’ that takes place in environmental circles. She stated that:

“because poverty has become a very real issue around the world and environmental issues are probably even stronger and therefore people have to be seen to be doing something. In this area particularly I believe the [FSC] stamp is one of the big factors because what happened was when they came for their latest

inspection, the only thing they fell down on was the social impact ok, and that's when they quickly put the twelve people into the forest [referring to the forest ferns project in Farleigh]" (Community Representative 5, 2003).

Some people in the southern Cape believe that the FSC process created the incentive for PFM. PFM was around before the FSC drive in Knysna because it was on the agenda at a national level by about 1992 (Head Office Official 2, 2003). However, the Knysna Area Office was about seven years behind the rest of the country with regard to the implementation of PFM and it became a matter of urgency that PFM become mainstreamed in the southern Cape (Head Office Official 3, 2003). The Area Office had for many years been regarded as DWAF's "flagship" office however, owing to the lag in PFM implementation the Knysna office was later referred to as the "pariah" of DWAF because "the other stuff [socio-economic aspects] was not happening" (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

The settlement patterns in the southern Cape region are currently perceived by many as being different to other parts of the country because there are not many rural communities who are dependent on forests for their livelihood.⁵⁵ The potential for conflict over resources should therefore be reduced. In addition, according to three respondents, the region does not have a history of dispossession whereby people were forced off their land to make way for the demarcation of state forest, which has been the case in other parts of the country and has resulted in numerous land claims (Community Representative 5, 2003; Forest Scientist 1, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003).⁵⁶ DWAF staff in Knysna were thus not confronted with the need to engage with communities and believed that PFM was therefore not needed in the area. Therefore the implementation of PFM is reactive rather than proactive. It was a reaction to the need to have the policy implemented. Furthermore, Head Office staff regarded Area Office staff as conservative. One Head Office official stated that the motive behind pushing PFM in Knysna was that:

⁵⁵ This was not the case in the past. See for example Matthee (1984, 1990); van der Merwe (2002); McCracken, 2004; Seydack and Vermeulen, 2004 for evidence of early dependence on forests for sustaining livelihoods.

⁵⁶ It is acknowledged that people in the southern Cape have experienced forced removals. There is literature to support the Tsitsikamma removals (Platzky and Walker, 1985), the Covie restitution claim (Kleinbooi and Lahiff, 2007), and land claims in both the George and Knysna area (Regional Land Claims Commission, Western Cape, 2000). It is understood that these removals were not concerned with expanding the state forest (natural area), whereas this was the case in other parts of South Africa. See for example Brooks (2005) paper concerning the Hluhluwe game reserve and the dispossession and exclusion of local Zulu people from the landscape, and Tropp (2006) concerning forced removals from Dwesa-Cwebe and Mkambati for the establishment of a conservation area.

“If we don’t become aggressive in pushing them to start PFM projects, nothing will happen and I think this is why they push push push, you know. But there is only one thing that can make Knysna a successful case, it is for them accepting that PFM is a must and it has to happen and there are wise ways in which you can do that” (Head Office Official 2, 2003).

The “wise ways” of implementing PFM, referred to by this respondent was in reference to Knysna’s drive towards FSC certification (of which participatory forestry is a key criterion), which Head Office was supporting as a means of encouraging PFM in the region. However, another respondent believes that the staff in Knysna had changed their minds and demonstrated that they were “mentally transformed and willing to implement PFM” (Head Office Official 3, 2003). He stated that the Area Office went from being the “pariah” to the best example of good practice in just eight months (Head Office Official 3, 2003). Elsewhere this respondent commented that people will slip back into their comfort zones if they are not supported and given an enabling environment, which raises the question about the extent to which the staff were transformed.

With regard to implementing PFM, once the impetus to carry the implementation of PFM forward had been generated in the region, which was described as “very ripe and keen and eager to get going” (Head Office Official 3, 2003) it was reported that Knysna’s failure was the inability of Head Office to provide answers to the questions that Knysna was asking (Head Office Official 3, 2003). Head Office was believed to be dealing with issues such as land claims and conflict with communities in other areas of South Africa and had not yet worked through issues that relate to PFM projects and the finer details of implementation, which is what Knysna urgently needed. Foresters are uncertain which procedures to engage with in order to manage PFM projects and conflict. One forester admitted that:

“If people come to me today and ask a project proposal I have got no guidance or guidelines on how to legalise that project. Should it be a CFA [Community Forestry Agreement], should it be a PPP [Public Private Partnership], should it be a license. I’ve got no idea, and it causes them to lose interest. I mean there are project proposals that have been lying on the table for the last 2 years” (Forester 1, 2003).

This statement suggests that policy guidelines and legal procedures should have been in place before PFM implementation proceeded. It was only in the latter half of 2002 that DWAF were made aware that some of the enterprises that were up and running in the forest were in breach of the Public Financial Management Act (PFMA), which prescribed which tariffs to use when leasing state land (Forester 1, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003). Knysna were only issued with

documents to assist them with the process in September 2003. One respondent expressed his disappointment at this turn of events because the after-effects of this delay in delivery from Head Office resulted in Knysna being perceived as regressing in the process of PFM implementation (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

The storyline 'cart before the horse' is an expression used in local PFM discourse that draws Knysna staff into a coalition about the implementation process of PFM in their area. In summary, the 'cart before the horse' storyline reveals the reactive nature of policy implementation in opposition to the intention of the policy, which is to be proactive. In addition, the Knysna Area Office has not received the support they needed from Head Office in terms of policy and guidance because they had not been developed at Head Office. This lag in policy development is believed to have hampered the implementation process in the region. Thirdly, analysis of the storyline revealed that the drive towards FSC certification in the southern Cape played a significant role in fast-tracking the PFM implementation process in the region. FSC certified timber indicates to the timber market that the forests are sustainably managed and harvested which in turn improves both the consumptive and non-consumptive value of the resource.

Interpreting the analysis of the 'cart before the horse' storyline in the light of ecological modernisation theory suggests that in this instance, PFM as a form of co-management typifies a weaker form of ecological modernisation in two respects. Firstly, by implementing a PFM approach it is assumed that the social sustainability aspect of sustainable [forest] management, incorporating social, biophysical and economic components (O'Riordan et al., 2000:1), would be addressed. Therefore, implementing PFM has economic benefits because it enables the fulfilment of a significant element of the FSC certification process. In addition to the economic implications of PFM in terms of the FSC, which typify a weak ecological modernisation approach, this observation is also consistent with the fourth characteristic of ecological modernisation. This is the belief that fostering bottom-up participatory approaches will lead to more sustainable outcomes than conventional top-down approaches to policy-making/decision-making (Blowers and Pain, 1999). Some researchers (Connelly, 2002; Richardson and Connelly, 2005) are sceptical of the assumed link between increased participation and increased sustainability. This scepticism is supported by the data analysis and is exemplified by the dominant storylines in the PFM policy discourse, especially concerning the policy implementation process. The 'cart before the horse' figure of speech is one such storyline.

11.2.3. Raised expectations and broken promises

The most prominent storyline that emerged from interviews conducted in Knysna and Head Office regarding PFM in the southern Cape was that of ‘raised expectations and broken promises’. Four Knysna staff, four Head Office staff, three community members and two researchers employed this storyline. In addition to it being the most common, it was also used by the greatest range of respondents (see Table 11.1). This storyline indicates a shared orientation about the way in which PFM has been implemented at a local level in Knysna and, although simplistic, it captures the story about the implementation of PFM in Knysna. Some elements of this storyline were discussed in detail under previous storylines and are therefore not elaborated here. The emphasis in the following discussion is centred on the issue of expectations.

Initially when Knysna heard about PFM from Head Office they understood it to be aimed at regions where there were rural communities in and adjacent to indigenous forests who were dependent on forests for their daily livelihood. It is uncertain whether this was the only element of PFM advocated by Head Office at the time, but nevertheless it was the perception of Knysna that “there was no PFM to be done in the region” (Forester 1, 2003) because they saw the southern Cape as falling outside the ambit of PFM. This justification concealed the resistance many staff in Knysna felt towards the concept of PFM and for a time resulted in the low priority of PFM in Knysna (Forester 1, 2003). It is also conceivable that PFM was given a low priority by Head Office who, understandably, had pressing issues to address in forests such as Dukuduku and Dwesa-Cwebe. Head Office responded to Knysna’s belief that PFM was not necessary in the region by pressurising Knysna to start practicing PFM. A forester paraphrased their response, stating that “the response of Head Office was ‘this is not all that PFM is about [the needs of those dependent on forests for their livelihood], let people start deriving economic benefits from the forest, let them start with forest based enterprises” (Forester 1, 2003).

Two staff members were transferred to Knysna in January and February 2000 respectively (Peter, pers. comm., 04/06/2007). One staff member came from KwaZulu-Natal as the Area Manager and was briefed on mainstream PFM. The other staff member came from the Eastern Cape with the brief to provide institutional support, and to come up with PFM guidelines, policy and strategy. They shared with Head Office the belief in the promise of PFM. The

promise of PFM includes, for example, the benefits that PFM holds for people in terms of the social and economic benefits that can be generated by rural communities from the forests, from forest based enterprises and engagement in forest management, and for DWAF in terms of the community assisting in the management and monitoring of the forests (DWAF, 2002c).

In the early stages of PFM implementation some DWAF staff and members of the general public believed that the forests contained a wealth of resources that needed to be tapped and harnessed. A Head Office official stated regretfully that he “wish[es] more had been forthcoming than we promised. Forests don’t have as many benefits as they were purported to have” (Head Office Official 1, 2003). Similarly another respondent commented that “expectations were raised, people are going to create plenty of jobs, everybody’s going to get rich on the forests” (Forester 1, 2003), whilst a forest scientist reported that people might think “yes, there’s now lots and lots of money that can be generated from indigenous forests and things are commercialised” and that the communities thought that there were more benefits to be gained from the forests than there really are (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). A donor representative also alluded to the promises that were made by DWAF officials, that “you’re going to be rich, well you’re not going to get rich but you’re going to benefit from the forest” (Donor Representative 1, 2003). One forest guard was reported by two respondents to have used the metaphor of a “shopping list” to describe the expectation of what he and the community would obtain from the forest (Community Representative 5, 2003; Forester 1, 2003).

The idea that rural communities should expect to benefit from the forest through PFM was not a fabrication of DWAF’s, it is consistent with international PFM and CBNRM literature and is a desirable aspect of PFM for the South African government, which has poverty alleviation as a goal. A respondent admitted that “it’s so nice to write about PFM and CBNRM and put in all those nice words which fit in well with the policy framework of South Africa but it’s counterproductive if you go the communities and create expectations which nobody can fulfil” (Donor Representative 2, 2003). Unrealistic expectations, what one respondent referred to as “hollow promises” (Researcher 2, 2003) and another as promises that “scare for nothing”⁵⁷ (Knysna Official 2, 2003) were not intentionally created. Many of the DWAF staff, both

⁵⁷ Original Afrikaans: ‘skrik vir niks’ (Knysna Official 2, 2003).

locally and at Head Office believed in the promise of PFM, and the southern Cape region was praised for the shift that took place amongst the staff. One head office official remarked:

“Look, there were attitudes, people had their own baggage, we all are like that, we come with baggage and it took a while for people’s minds to be changed. And that region did themselves proud, they went from being, you know the pariah of DWAF to best region eight months later, got awards and suddenly everybody wanted to own Knysna because they were demonstrating that they were mentally transformed and willing” (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

Two respondents also remarked that there are people, both in Head Office and in Knysna who are genuinely committed to making PFM work (Community Representative 5, 2003 and Researcher 1, 2003).

In addition to the mental shift that took place amongst staff which put Knysna in a strong position to move PFM forward, there is the perception that raising expectations was not a mistake. Knysna possesses the potential for significant job creation and other economic benefits to be realised owing to the better socio-economic situation of the region compared with other regions, growing tourism and the successful furniture industry in the region (Head Office Official 3, 2003). This official earnestly believes that DWAF could make a difference and is of the opinion that the region also subscribed to the promise of PFM because they, like him, saw the potential in the region. He believes that the mistake was not making sure that DWAF was able to keep up with the drive for development experienced in Knysna in terms of providing an enabling environment for the realisation of that potential. He stated that:

“If you raise expectations where the potential is poor, that’s foolish, okay because people have the expectations and then okay, hello, there’s only this much potential, but it could probably be argued that it is just as foolish to raise expectations where there is potential but not the enabling environment” (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

Here this respondent expresses the sentiment encapsulated by the ‘cart before the horse’ storyline. He admitted that he was active in mobilising people and “spreading the good news” (Head Office Official 3, 2003) but in addition to believing in the real potential for the area, he was aware of the need to have something that would draw the people, what he termed a “rallying point”. The economic aspects of PFM were enthusiastically used in this regard, to create some common ground between DWAF and the communities. DWAF needed the communities to participate in the process and join the PFM forums, which were regarded as fundamental to the implementation process. A donor representative echoed the Head Office official when he stated that a balance is required between raising expectations so as to “create a

platform for communication” and “something to network with communities about”, and being unrealistic in the level of ambition created by PFM (Donor Representative 2, 2003).

The research suggests that raising expectations had its desired effect because initially attendance at the PFM forum meetings was good, and it was “all fire and hot” (Community Representative 3, 2003). Head Office was not prepared for the flurry of enthusiasm and activity that was occurring in Knysna and they were unable to provide answers to the questions that Knysna and the communities were asking around institutional issues concerning PFM. As a result Knysna was caught in the middle, frustrated and unable to deliver to the people and get PFM projects underway. It became apparent that the expectations raised were in fact unrealistic and that the promise of PFM needed to be tempered with the reality that PFM can only be a part of the solution to unemployment, poverty and other local issues in the area. There are real, tangible benefits that can be gained from the forest, but the forest has a limited potential in that it cannot provide benefits to everyone. Where forests can, they should play a role in alleviating poverty, but this development needs to be incorporated into regional or district Integrated Development Plans (Donor Representative 2, 2003; Donor Representative 1, 2003; Forester 1, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Head Office Official 2, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003; Researcher 3, 2003).

It is unfortunate that by the time DWAF realised that they could not meet the expectations that had been raised, in 2001 and 2002 (Peter, pers. comm., 04/06/2007) the damage of raised expectations had already been done. Knysna staff are reportedly trying to educate people about the wrong perceptions that were previously created but are struggling to manage the dissatisfaction and disappointment among the communities in the region that have resulted because DWAF have not delivered on the promises that they made to the communities (Forester 2, 2003). This is evidenced by dwindling support at the forums. Attendance at the Farleigh forum is reported to have dropped from around thirty to about six or seven regular community members (Southern Cape Tourism 1, 2003). Concerning this drop in numbers a forester remarked that people “are losing faith in this PFM idea” (Forester 1, 2003). Speaking on behalf the community, one respondent stated that:

“The people are a little bit discouraged because they know that Forestry wasn’t like they are now, they feel high disappointment. I listen to many people that

have submitted proposals that have not yet materialised”⁵⁸ (Community Representative 1, 2003).

It was emphasised that unless PFM starts to show some success stories and tangible benefits for people, the community are going to continue to lose interest in PFM (Southern Cape Tourism 1, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003 and Forester 1, 2003).

It is not only DWAF who have not delivered on the promises that they made. Entrepreneurs and investors who come into the region are also guilty of not being true to the promises that they make. For example, it is reported that one entrepreneur promised to give a percentage of profits generated to the community but it never reached the community. Instead it was decided rather to invest the money in something from which the community would benefit (Community Representative 3, 2003). Despite the best intentions, this entrepreneur broke his promise to the community. One respondent fears that such occurrences may jeopardise PFM because it will destroy the potential that does exist for PFM to be implemented in a meaningful way (Community Representative 3, 2003). She believes that it is DWAF’s responsibility to monitor the contractual agreements that take place between business and the community to ensure that the community is not being treated unfairly.

In summary, this storyline can be attributed to three factors: poor timing between Head Office and Knysna, where Head Office was not sufficiently prepared for the enthusiasm that was generated for the approach in Knysna; a genuine belief in the promise of what PFM could do in the region for people; and the need for an issue around which people could rally to generate support for the approach. ‘Raised expectations and broken promises’ is a negative storyline in the PFM discourse relating to the implementation of PFM in Knysna. Even though it may be disappointing, the reasons for its emergence are clear. This storyline is commonly found when the amount of resources available to generate benefits for people are outweighed by large numbers of extremely poor people who have few options at their disposal to generate a livelihood.

⁵⁸ Original Afrikaans: ‘die mense is ’n bietjie traag omdat hulle weet Bosbou was nie soos hulle nou is, hulle voel high teleurstelling. Ek luister na baie mense wat proposals ingedien het wat nog nie tot stand gekom het nie’ (Community Representative 2003).

11.2.4. Foresters are not social development workers

The ‘foresters are not social development workers’ storyline indicates the process of positioning by respondents. DWAF staff in Head Office, through taking up this storyline, are positioning local DWAF staff, such as those in the Knysna region, as ‘forest scientists’. It became apparent from interviews conducted in Head Office that the storyline ‘foresters are not social development workers’ is employed by Head Office respondents. Four of the five respondents at Head Office used this storyline (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Head Office Official 1, 2003; Head Office Official 2, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003). This particular storyline was not articulated specifically; however it will be shown that this phrase is an appropriate way in which to summarise the sentiment expressed by respondents and is therefore identified as a storyline in the PFM discourse. Two respondents in Knysna also referred to this idea (Community Representative 5, 2003; Forest Scientist 1, 2003).

Knysna has a history of scientific forest management. Since the appointment of de Vasselot de Regne in 1880 to develop a management system for the Knysna forests that was based on the section system and the principle of sustainable utilisation, Knysna became a forerunner in silvicultural and ecological research (van der Merwe, 2002). The southern Cape forests are still recognised internationally as being technically and scientifically one of the most well managed indigenous forests. The important role that science plays in forest management is recognised. One community representative admitted that “if it was not for science, the forest would be gone” (Community Representative 3, 2003), however this scientific management of forests is regarded as being “obsessive” and “over protective” (Head Office Official 2, 2003) which suggests that there is some degree of control that the forest scientists could relinquish and yet still manage the resource effectively. Both forest scientists expressed a reluctance to share forest management with non-professional people, people who are not trained foresters (Forest Scientist 1, 2003 and Forest Scientist 2, 2003). They maintain that forests are complex systems that require a high level of specialisation. The one forest scientist believes that one has specialisations for a reason, and that a professional body should be the dominant entity. He stated that to accord non-professional people the same amount of decision-making power as specialists means that one does not trust the people who have been allocated the task of forest management (Forest Scientist 1, 2003). This forest scientist argued for a representative form of democracy and not a participative democracy, which is the form subscribed to in PFM, as he

believed that those allocated the task of forest management represent the people of the country, and have been selected by the government to protect the forest (Forest Scientist 1, 2003).

The fundamental paradigmatic difference between the so-called ‘hard’ and ‘soft’ sciences was explained by means of differentiating between those employed in the natural and the social sciences (Forest Scientist 1, 2003). This scientist explained that people who work in the natural sciences have a subject orientation and, although able to accommodate the social sciences to a certain degree, they do not have the social sciences ‘at heart’. People in the social sciences, however, have a people orientation, which is what he believes PFM requires. It was reported that one forester was reassigned from a forest estate to Scientific Services or what was referred to as “the laboratory side” because he struggled with PFM (Community Representative 5, 2003). In a non-judgemental manner this community respondent said that this forester was “not a people person” (Community Representative 5, 2003), which relates to the perspective shared by the forest scientist concerning the difference between the ‘hard’ and the ‘soft’ sciences. Another respondent expressed this perspective as follows: “it is easier to measure tree diameters and go back to your office than to deal with communities...we are the forest scientists, we are out there to manage forests and not talk to people” (Head Office Official 1, 2003). Similarly a donor representative, in discussing why PFM in the clusters “all too easily falls off the agenda”, explained that “you’re dealing with foresters; you’re not dealing with agriculturalists or social development workers. They know how to plant trees; they don’t know how to talk to human beings” (Donor Representative 1, 2003). It is this perspective that is captured by the ‘forests are not social development workers’ storyline.

In interviewing respondents in Knysna, this ‘forest scientist’ attitude was not explicit. It is apparent that the foresters in Knysna have a genuine desire to implement PFM but struggle to engage with the communities. They are unsure about how to negotiate the methodologies associated with PFM’s socially orientated approach, such as conducting qualitative interviews to increase their understanding of the community’s use of certain forest resources. This is understandable given that it was not part of the training they received (Knysna Official 1, 2003). By way of illustrating the presence of the ‘forest scientist attitude’ in Knysna, the example of an interaction that took place between one Head Office official and a forester in Knysna when this official was transferred to Knysna was given. According to this Head Office official the Knysna forester’s perception was that foresters should not be doing PFM, because it was not what D:IFM staff had been trained to do (Head Office Official 1, 2003). This was

the sentiment shared by others. Many foresters are of a mindset that the Community Forestry Directorate (D:CF) deals with communities and Directorate Indigenous Forest Management (D:IFM) deals with indigenous forests alone. This Knysna forester was unaware that, just as D:CF deals with indigenous forests on non-state or privately owned land, so too does D:IFM deal with communities associated with state land (Head Office Official 1, 2003). Therefore, people working in D:IFM are responsible for dealing with indigenous forests and communities. Since this reported incident, PFM has been scaled up and become the PF directorate and therefore no longer the responsibility D:IFM. It is now rather an overarching approach that should be the responsibility of all foresters. The institutional argument is no longer valid owing to the institutional changes that have since taken place within DWAF. However it is the use of the institutional argument that is of interest. It is clear that the belief that (indigenous) forest scientists did not have to engage with communities was present at the time of the Area Manager's transfer to Head Office, but the fact that the discussion was recalled in an interview in 2003 suggests that it remains an issue at present.

In considering what purpose this storyline could fulfil for the DWAF Head Office staff that used it, it is apparent that the most plausible function would be to serve as a means of excusing the actions of the Knysna staff for not implementing PFM in the most expedient manner. This would be achieved by positioning foresters as 'forest scientists' who are not 'social development workers', or people who 'don't talk to people', or don't 'deal with communities', so as to draw a divide between the 'hard' or 'natural' sciences and the 'soft' or 'social' sciences. In effect, by positioning local staff as forest scientists they are acknowledging the reality of the inherent difficulties associated with the directive that foresters practice PFM in their regions and on their estates. Although forest officers have received training on the new National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998) through a participatory training programme (Kühn et al., 2002), this storyline indicates a gap in the training that foresters receive in relation to the need to deal with social matters as mandated by the new Act.

11.2.5. 'Nothing has happened'

The phrase 'nothing has happened' is a distinctly local storyline that is presented by five community representatives - one forest guard, one forester, one researcher and one tourism official - who were interviewed in Knysna (see Table 11.1). In Knysna, the community's perception is that PFM is not happening or has not happened, and some respondents have used

various metaphors to express this sentiment. For example, one respondent referred to PFM as an “ideology” and a “good dream”, whilst elsewhere it has been referred to as “a joke”. This storyline links closely with the ‘raised expectations’ storyline discussed earlier. Like the other storylines, this storyline and these metaphors conceal a number of issues about PFM policy, particularly regarding its implementation. Two key areas where the storyline of ‘nothing is happening’ emerged were in relation to the perception of a lack of tangible benefits for the communities (Community Representative 5, 2003; Forester 1, 2003; Forest Guard 1, 2003; Researcher 1, 2003; Southern Cape Tourism 1, 2003) and secondly, that the PFM forum meetings do not result in meaningful activity and are a waste of time (Community Representative 3, 2003; Community Representative 5, 2003). Each of these perceptions is discussed below.

Firstly, with regard to tangible benefits to the communities, it is widely acknowledged that two key objectives of PFM are sustainable rural development and poverty alleviation (DWAF, 2003a). The initiation of PFM projects that concern the management and sustainable utilisation of indigenous forests by forest user groups and other community organisations is a means of enabling people in these groups to obtain tangible benefits from the protection and utilisation of forest resources and therefore the realisation of the aforementioned key objectives of PFM. It has already been mentioned that the idea of receiving substantial tangible benefits was used as a rallying point to draw people into the PFM process and that the expectation of benefits was unrealistic. However, PFM policy states that PFM should at least result in some level of tangible benefits reaching the forest users and local communities (DWAF, 1999, 2002c and 2003a). A representative from Southern Cape Tourism expressed his frustration at the slow pace at which the implementation of PFM is taking place and the damage that the delay in delivery of tangible benefits to community is doing to the process (Southern Cape Tourism 1, 2003). He stated that:

“it’s not happened, PFM has not happened, the process has not translated into tangible benefits for the community. As I understand PFM, it’s the tangible benefits that ultimately will roll our balls....It’s pointless talking talking talking. If we have to wait for this whole process to slowly evolve it’s going to be too late quite honestly, it may not happen in my time”.

One researcher spoke about the promise of PFM, of what it has the potential to achieve in the region and reflects on the likelihood of this being achieved. She stated that “PFM is not genuinely happening” and that:

“the promise of PFM, not how it’s working now, is a redistribution of access to assets and resources in power, decision-making and socio-economic and political benefits. We know from international literature that forests are not sustainable unless local people are involved and to do this we have to give them tangible assets, poverty alleviation. We’re yonks away, it’s not going to happen in my lifetime” (Researcher 1, 2003).

Two respondents indicated that PFM would eventually happen in South Africa (Researcher 1, 2003 and Southern Cape Tourism 1, 2003). Similarly a community representative optimistically expressed that “it’s going to work, it’s not working yet but it’s going to work” (Community Representative 6, 2003). However others believe that changes need to be made in the manner in which DWAF is implementing PFM in order for it to have a place in the future of South Africa because “the way they are operating now it’s [PFM] never going to happen” (Community Representative 2, 2003). One forester stated that forums are “losing interest because of the little tangible benefits that have gone their way up to the present” (Forester 1, 2003) whilst another respondent was of the opinion that since PFM has started, no projects have really got off the ground although some projects have been started under the auspices of PFM (Forest Guard 1, 2003). At the time of interviewing in October 2003 three projects were running, one in each forest estate⁵⁹.

One such project, which is described in Chapter Thirteen, is the forest fern project at Farleigh Forest Estate. In this project 12 to 15 women pick forest ferns from picking areas in the Goudveld area, sell them to a local flower wholesaler and earn approximately R30-R35 a day, which is approximately the minimum wage for the Knysna area (Forester 1, 2003). Concerning this project, a community representative expressed her disappointment at what the PFM forum has achieved in Farleigh. She reflected that after five years all they have to show for PFM in Farleigh is “twelve people in the forest picking ferns on a pilot project, and selling their ferns to the wealthy people with the tenders to DWAF and I am meant to pat us on the back? It’s a joke, it’s just not real” (Community Representative 5, 2003).

Another project is the Stormsrivier Kiosk on the south side of the Paul Sauer Bridge that is run by six women who on average earn less than R1000 per month each. DWAF provides ablution facilities, a wooden structure, some benches and tables and also services the area (Knysna Official 2, 2003). A third project is underway in the Diepwalle Forest Estate. Here DWAF are

⁵⁹ See Chapter Thirteen.

engaging with the Rastafarian community around the sustainable harvesting of red carrot⁶⁰ in demarcated areas in the Harkerville forest. The fourth and perhaps the most successful PFM project is the up-market eco-tourism venture operated at Stormsrivier in the Tsitsikamma area by Stormsrivier Adventures. In addition to river and forest-related adventure tourism, the company operates a restaurant and craft market. Some have queried whether it is a PFM project per se (Community Representative 3, 2003; Local Business Owner 1, 2003), however applications for undertaking activities within the state forest pass through the Tsitsikamma PFM Forum for recommendation, and significant benefits have accrued to the community through this project. These benefits include: employment, improved self confidence, an opportunity to learn English, a share of the income generated by the company, the option of shares in the company, and an opportunity to study THETA (Tourism Hospitality Sport Education Training Authority) accredited courses that will increase their scope for employment further afield (Community Representative 3, 2003; Community Representative 4, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003; Local Business Owner 1, 2003). Local Business Owner 1, however, has argued that these benefits could have and should have been greater had the company not had to work through the bureaucracy created by the PFM policy.

Secondly, with regard to the activity of the PFM forums, PFM is 'not happening' because the forums are not perceived by many as meaningful meetings. Some feel that there is token involvement of the community at the local forums and at regional PFM forums and that the decisions are already made beforehand. It is reported that the community is made to think that they have been involved (Community Representative 3, 2003; Forest Guard 1, 2003). The forums are a place where the community should have an opportunity to be involved in decision-making regarding the management of the forest estate and are potentially a place where PFM could be actively practiced through the adoption of a participatory management approach. The imminent transfer of the management of the southern Cape indigenous forests to SANParks at the time of writing is an important issue that should have engaged the communities and other stakeholders from the beginning. PFM forums were in place before the transfer issue arose, and a Head Office official admitted that DWAF "should have got the buy in at a local level with the communities we were already engaging with" (Head Office Official 3, 2003). Despite advocating a participatory approach to forest management, the impression is created that Head Office was still authoritative and top-down in the way in which they handled

⁶⁰ Original Afrikaans: Rooi Wortel, Latin name *Bulbine latifolia*. The Rastafarian community uses the root of this plant for a medicinal tea.

the transfer issue. It may have made a substantial difference to the way communities feel about participation and involvement if Head Office had first engaged the communities and even DWAF staff locally in the southern Cape rather than making the decision to transfer forest management at Head Office and then informing management and the communities about the transfer.

One questions how a sense of ownership of a resource can be established within communities when autocratic decisions such as this are made regardless of the participative approaches that are purportedly in place in DWAF. The transfer to SANParks is one of the reasons given for why ‘nothing has happened’. The transfer has “been up in the air for three years” and has made management difficult because the Knysna staff has become unsettled by confusion and uncertainty regarding their job security (Knysna Official 1, 2003). Evidence of ecological modernisation is found in this storyline because, despite having a policy that advocates a progressive approach, when it comes to execution the state falls back on traditional top-down approaches rendering the policy as mere rhetoric, embedded with policy vocabularies that present DWAF in a favourable manner to the international community.

Four reasons are given for why ‘nothing has happened’. One Head Office official provided two reasons why the good foundations for PFM that he believed were laid in Knysna are “starting to crumble” (Head Office Official 3, 2003). Firstly, at a national level, he stated that the PFM directorate is not performing all of its functions because it is unable to provide the institutional mechanisms for getting ventures off the ground. There is also insufficient capacity, partly as a result of institutional transformation that has resulted in staff changing posts, and also partly because DWAF have been unable to retain key individuals who have been instrumental in the process. They were replaced with people who are not entirely appropriate for the job (Head Office Official 3, 2003). The Assistant Director is reported to be doing the work of three people. These factors have weakened the directorate’s ability to deliver services to the region.

Secondly, the Head Office Official argued that at a local level the vacant post left by the one staff member’s transfer to Head Office should not be regarded as a problem and believes that it is being used as a scapegoat for why PFM is not happening in the region (Head Office Official 3, 2003). There is a cry from Knysna staff that they are severely understaffed and therefore unable to effectively implement PFM and that Head Office are unwilling to fill the vacancies (Knysna Official 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003). Coupled with the lack of capacity, it was

argued that although Head Office believe that PFM is an effective approach, PFM *is* more work, and that Management underestimate the time involved in engaging with communities (Forest Scientist 2, 2003).

In addition to understaffing or lack of capacity, a third reason why ‘nothing has happened’ is the uncertainty as to where the impetus for starting a project should originate. The forest guard reported “people don’t do anything because they feel that the Department [DWAF] is not coming forward with ideas on how to help the people” (Forest Guard 1, 2003). This forest guard agrees with the local communities who expect the Department to drive the process because it is a “Department driven thing”. However, he explained that it should be participatory, which means that the communities should also take the initiative and approach DWAF with ideas and tell the department how they see they can run a project. Another respondent similarly expressed the viewpoint that some people are “waiting for the government” to give them ideas of what projects they can run (Knysna Official 1, 2003). This Knysna Official is critical of this approach, which he believes is contrary to PFM, because “PFM must come from both sides” (Knysna Official 1, 2003). Initially Knysna had received the impression from Head Office that they must not initiate projects but should wait for the communities to bring their proposals to them. One forest scientist said that DWAF in Knysna feels strongly that they should be initiating projects because they have a better understanding of the resource base and also because it is in keeping with their policy of optimal utilisation (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). He asks “why must we wait if we can help?” and believes that if the success of PFM is to be determined by what projects are running in the region, then the DWAF officials in Knysna should be involved in initiating projects that are viable (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). Subsequently Knysna were informed that they *should* generate ideas (Knysna Official 1, 2003). According to one Knysna Official this approach is contrary to Community Based Natural Resource Management theory, which confused DWAF staff when it was presented to them at a training session in Grahamstown (Knysna Official 1, 2003). One respondent was optimistic that PFM projects should start to increase and that things should start to happen in the region because Knysna have dispelled the confusion about PFM and are now in agreement within Head Office and the communities that the DWAF officials in Knysna should initiate projects (Forest Scientist 2, 2003).

Lastly, a fourth reason why ‘nothing has happened’ was the reported disagreement between stakeholders which prevents projects from occurring (Knysna Official 2, 2003). This official

reflected that a local entrepreneur and a local community group were in disagreement over whose idea a particular venture that was proposed for the Tsitsikamma Forest Estate was, and who had the intellectual property rights over this idea. It has resulted in two competing tenders being submitted for the venture and the project being delayed. This is not the place to discuss the issue, but it serves to highlight the fact that at a local level, competition between stakeholders poses a threat to implementing projects because DWAF are unsure how to resolve the issue, which consequently results in delays (Knysna Official 2, 2003).

Similar to the ‘nothing has happened’ storyline is the ‘nothing has changed’ phrase that was used by two Knysna staff members. Although there is an acknowledgement that the NFA has been amended to make provision for exemptions and greater access to the forest, there is a perception that these exemptions are not being applied for by local people (Forester 1, 2003) and that therefore, in a sense, nothing has changed. One forester stated that:

“in the past we had a zero tolerance approach. If we caught you doing something, contravening the Act, there’s only one way and that’s to court. Now we got a much more tolerant approach. We will give them courtesy warnings, black list them and by the third time we catch them, which rarely happens now... So the access pressure and use pressure is exactly the same as it was in the past, it’s just the management approach that has changed with regards to law enforcement, enforcing the Act. We are quite a lot more tolerant. That’s about the only difference” (Forester 1, 2003).

This forester concedes that the only significant change is the level of tolerance exercised in law enforcement but believes that access pressure and use pressure (which one might anticipate increasing through the implementation of PFM) has remained unchanged. Similarly, another respondent presented the argument that ‘nothing has changed’ in the last fifteen years that he has worked in the region. He stated that “never as far as I can remember were there any fences around these forests, never, and never was there no access to communities in this area. Nothing has changed as from the early 70’s to now. Nothing. So we have done PFM for many many years” (Knysna Official 1, 2003). There is a recognition that management has changed because the NFA has changed and places:

“more focus on PFM than the previous Act and there’s more sections in the Act that describe that you must allow access, you must allow them to collect firewood. We’ve done it all the years, all the years. We have never chased anybody away when they went to the estates and said can they collect some firewood. It’s the same that we have done, but it is more on paper now” (Knysna Official 1, 2003).

The above discussion reveals a contradiction in the respondents' arguments. Considering the forest management context of the southern Cape described in the literature and in interviews, with its predominantly protectionist and conservative management approach, it is surprising to hear that 'nothing has changed'. On the one hand, the Knysna foresters are emphatic that 'nothing has changed', in that they are managing the forests in the same manner as prior to the introduction of PFM. However, on the other hand they acknowledge the changes that the NFA have necessitated in the management of the forests, and that the policy shift has implications for the manner in which the indigenous forests are managed at a practical level.

It is not unexpected to hear this 'nothing has happened' storyline being reiterated amongst the respondents. It reflects a negative perception about how PFM is being implemented in the southern Cape due to the lack of experience in policy implementation. It is anticipated that with time this storyline will decrease its prevalence in the PFM discourse as stakeholders persist with PFM implementation and the toolkits that have been developed by Ramboll and DWAF are used to assist with the process.

11.2.6. The potential for eco-tourism/tourism in the forest

The final storyline relating to the PFM discourse is the conception that there is "huge potential" (Researcher 1, 2003) to develop the already partially developed tourism industry in and around the Knysna forests (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; Shackleton, 2004). Eco-tourism or nature-based tourism is regarded by these respondents to be the most appropriate economic activity to develop in the southern Cape. However, they give different reasons as to why eco-tourism should be enhanced. Given the emphasis that was placed on eco-tourism by these respondents, one receives the impression that tourism is perceived to be a key element of PFM and a mechanism to address poverty and unemployment in the region. It shall be shown that despite the differing reasons offered, the storyline in favour of eco-tourism functions to draw these actors together to participate in PFM.

Four reasons were given for the high tourist potential of the forests. Firstly, it was argued that Knysna is already a prominent tourist destination (Shackleton, 2004). Knysna is described as "probably the second or third best tourism destination in the country with something like 350 or 400 Bed and Breakfasts establishments in Knysna alone" (Head Office Official 3, 2003).

For this reason forest based enterprises are placed in a strong position to benefit from the influx of tourists to the region. The forests are already being used for tourism in the form of day trips such as mountain biking, quad biking, horse trails, river rafting and forest canopy tours. However, there is scope for overnight facilities to be constructed and managed by communities in and around the forests to increase the local community benefits from these tourist activities (Head Office Official 3, 2003). Secondly, developing eco-tourism in the forests was viewed favourably because it would enable Knysna to 'sustain' tourist activities for twelve months of the year (Southern Cape Tourism 1, 2003). Forest eco-tourism would give tourists alternatives when the weather is unsuitable for coast-related activities. Increasing tourist activity in the indigenous forests is therefore regarded as an opportunity for tourism in the region in general, because it would encourage people to remain in the area longer. Thirdly, eco-tourism is often regarded as one of the more lucrative non-consumptive activities and therefore a more favourable development option (Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003; Researcher 1, 2003). Because it is non-consumptive, it is perceived to be a more sustainable alternative to other kinds of forest uses such as timber harvesting, bee-keeping and collecting plants for medicinal purposes, despite its considerable impacts on the forests. This links to the 'sustainable utilisation' storyline discussed earlier.

The 'sustainability' epistemic notion is the framing concept for tourism as a method of implementing PFM in the southern Cape. The value of eco-tourism in the region is supported using social, economic and ecological justifications. However, the emphasis is on the economic benefits of eco-tourism to the regional and local economies in terms of increasing economic sustainability. From this perspective, it could be argued that ecological modernisation is the paradigm within which DWAF is operating when it comes to implementing PFM. The promotion of economic benefits indicates a weak ecological modernisation approach because the rationale for promoting the social project of PFM is the promotion of economic benefits that can be derived from eco-tourism and other economic ventures rather than the moral imperative to be more deliberative and participatory in forest management. In other words, social conscientiousness has positive economic spin-offs. This observation supports Blowers and Pain's (1999:266) assertion that environmental problems can "be seen positively as a resource that can facilitate the creation of wealth". One community respondent links eco-tourism in the southern Cape, and its promotion as a social upliftment tool, to the national GEAR strategy and the broader global economic system (Community Representative 5, 2003). This community representative questions whether eco-tourism really

moves one further along the sustainability path because she believes that it reinforces the dependency of poorer local people on outsiders or foreigners to generate their livelihood. It does not encourage them to work with nature and within their own communities to generate and sustain their livelihood. She explains that:

“tourism is something I am not very happy about as touting as the biggest like upliftment thing. Well, it’s like there’s this new hotel and golf course development going down at the bottom of Phantom forest and they have already come to see the local Keurhoek community about the jobs being promised and as I said to the guys that as long as we are supporting a system, an economic system that is removing our resources and catering towards wealth and greed, we are then supporting those people and allowing them to have the wealth to come and visit and da de da de da. We will always be the people on the side of the road with our hand out” (Community Representative 5, 2003).

Elsewhere, Community Representative 5 refers to PFM as “working within that [economic] paradigm”. She stated that PFM is:

“Not trying to conscientise people to say ‘there’s a possibility of a very beautiful life. Ok, it’ll be a lot simpler than you anticipated. You won’t afford the Diesel jeans, maybe, but you will have food on the table or something’. But it is not. It is done within the consciousness of GEAR, which negates already the process itself... For me I would much rather see them putting their money into something more sustainable. More simple, organic gardens with localised markets, I mean I have an extreme view of the way I believe society should start looking to live and it’s a far more localised way. The fact that our food travels many thousands of kilometres before it hits the market is really scary. The environmental cost becomes astronomical. So those are the things I would promote. It’s more sustainable, where everybody will have something and very few people will ever achieve huge wealth” (Community Representative 5, 2003).

This community representative’s response reflects a concern that PFM does not attempt to work outside an ecological modernisation paradigm and push for a stronger form of sustainability that is tied in less to the regional and national economy and more to the household, the local livelihood level. The respondent is critical of the implementation of PFM through tourism. This indicates an awareness that this form of PFM would not be socially sustainable at a local level but rather exploitative of local resources and people for economic gain. This represents a critique of the weak ecological modernisation approach exemplified by eco-tourism as a channel for the implementation of PFM.

The final reason given for the high potential for eco-tourism activities to be developed in the forests is the immanent transfer of management from DWAF to SANParks (Donor Representative 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Head Office Official 3, 2003). This transfer has been

discussed in the contextual background in Chapter Six. The transfer has a significant impact on the future approach to managing the Knysna indigenous forests. In the context of eco-tourism, DWAF and SANParks are reported to have distinctly different aims; DWAF's aim is conservation, while that of SANParks is conservation and development, which is more commercially orientated (Forester 4, 2003). In support of this distinction a Head Office official remarked that SANParks have a "very much profit orientated business model" (Head Office Official, 3, 2003). Concern was expressed about the transfer of management and what it may mean for the implementation of PFM. If PFM is primarily about increasing access to and benefits from forests and forest resources for local people to improve their livelihood, and it is acknowledged that there may be a variety of methods by which this may be achieved, then the paradigm within which SANParks operates may limit the methods available to rural people (Donor Representative 1, 2003). The transfer is reported to be "a big risk to the way communities may benefit from forests" because SANParks operate from a different paradigm to DWAF (Donor Representative 1, 2003). In his view, SANParks see the primary way that communities benefit from parks as being through:

"tourism related jobs...and a little bit of harvesting in buffer zones which is still very much a parks-neighbours mentality. The parks mentality is a few curio stores that side of the fence and a few people with seasonal jobs to change bed sheets and pillowcases. It's not about communities getting together, organising themselves to effectively manage and regulate the management and use of a resource, whether it's a forest a grassland or whatever, which is what PFM is much more about, it has a completely different paradigm" (Donor Representative 1, 2003).

It is suggested that the SANParks paradigm to which Donor Representative 1 refers could be labelled an ecological modernisation paradigm because of its reported business approach to managing natural resources and its need to generate a profit. In this approach social and ecological considerations are factored into the management process to ensure their economic success. It may seem strange to speak of ecological considerations needing to be factored into SANParks' management process when they are considered a conservation agency. However, from their business approach, the economic good/service that SANParks is in the business of making available to the public (at a cost), is an environmental experience. Areas are set aside for conservation by SANParks.

Eco-tourism is not altogether something to be criticised, because it has had a positive impact on some forest areas within the southern Cape. One such example is the Stormsrivier community where local youngsters have been trained as tour guides for Stormsrivier

Adventures and have consequently been uplifted and placed in a position to support their families (Community Representative 3, 2003; Community Representative 4, 2003).

This section on storylines has described and analysed six storylines that are embedded in actors' conceptions of PFM (see Table 11.1). This section has demonstrated how storylines function in a discourse. They conceal a multitude of understandings, arguments and contradictions. In doing so, storylines function as a way in which different actors can understand complex issues and come together to discuss and work out the implementation of the PFM policy. Section 11.3 concludes the chapter by providing a summary of the third category of storylines that the research has revealed and this chapter has analysed.

11.3. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This chapter presents the results and analysis of the third and final cluster of storylines that has emerged from the PFM discourse of the respondents interviewed. Six storylines related to PFM in practice are discussed, namely: that 'the southern Cape is not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei'; that 'the cart is running before the horse'; that there is a high degree of 'raised expectations and broken promises' associated with the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape; that 'foresters are not social development workers'; that 'nothing has happened' and finally, the potential for 'eco-tourism/tourism in the forest' (see Table 11.2).

With the exception of the 'eco-tourism/tourism in the forest' storyline the remaining five storylines are catchphrases that present a negative impression about how PFM is being implemented in the southern Cape. The most prevalent storyline in this cluster, and of all twelve storylines, is the catchphrase 'raised expectations and broken promises'. This storyline refers to the expectations that were raised when PFM was initiated in Knysna in 2000, by DWAF Head Office and Knysna staff that was tasked with implementing PFM, that PFM would alleviate poverty and improve the livelihoods of local communities by generating forest-related employment opportunities. Respondents were not unified in their perception as to whether these expectations were realistic for the region, however the fulfilment of their expectations was frustrated by a number of factors, three of which emerged as storylines in the PFM discourse.

Table 11.2. Summary of storylines: PFM in practice

TERMS OF THE POLICY DISCOURSE		NOTES
STORYLINES		
PFM IN PRACTICE?	We're not like the Eastern Cape/ Transkei	Creates the impression that the Indigenous forests in Knysna are not like forest estates in other regions. There is less poverty, less pressure on forest resources, and less forest destruction taking place.
	Cart before the horse	- An analogy that explains the perceived manner in which PFM is being implemented locally. Two interpretations: - It suggests that DWAF in Pretoria (the horse) is unable to keep pace with the rapidity with which the implementation of PFM by the Knysna Office has occurred in the southern Cape (the cart); - PFM (the cart) was running ahead of what needed to happen in the southern Cape (the horse) in order for PFM to be implemented effectively. - Highlights the reactive nature of policy implementation.
	Raised expectations and broken promises	- Expectations of the benefits of PFM were raised to generate enthusiasm. - Attributed to three things: poor timing between Head Office and Knysna (Head Office was not sufficiently prepared for the enthusiasm that was generated in Knysna); a genuine belief in the promise of what PFM could do in the region for people; and the need for an issue around which people could rally to generate support for the approach.
	Foresters are not social development workers	- Indicates the process of positioning by respondents. DWAF staff in Head Office, through taking up this storyline, are positioning Knysna staff as 'forest scientists' and not 'social development workers'. - Draws a divide between the 'hard' or 'natural' sciences and the 'soft' or 'social' sciences. - Reflects an acknowledgement of the inherent difficulties associated with the directive that foresters practice PFM in their regions and on their estates. - Indicates a gap in the training that foresters receive where they may not receive sufficient training on social matters.
	Nothing has happened	Two key areas where 'nothing is happening': 1. The PFM process has not resulted in tangible benefits for the communities. 2. The PFM forum meetings do not result in meaningful activity.
	The potential for eco-tourism/tourism in the forest	Despite the different reasons as to why eco-tourism should be enhanced, the storyline functions to draw numerous actors together to participate in PFM.

The first factor, which is discussed in this chapter, is the perception that the forests in the Knysna region are unlike those located in the independent homelands, the Transkei and Ciskei, which are now incorporated into the Eastern Cape province. Some respondents commented that 'were not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei' because the Knysna region does not have the

high levels of poverty and resource use, and the indigenous forests are not under threat due to deforestation and poor management.

These perceptions affect the PFM policy implementation process because initially PFM was considered to be applicable only in areas where these issues are a reality. This storyline has a mythic quality because, although the forested areas in the compared regions may have differed historically, the research data suggests that the Knysna forests are experiencing problems of a similar nature to those in the previous homeland areas and that poverty levels are higher than anticipated⁶¹. Reiteration of the ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei’ storyline perpetuates the impression that there are significant differences between the Knysna region and areas in the Eastern Cape and thus reinforces the belief that there is no need to implement a policy such as PFM in the area.

The second factor which frustrated the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape is the perception that policy development at Head Office was not sufficiently advanced to provide the clarity and guidance that the Knysna Area Office needed to facilitate effective policy implementation at a local level. In addition, some respondents believed that the rapid pace at which Knysna was pressured by Head Office to implement PFM did not allow sufficient time for Knysna Area Office staff to be capacitated to engage effectively with the policy and its implementation. There is a perception at the local level that this drive to implement PFM stemmed from the need for the Knysna Area Office to obtain their FSC certification. If PFM were in place, it would demonstrate to the certifiers that the region, which is reputed to comprise conservative staff members, has transformed and is committed to improving the socio-economic circumstances of local communities living in the vicinity of the Knysna forests. These disadvantages regarding the timing at which PFM was implemented in the southern Cape are encapsulated by the ‘cart before the horse’ storyline that is discussed in this chapter.

The third factor which hampered the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape is the perception that ‘foresters aren’t social development workers’. This storyline, which is discussed in this chapter, conveys the belief that the forest scientists employed by DWAF to work at a local level in the Knysna region have insufficient social skills to effectively

⁶¹ See Chapter Six.

implement the PFM policy, which is a socially orientated approach to forest management. These forest scientists are purported to prefer working with in the realm of the natural, ‘hard’ sciences and are reluctant to engage with communities and relinquish forest management issues to local communities who do not have the expertise to participate effectively in decision-making around forest issues. This storyline indicates an acknowledgement of the difficulty associated with the directive that foresters practice PFM.

These factors are encapsulated in the storylines: ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei’, the cart before the horse’ and ‘foresters aren’t social development workers’. They are key reasons why PFM implementation failed in the region and why many respondents at a local level incorporated the storyline that ‘nothing has happened’ in relation to PFM implementation into their PFM discourse. Different respondents provided different reasons for including the ‘nothing has happened’ storyline into their PFM discourse. In particular, two areas of PFM implementation where ‘nothing is happening’ or ‘nothing has happened’ emerged from the research. Firstly, in relation to the perceived lack of tangible benefits reaching local communities. Secondly, the PFM forums, which are a significant participatory platform, are perceived to be a waste of time.

Another reason provided for why ‘nothing has happened’ is the transfer to SANParks. This transfer was lengthy, complicated and resulted in confusion and insecurity on the part of DWAF staff members. In addition, it was reported that the lack of capacity at Head Office to provide clarity on the institutional mechanisms required to implement PFM projects and to provide institutional support to DWAF staff at a local level is another reason why ‘nothing has happened’. In addition, there is uncertainty and confusion as to where the impetus for initiating PFM projects should arise; whether it should be DWAF or local people. This storyline encapsulates the frustration and the negative feeling that exists regarding the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape.

The final storyline that is discussed in this chapter, which is the second most prevalent storyline in the PFM discourse, is the storyline concerning the potential for ‘eco-tourism/tourism in the forest’. Unlike the storylines that have already been discussed, this is a promising, positive storyline that functions to generate support amongst stakeholders for implementing PFM in the southern Cape region. It incorporates stakeholders into a pro-PFM coalition by drawing on the idea that effective implementation of PFM will generate income

from forests in the form of nature-based tourism/eco-tourism for members of the local community. Tourism is regarded as a significant economic opportunity that can be maximised through PFM projects, thereby addressing the socio-economic issues of poverty and unemployment in the region. Placing the success of social initiatives such as PFM on economic incentives rather than on other important co-management issues such as local livelihood, access, improved stakeholder relationships and democratic and deliberative processes is a concern that was raised by a respondent (Community Representative 5, 2003). This illustrates a weak ecological modernisation approach to forest management. This economic focus is not at odds with the general co-management approach which includes a 'sharing of products' (Hobley, 1996:337); the CAMPFIRE approach which encourages local people to realise the economic potential of wildlife resources (Child, G. 1996); or the South African PFM policy guidelines which advocate an 'increase in the share of benefits to formerly disadvantaged' (DWAF, 2002a) and addressing local economic needs (Goodland, 1995; DWAF, 2003a). However, it is indicative of weak or mainstream ecological modernisation because it makes economic sense to be socially conscious, and it is through economic development and the subsequent promotion of a healthy (local) economy that the objectives of sustainability (notably meeting the needs of present and future generations) will be achieved. The difficulty in realising the economic incentives that are advocated through the economically orientated storyline of 'eco-tourism/tourism in the forest' is evident in the 'raised expectations and broken promises' storyline. The latter is the most reiterated storyline in the PFM discourse as it pertains to PFM implementation in the southern Cape.

This conclusion provides a synopsis to the storylines that are discussed in this chapter under the cluster of 'PFM in practice'. These are that 'the southern Cape is not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei'; that 'the cart is running before the horse'; that there is a high degree of 'raised expectations and broken promises' associated with the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape; that 'foresters are not social development workers'; that 'nothing has happened' and finally that there is the potential for 'eco-tourism/tourism in the forest'. Chapter Twelve is the fifth and final results chapter of the results and analysis component of this thesis. Here key PFM discourse coalitions and institutional practices are discussed as they relate to the case study area. Discourse coalitions and institutional practices are Hajer's (1995; 2003) second and third elements of his argumentative approach to discourse analysis respectively and Chapter Twelve will illustrate how these theoretical concepts are applied to a local context, namely forest management policy and practice in the southern Cape.

CHAPTER 12

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS 5

PFM DISCOURSE COALITIONS AND INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES

12.1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the two remaining elements of discourse analysis that Hajer (1995; 2003) uses in his argumentative approach namely discourse coalitions and institutional practices. Here the value of the terms of environmental discourse in influencing discourse coalitions and the institutionalisation of particular discourses is demonstrated. Discourse coalitions are the second major component of Hajer's (1995; 2003) argumentative approach to discourse analysis. It is acknowledged that the extent to which discourse coalitions are evident in the PFM policy and implementation process has been constrained by the limited exposure of the researcher to meetings or workshops where the interactions between actors could be observed. However, a number of discourse coalitions were distinguished through the interviewing process and these are discussed in Section 12.2. Section 12.3 then comprises an analysis of the institutional practices in which PFM discourses are produced. Institutional practices are the settings in which discourse is produced and where conflicts are played out (Hajer, 1995) and they therefore have a significant impact on the policy implementation process. The chapter concludes in Section 12.4 with a synopsis of the coalitions and practices that are discussed in this chapter.

12.2. PFM DISCOURSE COALITIONS

Before discussing the PFM discourse coalitions, it should be remembered that discourse coalitions differ from advocacy coalitions in that they are not based on shared core beliefs (Bulkeley, 2000; Hajer, 1995). It is thus easy for an actor to change from one coalition to another. Discourse coalitions accept that actors can move between different coalitions because actors coalesce around the issue at hand rather than around core beliefs (Bulkeley, 2000; Hajer, 1995). Actors are therefore able to advocate the position of a particular discourse at one time, but in a different context advocate the position of another discourse. This explanation of discourse coalitions has proved helpful in analysing the interview data as it assists in

understanding how respondents can position themselves and others in different ways in the course of an interview. At one point in the interview respondents may position themselves, for example, in favour of PFM, but in replying to a subsequent question (which may situate the argument in a different context) would appear to position themselves in opposition to PFM. Discourse coalitions are built through storylines (Hajer, 1995). Therefore analysis of the storylines (as in Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven) should provide an indication of the coalitions a respondent supports. Storylines therefore assist in the process of coalition building, which is needed to obtain consensus around a policy problem. In the analysis of discourse coalitions that follow, storylines are used to explain the coalitions and in so doing illustrate the complexity of the policy debate surrounding the people-park issue. The analysis focuses on the three discourse coalitions that were most apparent from the interviews conducted.

The first and most dominant discourse coalition is termed a 'pro-PFM' coalition. The dominance of this coalition is indicative of widespread favour for an alternative approach to managing indigenous forests. This discourse coalition is based on the storyline that 'PFM is the only way', which has become hegemonic in PFM discourse in South Africa. PFM is advocated as the only way in which the problems that result from people-park interactions in South Africa can be resolved. This coalition has been built by drawing on storylines such as 'the community are our eyes and ears', 'fences around forests' and the 'pre/post 1994 dispensation' to arrive at a consensus that PFM is the solution to discriminatory and exclusive approaches of the past. This coalition comprises a range of actor groupings, including community representatives, foresters, forest scientists, donors, researchers, Head Office officials and Knysna officials. Actors from within these groupings do not share the same life experiences and goals, but they do have a shared understanding about PFM which enables them to engage in dialogue with each other and work together to implement the policy. As has been revealed in Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven, storylines conceal a multitude of complex arguments and issues, which could hamper the establishment of communicative networks, thereby delaying the effective implementation of the policy. It is contended that the extent to which PFM has already been implemented is largely attributed to the ability of storylines to simplify complex issues and facilitate coalition building. The pro-PFM discourse coalition argues for the value of PFM in contemporary South Africa and hence conceals a number of negative elements of the PFM process.

The kinds of discourse that an individual will reproduce is affected by power relations and positionality (Sharp, 1999). One example which is related to the ‘pro-PFM’ coalition and which shows the influence that power relations have on discourse (and in the positioning of actors within discourse coalitions) is the interview with a forest guard. The black forest guard is a resident in a community neighbouring the forest and therefore has a dual role; that of the regulator and the regulated. He is reported by a forester to have the community at heart and is critical of PFM, despite being a DWAF employee. It was for this reason that it was suggested that he be interviewed (Community Representative 5, 2003; Forester 1, 2003). The interview took place in the forest where he was on duty that day. The researcher was escorted to the place by the forester who sat within earshot of the proceedings throughout the interview. Given that the guard had been positioned by a community representative as being in opposition to PFM, it was anticipated that this would be evident in the interview. However, the interview revealed a pro-PFM discourse with nothing negative to say about DWAF. Upon recounting this experience to a community representative, this respondent replied:

“Really? Ooh Mr. X, you’re such a politician! [Laughs]. He is, he was the ANC representative. And did he not make any statement? I’d love to get you with him here in this room and he must look me in the eye and say those things because we’ve had lots of conversations” (Community Representative 5, 2003).

The staging of the interview was not conducive to the actor reproducing a critical discourse (Hajer, 2004; 2005). The critical discourse was suppressed by the discourse of the ‘pro-PFM’ coalition, and resulted in the guard in his position as a government employee ‘toeing the line’. Individuals have the ability to reproduce multiple, often competing, discourses at different times or in different locations and to this end individuals do not own, or are not owned by a discourse; rather, they are the vehicle through which particular discourses to which they have been exposed are transmitted (Hajer, 1995; Sharp, 1999).

The second discourse coalition comprises actors who deem PFM an inappropriate policy to implement in the southern Cape. This is termed an ‘anti-PFM in the southern Cape’ coalition and is constituted by actors who subscribe to either the ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei’ storyline and, although perhaps to a lesser extent, the ‘fences around forests’ storyline. Advocates of the former storyline could be placed within this coalition because they essentially believe that poverty levels in the southern Cape region are not sufficiently significant to warrant the introduction of a policy that, in their understanding, is aimed at meeting the needs of the poorest of the poor in society such as people in northern KwaZulu-

Natal and the Eastern Cape/Transkei⁶². Advocates of the ‘fences around forests’ storyline⁶³ are also part of this coalition as they believe that this region does not have fences around the forests to restrict access and that PFM is needed in areas where access to forests was strictly enforced. This is one of the three dominant discourse coalitions within the PFM discourse because it has had a considerable influence on the implementation process. This influence is reflected in the ‘nothing is happening/has happened’ storyline that was related by the majority respondents.

This ‘anti-PFM in the southern Cape’ discourse coalition could be viewed as contradictory to the ‘pro-PFM’ discourse coalition and suggests a degree of resistance to a participatory approach and the inference that the status quo be maintained. However, five respondents (Forester 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003 and Head Office Official 3, 2003) positioned themselves at different times during the interviews in favour of both storylines. This is reflected in the terms that these respondents used, which are associated with the coalitions and illustrates the struggle for discursive hegemony to which Hajer (1995) refers. It is contended that this discursive struggle in the PFM discourse reveals the underlying process of transformation as foresters make the cognitive shift from adversarial to more participative management approaches.

The third discourse coalition that became apparent is the ‘pro-tourism’ discourse coalition. This coalition has been built by actors who share a similar understanding of how PFM should be operationalised in the southern Cape forests, namely through promoting the growth of eco-tourism or nature-based tourism projects in and around the southern Cape forests. Storylines such as ‘sustainable utilisation’ and ‘eco-tourism/tourism in the forest’⁶⁴ have assisted these actors in arriving at this consensus. This coalition comprises actors from the following actor groupings: Knysna officials, Head Office officials, donor representatives, forest scientists, foresters, researchers, and Southern Cape Tourism. The pro-tourism discourse coalition is based on an ecological modernisation discourse and dominates the more radical or progressive discourses. This coalition, which reveals a neoliberal growth imperative, has been aided by national policy documents such as GEAR and those advocating regional and municipal IDPs that are focused on developing economic opportunities.

⁶² See Chapter Nine.

⁶³ See Chapter Ten.

⁶⁴ See Chapter Nine and Chapter Eleven respectively.

Three discourse coalitions, i.e. the ‘pro-PFM’, ‘anti-PFM’ and ‘pro-tourism’ coalitions have been discussed with a view to revealing the role that storylines play in the coalition building process. Currently it would appear that there is little space for the establishment of alternative discourse coalitions to those discussed above as these existing discourses dominate the policy process. It seems unlikely that an alternative discourse coalition that adopts a critical discourse and challenges the dominant PFM coalitions will emerge. The extent to which these three discourse coalitions are able to dominate the PFM policy discourse and thereby influence which discourses become institutionalised in policies and practice is discussed in Section 12.3 below.

12.3. PFM INSTITUTIONAL PRACTICES

This final section comprises an analysis of the institutional practices in which PFM discourses are produced. These institutional practices are the settings in which discourse is produced and where conflicts are played out (Hajer, 1995). Within DWAF there are pre-existing settings, where PFM has been introduced into settings that were already in place, and newly established settings, where PFM necessitated the establishment of new institutional arrangements. Pre-existing settings include the National Forests Advisory Council (NFAC), which advises the Minister of Water Affairs and Forestry on matters relating to forestry. New settings include PFM forums on forest estates, regional PFM cluster meetings and national PFM cluster meetings. In addition, although PFM was introduced to a pre-existing D:IFM directorate, a new directorate was later formed (D:PF) to specifically administer the PFM policy⁶⁵. These settings create an institutional context, to which Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) refer as the macro context that influences the nature of the conversations and statements that take place and therefore what discourses are produced, reproduced and institutionalised.

A variety of factors influence the institutional practices. It is of interest to consider the influence that donors and researchers have had on the development of the PFM policy within these settings; what power relations are evident between actors and finally what relationships exist between the dominant policy community and other coalitions within the PFM issue network. It is acknowledged that the researcher has had limited exposure to DWAF’s

⁶⁵ See Chapter Six.

institutional practices and institutional arrangements and therefore there is scope for greater research in this area.

Concerning the influence of donors and researchers in PFM policy development, two particular donor agencies have had a significant impact on the PFM policy, namely the United Kingdom's Department for International Development (DFID) and the Danish International Development Agency (DANIDA). Although donors have played a significant role, research has shown that the South African Government still has a great deal of control over policy (Oelofse et al., 2004). Both these agencies have their offices at DWAF Head Office in Pretoria and in addition to funding much of the process, they have been intimately involved in the workshopping and capacity building processes at national, regional and local levels that are required to re-orientate DWAF staff about their roles and functions and to institutionalise PFM. One interesting difference between representatives of the two donor agencies that were interviewed was the degree of emphasis they placed on poverty alleviation in indigenous forestry. A representative from one donor agency was adamant that if the function of DWAF is forest utilisation, then poverty alleviation should be its focus. The benefits of PFM, which he believes are significant, should be socially responsive by addressing poverty alleviation, reducing vulnerability and improving people's livelihood options (Donor Representative 1, 2003). This reflects the respondent's PFM discourse, which characterises a stronger version of ecological modernisation.

Alternatively, a representative from the second donor agency believed that PFM has a more moderate role to play in alleviating poverty. He believes that forests do not have much to offer on a sustainable basis and that poverty alleviation should therefore rather be seen as a contributing factor and not a driving force in indigenous forestry (Donor Representative 2, 2003). Instead of emphasising the need for a paradigm of forest management that is socially orientated, a conservative approach to forest management that was more "realistic" about what DWAF can achieve socially in relation to indigenous forests was emphasised (Donor Representative 2, 2003). Rather than drive poverty alleviation initiatives, this representative believes that DWAF should engage with existing networks and initiatives, and become a role player in LED and IDP processes. The responses of this donor representative in the interview were imbued with a vocabulary of moderation in relation to social upliftment, which is more consistent with a weak ecological modernisation discourse. However, his response is consistent with the policy vocabulary of moderation that is prevalent in the 2003 Draft PFM Policy

document. This policy document states in the vision that a “contribution is made from forests to local economic development, the constitutional rights of all South Africans to use and benefit from the forests, the livelihoods of poor and previously disadvantaged groups” (DWAF, 2003:4). This conservative discourse has been institutionalised in the draft document and has therefore become hegemonic in PFM discourse.

It is asserted that the transfer of forest management to SANParks is an institutional practice that may alter the nature of PFM implementation that takes place in Knysna and the degree to which the PFM approach in Knysna may be conceptualised as ecologically modernist in its orientation. SANParks is reported to operate from a protectionist paradigm that has a “parks-neighbours mentality”. It is also reported to have a lower level of consumptive resource use and sees rural people benefiting from indigenous forests primarily through tourism, with only minor harvesting in buffer zones on the fringe of forests (Donor Representative 1, 2003). This is supported by Magome and Søndergaard, (2001:1) who reflect that:

“The present National Park Act of 1976 has a provision that no one but an official of a South African National Parks (SANParks) may collect any non-aquatic plant, nor any part of a plant (including wood) nor collect, capture or kill any non-aquatic animal. This means that community members cannot lawfully gather resources such as traditional food, medicinal plants or firewood in parks... There have not been any serious moves to make an amendment, probably because SANParks senior management is cautious about promoting the idea that people can help themselves to what they need without supervisory control”.

The Donor worries that the SANParks takeover will legitimise a protectionist paradigm and a reduced level of forest utilisation because the focus of SANParks is the conservation of biodiversity. This may weaken the potential of PFM to enable rural people to benefit from forest resources which will in turn reduce their vulnerability and provide a livelihood for them.

The contribution of researchers is also evident in the policy development process. The idea of participation existing on a continuum underwent a process of discourse structuration. The inclusion of Borrini-Feyerabend's (1996) theoretical conceptualisation of a participation continuum in Horn's (2000) PFM Pilot Review document assisted the inclusion of participation continuum as it gained credibility amongst policy makers and became included in the 1999 IFM Policy Framework document. This document was distributed widely in report format and as a brochure, and provided the basis for DWAF staff to develop their understanding of what PFM was about. In this way the idea became mainstream and part of the

PFM discourse of DWAF staff. This is confirmed in the ‘PFM is a continuum’ storyline discussed in Chapter Nine. It is contended that the policy vocabulary of moderation and the ‘PFM is a continuum’ storyline have impacted on the PFM implementation process in that they legitimised Knysna’s belief that PFM was not necessary in their region (c.f. ‘We’re not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei’) and therefore a weaker approach to implementation. This resulted in the region delaying the institutionalisation of PFM through PFM Forums and justifying the reiteration of the ‘nothing is happening/has happened’ storyline⁶⁶.

Concerning the relationship between the dominant policy community (comprising DWAF Head Office, DFID and DANIDA) and other coalitions within the issue network, there appears to be a strong relationship between the policy community and the pro-PFM coalition and the pro-tourism coalition. It is evident that the pro-PFM coalition is closely connected to the policy community, as it is this community’s responsibility to institutionalise PFM in DWAF and advance its implementation across the country.

The policy community also has a strong relationship with the pro-tourism coalition. This is also understandable, given the emphasis placed on the contribution that an economic activity such as ecotourism, which is a non-consumptive forest use, can make to the livelihoods of rural people (see ‘potential for ecotourism/tourism in the forests’ storyline). Concerning the dominance of ecotourism on the development agenda of developing countries such as South Africa, Neumann (1997) writes that “ecotourism [is] hailed as the economic salvation of the developing world”. Especially with the transfer to SANParks, tourism in indigenous forestry has received considerable approval in the region, all the more so because it is argued to be a win-win scenario for conservation, local people and the regional tourist economy. Tourism in the forest is seen to provide more opportunities for tourists who are therefore encouraged to stay longer in the region and spend more money (Southern Cape Tourism, 2003). The alignment of the policy community with the pro-tourism coalition creates a strong case for arguing that the state is implementing PFM within a weak ecological modernisation paradigm.

Finally, it is useful to consider the power relations between actors within institutional practices because the power play between actors influences how policy is developed and implemented (Hajer, 1995; Allen, 2003). Within the PFM forums the donor agencies are reported to exert

⁶⁶ See Chapter Eleven.

power over the functioning of the forum due to their expectations and experiences in the process. One respondent commented that donor representatives influence the forums in that they influence what items are reflected in the minutes and what are not (Community Representative 5, 2003). This community representative believes that the minutes are not a true reflection of what transpires at the forum meetings. She stated:

“It sounds petty when I complain that things are not minuted properly, when people’s complaints, when community representative’s complaints are not minuted properly, but those minutes, in my experience of NGO work, those minutes can sort of show a history, and if it’s a distorted history it’s not true. I mean up such that in the one meeting I said, ‘you’ve been ignoring my complaints about not getting minutes, about the minutes being incorrect and about not getting timeous notification for meetings or an agenda. And I want this minuted this time’. And I got the minutes and it was not minuted. So I said to X, I said ‘X you know, it’s like you have to do this, minute my complaint, I want people to be able to read it in the history of PFM’” (Community Representative 5, 2003).

She emphasised the importance of minuting forum meetings accurately, commenting that “it is important when [donor] funders are coming and when your FSC people come” (Community Representative 5, 2003) that they receive a true reflection of the meeting and the issues that arise through reading the minutes.

The power play between actors and the outcomes of these relationships is further shaped by the institutional structures that are in place. There are primarily two institutional structures that have been developed specifically for the implementation of PFM locally: PFM Committees and PFM Forums (DWAF, 2003a). These are described in the Draft PFM Policy document as follows (DWAF, 2003a:13):

- *PFM Committees*: In order to obtain rights to influence management a community will have to establish a PFM committee or similar body with a constitution where decisions can be made on behalf of the community. The community currently only has the right to make recommendations but not decisions on proposals for the use of the forests, e.g. for the development of tourism facilities or extraction of non-timber forest products.
- *PFM Forums*: In order to coordinate the development of PFM locally and regionally, open PFM Forums can be established with members from several PFM Committees, DWAF and other stakeholders. PFM forums are for coordination and sharing of experience but not a body that enters into legal agreements on PFM.

A third institutional mechanism is the Community Forestry Agreement (CFA). This is an agreement whereby a community could be granted the rights to manage the forests directly

(which would be the extreme of the participation continuum described in Chapter Five). However this mechanism is reserved mainly for those forests where land claims exist and it is believed that there are no legitimate claims to state forest land in the southern Cape (Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003) so for the purpose of this discussion attention is focused on PFM Forums and Committees.

The institutional mechanisms that have arisen locally in the southern Cape are different to what the Draft Policy stipulates. In the southern Cape there are three PFM forums, one for each forest estate, and a regional forum that meets occasionally in the Area Office at Knysna and comprises individuals and representatives from each of these forest estates and other stakeholders as well. It would appear that the estate level PFM forums are similar to what the Draft Policy refers to as PFM committees; whilst the regional PFM forum is more like the PFM Forum. In both cases the policy document does not accord with either of these institutional arrangements with respect to decision-making powers. However, in time communities may receive a more equal share in decision-making responsibilities.

It is acknowledged that local people may be limited in the extent to which they are able to contribute to economic and/or scientific discussions and thus influence decisions that need to be made. The ability of “local communities [to] influence local and other levels of local government, so that local development will carry the authority of the community” (DWAF, 2003a:13) is being limited by local institutional practices. The way in which the PFM forums currently function serves to undermine the power of local people to contribute meaningfully to forestry matters. It is contended that this usurpation of power from black people is not intentional but rather an unintended consequence of the implementation process in Knysna. PFM forums are meant to comprise representatives from a range of communities who have an interest or stake in forest activities and who want to influence forest management in some form or another. However, one forester reported that these forums, rather than comprising a diverse range of actors, end up comprising DWAF staff and “previously disadvantaged coloured and black communities [who] use the forum as a political arena” (Forester 1, 2003). The non-participation of white farmers in the forum is believed to be a combination of two factors. Firstly, there is reported to be resentment towards them being in the forum because they are wealthy and therefore they have no right to sit on the forum because PFM is for the disadvantaged and poor (Forester 1, 2003). Secondly, it is reported that white farmers lost interest when they saw that the forum had become an arena for black people to voice their

political agendas and they did not want to be part of what has been referred to as a “circus” (Forester 1, 2003). In so doing these farmers and other stakeholders too, who withdraw their regular attendance, could be said to be exercising a form of resistance to the PFM process.

Consequently, the broader spectrum of the stakeholder groups (which include white farmers, the Dendrological Society, local government and local municipalities) that are on the extensive PFM forum stakeholder list do not all participate in communication through the PFM forum, but rather via other fora (Forester 1, 2003). This institutional dynamic and lack of representation threatens the credibility of the PFM forum and serves to reduce their contribution to decision-making. Instead of these previously disadvantaged communities being a part of the decision-making process along with a variety of other communities, they become just another group of people to be consulted and who get to make recommendations that carry no weight because DWAF has the authority to overrule their recommendations (Forester 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003).

The ability of local communities to influence local development is also being limited by local institutional practices from the perspective that DWAF staff has positioned themselves outside of the PFM forums. Despite often having secretarial or chairing roles, they see themselves as apart from the forum. This is evident in statements that the forums are only advisory, and that it is DWAF that has the responsibility of approving projects (Forester 1, 2003; Forester 4, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003). This undermines the concept of a participatory forum and suggests that scientific management holds significantly more power than local knowledge and input. One receives the impression that issues are referred to the forest scientists (from the foresters on the forum) who then investigate and make a decision. This decision is then referred back to the forum, with the forum members having little idea of the basis on which the decision was made save that, for example, the project would/would not be sustainable, or that a proposed project is/is not in the spirit of PFM. Therefore, instead of forums being regarded as a mechanism through which local people are empowered to participate in decision-making and also as a form of partnership with DWAF, they function in a manner that continues to subjugate those who are already marginalised or disadvantaged. Decision-making is ‘expert driven’ and ‘science-based’ as opposed to participatory and bottom-up. This approach ensures that the balance of power rests with the scientific experts and may account for the storylines ‘nothing has changed’ and ‘nothing is happening’. This lopsided distribution of power compromises the participative and deliberative potential of PFM at the local institutional level.

An alternative approach could be that DWAF staff would sit on the forum, even in their capacity as foresters with scientific knowledge, and contribute to discussions about forest-related issues. They could share their knowledge openly with the forum and in so doing build capacity amongst the forum members. The balance of power does not rest with civil society but rather with the state and this undermines the claim that PFM as implemented in this context is truly participatory.

12.4. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The chapter presents an analysis of the three discourse coalitions that exist amongst the actors involved, namely the State, the local community, foresters, forest scientists, donors and researchers. The three coalitions are: the pro-PFM coalition, the pro-tourism coalition and also the anti-PFM coalition. In addition, the function of storylines in bringing actors together to form these discourse coalitions is illustrated. Despite the occurrence of many negative PFM storylines in the PFM discourse, the pro-PFM coalition is the most dominant coalition and premised on the ‘PFM is the only way’ storyline. It is also supported by the ‘community are our eyes and ears, the ‘fences around forests’ and the ‘pre/post 1994’ storylines. Although having differing reasons the respondents have a shared understanding as to why PFM is the only way forward which enables them to engage in dialogue and facilitates the cohesion necessary to co-operate in order to implement PFM. The dominance of this coalition is indicative of widespread favour for an alternative approach to managing indigenous forests.

The second discourse coalition is the anti-PFM coalition, which comprises actors who believe that there is no need for PFM in the southern Cape because the region does not have the characteristics that they perceive are necessary for a PFM approach to be implemented. These characteristics include: a high level of poverty, high levels of unregulated access to forests and forest resources, and the presence of fences around forest peripheries to restrict access. Key storylines that are used to generate cohesion are the ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei’ storyline, the ‘fences around forests’ storyline. An interesting research finding is the observation that five respondents positioned themselves at different times during the interviews in favour of both storylines. This suggests a struggle for discursive hegemony and it is asserted that this reveals the struggle that respondents are experiencing in making the cognitive shift from the conservative adversarial forest management approach of the past to the contemporary participative approach to forest management as embodied in the PFM policy.

The third PFM discourse coalition is the ‘pro-tourism’ coalition. Actors from seven actor groupings within this coalition have a shared understanding of how they perceive the operationalisation of PFM to take place in the region, namely through promoting the growth of nature-based tourism projects in and around the Knysna forests. The ‘eco-tourism/tourism in the forest’ and the ‘sustainable utilisation’ storyline are the two key storylines that have assisted the formation of this discourse coalition. As with the ‘eco-tourism/tourism in the forest’ storyline that is discussed in Chapter Eleven, the presence of this discourse coalition within the PFM discourse indicates that the contemporary approach to forest management in the form of PFM exemplifies an ecological modernisation approach.

Furthermore, a number of institutional practices pertaining to the implementation of PFM in the southern Cape are reviewed in this chapter and the role of these practices in shaping policy discourse is highlighted. Firstly, the influence of donors and researchers is discussed. DFID and DANIDA are the two donor agencies that have had the greatest influence on the policy process because they have contributed funding and capacity building skills to the process. They have also shaped the way in which DWAF staff has interpreted the policy, for example, the degree to which poverty alleviation is addressed by the policy. The theoretical contribution of two researchers that is most influential is the idea that ‘participation’ can have more than one meaning, and that the degree to which communities participate in a process can vary in intensity along a continuum (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Horn, 2000). This idea has become a significant element of the PFM discourse and is evident in policy documents in the form of a vocabulary of moderation, and in the storyline ‘PFM is a continuum’.

Secondly, the relationships between the policy community and other coalitions within the PFM issue network are discussed with a view to revealing their influence on the policy discourse. In particular, the policy community has a strong relationship with the pro-PFM discourse coalition. This is a favourable relationship given that it is the responsibility of this policy community to institutionalise PFM in DWAF and operationalise the policy nationwide. The policy community also has a strong relationship with the pro-tourism discourse coalition. Nature-based tourism, or eco-tourism is promoted as the panacea for improving the local economies of developing countries such as South Africa (Neumann, 1997). This international favour, combined with the transfer of forest management in the southern Cape to SANParks, who would need to generate an income from the forests as they receive only 15% of their

budget from the state (Horn, 2002c), makes a strong case for the policy community to align itself with the understanding of the pro-tourism coalition regarding the role of PFM concerning tourism. This alignment with the pro-tourism coalition suggests that the state is implementing PFM in a manner that is consistent with weak ecological modernisation.

Thirdly, the power relations between actors within institutional practices are discussed. The PFM policy allows for the establishment of three institutional structures to facilitate policy implementation. PFM forums, PFM committees and Community Forestry Agreements are described, as these are the arenas in which power relations are exercised between actors. The research shows that within the southern Cape, the PFM forums at the estate level, which are more in line with the definition of a PFM committee than a PFM forum in the Draft PFM Policy document (DWAF, 2003a), are affected by the influence of donor agencies. In addition, the contribution of representatives of local black communities to decision-making is constrained by the lack of stakeholder representation at these forums in the region. Rather than comprising a diverse range of stakeholders, many white stakeholders are absent, preferring to communicate with DWAF through alternative means, such as through correspondence and alternative meetings. This undermines the contribution of the remaining black representatives of local communities. DWAF have also positioned themselves outside the PFM forums, even though they convene and attend the meetings. This is achieved by foresters referring decision-making to the forest scientists in the department and serves to entrench the power they exert on the process because the ultimate decision-making power rests with these scientists and 'experts' from DWAF rather than with the forum members.

This chapter has identified and analysed the dominant discourse coalitions and institutional practices that pertain to the PFM policy implementation process and the role that these coalitions and practices play in shaping policy discourse. These results, combined with the results and analysis of Chapters Nine, Ten and Eleven are confirmed in the two PFM projects that are investigated in the Farleigh case study in Chapter Thirteen, and substantiate the arguments that are made in the concluding chapter of this thesis, Chapter Fourteen.

CHAPTER 13

RESULTS AND ANALYSIS 6

THE FARLEIGH CASE STUDY

13.1. INTRODUCTION

The decision to upgrade the research to a doctoral level necessitated that additional fieldwork be conducted to deepen the analysis that had already been conducted on the first and second phase of interviewing. An additional component of this research process comprised a third phase of interviewing. The focus for this phase was to investigate two case studies of forest-related projects underway in the southern Cape. Since PFM was started in the southern Cape in 2000, numerous project applications or proposals have been submitted to the three PFM forums in the region; however, only a handful of these have been implemented, some with greater success than others. This third phase was also open-ended and intensive like the first two phases, however it was focused at the project level as opposed to broader PFM policy level. These interviews were conducted to identify challenges to implementing a co-management regime such as PFM at the project level. It was also anticipated that the discourses that emerged from the earlier research would be reiterated in the interviews and would therefore confirm the research that had already been conducted. Furthermore, this chapter will make apparent the inconsistencies regarding what are considered 'hard facts' about the projects, the fern project in particular. These discrepancies reveal differences in how key stakeholders understand the projects and thus highlight stakeholders' perceptions and attitudes towards the projects themselves, but also towards other stakeholders involved in the project.

This chapter concentrates on two projects in particular, both of which are taking place in the Farleigh Forest Estate. These projects were selected because, although at the outset they comprised many of the elements and characteristics that should have made them viable PFM projects, the manner in which the projects are unfolding reveals some of the complexities regarding PFM implementation. The first project, the harvesting of Seven Weeks Fern in the Farleigh Forest Estate, is regarded by some as a 'PFM project' because it was initiated by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) with the aim of addressing the objectives of the PFM policy (Forest Scientist 2, 2005). The second project that was selected, the

Millwood mining project in Farleigh, is not regarded by many as a PFM project because it was not implemented by DWAF, and also because it was in existence prior to the PFM policy being adopted (Interested Party 1, 2005; Interested Party 2, 2005; Community Representative 5, 2005). It is nevertheless included as a PFM project because the project takes place on indigenous state forest land and involves the Millwood committee working with the state to manage the forest environment of the Millwood area. It is an interesting example of a PFM project, which encapsulates some key issues that merit discussion. Before discussing the two PFM projects Section 13.2 will briefly discuss the institutional arrangements that pertain to the Farleigh PFM forum as this will provide the institutional environment within which the two projects were operationalised.

13.2. INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS OF THE FARLEIGH PFM FORUM

This section provides an overview of the institutional arrangements that govern the Farleigh PFM forum. It includes a brief discussion on how the forum was established, its constitution, and lastly the stakeholders that are involved in the forum and their roles, responsibilities, and decision-making powers.

The Farleigh PFM forum, as with the Diepwalle and Tsitsikamma forums, was established in May 2000 (Head Office Official 1, 2003). Forum meetings were initially held every two months but this soon became three months (Community Representative 5, 2008). According to DWAF (2003e) PFM forums are generally envisaged to operate through PFM Committees, Forest User Groups (FUG) and projects that give effect to PFM principles and that fall within the jurisdiction of the forum. As in the case of the Farleigh PFM forum, if there are no developmental forums in existence in the area, then a PFM Forum will be established. However, in areas where there are already developmental forums in place (such as Integrated Development Programmes and Local Economic Development programmes), a PFM Forum may not be established and representatives from the PFM Committees may sit on these developmental forums instead. The objectives of the PFM forum (which are applicable to the Farleigh forum) are to (DWAF, 2003e:4-5):

- a. Give effect to the D:IFM PFM programme in collaboration with communities, PFM structures, relevant government departments and other developmental agencies
- b. [Undertake] broader policy and regulatory functions:
 - PFM and other programmes
 - Trade Mark

- Integrated Development Programmes (IDP)
- Local Economic Development programmes (LED)
- Community Public-Private Partnerships (CPPP)
- c. Co-ordination of PFM activities through PFM Committees
- d. Facilitate sharing of information, lessons and experiences
- e. Facilitate the implementation of principles, criteria, indicators and standards
- f. Facilitate training and capacity building for PFM Committees and other projects
- g. Facilitate formation of PFM Committees
- h. Keep up-to-date record of PFM Committees existing in areas within the forum's jurisdiction
- i. [Establish] strategic partnerships with other programmes or agencies in areas of common interest
- j. Liase with relevant government departments and donor agencies on issues such as PFM and development in general and funding for PFM projects
- k. Facilitate conflict resolution between and among stakeholders
- l. Establish or assist its PFM Committee members and the communities within its area of operation to establish or adopt appropriate legal and business structures such as Trusts in order to enable the organisation to fulfil its objectives.

At the time of collecting this data only PFM forums had been established in the southern Cape, of which the Farleigh forum is one.

The process of drafting a constitution for the three forums of the southern Cape began in the year 2000, and it was initially envisaged that each forest estate would have its own constitution. By November 2000 a set of 14 guidelines for the drafting of a PFM forum constitution for the forest estates of the Western Cape region were distributed by DWAF to PFM forum members with a request for members to submit further suggestions and examples of constitutions that could be used as a template for the PFM constitution (DWAF, 2000). Thereafter a draft constitution of the Farleigh forum was developed, however Regional Office endorsed a combined constitution for all three estates, as this would mean one Annual General Meeting per year as opposed to three (Knysna Official 1, 2003).

A series of meetings were held prior to the combined draft constitution being circulated. An important part of this process was a workshop, which was held to encourage the participatory development of the constitution. A consultant was hired by DWAF to facilitate this process. This process was generally regarded as a fair and democratic process (Community Representative 3, 2003; Community Representative 5, 2003; Forester 4, 2003). However, an important criticism of the workshop was that it was conducted primarily in English as opposed to Afrikaans, which is the dominant language of the area. One community representative commented that translation into Afrikaans and Xhosa took place, but the overall effect of this

“intimidates and distracts”, and thereby reduces the level of involvement of the people who are not English speaking (Community Representative 5, 2003). After this workshop a draft document was then compiled by DWAF (DWAF, 2001e), was translated into Afrikaans and Xhosa, and presented to the forum members at the first PFM Annual General Meeting (29/11/2001). An action plan was created whereby the constitution would be finalised by November 2002 (Researcher 1, 2003). The constitution was however not finalised by that time.

A second issue that arose out of this workshop was the issue of representation of forum members. A Knysna official stated that community members wanted to represent themselves as opposed to representing a constituency or user group (Knysna Official 2, 2003). One community representative however, claims that it was not the community but rather the DWAF regional office that suggested that community members represent themselves because DWAF was “challenged with the responsibility of ensuring the process of representative accountability” (Community Representative 5, 2008). According to this respondent individual representation was a sensible option because it was difficult for forum members to be accountable to a constituency when notice for meetings was given less than 24 hours before and minutes of previous meetings and agendas were only circulated upon arrival at the forum meetings. This gave representatives little opportunity to call a community meeting with their constituents, which limited discussion on issues and gave representatives no mandate at forum meetings. DWAF head office were unsatisfied with this approach to membership and consequently this issue had to be addressed at subsequent forum meetings, and the draft amended. Fortunately, once these community members realised that “a single businessperson or developer’s vote would count the same as theirs and they considered the difficulties for their constituency in attending meetings en masse, they voted against this suggestion [of individual representation]” (Community Representative 5, 2008).

A *Framework Constitution for PFM structures* document (DWAF, 2003e) was compiled by DWAF as part of their capacity development in PFM in indigenous state forests, and serves as a template for how DWAF envision forum constitutions to be drafted. At the time of completing the data collection and analysis components of this thesis in October 2005, the Farleigh PFM forum had still not adopted a constitution, despite there being a ‘template’ in the form of the *Framework Constitution for PFM structures* document (DWAF, 2003e).

The stakeholders involved in the Farleigh PFM forum include DWAF regional office, DWAF forest guards, community representatives from communities in and around the indigenous forest, and lastly private enterprise (such as a fern company, a timber mill, and applicants for PFM projects who are appealing to the forum to have their project approved). Membership is not limited to these stakeholder groups, nor is it limited by age, race or gender. The *Framework Constitution for PFM structures* document (DWAF, 2003e: 6-7) states that representatives from the following groups are eligible for membership:

- a. Groups or people or individuals
- b. Organised communities or community-based organisations
- c. Youth and women's organisations
- d. Private or communal landowners or occupiers
- e. Government departments
- f. Non-government organisations
- g. Business
- h. Local government structures
- i. Houses of traditional leaders and traditional authorities
- j. Forest user groups / forest resource user groups
- k. Medicinal plant users
- l. Traditional healers associations and traditional healers
- m. Interested parties and institutions.

The number of forum members varies considerably. For example attendance registers for the following forum meetings reflect that in 2001, membership was at 15 people in February (DWAF, 2001a), 25 in June (DWAF, 2001b), 24 in October (DWAF, 2001c) and 12 in November (DWAF, 2001d).

In terms of the decision-making powers that forum members had at the time of interviewing, they have the power to recommend that a project be approved, but they did not have the right to approve projects as that is the responsibility of DWAF staff (Forester 1, 2003). One community representative stated critically that "we had no power, except that of persuasion with all its race/class bias" (Community Representative 5, 2008). Interestingly the *Framework Constitution for PFM structures* document (DWAF, 2003e) is silent on the decision-making powers of forum members.

This section has discussed some of the issues pertaining to the institutional arrangements of the Farleigh PFM forum. A reading of this section suggests that the PFM forum was poorly structured and with few specified parameters or guidelines governing how the forum is to operate.

13.3. HARVESTING OF SEVEN WEEKS FERN

13.3.1. Background to fern harvesting

A variety of ferns grow within the Afromontane forests of the southern Cape, especially in the moister forest areas. These ferns are an important element of the ground flora and a number have a commercial value because they are sought after by the cut flower industry for foliage. In particular, the fronds of the *Rumohra adiantiformis* (see Plate 13.1) are popular both locally and internationally because they have a long vase life (hence the common name Seven Weeks Fern).

Harvesting of the *Rumohra adiantiformis* fern for commercial gain has taken place since 1970 on private land, where permits were issued to landowners to harvest small quantities of the fern. According to Vermeulen et al. (2004) this supply was insufficient to meet the growing demand for the fern and accelerated the illegal harvesting of this fern in state forest land in the region. In order to curtail illegal harvesting, in 1982 the state released 4 000 ha of land for commercial harvesting (Vermeulen et al., 2004). Instead of issuing permits per armlet or ‘bossie’⁶⁷, a tender for one year was awarded to the highest bidder. This was in line with the government’s Public Finance Management Act regulations at the time. Vermeulen et al. (2004) attribute the escalation in fern harvesting in the region to the growth of the industry and also the employment opportunities it created. For example, in 1986, 14 million fronds were picked and this generated about R6 million for the state (Vermeulen et al., 2004). The harvest of the fern increased such that by 1989, 20 000 ha of state forest were released for picking.

However, research into the sustainability of harvesting practices that began as early as 1983 found that the initial picking rotation of five weeks was unsustainable. This, in addition to a reported natural decline of the harvest potential of the resource in the southern Cape, resulted in the introduction of a 15-month cycle, which was found to be a sustainable harvesting rotation (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006). This change affected production to the extent that by 1999 a total of 1.6 million fronds were picked, generating only R360 000 for the state in revenue (Vermeulen et al., 2004), which is substantially less than the revenue earned in 1986.

⁶⁷ These terms refer to a bunch of ten leaves. This was the quantity on which prospective tenders had to be based. So people offered a price per bunch of ten leaves/fronds (Peter, pers. comm., 04/06/2007).



Plate 13.1. The Seven Weeks Fern, *Rumohra adiantiformis*.

Consequently, this decreased productivity in harvesting Seven Weeks Fern encouraged the propagation of ferns in shade houses, which supplemented harvesting from indigenous forests for the export market.

13.3.2. Fern picking as a PFM project

The initiative to create fern picking as a PFM project in the southern Cape arose in 2002 when a commercial cut flower company, Sassenheim Estate (henceforth, ‘the company’) approached DWAF to harvest Seven Week Fern. There is a discrepancy as to whether this application was for a tender area outside the established tender (Local Business Owner 2, 2005) or whether the tender was inside the established tender area but west of the Knysna River (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006). The company planned to pick the ferns and then pay DWAF accordingly for what they picked from state forest land, using out of hand sales that were regulated by the government tariff instructions. According to Forester 1 (2003) Sassenheim was not prepared to tender because he was offering to investigate new markets for the fern, which would benefit DWAF, and also because he did not want to commit himself to a tender agreement whereby if he withdrew for any reason he would be subject to significant penalties.

DWAF agreed to make such an area available to the company but stipulated that, in line with their PFM policy, such an opening should involve communities neighbouring the state indigenous forests. DWAF at this stage had already earmarked the Farleigh estate for community initiatives and not commercial harvesters. However, no community proposals had been submitted. Explanations provided for this were that the community members were “not geared up logistically to do the picking. They haven’t got transport, they haven’t got the cooling facilities, they haven’t got access to the market to sell their ferns” (Forester 1, 2005). So it was decided to link up Sassenheim with the local communities through a PFM project. Sassenheim, who had two representatives sitting on the PFM forum for a time (DWAF, 2001), submitted a proposal to the Farleigh PFM Forum that they would source a market, provide the logistical support, and buy ferns from the community who had picked the ferns. The company agreed to this in March 2003 and entered into negotiations with DWAF regarding setting up the project, which was a “commercial fern harvesting project... whereby communities could harvest ferns to provide to larger commercial operators” (Vermeulen et al., 2004:85).

This fern-picking project was regarded as a pilot project. DWAF Scientific Services conducted a baseline survey of picking areas in the southern Cape and about 58 picking areas, from a total of over 200 picking areas, were identified in the Farleigh area (Forester 1, 2003). Therefore, about a quarter of the whole southern Cape area would be set aside for communities to see if they could be linked up with a PFM project (Forester 1, 2003). Within the Farleigh Estate, the Goudveld area was identified as a pilot project. Within the Goudveld area there are between 16 and 19 identifiable picking areas (Forester 1, 2003; 2005). According to Vermeulen (pers. comm., 24/01/2006) these sites were not identified by Scientific Services, but by the estate manager, who decided to make the fern picking areas previously put out on tender available for the community project. Vermeulen et al. (2004) note that only one fern picking area was to be harvested per week with the idea being to keep productivity at a low scale to ensure continuous picking and therefore continuous income. Prior to and during harvesting, the sites were subjected to extensive investigation to ensure that sufficient baseline data was gathered to determine the impact that harvesting activities might have on the forest picking areas.

The idea was to expand the project to other areas in the region, notably Tsitsikamma and Diepwalle Forest Estates, should the project prove successful (Knysna Official 3, 2005; Forester 1, 2003; 2005; Local Business Owner 3, 2005; Community Representative5, 2005). The project was designed as a partnership between DWAF, the Farleigh community, and the

company. DWAF would provide a forest guard to control picking activities in the forest and would also provide scientific input for which they would receive nominal remuneration (based on the number of fronds picked) and the kudos for running a PFM project. The communities neighbouring the Farleigh Forest Estate, in particular the Goudveld community, received employment (the project provided employment for 15 people) and income (19 cents per frond or R1.90 per bunch of 10 fronds) from the sale of these fronds to the company. This amount was higher than the initial R0.10 agreed upon at the start (Vermeulen et al., 2004). It was agreed that the company would provide the necessary infrastructure and logistics such as training and transporting the pickers to the picking area and the harvested ferns to their premises, and in return they would be supplied with ferns that they could sell to their clients overseas.

Initial community interest in the project was substantial. Numerous people arrived at the Farleigh PFM forum hoping to secure employment. However, the project was only designed for about 12-15 people and it was decided that selection of pickers should take place based on geographical proximity to the picking site, and then on gender considerations and economic needs (Vermeulen et al., 2004; Community Representative5, 2005; Forester 1, 2003). According to Vermeulen et al. (2004:85) the target group were “unemployed, previously disadvantaged individuals, especially women, living in close proximity of the natural forests”. A task team comprised of, and selected by, members of the Farleigh PFM Forum selected the pickers.

13.3.3. Project progress

The fern picking project got underway in late 2004, about two years after it was originally suggested as a potential PFM project, and lasted four months in total (Forester 1, 2005). Only one picking cycle was completed, that is, all the picking areas in Goudveld were picked once. One respondent however reflected that the project actually only lasted three to four weeks and that the first session of picking only took place six months after the project was launched (Local Business Owner 3, 2005). Although the project was designed with the intention of providing a maximum of 15 people with employment that would yield an income above the minimum wage, it was reported that overall between 200 and 250 people harvested ferns throughout the duration of the project with only one woman picker working the duration of the project (Forester 1, 2003; 2005). This high turnover of pickers compromised the profitability of

fern picking for the pickers because they would not persist with picking until they were sufficiently fit and skilled to improve the rate at which they picked ferns and therefore the amount they earned.

The previous yield regulation system for the commercial harvesting of the Seven Week Fern, which had been in place for nearly 20 years, entailed the harvesting of 50% of fronds greater than 25cm in length (per plant) on 15-month rotation (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006). However, the market demanded larger fronds, greater than or equal to 40cm, and this necessitated Scientific Services to conduct research to formulate new harvest prescriptions that would allow the resource to be harvested sustainably as picking areas that are productive for fronds greater than 25cm in length may not necessarily be productive when harvesting is restricted to fronds greater than or equal to 40cm and it was uncertain whether a 15-month rotation would be suitable (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006).

A baseline inventory was conducted before the first harvest, however follow-up inventories were never completed because the project never reached the second phase (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006). In reflecting on why the project did not proceed into a second cycle of harvesting, Vermeulen (pers. comm., 24/01/2006) speculated that the failure might be related to the economic sustainability of the determined 40cm picking size. The speculation that the failure might be related to the economic sustainability of the determined 40cm picking size reveals a concern about the perception that forests can alleviate poverty, because the financial returns for non-timber forest products are often found to not be economically sustainable. This supports one donor's statement that PFM can only realistically be part of the solution to poverty alleviation (Donor 2, 2003), and Shackleton's (2004) belief that forests can comprise only a component of the range of strategies that local people should use to address their condition of poverty. There are, however, a number of challenges to project implementation that may account for the project not reaching the second phase. These are discussed below.

13.3.4. The challenges to implementation

The forest fern project was typified as the quintessential PFM project because it would have addressed many of the key issues that the government sought to tackle through the implementation of the PFM policy. According to a community representative "ferns have historically enriched people economically, and now [through this project] these benefits are

going to a broader group of people” (Community Representative 5, 2005). The project had the potential to provide rights to access forest resources and benefits therein by rural people; address past imbalances through corrective action in both equity and gender; and improve the communities’ sense of ownership over forest management decision-making. These aspirations are in line with the Directorate’s strategic plan (DWAF, 2002c). The Fern project should have been used as a showcase to reflect the success of what PFM can achieve (Knysna Official 3, 2005), because it “had all the three key ingredients necessary for PFM: environmentally it was spot on, socially, it was ideal because it provided employment and income, and it made economic sense” (Forester 1, 2005). However, a number of challenges arose that hindered the smooth implementation of the project and therefore also hindered the achievement of these aspirations. One respondent referred to as a “*doodgebore kindjie*”⁶⁸ because the project had so many significant challenges that it could never be successfully implemented. Seven of the key challenges that respondents raised about the forest fern project are discussed below, some of which are general to PFM whilst others are particular to the project.

a. The strenuous nature of fern picking

One respondent raised the strenuous nature of fern picking as the most significant issue that hampered the effective implementation of the project. Fern picking in the designated picking areas takes place in dense indigenous forest on uneven and sometimes precipitous slopes. Although in the past the task was accomplished successfully by contractors, according to one forester performing the task requires a certain degree of fitness and skill, which takes some time for beginners to acquire (Forester 1, 2003; 2005). Another respondent commented that it was “hard physical work for little financial reward” and that this accounted for the high dropout rate of pickers (Community Representative 5, 2005). It was acknowledged that the profit margins would be small to begin with, but that profits should improve with time. Pickers were criticised for not having the perseverance to continue at the task until they were sufficiently fit and skilled to pick enough fronds to produce a reasonable daily wage (pickers were paid per bunch of ten fronds). Similarly a Knysna official commented that the “communities expect immediate returns and lose patience. They don’t commit for the long term” (Knysna Official 3, 2005). For this reason, the lack of what he termed “a workable tariff” was highlighted as a key problem with the project (Forester 1, 2005). A ‘workable tariff’

⁶⁸ Afrikaans for a stillborn child. Idiomatic expression to describe something that is considered dead or a failure even before it has had a chance to live or occur.

refers to payment for the picked fronds that was sufficient to be worth the pickers' perseverance, but at the same time was economically viable for Sassenheim to continue business with the pickers through DWAF.

This issue became problematic for the success of the project since it meant that the project never got to the stage of there being one fit, skilled and therefore productive team of pickers because new pickers from the communities were constantly being recruited and trained. Consequently, Sassenheim could not be supplied with sufficient ferns to cover their expenses and to supply their market on a reliable basis (Local Business Owner 3, 2005; Forester 1, 2005). A recommendation made by Vermeulen et al. (2004) is that new price structures need to be developed in order to improve the economic viability of the project for small-scale entrepreneurs.

b. The downturn in the demand for Seven Weeks Fern

A second key issue, which proved problematic for implementing the fern-picking project, is the decline in the market demand for the product. This decline is attributed to the growth of the Seven Weeks Fern propagation in Australia where commercial cut-flower businesses were growing a better fern in green houses than those the southern Cape indigenous forests could produce (Forester 1, 2005). Another reason suggested for the decline is the structure of the government tender system. This system awards a tender to the highest bidder and demands a significant deposit. There are different accounts of how many tenders were put out. In Vermeulen's (pers. comm., 24/01/2006) view, two tenders were put out in the forest in the past, one for the southern Cape, and one for the Tsitsikamma. However, according to one businessman, only one tender was awarded for fern picking in the region (Local Business Owner 3, 2005).

In one local businessman's view, one commercial harvester dominated the Seven Week Fern market (Local Business Owner 3, 2005). As a result prices became inflated, which stimulated disinterest in the market and encouraged buyers to look for alternative products, such as the Costa Rican Leather Leaf Fern (see Plate 13.2) which is a propagated South American fern of the same family as the Seven Weeks Fern, and the Coral Fern which grows wild in pine plantations in the region (Local Business Owner 3, 2005). Vermeulen et al. (2004:85) however regard "market factors and competition" as reasons for the "waning interest in the fern picking

tenders that are available on State forest land”. This decreased interest is reportedly due to the growing demand for fern fronds larger than 40cm in length (Forester 1, 2003; Vermeulen et al., 2004; Knysna Official 3, 2005). Initially picking was permitted for 50% of pickable fronds 30cm and greater (Vermeulen et al., 2004). The increased demand for the larger fronds meant that in the DWAF picking areas picking operations in natural forests became less viable for commercial harvesters. This demand did however provide an opportunity for a PFM project for communities to harvest these fronds and sell them to the commercial harvesters who have the market for the ferns (Vermeulen et al., 2004).



Plate 13.2 Costa Rican Leather Leaf Fern (*Rumohra* family).

Given the apparent downturn in the demand for the Seven Weeks Fern, it is interesting to see that DWAF still proposed a community-related PFM project concerning the picking of this fern. There is still a view amongst Scientific Services in DWAF that forests contain resources from which individuals could create business opportunities if a different harvesting format were adopted. However, additional research is necessary to ensure that these opportunities are economically sustainable and that the ecological integrity of the resource and forest system is not compromised in the process (Vermeulen pers. comm., 24/01/2006).

Commercial harvesters moved on to other more productive, accessible, and profitable ferns to pick in the region, whilst local communities were left with ferns that no longer offered ‘rich pickings’. However, it is reported that DWAF are not engaged in the fern harvesting project for the economic gain but for the social benefits, to ensure that some communities derive some benefit from the sale of ferns harvested from state forests to local floral companies (Knysna Official 3, 2005). This has much to do with the next issue, the poor selection of site, as it is suggested that the PFM project would have stood a better chance of surviving had more productive picking sites been allocated to them.

c. Poor selection of picking area

One local businessman raised the poor selection of picking areas as one of the most significant challenges to the project (Local Business Owner 3, 2005). He believes that the communities were not given the most productive areas to pick. The more productive areas had been reserved for tender to commercial harvesters. However, according to Vermeulen (pers. comm., 24/01/2006) all productive picking areas had been made available for the PFM project. He stated that

“the productive fern picking areas were already identified during the 1980’s. It started in 1982 with ca. 4 000 ha, and extended to 20 000 ha by 1989 as more state Forests were made available for fern harvesting. These areas were put on register and mapped to a scale of 1: 10 000. As far as my knowledge goes all these areas at the Farleigh Forest Estate previously put out on tender, were made available for the community project” (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006).

Proximity of picking areas to communities was highlighted as an important determinant of where picking for the PFM project would take place, as this would reduce the transport costs (Vermeulen et al., 2004; Forester 1, 2003; Local Business Owner 3, 2005). However, it is argued that there are more productive areas in the Farleigh Estate which is closer in proximity to local communities than the 16 picking areas that were identified for the PFM project (Local Business Owner 3, 2005).

If the nature of picking was as much of a challenge to the implementation and success of the project as has been suggested, the question that arises is, why did DWAF allegedly allocate picking areas of a low productivity when alternative areas could have been allocated that were more productive (i.e. more ferns in the picking area and/or more accessible ferns). This would

have provided a greater daily income to pickers and therefore a greater financial incentive to persist with the project.

d. Lack of integration and communication amongst role-players

It became apparent whilst analysing the interview data that a significant challenge to the success of the fern project is the lack of integration and communication amongst key role-players in the PFM project. The issue of why the second harvesting cycle has not taken place exemplifies this.

Concerning the second harvesting cycle, one role-player was of the opinion that the reason for the delay rested with Scientific Services (Knysna Official 3, 2005). This respondent reported that it was agreed at a meeting in April 2004 at the Department that the fern picking project could be rolled out to all estates but in order to do this the issues of poor productivity and the allocation of sites had to be addressed. Scientific Services were tasked with identifying alternative sites that would yield ferns of the required 40cm but at a higher rate of productivity (Knysna Official 3, 2005). This is supported by a forester who commented that DWAF was also asked to provide the forum with information as to when the second picking cycle could begin, in other words, how long the pickers had to wait to rework the picking areas allocated to them (Forester 1, 2005). According to two respondents answers to both these questions, which are critical to the continuation of the PFM project, were still pending at the time of the study (Knysna Official 3, 2005 and Forester 1, 2005).

Another role-player, however, disagreed with this view, stating that it was Scientific Services who were waiting for the community, through the Estate Manager, to agree to embark on a second harvesting cycle (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006). According to this respondent, Scientific Services were waiting for the Farleigh PFM forum to indicate to them their intention to harvest again. Scientific Services would then conduct a follow-up resource inventory to ascertain whether the resource has recovered enough to allow for a second harvest. Vermeulen (pers. comm., 24/01/2006) emphasised the need for research to be conducted so that new harvest prescriptions could be developed. New prescriptions are needed because

“the previous yield regulation system that had been in place for almost 20 years entailed the harvesting of 50% of fronds greater than 25 cm (per plant) on 15 month rotation. With the demand now only for the 40 cm+ fronds, we had to formulate new harvest prescriptions that would allow the resource to be

harvested sustainably...The interim harvest prescriptions formulated entailed the harvesting of all fronds greater than 40cm (not 25cm as with old system) in the population (not per plant as with old system)” (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006).

The Scientific Services personnel who were tasked with researching and implementing a new yield regulation system that would enable sustainable harvesting of ferns to take place for the PFM project had to comply with their requirements for FSC certification. However, this lack of integration and communication amongst key role-players in the PFM project may account for the perceived inefficiency of DWAF in general and Scientific Services within the Knysna regional office in particular (Local Business Owner 3, 2005; Knysna Official 3, 2005). Businessmen having to engage with DWAF have commented that the approach adopted by DWAF is too slow and frustrating for commercial people to follow (Local Business Owner 1, 2005; Local Business Owner 3, 2005; Interested Party 2, 2005). One respondent commented that the “report writing, compiling, presenting and gathering of information is non-productive. It’s not realistic. They are all passing the buck on PFM and project management” (Local Business Owner 3, 2005).

It is acknowledged that the research that needs to be conducted requires long-term monitoring of the ferns to determine the impact of different harvest intensities on the fern population (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006). It is also acknowledged that it is not justifiable to wait until harvest prescriptions are in place before harvesting can commence, and therefore an adaptive management approach was adopted by DWAF in 2004 for the fern project. This approach enables interim harvest prescriptions to be formulated and applied but for the impact of these prescriptions to be researched as the project progresses. This approach is in line with DWAF policy (DWAF, 1999). It is suggested that the reason for the second phase not taking place could also be attributed to the manner in which PFM was implemented. The application of an adaptive management approach is intuitively an appropriate approach given the desire to rapidly redress past injustices. However, the favourable results of this approach may have been obfuscated by an implementation process that put the ‘cart before the horse’ and generated ‘raised expectations and broken promises’⁶⁹. These are two storylines regarding PFM implementation that prevail in the region and indicate a situation where local communities, who have been involved in the process through the fern project, may not be satisfied with the economic outputs that have been generated. This is supported by both a community

⁶⁹ See Chapter Eleven for an explanation of these storylines.

representative and a forester's comments regarding the strenuous nature of fern picking (Community Representative 5, 2005 and Forester 1, 2005).

It is apparent that the key role-players, namely DWAF staff, private enterprise and community members have performed their tasks with little integration, communication and deliberation with other stakeholders. This could account for the varied interpretations and understandings that are provided about the fern project and the manner in which the project has been implemented. The following chapter (Chapter Fourteen) reflects on the nature of the participation that PFM reflects in the southern Cape and suggests ways in which a more deliberative and democratic approach to participation could be encouraged.

e. PFM not a priority

A fifth challenge that was mentioned in connection with the fern project is the perception that PFM is not a priority amongst Scientific Services. One respondent commented that, if a staff member had to choose between PFM issues, transformation issues and harvesting issues, they would choose to spend time on issues other than PFM (Knysna Official 3, 2005). The official referred to these staff members as having a 'fences and fines' attitude⁷⁰, and not understanding the interrelationship between PFM issues and other management issues (such as theft, trapping and arson). This is a protectionist attitude which refers to a form of regulation that excludes local use, encourages regulated access and benefits (DWAF, 2003a) and is therefore an attitude that is not sufficiently progressive to apply the PFM policy.

This challenge also relates to the 'foresters are not social development workers' storyline that was discussed in Chapter Eleven, which refers to the inability of foresters to communicate effectively with local communities.

f. External restructuring an impediment

A further challenge to project implementation is the transfer of indigenous forest management to SANParks in April 2005 (Knysna Official 3, 2005). Prior to the transfer, inefficiency within DWAF was blamed on the loss of productivity in the Department caused by fears over job

⁷⁰ See 'fences around forests storyline in Chapter Ten.

security and uncertainty about the future of the roles and responsibility of DWAF regarding indigenous forest management and PFM.

Since the transfer to SANParks in April 2005, after the period with which this case study is concerned, inefficiency has been blamed on staff not yet settling down in their new roles and on staff shortages. Scientific Services within DWAF in Knysna have been reduced from a staff complement of eight to three, with SANParks receiving the remaining five staff members. This has resulted in an increased workload for the remaining DWAF staff (Knysna Official 3, 2005) who are still tasked with implementing PFM during the transfer phase. Although this is a critical issue, it also understandable given the large-scale nature of the transfer that is underway that extra pressure would be placed on staff⁷¹.

g. Government policy a hindrance

The final issue that has proved a challenge to project implementation and was raised during the third phase of interviewing is the impediment of government policy to the PFM process (Forester 1, 2003; Knysna Official 1, 2003; Forest Scientist 2, 2003; Knysna Official 3, 2005). For example, it is a policy of the Department that government vehicles that are hired from a car rental company (which is the norm among DWAF employees) cannot be used to transport members of the public. This makes the work of those involved in PFM difficult because they are servicing the public and yet are unable to assist with transporting people to meetings and to project sites. Only DWAF staff members who have state subsidised vehicles are able to assist, as the vehicle would then be registered in the name of the staff member and not the state.

A second policy that is an impediment to PFM is the Public Financial Management Act (Act 1 of 1999 as amended by Act 29 of 1999). This Act and the associated treasury regulations make it difficult to apply the PFM policy. Peter (pers. comm., 11/02/2006) comments that the revenue generated from state assets, such as state forests, is usually sent to the State, even though the National Forests Act makes provision for benefit sharing. Therefore when PFM projects were proposed, they were not well received by the Treasury Department and this delayed the project implementation process. These regulations have subsequently been amended to accommodate mechanisms for benefit sharing and partnerships through the

⁷¹ See Chapter Six for further information about external restructuring.

provision for Public Private Partnerships (PPP). However, due to the technical and administrative requirements and huge associated costs to create a PPP, Peter (pers. comm., 11/02/2006) reports that this process was still problematic for PFM projects because the requirements and costs are prohibitive for small PFM ventures. Although DWAF has worked around this problem by identifying a “suite of possible activities or sites on a state forest and run[ning] a single PPP process for these and then conclude[ing] separate agreements with different successful bidders for the projects” (Peter, pers. comm., 11/02/2006), these amendments obstructed the PFM implementation process because the discord between government policies and uncertainty in dealing with these matters resulted in delays to implementing PFM projects and frustrated the initial optimism and excitement that the promise of PFM generated. These examples of government policy hindering PFM project implementation confirm the occurrence of the ‘cart before the horse’ and ‘nothing has happened’ storylines that are discussed in Chapter Eleven.

In addition, Peter (pers. Comm., 11/02/2006) reported that:

“the treasury provisions indicated that it should be a fair field and no favour in making state resources available to the market, except for the application of the 88% (price tendered) 10% (BEE component) and 2% (women) principle”.

This provision proved problematic for PFM where stakeholders and beneficiaries were defined by DWAF and not strictly according to the principles laid out in the treasury provisions. However, it was anticipated early in 2006 that with the transfer of indigenous forest management to SANParks, these policy issues will gradually be resolved.

Despite these challenges to implementation, the PFM fern-picking project at Farleigh Estate has provided an opportunity for Farleigh forum members to be capacitated to make decisions regarding hiring, sourcing a market and disciplinary measures. For example, the commercial harvesting company would lodge a complaint about the pickers with the forum and it became the forum’s responsibility to take actions to resolve the problem. The PFM forum had a critical role to play regarding implementation because forum members were used to validate the project in the community. However, when it came to decision-making about the intricacies of the project, such as about logistical arrangements and wage negotiations, decision-making at the level of the forum was a “pretence” because “the communities were out of their depth” (Community Representative 5, 2005). DWAF negotiated on behalf of the community with the commercial harvesting firm, and Scientific Services were responsible for decisions concerning

the biophysical elements of the project (Community Representative 5, 2005). Lack of capacity in this regard is attributed to the need for DWAF to rush PFM implementation in the southern Cape; to have PFM projects up and running (Community Representative 5, 2005), essentially putting the proverbial ‘cart before the horse’ because if more effort had been made on building the decision-making capacity of local people, a better platform would have been created to “ensure sustainable and accountable transformation” (Community Representative 5, 2005).

This section has discussed the Seven Week Fern project in the Farleigh Forest Estate. The background to fern harvesting in the Estate is presented and the conceptualisation of the project as a PFM project explained. The research revealed that project progress has been slow, and seven key challenges to implementing this PFM project are discussed which substantiate this finding. A significant flaw in the process is a degree of uncertainty about the purpose and nature of PFM policy in general, and about the role of PFM forums in particular. After discussions in Section 13.3 about the second PFM project in the Farleigh Forest Estate, namely the Millwood Mining project, Section 13.4 considers this flaw in the PFM implementation process.

13.4. THE MILLWOOD MINING PROJECT

The Millwood mining project is a project run by the Millwood Goldfields Society (MGS) at Millwood near Knysna. Millwood, which falls within the Farleigh Forest Estate, is the site of what is regarded as the first mine in the Cape colony (Interested Party 1, 2005), dating back to 1885 when the area flourished with the arrival of prospectors hoping to make their fortune mining gold (van der Merwe, 2002; Duff, 2004). Present-day Millwood, which is surrounded by both exotic plantations and indigenous forest, is a tourist destination. A private entrepreneur, who leases the land and certain assets from the MGS, operated a number of tourist ventures for the public that are orientated around the mining history and the natural beauty of the area. The beneficiaries of the project are wide-ranging and include: the public in general - both local and international, the youth in particular, the single businessman with his assistant, and the Millwood Goldfields Society.

13.4.1. Background to the project: the Millwood Goldfields Society

The Millwood Goldfields Society (MGS) was constituted in 1988 after liaison with the then Forestry Department, now the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), which had been donated R100 000 in 1987 by the Gencor Mining Group to restore the Millwood mining village and the mines in the area. According to the government's treasury regulations, the Forestry Department would be unable to manage donor funds and therefore the Department sought the assistance of the Knysna municipality (Forester 1, 2005). The land and assets at Millwood were leased from the Forestry Department to the municipality on a 'lifelong' lease and the grant was transferred to the municipality for the restoration project. Realising the complexity of the restoration project, the municipality's museum section subsequently sought the engineering knowledge and expertise of interested individuals in the region and the Millwood Goldfield Society was formed. The land and assets leased to the municipality were subsequently leased to the MGS for as long as the municipality had the lease, which is in effect, lifelong (Forester 1, 2005).

The MGS is a voluntary society, consisting of six committee members at present, four of whom have retired from formal employment in the surveying and engineering professions with a mining background. The objectives of the MGS are to:

“Promote and foster interest in the history, preservation and restoration of the Millwood goldfield; to affiliate or co-operate with any body or bodies having objects similar to that of the Society or who are desirous of assisting in the attainment of such objectives; to raise or borrow funds to do all such other things as may be necessary or expedient for the carrying out of these objectives” (MGS, 1992)

When asked why the members are involved, it was remarked that that they “do it for the love of it” (Forester 1, 2005) and “for the sheer joy of it” (Interested Party 2, 2005). These committee members have contributed significantly to the project in terms of offering their skills, time, money and personal contacts, which were useful for achieving the objectives of the project. In addition, two representatives from DWAF attend MGS committee meetings. DWAF attendance is regarded as “crucial” because so many decisions regarding the restoration and running of the Millwood site require input from the Department, for example: grass cutting, road maintenance, the clearing of vegetation (by Interested Party 1, 2005). One forester described the Department's role as providing primarily logistical support as opposed to a regulatory or supervisory role (Forester 1, 2005).

There are four key elements to the work of the MGS at Millwood. The first is the restoration and maintenance of Materolli, which was a shop that was run during the gold rush in the 1880's and is now a tea garden and museum displaying mining memorabilia (see Plate 13.3). The daughter of the shop owner named the shop 'Mother Holly's' after Grimm's Fairy Tales but it soon became known as 'Materolli' by Italian immigrants⁷² who struggled to pronounce the English name (Duff, 2004; Interested Party 1, 2005).



Plate 13.3. Present-day Materolli Tea Garden at Millwood in the southern Cape.

The second element is the restoration of the old mining sites. This entailed the reclamation of "old and abandoned mining equipment scattered about the forests of Millwood" and the rebuilding of a "complete recovery plant utilising the equipment salvaged from the old mining sites" (MGS, 2004:1). The mining machinery has been restored and the recovery plant rebuilt to illustrate to the public the gold reduction process of the 1880's (see Plate 13.4). A further part of the restoration of the mining site entailed the restoration of one of the mines at Millwood, the Bendigo Mine.

⁷² A small number of Italian immigrants were brought to the Knysna area from Turin in 1879, as part of a scheme to start a silk industry in the area (Matthee, 1990).

The MGS has restored the major lower adit of Bendigo Mine, installing electric lights and an air induction system (both requiring electricity which was wired through from Protea village at the Society's cost), to enable patrons to access the mine under the supervision of a guide. The mine was opened to the public on 7 May 2004. The Bendigo Mine project was funded by a donation from Anglo Gold and also by funds raised by the Society (MGS, 2004).



Plate 13.4. An exhibit of the Tandem Compound Steam Engine that was used at Millwood in the southern Cape (Duff, 2004).

The third element in the work of the MGS the Pitt Street House project (see Plate 13.5). The 'Pitt Street House', which is situated adjacent to Materolli at Millwood, is an original house from the Millwood village that was moved to the town of Knysna when the Millwood goldfields site was deproclaimed. The house, which was municipal property, resided on the premises of the Parkes family of Knysna. When the Parkes decided to have it removed from their property, the municipality donated the house to the MGS. The project entailed the costly removal of the house from the Parkes' property in Knysna to Millwood and its re-erection and restoration for use as a cottage that is available for hire by the public. Funds raised from overnight visitors provide the Society with a limited income with which to pursue its objectives.



Plate 13.5. Pitt Street House at Millwood in the southern Cape.

One respondent was of the opinion that without the contributions from the mining houses the Millwood project would not be sustainable (Interested Party 2, 2005). In addition to funds accruing from Pitt Street House, the MGS receive income from the annual rental from the commercial entrepreneur, from certain souvenirs sold at Materolli (such as t-shirts, badges, books), donations, interest on bank deposits, two and a half percent of the profit from the tea garden and fifty percent of the profit from the underground tour, and lastly corporate grants.

The fourth and final element of the work of the MGS at Millwood is the overseeing of the restoration and maintenance of the graveyard at Millwood. The graveyard, like Materolli and the recovered mining machinery and adits, was among the assets handed over to the municipality when the land and assets were leased to the municipality and then to the MGS. Although it is the Department's responsibility to see to the repairs and maintenance, the MGS were leased the land and it is their responsibility to ensure that these tasks are carried out and that the site is suitable for public viewing. The graveyard contains interesting historical information and the MGS have invested in the installation of information boards to display this information for the benefit of the public, and in so doing contribute to the creation of Millwood as a tourist destination of cultural and historical interest.

13.4.2. Millwood as a commercial venture

As the funds generated in the aforementioned manner are deposited into a trust to be used for the restorative work of the MGS, the person with the most to gain financially from the Millwood mining project is businessman and entrepreneur, Mr. Tredoux, who leases the land and assets from the MGS on an annual basis.

Prior to becoming the principal leaseholder of the Millwood mining project in June of 2004, Mr Tredoux operated mine tours for the previous tea garden operator at Millwood, but when the lease became available he expressed an interest in taking over the running of the activities at Millwood (Local Business Owner 4, 2005). This respondent purchased the assets that the previous businessman had invested into the area during his tenure and took over the running of the economic ventures at Millwood. It must be noted that the post for which this local business owner applied was not advertised, as had been the case previously. Upon hearing of the operator's expressed desire to terminate his lease with the MGS, he applied to take over the lease (Interested Party 1, 2005). Because he was already involved in taking tours and therefore had a knowledge of and interest in the area, and able to raise the capital to pay for the assets, it was decided by the MGS that he was a fitting candidate (Interested Party 1, 2005).

In addition to conducting the guided mining tours, managing the Pitt Street House bookings and facilities, running the tea garden and being custodian of the museum and manager of the information centre at Materolli, Mr Tredoux also conducts guided walking trails, particularly to school groups reading Dalene Matthee's (1984) *Circles in a Forest*, and maintains a mountain bike course which he designed. Because the latter two ventures concern interacting with the surrounding state forest area, Mr Tredoux was obliged to present business plans for these ventures to the Farleigh PFM Forum to apply for a special license to conduct tours on state forest land. The business plans had to comply with the requirements of the PFM policy; details about employment equity, skills transfer plans, community benefits, personal benefits and anticipated environmental impacts had to be furnished. The concession to conduct tours was granted about eight months after it was presented to the PFM Forum for recommendation to DWAF, who subsequently approved the tours and granted the concession. However this decision by DWAF was questioned by a respondent who queried DWAF's granting a concession to an individual who is a landowner with considerable assets when there are others

in the community who are in greater financial need (Community Representative 5, 2005). In her view PFM should aim to uplift the poorer people of the community.

There are currently three people working at Materolli (one part time assistant at the tea garden and two fulltime assistants, including the lessee). The manager of Materolli expressed a need to hire a person on a casual basis to do gardening and odd jobs, however as yet he has been unable to find a willing employee to fill this post (Local Businessman 4, 2005). It was also noted that there is scope to employ another full time person to assist with operating the underground tours, especially in the high tourist season, and potential candidates are being approached. In terms of addressing the equity and skills transfer components of his business plan, Mr Tredoux commented that he is in the process of training a tour guide; assisting with the installation of computers in a nearby school; and, from the first of December 2005, allocating the employee a five percent profit share in his business over and above her usual salary. Mr Tredoux has, however, been criticised for his delay in implementing these components and it was suggested that pressure to address these issues arose when his license became subject to review (Community Representative 5, 2005).

The manager of Materolli expressed an eagerness to employ local people to assist him with his business ventures (Local Business Owner 4, 2005). He is discouraged, however, as his view is that people from the forestry village (Protea village) tend towards alcoholism, have a poor work ethic and are generally unreliable. Furthermore, in terms of the DWAF exit policy, these residents are being encouraged to leave the village and resettle in the locations nearer Knysna or in Karatara. This reduces the pool of potential employees available to work with him (Local Business Owner 4, 2005). Transport to this area is also reportedly problematic and the remoteness of Millwood to the centres of Knysna and George are therefore prohibitive to many people needing employment. In an attempt to find suitable staff, the local church in Keurhoek has been approached (Local Business Owner 4, 2005).

13.4.3. The Millwood project and PFM

Unlike the forest fern project, which was unanimously regarded by all interviewees as a PFM project, the Millwood mining project is less clear-cut. Four of the six respondents interviewed about the Millwood mining project regarded the project as separate from PFM in the southern Cape (Interested Party 2, 2005; Interested Party 1, 2005; Community Representative 5, 2005;

Knysna Official 3, 2005). However, one respondent believed that although in its “current state” the project could not be regarded as a PFM project, it “fits all the criteria of transformation” save benefiting people in need in the area and therefore should “absolutely” be regarded as a potential PFM project (Community Representative 5, 2005). This sentiment was shared by another respondent, the only one of the six respondents who was emphatic that the current project should be considered a PFM project, despite acknowledging that “it’s just the benefits of the forests to previously disadvantaged individuals that’s lacking” (Forester 1, 2005). The discrepancy is largely attributable to the origin of the project and to the restricted understanding of the criteria with which PFM and the PFM forums should be concerned.

The next section elaborates on the arguments that are propounded both for and against Millwood being a PFM project, and reveals the fundamental problems with the way in which PFM has been implemented in the southern Cape.

The validity of the Millwood mining project as a PFM initiative

The main reason why the Millwood project is not considered a PFM project is that it began thirteen years prior to the PFM policy being implemented under the National Forests Act (Act 84 of 1998) in the year 2000. The leasing of the land and buildings on the land commenced prior to PFM. The project was initiated as a restorative project that was facilitated through the Knysna Municipality, under their museum section. The objectives in the constitution of the MGS (as mentioned earlier) are restoration orientated and therefore it is widely held that the project has “got nothing to do with PFM” (Interested Party 2, 2005).

In addition to the stated objectives of the MGS pre-existing the PFM policy, the lease agreement that was entered into between DWAF and the Knysna Municipality was a lifelong lease. This lease was passed on to the MGS, who were entitled to have the lease for as long as the Municipality had the lease (Forester 1, 2005). Therefore, it is the understanding of the Society that, short of activities and decisions of the MGS being in contravention of the National Forests Act, DWAF has no responsibility for the area leased to the MGS, and the only time that the Society becomes concerned with PFM in particular is when the tenant, Mr Tredoux, requires a license to undertake an activity in the forest and is required to submit a business plan that is agreeable to the Farleigh Forum (Interested Party 1, 2005; Local Business Owner 4, 2005). Other than that, it is “not necessary [for the MGS] to input into the PFM forums” (Interested Party 1, 2005).

From the community's perspective, it is not necessarily the lease to the municipality and then to the MGS that has been problematic, but rather the leasing of Materolli by the MGS to a local businessman that has generated ill feeling in the communities in the Farleigh Forest Estate. According to two respondents (Forester 1, 2005 and Interested Party 2, 2005) the Bibbyshoek, Keurhoek and Reenendal communities cannot understand why a commercial license cannot be given to their communities even though it was explained that the issuing of the lease was a "municipal issue and not a DWAF issue because the land has been leased to the Knysna Municipality" (Forester 1, 2005).

Concern has been raised about the manner in which Materolli is leased to a local businessman, the tenant. Since PFM has been in existence in the southern Cape (since 2000) two tenants have leased Materolli. The first tenant was the only person who replied to the advertisement that was placed in the local 'Action Ads' paper and at 'Totties' tearoom Reenendal for the month of October in 2001 (MGS, 2001a). This tenant took over the lease in December 2001 (MGS, 2001b). However, when the lease became available again in 2004, the availability of Materolli was not advertised but awarded to another local businessman (Local Business Owner 4, 2005), who heard about the pending vacancy and expressed an interest. He had the capital to purchase the infrastructure from the previous tenant, and was already involved in tourism activities in the area and therefore had knowledge of the Millwood area (Interested Party 1, 2005). One community representative commented that "people who have the lease are people who have been advantaged by the tender system in the past" (Community Representative 5, 2005). She added that they are the people who are wealthy enough to pay the lease and purchase the property that the previous tenant had inputted into the Materolli project. In her view such people are not the people that PFM should be aiming to uplift (Community Representative 5, 2003). The question remains as to whether all elements of the Millwood project fall under the PFM policy or whether it is just activities at Materolli and in surrounding forest land.

Three respondents were of the opinion that if the Millwood mining project had to have gone through the PFM process, in other words through the PFM forums, it would never have worked for the following reasons (Forester 1, 2005; Interested Party 1, 2005; Interested Party 2, 2005). Firstly, the PFM process is reported to be a 'bogged down, slow process' where an entrepreneur will receive an answer from the Forum within twelve months if they are lucky (Interested Party 2, 2005). Secondly, it is reported that the Farleigh Forum spends most of its

time arguing about stakeholder representation at the meeting, leaving little time remaining to discuss pending issues (Community Representative 5, 2005). These frustrating elements of the PFM forum process would have made it difficult for the MGS to make the progress they did. Concerning this progress, “lots has been achieved given the budgetary constraints of the MGS [such as the] restoration of buildings, graves and machinery, electrification from Protea Valley nearby to Materolli” (Forester 1, 2005).

Thirdly, the scope for inclusion of the project as a PFM project is hampered by the low profit margin of Materolli. It is difficult to have an equity share with a black partner in a business venture as small as the Materolli project because there would be insufficient capital being generated to plough back into building the business. One forester reflected that “there are not enough benefits to split” and “there are economic benefits that are not that viable but the community doesn’t understand this” (Forester 1, 2005). The evidence suggests that forest products do not generate a significant output that will support the poverty alleviation goals of PFM.

Fourthly, a sentiment expressed by a respondent was that the history of mining at Millwood is not part of the cultural heritage of black people and therefore they would not respect the significance of the restorative work that has taken place at Millwood like the retired members of the MGS do (Interested Party 1, 2005). It was evident from the interviews conducted that there is racial tension between black and white community members. Comments raised reflected the sentiment that it was white people who had the expertise and forethought to open up the mine, and that if black people were unable to be employed to maintain the area, how could they be expected to operate and maintain the business venture if it was given to them as a PFM project? These comments express the perception that the Millwood mining project should remain a ‘white’ concern.

It is generally understood among respondents that the Millwood mining project is not a valid PFM project. The MGS do not consult with the Farleigh PFM Forum and the Forum members have no participation in the project. It shall be shown in the next section that this outcome is disadvantageous to both the activities of the tenant at Materolli in particular, but also the activities of the MGS in general, as they are dependent on the income generated from the success of Materolli.

Despite these four reasons given as to why the Millwood project is not considered a PFM project, two sound reasons were given as to why it is a PFM project, and it is for these two reasons that it was decided to include the project as a case study for this thesis. Two respondents (Forester 1, 2005; Community Representative 5, 2005) agreed that the Millwood mining project should be regarded as a PFM project, however only one respondent was confident to provide reasons for this (Forester 1, 2005). This respondent commented that “more than anything else it’s a PFM project”, and “it’s a classical example” because it is a project where joint management is evident (Forester 1, 2005). Whilst it is acknowledged that the project does not have the equity and black economic empowerment components that are requirements of the PFM policy in terms of benefit sharing and addressing past imbalances, the committee of the MGS is working with the state to manage the forest environment of the Millwood area. The MGS is comprised of DWAF and community members (who have the interest and/or the expertise) who work together to achieve the goals of the Society, which ultimately serves to preserve the cultural heritage and maintain and promote the Millwood area for the benefit of current and future generations.

In addition, even though the land and buildings have been leased from DWAF to the municipality and then to the Society, the activities of the Society are still taking place within indigenous state forests and should therefore be subject to the requirements of the PFM policy, regardless of the fact that the lease was signed over prior to the existence of a PFM policy in the region. To this end, those aforementioned key elements of the PFM policy that are absent from the project should, according to PFM policy, be built into the activities and objectives of the MGS.

This section discusses the Millwood mining project at Farleigh Forest Estate. A brief background to the project is presented which highlights the role of the Millwood Goldfields Society in the establishment of this project. In addition, the commercial aspects of the project are described and the conceptualisation of the project as a PFM venture is debated. The reasons given as to why this project is not a PFM project supports the assertion in Section 13.4 that a critical flaw in the implementation of PFM policy is the uncertainty about the purpose and nature of the policy and the PFM forum. This aspect is the subject of discussion in Section 13.5 which follows.

13.5. THE FARLEIGH FORUM: FATAL FLAWS

The previous two sections presented a detailed description of the two longest standing projects that have been implemented in the Farleigh Forest Estate, namely the Millwood Mining project and the Forest Ferns project. Problems concerning the implementation of both projects, and also other projects in the other two PFM forums in the southern Cape, can be attributed to one critical flaw, and that is the restricted understanding of the issues with which PFM and the PFM forums should be concerned. In this section examples are drawn from these two project case studies to explain this issue.

It is generally perceived that participation in PFM forums is not management orientated but is rather economically orientated, providing forest stakeholders (especially previously disadvantaged stakeholders) with an opportunity to access and benefit from forest resources. Attendance at forum meetings is dependent upon what benefits stakeholders believe they will receive. Individuals seeking to undertake a prospective economic venture, whether tourism, timber or non-timber forest product related, attend the forum until such time as their proposals have been assessed. Thereafter their attendance and participation in the meetings is absent. Similarly it was noted that community membership is also based on the promise of receiving the benefits of what PFM has to offer. Five years since its inception, PFM has resulted in few tangible benefits for local communities. The communities are still part of the PFM process because of what has been referred to as the “dangle of resources” (Community Representative 5, 2005). However, other respondents have also mentioned other reasons why they have not attended forum meetings. Forum meetings are said to be “too political” (Local Business Owner 4, 2005), and to be “bogged down and too slow” (Interested Party 2, 2005).

It is evident from discussions held with four respondents that there is no sharing of forest management issues at the forum meetings (Forester 1, 2005; Interested Party 1, 2005; Interested Party 2, 2005 and Local Business Owner 4, 2005). When asked whether DWAF communicated with members of the PFM forums about forest management issues, it was stated that they do not because the communities are not interested in forest management concerns. They “are only interested in economic benefits because that is how PFM was sold to them in the past” (Forester 1, 2005). However Vermeulen differed in his response. He reported that management plans are presented to PFM forums for “scrutinising and input” because

“stakeholder participation is not only DWAF policy, but also a FSC requirement” (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006).

There is scope for management concerns to be discussed at the forums. These forums have the potential to be the arena in which the Department has an opportunity to share with stakeholders the plans they have or the changes they would like to make within the Forest Estate and to obtain input from stakeholders regarding these issues. Interested Party 2 (2005) believed that it was not necessary for DWAF to discuss its management issues because it operates according to a 10-year rotation and therefore there is little immediate need to discuss this at the forum. However after discussions with Mr Tredoux, the tenant at Millwood, it became clear that there was a need for communication about management issues to take place. For example, an appropriate issue to raise at a forum meeting would be the new tariffs that SANParks have administered in the state forests⁷³. Although this occurred after the period of the research, it bears recording. Mr Tredoux received notification at the beginning of October 2005, via email, that the following tariffs would be applicable ‘with immediate effect’: car – R20; person – R10; Bicycle – R15; forest walk – R20; Bus – R80; and forest hut – R45 per learner. However no consultation was sought with interested and affected parties to explain the reason for the increase and no warning given (Local Business Owner 4, 2005). Such increases may have a negative impact on his business at Millwood and also on the income that the MGS receive with which to continue their restorative work. It would seem that the forums would be the most appropriate place for such communication to take place.

A second issue that would be best discussed at a forum would be the future plans for Protea Village in the Farleigh Estate. This relates to the Mountains To Ocean (MTO) Forestry Company (Pty) Ltd. Exit Strategy. This Exit Strategy concerns the “removal of plantations from certain areas in the southern Cape and Boland, where forestry is not a viable commercial option” (SAFCOL, 2003:2; Mitchell, pers. comm., 10/02/2006; Peter, pers. comm., 11/02/2006). The primary land use conversion would be the rehabilitation of forestry land to conservation, mainly fynbos, but it would also open up some areas for agricultural development and housing thereby “benefit[ing] equitable land ownership” (SAFCOL, 2003:2). It is intended that areas earmarked for conservation will be handed over to conservation authorities for recreation and tourism purposes (SGS, 2003). MTO is a subsidiary

⁷³ Although administered by SANParks, these tariffs have been determined by DWAF.

of the South African Forestry Company (Pty) Ltd. (SAFCOL). SAFCOL⁷⁴ was transferred to MTO in November 2001 as part of the privatisation process. Cabinet decided in 2001 to decommission some of the State-owned plantations in the Southern and Western Cape in favour of converting the land to other land uses (DWAF, 2005). Although this strategy is still under review (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006) and does not strictly relate to DWAF, comments pertaining to the strategy are still valid because they provide an indication as to the way in which communities are being involved in participation concerning forest-related issues.

This Exit Strategy has implications for the people living in the former worker villages. In the past, villages such as Protea Village near Millwood in the Farleigh Estate provided housing for those who were employed by DWAF, then SAFCOL and more recently MTO to work the plantations that were established in the area. Firstly, it affects the nature of their employment as the cessation of timber growing would make their jobs redundant (Peter, pers. comm., 11/02/2006). This however would have to be balanced with the possible increase in conservation and tourism-related employment that the rehabilitation might provide. Secondly, the security of their tenure may be impacted. Either people may be required to relocate to land provided for and serviced by the local authorities, or the local authorities may take transfer of the land on which the villages were located and take over the provision of services previously provided for by MTO (Peter, pers. comm., 11/02/2006). The will of the people to relocate may be affected by information that is imparted to them regarding the future plans for the area.

The decision regarding the status of Protea Village has implications for the livelihoods of the residents of this village and the Manager of Materolli and yet he is unable to obtain comment from either DWAF (who are essentially the primary lessors) or SANParks. Although this is an MTO process, and not a DWAF process, it is felt by some that the company did not engage with the communities in the southern Cape to include them in the exit policy process or communicate with them in a meaningful and deliberative manner (Local Business Owner 3, 2005; Community Representative 5, 2005). A ministerial submission reflects that the state and various timber companies have engaged with the communities affected by the decommissioning of forestry land in the southern Cape (DWAF, 2005). However, as one respondent stated, “communities were told; they were not deliberated with” (Community Representative 5, 2005). It is contended that the Farleigh PFM Forum is an appropriate forum

⁷⁴ SAFCOL is a timber company that manages state-owned plantations. It has been the commercial arm of the Department of Forestry.

for the timber companies concerned to raise their need to consolidate and dispose of their marginal and uneconomically viable land. There is a concern that the project's "market-driven" (SAFCOL, 2003:2) approach will not favour local communities. Privatisation, which is a key strategy of neoliberal economic policy, may undermine social justice imperatives⁷⁵.

A third management issue that was raised and which should be discussed at the PFM forums is the timescales of the felling of the exotic plantations surrounding the Millwood village. Mr Tredoux mentioned that at the time of this fieldwork the felling of an exotic compartment was immanent; however he was uncertain as to when felling operations would begin. Mr Tredoux was under the impression that DWAF should consult with him. However, Mr Vermeulen (pers. comm., 24/01/2006) is under the impression that the timber is on land that DWAF has leased to MTO. He commented that he is unable to open a mountain bike trail that he has prepared until logging in the area is complete. Once again, this is a management issue that should be discussed with affected stakeholders as the timing of logging may, for example, clash with the high tourist season and impact on his business venture.

Finally, the PFM forums could also be used as an arena for the Department to provide public feedback about their 'Blackwood Management and Utilisation Plan'. This is another example of the kinds of issues that should be discussed at PFM forum meetings. According to Peter (pers. comm., 11/02/2006), this plan "deals with the management of Blackwood and the resulting utilisation for timber of the species". Blackwood is an alien plant that was introduced in the southern Cape for commercial harvesting. Eradication of this alien species is regarded as impossible because of the substantial seed reserves in the forest floor. In general, competition from indigenous trees limits their dominance. However, some do survive and these are made available for harvesting. There is an opportunity for local people to be involved in the implementation of the Blackwood management plan and the timber harvesting process. In the past, members of the community have been involved in the enumeration and marking of trees in the harvesting process. According to Peter (pers. comm., 11/02/2006) two people were trained to perform these tasks. They were then able to tender to DWAF (and other land owners) to do this work on contract.

⁷⁵ See Chapter Six.

According to Vermeulen (pers. comm., 24/01/2006) “the DWAF policy and our FSC obligations require that management plans are presented for input to PFM or other relevant forums in the Region”. One of their 2002 FSC audit findings was that the regional office needed to communicate further with their stakeholders about their more relaxed Blackwood eradication policy (Forest Scientist 2, 2005). The focus of this communication was on getting broader acceptance from stakeholders that the Blackwood policy would not compromise the ecological integrity of the forests (Vermeulen, pers. comm., 24/01/2006) but also on its implications for the community in terms of employment and economic opportunities (Forest Scientist 2, 2005). This issue is a forest management issue that has implications for local people because it may provide them with employment opportunities or opportunities to engage in economic ventures using this timber. It should therefore be an issue that is considered by a range of stakeholders and the PFM forum is an appropriate forum for this.

Participation in forest management and the communication and deliberation between forest stakeholders is understated whilst the equity and black economic empowerment components of PFM have dominated the PFM forum agendas. This has affected the effective functioning of the forums and also the PFM projects associated with the Forest Estate. Section 13.5 concludes the chapter by summarising the findings and highlights the issues and challenges of policy implementation in the Farleigh Forest Estate.

13.6. CONCLUSION

This chapter provides an empirical case study of two particular PFM projects with the goal of substantiating the PFM storylines and policy vocabularies that are presented in the previous results chapters. This chapter presents the results and analysis of two participatory Forest Management (PFM) projects that have been implemented in the southern Cape. Both of these projects are within the Farleigh Forest Estate and therefore the Farleigh PFM Forum is the arena in which discussion, sharing of information and decision-making concerning these projects should, according to PFM policy, take place. The first project discussed is the harvesting of Seven Weeks Fern and the second project is the Millwood mining project in Farleigh. In each case a brief background to the project is provided and the conceptualisation of each as a PFM project is discussed.

Concerning the Seven Weeks Fern project, the initiative for the project was introduced in 2002 with the aim of providing a small group of local, unemployed, previously disadvantaged individuals, preferably women with employment through the picking of the Seven Weeks Fern (*Rumohra adiantiformis*) and selling it to a commercial cut flower company who has access to a market. The project was finally launched in late 2004 but only one picking cycle was completed before a number of challenges brought the project to a standstill. The first challenge was the strenuous nature of fern picking which led to a high turnover of pickers. This high turnover resulted in pickers earning lower wages because pickers did not persevere long enough to acquire the fitness and skills necessary to pick at a rate that would result in them earning above the minimum wage. Thus the economic sustainability of the project was compromised from the perspective of the pickers, but also from the cut flower company who needed a reliable supply of ferns to meet their market demands. Secondly, the downturn in the demand for Seven Weeks Fern meant that commercial harvesters moved onto other kinds of ferns whilst the pickers in the project had to persevere with picking a fern that was no longer as desirable a commodity and had to be picked at a larger size in order to be saleable. This affected productivity and also necessitated additional research, which was not foreseen at the onset of the project. Thirdly, it was alleged that the poor selection of picking areas led to lower productivity. Areas of a higher productivity, where there were more ferns and where they were more accessible, were not made available to community pickers. The choice of picking site affects the daily wage earned by pickers and therefore the economic incentive for them to continue picking. These first three challenges substantiate the prevalent use of the 'raised expectations and broken promises' storyline that is discussed in Chapter Eleven.

Fourthly, a lack of integration and communication amongst role-players in the fern project has frustrated the project implementation process because role-players did not communicate about key elements of the project and report findings to each other so that they were all informed and empowered to participate in decision-making processes. A fifth key challenge to implementing the fern project is the perception that Scientific Services do not regard PFM as a priority and would rather engage in other issues than with local communities. This perception is supported by the 'fences and fines' attitude of foresters, which is discussed under the storyline 'fences around forests' in Chapter Ten. This is a protectionist attitude which refers to a form of regulation that excludes local use, encourages regulated access and benefits (DWAF, 2003a) and is therefore reactionary attitude towards the PFM policy. This perception is also supported

by the ‘foresters are not social development workers’ storyline in Chapter Eleven, which refers to the inability of foresters to communicate effectively with local communities.

A sixth challenge to the fern project is the external restructuring that occurred where management of the indigenous forests was transferred to SANParks. The transfer took place in April 2005, but DWAF staff knew it was immanent since 2002. The lengthy transfer process generated concerns of job security, roles and responsibilities and resulted in a loss of productivity within the Department. This would have affected many facets of the Department’s functioning, including PFM implementation. A final challenge for the fern project that is discussed is the impediment created by certain government policies. For example their vehicle policy precludes DWAF staff from using their vehicles to provide transport for people to meetings and project sites, and their treasury regulations which prevent revenue generated from state assets, such as state forests, accruing to private individuals. This is at odds with the NFA, which encourages benefit-sharing, and although Public Private Partnership (PPP) regulations have been implemented to accommodate the requirements of PFM, the technical, administrative and cost implications are prohibitive for small PFM ventures (Peter, pers. comm., 11/02/2006). This challenge justifies the ‘cart before the horse’ and ‘nothing has happened’ storylines that are prevalent in the PFM discourse.

The second PFM project within the Farleigh Forest Estate that is discussed in this chapter is the Millwood Mining project. This project is run the Millwood Goldfields Society (MGS) and comprises the restoration of the Millwood village and mines. Although the MGS are the principal leaseholders (where DWAF is the landowner), the MGS rent out the old shop, Materolli, the accommodation facilities of the restored Pitt Street House, and the restored underground mines to an entrepreneur who generates an income from tourism for himself and employs one full-time and one part time employee. It is regarded as a successful project, however, the key issue pertaining to this project is the contestation over whether this project is considered a PFM project.

The majority of respondents interviewed about the project did not regard the project to be a PFM venture. The main issue is the manner in which the enterprise is leased to a local businessman. Concern was expressed that this individual is not the type of person that PFM should be benefiting as he had the capital to purchase assets and pay for the lease. He is also not poor, or person previously disadvantaged by virtue of his race or gender. A secondary issue

is that the nature of the lease agreement and the Millwood project were in place prior to the existence of the PFM policy. However, it is regarded as a PFM project because it is on state land and therefore the provisions of the lease agreement pertaining to the Materolli project would need to comply with the provisions of the NFA, of which PFM is an integral part. It is also an example of a partnership between the state and local people where the benefit is the forest environment and the preservation of the cultural heritage of a non-timber forest resource. It is also an example of the application of the 'eco-tourism/tourism in the forest' storyline where local people are benefiting from the forest resource by operating tourism ventures in and around the indigenous forests.

This research reveals that a misunderstanding of what PFM is, and a misunderstanding about the matters with which the PFM forums should be concerned, is a critical flaw in the effective implementation of PFM. Difficulties with both the Forest Ferns project and the Millwood project is attributed to this key flaw. Rather than being an arena where a variety of stakeholders can share information and deliberate over forest management issues, thereby being empowered and participating in decision-making, the Farleigh PFM Forum is economically orientated. Stakeholders who want to access and benefit from forest resources are encouraged to attend the forum. Attendance at the forum meetings started to dwindle once members realised that 'nothing was happening' and that DWAF were unable to make the promises they made, regarding the benefits of PFM, come true (Forester 1, 2003, Community Representative 5, 2005)⁷⁶.

The Forest Fern and Millwood projects reveal the complex and challenging nature of PFM implementation in a local context. They show how although the rhetoric of participation, sharing of forest access and benefits is present in PFM discourse at a national level in numerous policy documents, the implementation of this policy in the southern Cape does not reflect these principles.

Chapter Fourteen, which is the final chapter of this research paper, follows. This chapter draws the research together and reflects on the findings in terms of understanding the relationship between ecological modernisation and co-management, and the appropriateness of the form of co-management illustrated by PFM in the southern Cape to the South African context.

⁷⁶ See 'raised expectations and broken promises' storyline in Chapter Eleven.

CHAPTER 14

CONCLUSION

ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION AND CO-MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

“Ecological modernisation is built on the principle that institutions can change and that actors within them can learn” (Adams, 2001:112).

14.1. INTRODUCTION

This research demonstrates how an approach informed and guided by the discourse analysis methodology can lead to new insights with regard to the practice of environmental governance in a particular context, as well as (at a theoretical level) ecological modernisation and co-management debates. It was hypothesised at the outset that at the policy level in South Africa, PFM discourse is consistent with strong ecological modernisation while at the local level PFM discourse reveals a weaker or mainstream ecological modernisation approach. The empirical results support this hypothesis.

This concluding chapter presents both the theoretical and applied findings of this research. The conclusion is presented in two sections. The first section provides an overview of the research process and results. The second section presents the theoretical and applied contributions that this research makes to discourse analysis, ecological modernisation, co-management, and the policy-making process in the forestry sector in South Africa. The final section makes some broad concluding remarks about the research.

14.2. SYNOPSIS OF THE RESEARCH

This section summarises the key elements of the research process that was undertaken. The intention is to remind the reader of aspects of the rationale, aims and objectives, theoretical framework, contextual background, methodology and results, before the theoretical and applied contributions of the research are discussed in Section 14.3 of this chapter.

a. Rationale

The title to the thesis, *Participatory Forest Management (PFM) discourse in South Africa: Ecological Modernisation in the developing world* encapsulates the rationale for conducting this research. Firstly, the study aimed to contribute to research on participatory forest management in indigenous forest management in South Africa from a social science perspective. The study explores what happens to policy as it moves from its national level rhetoric, through various levels and actors, to its implementation on the ground in a local space. Research on PFM is scarce and by applying the methodology of discourse analysis to PFM, aspects of the policy process and politics associated with the process are revealed. Secondly, a methodological contribution is made by applying Hajer's (1995; 2003) ideas about argumentative discourse analysis to co-management in the developing world.

Thirdly, this thesis is motivated by the desire to make a conceptual contribution to the theoretical frameworks of ecological modernisation, discourse analysis and co-management. Ecological modernisation is a concept that is conventionally applied to advanced industrialised countries and developed world contexts and in this research it has been applied to a developing world context. This research shows how the theory of ecological modernisation can be applied so as to provide insight in to the practice of policy implementation. A conceptual contribution is also made to the co-management literature, as this thesis engages with the broader theoretical question concerning the relationship between co-management, an approach to natural resource governance, and ecological modernisation, which is a broader social theory that proposes a particular relationship between society and the environment. Does co-management present a strong or weak form of ecological modernisation, and why; and what are the implications of this for sustainability and for democracy? The rationale is to interrogate this question through the lens of the PFM case study in the southern Cape.

b. Aims and objectives

The aim of this research is twofold. Firstly, the theoretical aim is to explore how ecological modernisation and discourse analysis can be used to critically review the conceptualisation and implementation of a progressive natural resource management approach (PFM) in a developing world context. Secondly, the empirical aim of this research is to investigate the implementation

of Participatory Forest Management policy at a local level in the southern Cape/Knysna indigenous state forests in South Africa.

In order to achieve this aim, six objectives were developed to direct the research process. These are:

1. To examine PFM policy process in Indigenous Forest Management in the southern Cape to understand how actors view PFM and to explore how it is being implemented in this region.
2. To deconstruct the discourse of PFM using Hajer's approach to discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995) by determining the storylines, the policy vocabularies and epistemic notions related to PFM policy; identifying the key discourses and discourse coalitions that emerged during the PFM implementation process; and understanding how the institutional practices of DWAF affect the PFM implementation process.
3. To investigate two case studies of forest-related projects underway in the southern Cape to identify challenges to implementing a co-management regime such as PFM at the project level, and to understand what effect the prevalent PFM discourse has on the outcomes of PFM projects.
4. To examine the degree to which the concept of ecological modernisation is an appropriate way of conceptualising the policy discourse of PFM.
5. To investigate how the form of co-management as reflected by PFM, relates to strong and weak ecological modernisation.
6. To elucidate any implications that an analysis of the southern Cape case study might have for future policy implementation processes both in the southern Cape and elsewhere in South Africa.

c. Theoretical frames

The theoretical framework for this research was divided into two parts: firstly, the broad theoretical concepts which have directed the research process, and secondly theories that have been interrogated in this research. Concerning the first part, the aims and objectives are framed by a particular paradigm, namely social constructivism. Social constructivism is a post-modern paradigm that views reality as socially constructed. Discourse analysis is an appropriate methodology for understanding the interpretations of reality that are produced through discourse. Discourse, which is "a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts and categorisations that are produced, reproduced and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities" (Hajer, 1995:44), plays a significant role in constructing the nature of environmental problems and solutions. In particular, discourse analysis, as presented by Hajer (1995; 2003), is adopted as the methodology for this research. The construction of discourse takes place in various settings and this research has suggested

that a tiered policy network is the most useful network for thinking about the PFM policy process within which PFM decision-making takes place.

Concerning the second part of the theoretical framework, the broad social theory of ecological modernisation and the co-management literature are interrogated. Ecological modernisation is a contemporary approach to addressing environmental problems (Hajer, 1995; Oelofse, et al, 2006). Its central tenet is that the pursuit of development and the process of industrialisation can continue unimpeded by environmental problems that arise along the way because the environment is factored into the development process such that sustainability is not compromised (Hajer, 1996; Blowers and Pain, 1999; Gibbs, 2000). An element of ecological modernisation theory, which is significant for this research, is Christoff's (1996) notion that there are strong and weak interpretations of the concept. These interpretations are conceptualised as extremes on a continuum. Where an interpretation lies on the continuum depends on the "likely efficacy in promoting enduring ecologically sustainable transformations and outcomes across a range of issues and institutions" (Christoff, 1996:490).

Co-management is a 'new' approach to nature conservation that aims to replace earlier colonial paradigms of management with more democratic and integrated forms of natural resource governance. Colonial approaches are characterised by protectionist, exclusionary, techno-scientific, top-down approaches that entrenched the separation of nature and society (Ghimire, 1994; Neumann, 1995b; Pimbert and Pretty, 1997). Co-management approaches on the other hand are characterised by collaborative, participatory, bottom-up, approaches that accept that society and nature are intrinsically linked (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Alexander and McGregor, 2000; Ramutsindela, 2004). Participatory forest management (PFM) is a co-management regime that is particular to the forestry sector. It is the approach that the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) have adopted as their policy for indigenous forest management in South Africa.

d. The locality of the southern Cape

The PFM case study is set within a particular context. South Africa is a society that is in the process of socio-political transformation. A feature of this transformation is that the country shares characteristics of both a developed and a developing world. This developed-developing status poses challenges for transformation and restructuring. The state faces a dilemma of how

to pursue its market-orientated economic growth imperative without compromising the achievement of reconstruction and socio-economic development (Nel, 2000). In the forestry sector, PFM is a policy approach that attempts to address the latter imperative. The focus for the research is the forests of the southern Cape, or Knysna forests, as they are also referred to, in South Africa.

In the southern Cape, PFM is being implemented in an area of indigenous Afromontane forest. These forests are of local and global significance because they are one of only two continually forested areas in South Africa (Everard et al., 1995 in Meadows, 2000; Meadows, 2000). These forests extend in a narrow strip along the coastline for about 220km in the moist valleys of the Garden Route and foothills of the Outeniqua and Tsitsikamma mountain ranges. The indigenous Knysna forests (comprising the Farleigh, Diepvalle and Tsitsikamma Forest Estates) are managed according to a multiple-use management approach, which influences the kind of activities that take place within the forests. The Knysna Area office of DWAF is Forests Stewardship Council (FSC) certified. This accreditation requires DWAF to manage the forests in sustainable manner and has therefore necessitated changes to the forest management approach. The PFM policy potentially plays a vital role in addressing the social components of the FSC accreditation requirements.

Living conditions of residents in the Eden District Municipality are generally better than other districts in South Africa, as residents appear to have above average infrastructure available to them. However, the area is characterised by high levels of financial poverty among the black and coloured population and other social problems common to underdeveloped regions in South Africa are present in the area. This socio-economic context underscores the need for rural development initiatives to be implemented in the region and illustrates the need for a participatory forest management programme to be put into practice, which will enable a more equitable sharing of the benefits that can be derived from indigenous forests.

e. Methodology

The research methodology is underpinned by the constructivist paradigm, which supports the need for an open-ended, semi-structured interview format that elicits the respondent's constructions of reality, regarding the PFM implementation process. However it is also a deductive process because the research process began with an hypothesis about PFM policy

and practice. Data collection included primary and secondary data sources including three phases of interviews and a review of key policy documents. Hajer's (1995; 2003) approach to discourse analysis is the method of data analysis that was adopted. Here the terms of the policy discourse, namely storylines, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions were first analysed. Thereafter the PFM policy and practice was analysed in terms of the discourse coalitions and institutional practices that are evident.

f. An overview of the results

The research results are briefly summarised. Layers of policy discourse were identified as the first element of discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995; 2003). The first layer comprises the epistemic notions. Three epistemic notions were identified in the PFM policy discourse in South Africa. They are: transformation in South Africa, sustainability, and scientific management. These notions are ideas that are dominant at a particular time and are pervasive in society. These ideas are epistemic because they are prevalent in South African societal, political and economic discourse in general, but have also found their way into the PFM discourse.

Five groups of policy vocabularies, which is the second layer of PFM policy discourse analysis, are distinguished in the PFM policy documents. These are: a vocabulary of terms that are persistent or 'enduring' across the four policy documents, the increasing emphasis on community forestry, a rights-based vocabulary, a vocabulary of moderation, and an economic vocabulary. Policy vocabularies are the body of words or concepts that are deliberately used in a particular language or in a particular sphere (Hajer, 2003) which structure policy documents and indicate how the policy maker wants the documents to be interpreted and the PFM process to be understood.

The third layer in the analysis of PFM policy discourse is storylines. Storylines are short statements that pull together previously unrelated elements of reality. This allows actors to generate shared orientations about a policy problem, which facilitates coalition formation and therefore assists in problem solving. Twelve key storylines are identified relating to PFM policy and implementation in the southern Cape. These are:

- a. PFM is the only way
- b. PFM is a continuum
- c. Sustainable utilisation
- d. Fences around forests

- e. The community are our eyes and ears
- f. Pre/post 1994 dispensation
- g. We're not like the Eastern Cape/ Transkei
- h. Cart before the horse
- i. Raised expectations and broken promises
- j. Foresters are not social development workers
- k. Nothing has happened
- l. The potential for eco-tourism/tourism in the forest

These storylines encapsulate the essence of how the PFM policy and its implementation are perceived in the southern Cape and conceal multiple arguments and views about the process.

The second element of discourse analysis according to Hajer's (1995) argumentative discourse approach is discourse coalitions. Three discourse coalitions are identified from the data. The pro-PFM coalition is the most dominant coalition and contends that PFM is a valuable approach to forest management in contemporary South Africa. It is strongly aligned with the rhetoric contained in PFM policy. The dominance of this coalition is indicative of widespread favour for an alternative approach to managing indigenous forests. The anti-PFM coalition, comprises actors who believe that PFM is not appropriate to the southern Cape, as the region does not have the characteristics that they perceive are necessary for PFM to be implemented. This coalition indicates resistance to a participatory approach and suggests that the status quo be maintained. Lastly, the pro-tourism coalition comprises actors who assert that growth of eco-tourism or nature-based tourism projects in and around the southern Cape forests is the main way that PFM should be operationalised. This coalition is indicative of a neoliberal growth imperative.

An analysis of the institutional practices relating to PFM is the third element of discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995; 2003). The PFM process has been influenced by donors who have supplied funding, capacity building and skills. They have also shaped the way in which DWAF staff has interpreted the policy. The most influential contribution of two researchers (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996 and Horn, 2000) to policy is the theoretical notion that 'participation' can have more than one meaning, and that the degree to which communities participate in a process can vary in intensity along a continuum. The results indicate that PFM forums are most significantly influenced by donor agencies and DWAF staff. The decision-making power of representation of local black communities is being undermined by the absence of other interest groups to support them, who prefer to correspond with DWAF rather than attend forum

meetings. The balance of power does not rest with civil society, but rather with the state, which compromises the participative and deliberative potential of PFM.

An analysis of the Farleigh case study reveals that the two PFM projects, namely the forest fern project and the Millwood mining project that take place within the Forest Estate, are both hampered by stakeholders misunderstanding the concept of PFM and the purpose and role of the PFM forum. These two projects reveal the complex and challenging nature of PFM implementation in a local context. They show that while national level PFM discourse advocates participation and the sharing of forest access and benefits, the implementation of this policy at a local level in the southern Cape does not reflect these principles.

The second part of this chapter critically interprets and reflects on the theoretical and applied outcomes of this research. It considers the value of discourse analysis as a means of analysing a policy process and it considers the relationship between PFM and ecological modernisation and how this exploration contributes to the theory of ecological modernisation. Section 14.3 also reviews co-management, which has been adopted as the mainstream approach to natural resource management in South Africa, and it makes recommendations about how policy processes can be shifted so as to achieve greater levels of sustainability, by applying the concepts of strong ecological modernisation.

14.3. INTERPRETING A NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY PROCESS IN RELATION TO DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, ECOLOGICAL MODERNISATION AND CO-MANAGEMENT

The research provides insights into aspects of the PFM policy implementation process that provide an understanding of why the process has occurred in the manner in which it has in the southern Cape. By analysing the PFM policy process from a social science perspective, new knowledge or understanding has been obtained about the process that will contribute to the knowledge base of PFM, which is a relatively new approach to forest management in South Africa. This section presents a series of discussions that will elucidate the contributions that this thesis has made conceptually and provide a reflection on the key theoretical and applied questions of the research. The section concludes by highlighting key issues and proposing recommendations that may be helpful to improving PFM policy implementation in the future.

Figure 14.1 is a schematic diagram that provides a structure to guide the discussion. This figure illustrates the international and national imperatives that have shaped the PFM policy process in South Africa.

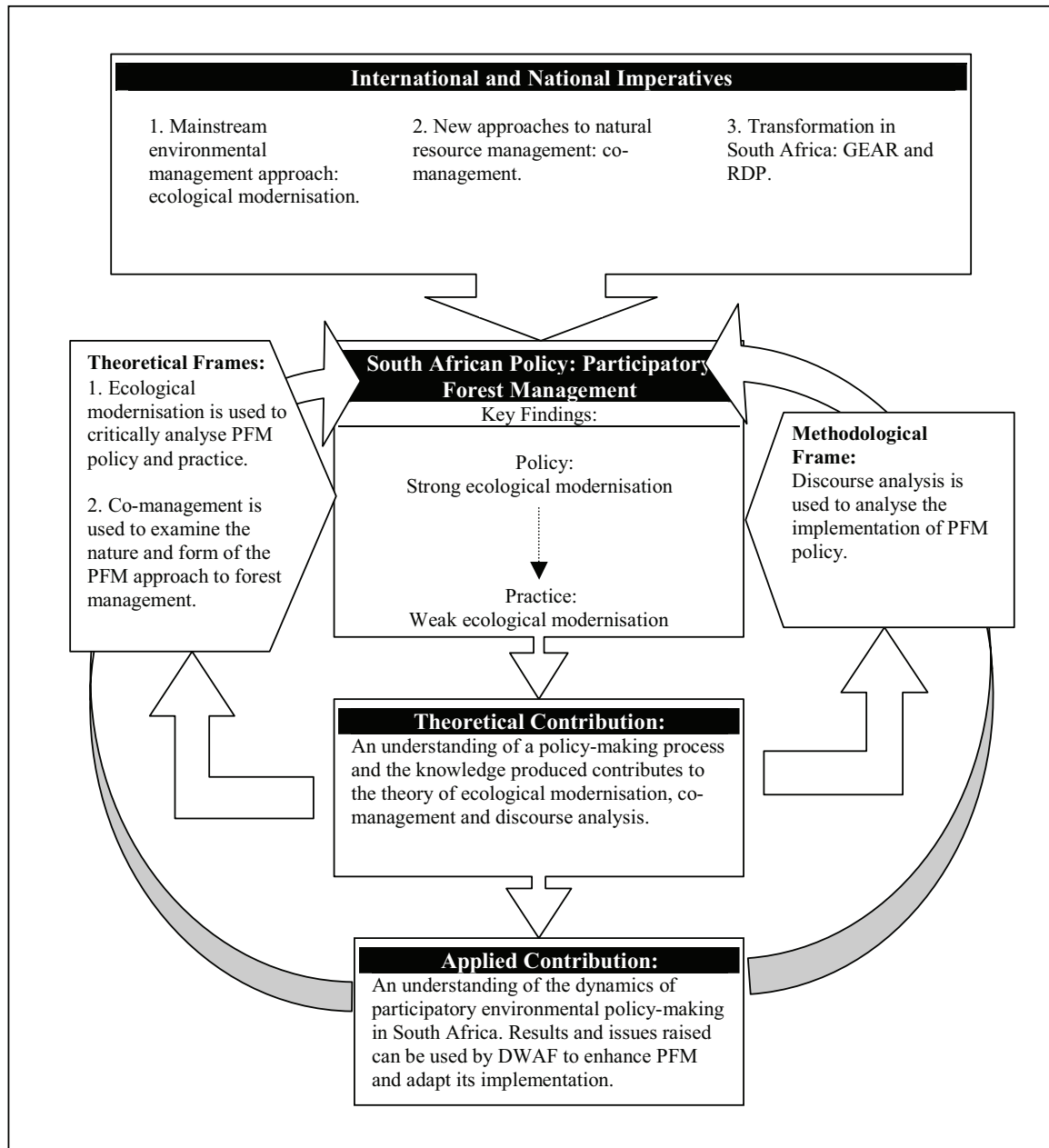


Figure 14.1. Summary of the influence of the results and interpretation on the research process.

It should be noted that the mainstream environmental approach of ecological modernisation is not an explicit approach in South African policy, but rather has been adopted in theory and

practice as it is the main approach to environmental management in the country (Oelofse, et al, 2006). Three conceptual frames are applied in this thesis and original contributions have been made to each. The value of the methodological frame of discourse analysis in analysing a national policy process like PFM is discussed in Section 14.3.1.

Thereafter the conceptual contributions to ecological modernisation theory are discussed, firstly in terms of the conceptualisation of PFM as ecological modernisation (Section 14.3.2) and secondly in terms of the value of ecological modernisation as a framework for analysis in the developing world (Section 14.3.3). The third theoretical frame, co-management, is discussed in Section 14.3.4 and the complexity of the South African context to implementing co-management approaches is explained. Figure 14.1 illustrates that these theoretical contributions enable an applied contribution to be made to future participatory environmental policy-making in South Africa, and in particular to PFM policy and implementation where the issues that are raised, and the recommendations that are made, can be used by DWAF to enhance their PFM approach.

14.3.1. The value of discourse analysis

The first issue of discussion in Figure 14.1 is the methodological frame of discourse analysis because this is the method that was used to provide an understanding of the policy process, which is necessary for both theoretical and applied contributions to be made. Discourse analysis is one of the many tools that a social scientist can use to provide an understanding of social reality. Rather than focusing on an analysis of targets or project outcomes, discourse analysis reveals the discourses that are recorded in policy documents through the examination of policy vocabularies. These are replicated by actors in the form of storylines that are taken up by discourse coalitions; and echoed in society in the form of epistemic notions. Institutional practices influence and are influenced by discourse, and so should form part of discourse analysis (Hajer, 1995; Hajer, 2003). This study has revealed the epistemic notions, policy vocabularies and storylines that are shaping PFM policy and practice in South Africa. In so doing, this method has provided insight into the extent to which policy and practice reflect strong or weak ecological modernisation, and hence has enabled a critical review of the PFM process.

Discourse analysis is especially useful for assessing a policy process and its outcomes over a longer period of time. For example, PFM is a radical policy that requires significant shifts in practice. It is acknowledged that it will take time for changes and improvements in forest management practices to occur and for the benefits of the policy to emerge. Assessing PFM using quantitative outputs such as the number of projects up and running, the employment that has been generated and the level of sustainable utilisation of forest resources for local livelihoods is difficult as substantive and qualitative outcomes are yet to be achieved. However, a discursive approach provides a rich source of data and a means to assess PFM, from which an understanding of the PFM implementation process can be developed.

Furthermore, discourse analysis reveals the differing perceptions and impressions that people have about reality. Despite what a policy may stipulate, the manner in which this is translated into a local space may be different as people experience this reality in different ways. Discourse analysis reveals the different ways in which a process or reality is constructed by various actors, which reflects the complexity of social processes and diverse attempts to make sense of them. An individual may at different moments seemingly contradict him/herself by using different storylines and aligning themselves with different discourse coalitions depending of their agenda. It also reveals some mechanisms used by actors to enable them to bypass this complexity. Through this they find common ground, what Hajer (2003) refers to as a “shared orientation”, which is necessary for meaningful interaction with each other and/or advance a policy process. Storylines, policy vocabularies and epistemic notions are shown in Chapter Eight to be powerful discursive mechanisms in this respect.

Finally, the notion of framing provides a useful way of understanding why certain elements are accepted and therefore endure in policy, and why others are disregarded (Brosius, 1999). The degree to which an idea is epistemic or in the case of storylines and policy vocabularies, is in accordance with an epistemic notion, influences to a large extent the degree to which it gains permanence in a policy debate and becomes hegemonic in discourse.

This research has revealed the three epistemic notions, five policy vocabularies, twelve storylines, three discourse coalitions and three significant factors influencing the institutional practices (see Section 14.2) that are shaping the PFM process, which has enabled a critical assessment of the policy and practice of PFM. Discourse analysis is therefore a useful approach that can be applied in the developing world context to a natural resource management

problem. The second issue of discussion in Sections 14.3.2 and 14.3.3 below is the contribution that this research has made to the theoretical frame of ecological modernisation.

14.3.2. PFM as ecological modernisation

One of the objectives of the research is to use ecological modernisation as a theoretical frame to analyse a national policy process, namely the policy and practice of PFM. As depicted in Figure 14.1, the results of the research process enable a contribution to be made to the ecological modernisation literature. By conceptualising PFM as a form of ecological modernisation, a critical understanding of the policy and implementation process is achieved and this is the topic of discussion in this section.

It was hypothesised at the beginning of the research that the PFM discourse is consistent with ecological modernisation. Adams (2001:112) writes that “in operationalising sustainable development through ecological modernisation, policy makers are left with great freedom”. Concerning this freedom, Hajer (1996:262) states that “they can either make a few aesthetic alterations but basically continue with business as usual, or they can use sustainable development as a crowbar to break with previous commitments”. It is asserted that weak ecological modernisation is the dominant discourse driving the implementation of PFM. Shackleton (2002) and Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) have remarked that co-management approaches to natural resource management are often very different in practice to what is documented in policy and legislation; the southern Cape PFM case study confirms this. Discourse analysis revealed that the reason PFM has been slow to progress is because DWAF, despite having made the ideological shift to a more radical and stronger ecological modernisation approach on paper at a national level, has been found at an institutional and local level to be operating in a manner more consistent with weak ecological modernisation (see Figure 14.2). Also, when PFM was implemented it was found to be different to what was hoped for in the region. Figure 14.2 is a schematic diagram that shows the link between the theoretical concepts of ecological modernisation and sustainability, and PFM in South Africa. What follows is a discussion of PFM within the framework of ecological modernisation.

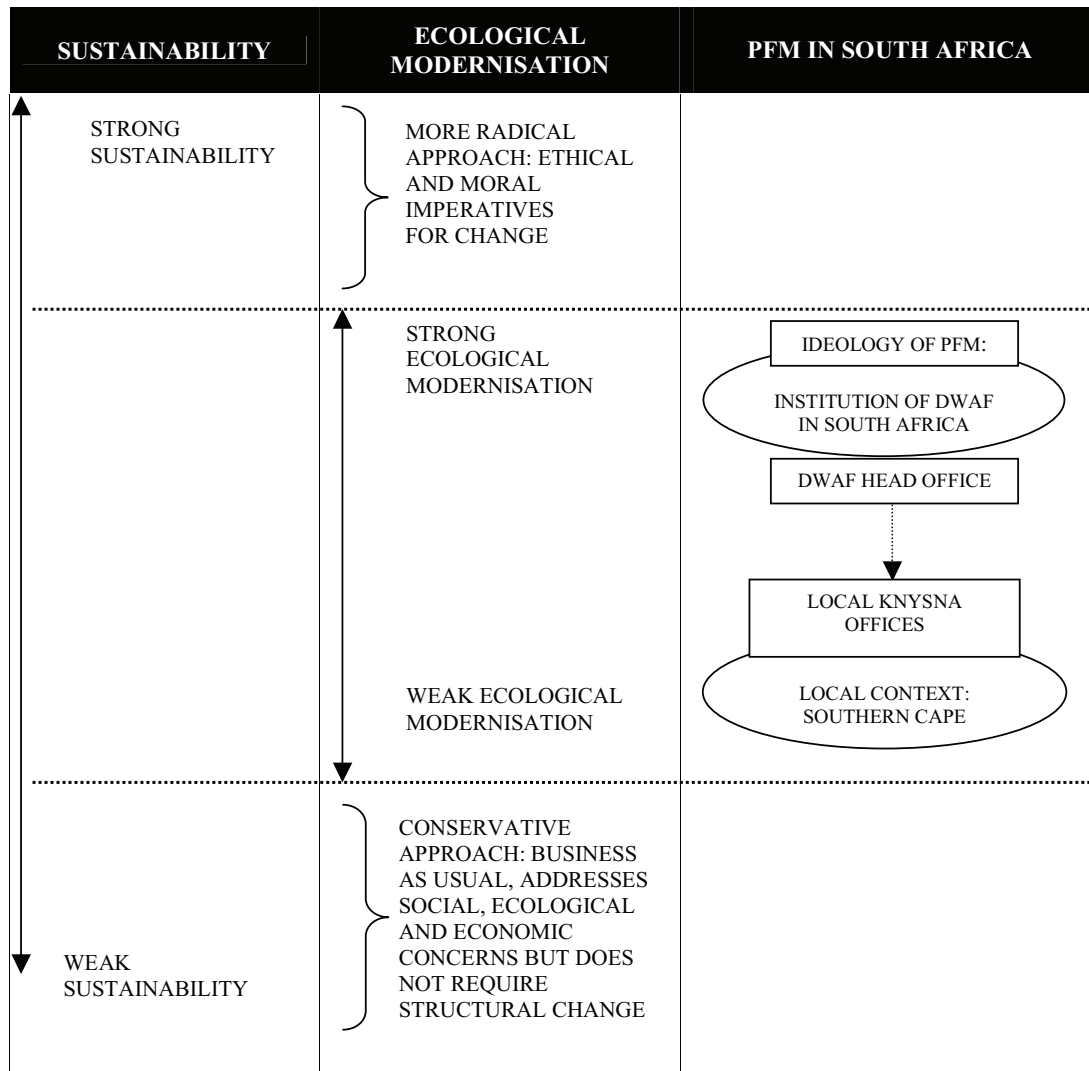


Figure 14.2. The link between sustainability, ecological modernisation and PFM in the southern Cape.

The three elements of PFM that correspond with ecological modernisation are discussed below. Firstly, PFM aligns itself with contemporary trends in politics, economy and society, making a “virtue out of the inevitable” (Blowers, 1997:859). In the 1980’s and early 1990’s the political arena was suffused with a ‘green’ discourse, where it was - and still is - politically correct to be ‘environmentally friendly’ and to ‘protect the earth’. According to Hajer (1995:30) ecological modernisation is “the most credible way of ‘talking green’ in spheres of environmental policy-making and increasingly functions as the organising principle for the innovation of institutional procedures in the 1990’s”. Just as the green discourse dominated the

political arena in the past, it is contended here that the latter half of the 1990's and the early 2000's constitutes the time for a participatory discourse to dominate. PFM has embraced these global trends.

Caution should be exercised when drawing inferences about sustainability from participatory processes (Connelly, pers. comm., 2003). It has been argued that top-down participatory processes can advance an institution further along the sustainable development pathway than a bottom-up process; they can even be more socially just and equitable than bottom-up processes (Connelly, 2002). However, the top-down participation that has taken place in the southern Cape through PFM, which has been criticised by numerous respondents⁷⁷ and is revealed in the Farleigh case study with the Seven Weeks Fern and the Millwood mining projects, suggests that this is not the case. Bottom-up participatory processes tend to generate greater buy-in or support from local, often poor and marginalised communities and this is imperative for ensuring the sustainability of natural resources that neighbour these communities. Literature in the field of natural resource management suggests that for indigenous forests to be sustained, local communities and other stakeholders must play a meaningful and active role in decision-making that affects indigenous forests and they must also have access to forest resources. If sustainable forest management is to be advanced in the southern Cape indigenous forests, the question that should be asked is this: is the form of participation being undertaken through PFM in Knysna and the ensuing relationship between government and civil society the kind that encourages the ecological sustainability of the indigenous forests? It is argued by Christoff (1996) that the kind of participation advocated by strong ecological modernisation is the preferred form of participation. In this kind of participation there is a focus on social processes in ways that are integrative, communicative and deliberative to develop long lasting cultural transformation.

Participation has become a key organising principle and institutional procedure in DWAF, where policy documents are imbued with a participatory discourse consistent with strong ecological modernisation. However, the extent to which this strong version of ecological modernisation in terms of participation is being played out at a local level is contested here. In Knysna, the initiation of participation processes was a national imperative. Staff from Pretoria were sent to Knysna to get PFM processes underway: the pressure or drive for PFM was not

⁷⁷ See discussion of 'PFM is a continuum' storyline in Chapter Nine and 'the cart before the horse' storyline in Chapter Eleven.

present in Knysna and so a top-down initiative was required to compel local DWAF staff to interact with local communities through PFM forums. The drive for FSC certification was one of the ways in which Knysna staff were motivated to practice PFM because participation is a significant component of the certification process (Head Office Official, 2, 2003). This form of participation is interpreted as fitting within a weak ecological modernisation approach to natural resource management, because the need to engage with local communities originated from a corporate decision to do so. In addition, the FSC certification process, which has economic appeal and prestige, was seen to be a legitimate way to ‘sell’ participation. The PFM policy created an opportunity for a strong version of ecological modernisation to be adopted. However, what transpired locally could be interpreted as weak ecological modernisation because, instead of Knysna staff taking this opportunity and using the new policy “as a crowbar to break with business as usual” (Hajer, 1996:262), they have resisted transformation to the extent that Head Office felt the need to intervene⁷⁸.

Secondly, PFM can also be viewed as eco-modernist in orientation because it is promoted as providing socio-economic benefits to the poor whilst simultaneously conserving natural assets. Rapoli (2002:1) states that PFM is a policy that will ensure the “sustainable management of indigenous state forests with the objective of conserving biodiversity and contributing to the economic, social and spiritual upliftment of South Africa’s people, with special emphasis on poor rural communities”. The policy suggests that one can achieve economic growth, albeit at a local scale, and secure (often international) markets for goods and services for local entrepreneurs and simultaneously resolve the environmental problems associated with the people-forest interaction. This win-win scenario is what Hajer (1995:26) refers to as a “positive sum game”. Ecological modernisation promotes a continuance of capitalist growth. However, it is the role of the state to create an enabling environment, which directs free enterprise to make changes to environmental policy as well as operational practices that will prevent environmental disaster (Adams, 2001). The environmental challenge posed by local, often poor, communities living near the forests and seeking access to and benefits from these natural resources is not regarded as a crisis but rather as an opportunity for local economic development or forest enterprise development.

⁷⁸ See ‘foresters are not social development workers’ and ‘the cart before the horse’ storylines in Chapter Eleven.

Blowers (1997), Buttel (2000) and Christoff (1996) have criticised the eurocentricity of the literature on ecological modernisation, which is based almost exclusively on western industrial experiences. Christoff (1996:486) states that the literature is:

“deeply marked by the experience of local debates over the politics of acid rain and other outputs, rather than conflicts over biodiversity preservation. Although current uses of ecological modernisation may be well adapted to describing positive environmental outcomes in certain industrialised First World countries where a version of ecological sustainability may be created in the wasteland of a vastly depleted biological world, it may be positively dangerous if taken prescriptively by those nations where the conservation of biodiversity is a more fundamental concern or opportunity and/or which depend on primary resource exploitation to fund their traditional forms of economic growth, for example as in the case in Australia, Brazil and South Africa”.

This statement opens up a debate about ecological modernisation and creates a platform for the discussion of the applicability of ecological modernisation to South Africa's PFM policy and a broadening of the mainstream conceptualisation of ecological modernisation as a western, developed world theory to include developing countries. Christoff (1996) suggests that South Africa is a country that is still reliant on its natural resources for economic growth. Although the indigenous forests are no longer exploited as they were in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the idea that indigenous forests should be economic assets is clearly present in South Africa where the forests are being incorporated into local and regional socio-economic plans such as Local Development Plans (LDPs) and Integrated Development Plans (IDPs). PFM is not promoting simple economic gains that support local livelihoods as an end, but rather economic opportunities that will appeal to global markets (Community Representative 5, 2003). Some projects include: exclusive eco-tourism ventures, sale of timber and wooden articles that have an FSC stamp, the harvesting and sale of the Seven Week Fern to international markets, and the harvesting and sale of the red carrot to Rastafarian communities internationally (Forest Scientist 2, 2003). There is a concern that if people have a taste of the income that can be generated from these forest resources, particularly the consumptive uses, that they will not settle for lower returns when more forest products could be exploited to realise even greater returns. It is for this reason that community buy-in to PFM is critical. The support of the community is needed to ensure that members of the community do not exploit the forest resources to which they have been allowed access.

The third element of PFM that corresponds to ecological modernisation is the cultural politics that is taking place throughout the implementation of PFM. Hajer (1995) argues that the shift

toward ecological modernisation is evident in at least six areas of policy-making. These are, firstly, a shift in techniques or strategies of environmental policy-making from remedial and reactive to anticipatory and preventative. Secondly, a shift to the more pro-active and critical role that science plays in environmental policy-making. Thirdly, a shift in the way nature is conceptualised at the macro-economic level where it is increasingly regarded as a public good or resource than a free good. Fourthly, existing participatory practices in policy-making processes are shifting towards an acknowledgment of new actors in participatory environmental organisations and, to a lesser extent, local residents. Fifthly, thinking at the micro-scale is shifting away from the idea that environmental protection increases cost, towards the idea that pollution prevention pays. The final shift in policy-making that Hajer (1995) argues for is a shift in the legislative discourse of environmental politics, where polluters have to bear the burden of proof rather than the recipients or damaged parties.

The first four of these are particularly relevant to the present study and can be clearly identified here. The first area concerns the shift from remedial and reactive to anticipatory and preventative strategies of policy-making (Hajer, 1995; Christoff, 1996; Adams, 2001). In forestry management, the policies of the past were reactive and corrective in that they applied a 'fences and fines' approach to prohibit unauthorised access and utilisation of resources. Local communities were denied access to and benefits from forests, which resulted in conflict between government and communities and the depletion of forest resources due to illegal harvesting in an uncontrolled manner (Grundy and Michell, 2004; Von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004). PFM policy can be classed as anticipatory in nature because it attempts to put in place mechanisms such as participatory forums to deal with issues and conflict, and to develop management plans through participatory processes that are acceptable to all and that provide a strategy for the sustainable management and utilisation of the forest. The idea that the state can manage its way out of a crisis characterises an ecological modernisation ideology (Adams, 2001).

Secondly, from an ecological modernisation perspective, science should play a more pro-active and critical role in policy-making (Hajer, 1995; Christoff, 1996). Hajer (1995:27) comments that the role of science has shifted from a "reductionist scientific ontology and epistemology to one that takes a more integrative ecological idea about nature as its starting point". Within PFM, the forest scientist's role extends beyond explaining the functioning of the biophysical environment. Scientists must now apply their research on forests to issues of a socio-economic

nature. For example, determining the economic viability of particular harvesting regimes to local communities. It is the role of the forest scientists to determine the maximum levels of utilisation of forest resources without compromising ecological sustainability. In some respects, they set the boundaries within which the PFM policy can be implemented without compromising the ecological integrity of the forest systems. They thus have to factor social activities into their management plans. This differs from the role of Scientific Services in the past, whose focus was primarily the production of biophysical knowledge. The broadening of the sustainability discourse to include the notion of sustainable utilisation and incorporate social concerns has necessitated this shift in the role of scientists.

Thirdly, the conceptualisation of nature as a public good/resource rather than a free good at the macro-economic scale (Christoff, 1996) is demonstrated in the case study. If a forest is regarded as a free good, this means that if the quantity of the good supplied exceeds the demand, and it is freely available (Johnson, 1994). It is asserted here that the indigenous forests were treated as a free good in the distant past, and forests were plundered for their timber. The recognition that this was not a sustainable approach to forest utilisation necessitated a 'hard-line' approach to forest management during the colonial and apartheid eras, which restricted access to forests (DWAF, 2003d; Forest Scientist 2, 2003). A re-conceptualisation of the forests was required as a result of post-apartheid transformation. DWAF is the custodian of the forests and forest resources, a public good, looking after the forests for the public of South Africa (Knysna Official 2, 2003). However, a participatory approach has now been adopted through PFM. To view indigenous forests as a public good means that the quantity of the good supplied no longer exceeds the quantity demanded and thus can no longer be freely supplied in as great a quantity as required with zero opportunity costs (Adams, 2001).

There are two key implications that result from this re-conceptualisation of nature as a public good. Firstly, there are costs associated with supplying the resource. It is no longer freely available, because to ensure that the resource is available for both present and future generations, management regimes are required, which have a cost associated with them. This cost is borne largely by the state, which redeems some of this cost from taxpayers and also from entrance fees levied against the public who were granted access to the forests. Secondly, these costs are influenced by market forces (Adams, 2001). This necessitates the state deriving market related values for both consumptive and non-consumptive goods that the forests

provide in order to offset the costs. For example, timber is auctioned off and eco-tourism activities are encouraged, the proceeds of which go into the national treasury (Knysna Official 1, 2003; Knysna Official 2, 2003). Both these implications lend credibility to the plan to transfer management of the indigenous state forests in Knysna to SANParks, especially considering that less money is being allocated to indigenous forest management in the national budget, thereby placing greater pressure on these resources to generate their own revenue (Horn, 2002c). SANParks is better placed to do this than DWAF.

The re-conceptualisation of the forests from a free good to a public good in PFM policy indicates an ecological modernisation discourse, namely the economisation of nature, which is primarily a techno-corporatist approach. The environment has become increasingly subject to economic arguments in decision-making. It also makes economic sense to institutionalise PFM because it enables the ‘free-riders’ to be incorporated into the economic calculations associated with forest management. Through formalising or legalising the harvesting of forest products (such as the forest fern or red carrot) and encouraging other forest enterprise development (FED) initiatives, beneficiaries would pay a portion of their income to DWAF (Forester 1, 2003). Alternatively, instead of receiving this income in return for allowing the harvesting of certain products, DWAF may enlist volunteers to assist in guarding the forest and in so doing DWAF would not be required to pay another staff⁷⁹.

The fourth area where the PFM policy process exhibits an element of ecological modernisation is the reconsideration of the existing participatory practices in policy-making processes. Ecological modernisation acknowledges new actors in participatory environmental organisations and, to a lesser extent, local residents, encouraging an “opening up of existing policy making processes and the creation of new participatory practices” (Hajer, 1995:29). This can be characterised as a form of strong ecological modernisation. PFM is a new approach to indigenous forest management, which is in keeping with the principle of democracy that is enshrined in the South African Constitution⁸⁰. A reconsideration of participation in policy-making practices within DWAF instituted the introduction of the PFM policy with its PFM forums and PFM committees. Both of these are local arenas where a variety of local people, including entrepreneurs, community representatives and community leaders, are invited to participate in forest management issues. In this way the discursive arena

⁷⁹ See ‘the community are our eyes and ears’ storyline in Chapter Ten.

⁸⁰ See Chapter Six.

within which policy processes take place has broadened. Policy documents have subsequently become permeated with a participatory discourse. However, the extent to which participation moves beyond rhetoric and is practiced truthfully at an institutional and local level is critiqued here.

Section 14.3.2 has drawn together the argument for using ecological modernisation as a means of critically reviewing PFM. The PFM policy provides promise for stimulating a more radical approach to forest management because, although it is characterised as an ecological modernisation approach, the policy discourse is a strong version of ecological modernisation that could move indigenous forest management further along the pathway towards sustainable development. However, just as the green discourse experiences a weakening when it comes to implementation of policy, so too is this the case with a participatory discourse which, in the instance of the southern Cape, is more consistent with a weaker form of ecological modernisation. This understanding of the PFM process reveals the value of a northern, developed world framework to a developing world context such as South Africa. This contribution is discussed in Section 14.3.3.

14.3.3. The value of ecological modernisation as a framework for analysis in the developing world

This section discusses the value of using ecological modernisation as a theoretical framework for analysing a policy process in the developing world. In this way a contribution is made to ecological modernisation literature as the research provides substantive empirical support for a third generation ecological modernisation literature which is applicable to the South⁸¹.

When the concept is used as a means of analysing a policy process, the value of ecological modernisation lies in its ability to depict the politics of the environmental policy arena, and highlight the prevailing discourses and their associated discursive strategies. The PFM case study has revealed that ecological modernisation is a useful concept for understanding the environmental policy arena in South Africa, as the South African forestry policy context is consistent with many characteristics of ecological modernisation. At a broader level, South African policies display (weak) ecological modernisation tendencies in general, as a result of the adoption of mainstream environmental management approaches in the country (Oelofse, et

⁸¹ See Chapter Three.

al, 2006). In addition, owing to the country's adoption of a neoliberal, market-orientated approach in the form of GEAR (Bond, 2002), ecological modernisation has proved to be a useful way of understanding the associated politics and implementation of environmental policy. Therefore, if ecological modernisation is a helpful concept for describing, or providing an understanding of, the environmental policy arena in South Africa, then the question needs to be asked as to whether it is a desirable approach to adopt when resolving environmental problems.

Blowers and Pain (1999:267) reason that ecological modernisation is more appropriate to Northern contexts because the "issues it tackles and the processes by which it works assume certain conditions such as economic prosperity; an efficient market; technological advancement; an enabling state; and a plural, inclusive society". Many of these issues are reported to be missing from Southern contexts (Scott and Oelofse, 2005; Oelofse, et al, 2006). Concerning the presence of an enabling state, where the state provides a regulating framework for environmental protection rather than using prescriptive 'big stick' approaches, the state would encourage business to undertake voluntary self-regulation. In the context of South Africa, the state has committed itself to performing this kind of role (Willis, 2004) but due to institutional weaknesses this form of environmental regulation has yet to move beyond being a piecemeal approach to resource management.

Another significant limitation to implementing a strong ecological modernisation approach in South Africa is the institutional weakness that has resulted from the post-apartheid transition. Adams (2001:113) questions whether "weaknesses in governance, and in the institutions of civil society in Third World countries may prevent the full flowering of ecological modernisation as envisaged by theorists in Europe". Changes to policy and legislation mean that additional time and expense have to be expended to capacitate staff for the changes, and to develop new plans, procedures and materials to ensure effective implementation. Capacity and budgetary constraints are two of the key factors leading to institutional weakness in political institutions, which supports the notion that South Africa is not well placed economically and institutionally to implement ecological modernisation in a manner that will sustainably address environmental problems.

A key feature of South Africa's transformation process is the country's pursuit of a neoliberal political economy. This feature has implications for the country's ability to implement

environmental policies that are in line with strong ecological modernisation. Bond (2002:420) claims that ecological modernisation is a neoliberal discourse:

“What this means, concretely, is that South Africa is replete with radical intentions based on a highly politicised history and obvious legacies of apartheid-capitalism on the one hand, with centrist bargaining form and severely compromised legislative processes on the other; and in their most concrete manifestations, in actual cases of environmental management, extremely conservative policies and practices reflecting, above all, the dominance of major economic actors”

Bond (2002) acknowledges the ideals or ‘radical intentions’ and where they originate, but also acknowledges the limitations to transition and attributes much of the blame to the neoliberal ‘dominance of major economic actors’ in directing the kinds of discourses that become hegemonic. It is suggested that the discourse most likely to be advocated by green business and other economic actors is a weak ecological modernisation discourse, which raises questions about the value of ecological modernisation in dealing with environmental problems in South Africa, with its particular social and political context.

Ecological modernisation is both theory and practice. It provides a means of analysing policy processes, and it is an approach that is being applied in natural resource management both internationally and in South Africa, although this is not always overt. It is the adoption of mainstream environmental management approaches that allows it to become embedded in practice. This research has reflected on the value of ecological modernisation as theory, and it has considered its appropriateness to a developing world context. The following section reviews the theoretical contribution made by this study to the co-management literature and its relationship to ecological modernisation.

14.3.4. Co-management and the complexity of the South African context

The study also makes a theoretical contribution to the co-management literature by engaging with the broader theoretical question of how the form and nature of co-management, as reflected by PFM, relates to strong and weak ecological modernisation (see Figure 14.1). The thesis critically reviews co-management, which is a popular contemporary form of environmental governance. Co-management is an international imperative because it is a normative approach to natural resource management that has gained popularity, both globally and in South Africa (Grundy and Michell, 2004). It is a form of environmental governance that

reflects a participatory approach because it includes a variety of actors in the decision-making arena. It also reflects different levels or versions of co-management (Goodwin, 1998; Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Hauck and Sowman, 2003). Whether co-management is strong, weak, or somewhere in-between, is determined by the degree and nature of participation that takes place with other stakeholders in decision-making processes⁸². It is also shaped by the ecological modernisation approach to environmental management and the transformation imperative in South Africa.

The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) adopted a co-management approach to indigenous forest management in 2000 and formalised it when they drafted a PFM policy in 2003 (DWAF, 2002b; DWAF, 2003a). The Department agreed with the concept of a co-management continuum and developed a participatory forest management continuum⁸³ (DWAF, 1999). After Borrini-Feyerabend (1996) the Department (DWAF, 1999) included the “full control by agency in charge” and “full control by other stakeholders” into their conceptualisation of PFM, and this interpretation is critiqued in Chapter Five. Nevertheless, an analysis of the discourse of the PFM implementation process in this research has revealed that, despite the rhetoric of the policy advocating a stronger form of participation (strong co-management), when the policy was implemented in the southern Cape, the practice was a significantly weaker form of participation (weak co-management). If attempts to foster a co-management approach to natural resource management fail to achieve ‘real’ participation and bottom-up decision-making and are found to consistently perpetuate top-down, technocratic government interventions, it raises a question about the ability of actors to implement the principles of co-management in local spaces.

Since PFM is a co-management regime, this research facilitates some commentary on whether such regimes are appropriate if they are weak versions of ecological modernisation. This section discusses (a) why there is a weakening of co-management approaches in South Africa, (b) what the implications of this are for society and nature and (c) the kind of co-management that should be encouraged if strong ecological modernisation is to take place in South Africa.

a. Obstacles to co-management

⁸² See Chapter Five.

⁸³ See Figure 5.3 and DWAF, 1999.

Co-management may be weakened during its application for a variety of reasons. Co-management in South Africa is infused with the redistributive goals and aspirations of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and which accords well with the international literature on PFM. The co-management literature emphasises features such as participation, shared decision-making, partnerships, collaboration, the involvement of rural people in decision-making and sharing of responsibility (Borrini-Feyerabend, 1996; Hackel, 1999; Turner et al., 2001; Sihlophe, 2002; Hara and Raakjær Nielsen, 2003; Grundy and Michell, 2004), and the PFM literature adds the sharing of products and benefits, the socio-economic aspects of rural development, sustainable utilisation, and poverty alleviation (Murphree, 1993; B. Child, 1996; G. Child, 1996; Hobley, 1996; Vira, 1999; Grundy and Michell, 2004; Campbell and Luckert, 2001). Therefore the South African PFM policy is aligned with global trends:

“Through participation in the sustainable management of forest resources a contribution is made from forests to the local economic development, the constitutional rights of all South Africans to use and benefit from the forests, the livelihoods of poor and previously disadvantaged groups” (DWAF, 2003a:4).

Through achieving this goal, DWAF seeks to address a number of issues that feature in the socio-political context of forestry resource utilisation in South Africa as a result of the country’s colonial and apartheid history. These issues include (DWAF, 2002c:8):

- a. Providing rights to access forest resources and benefits therein by rural people
- b. Addressing past imbalances through corrective action in both equity and gender
- c. Improving relationships between different forest stakeholders
- d. Improving communities’ sense of ownership over forest management decision-making
- e. Providing the mechanism to encourage and promote the establishment of down stream opportunities that are beneficial to both the department and the community.

In PFM, the addition of the normative socio-economic goals to the participation principles of co-management enriches and deepens the co-management approach. However, the empirical research data has revealed that in the southern Cape the socio-economic goals of PFM have been emphasised at the expense of the participatory principles. PFM, it would appear, was promoted to the local communities on the premise that they would gain access to economic benefits and forest resources. This gave legitimacy to the Department and its policy and approach. However, when the difficulties with implementing PFM arose and PFM projects were slow to get off the ground, stakeholders became frustrated with the process because they were not receiving the promised benefits.

Much time, energy and financial resources were put into getting PFM projects up and running, on the side of DWAF as well as individuals and community groups and, the results of the study showed that comparatively little was spent on building capacity among stakeholders to effectively engage in decision-making processes. Reasons for this may include a lack of interest by the community members in being involved in decision-making around forest resources, and the inability of forestry officials and community members to surpass the history of racial tension that exists in the area and consequently to find new and innovative ways of engaging with each other. Such reasons are supported by Tropp (2006:166) who raises a question concerning the impact of current and historical experiences of controlled access to social and cultural resources on an individual's "wider perspectives on, and participation in, evolving environmental management strategies and development processes in local areas". Other reasons are: the knowledge that forestry resources, unlike fisheries resources, are limited in the extent to which they can provide a livelihood for many people, and the ad hoc manner in which PFM has evolved since its introduction in 2000, which has left DWAF officials and community members both confused and frustrated with the process. Whatever the combination of reasons is, co-management has become weakened due to the shift in PFM away from addressing the participative elements of co-management.

The failure of PFM forum members to achieve at least a degree of democratic deliberation in their meetings extends beyond factors of time, energy and budget allocations by individuals or organisations. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:27) write that deliberative problem solving is "marred by inequalities in political information and access, by ingrained patterns of exclusion and marginalisation, and particularly by insidious, unrecognised biases in policy rhetoric and perception". It is suggested that these three issues are a feature of South Africa's socio-political landscape and they are issues that need to be addressed in the way in which policy-making takes place in South Africa. The factors that result in weak co-management happening at the level of policy implementation have implications for the communities involved and also for nature. Some of these implications are reflected on below.

b. Implications of weak co-management for society and nature

Weak co-management has the propensity to negatively impact directly on society and also indirectly on nature. Concerning its impact on society, weak co-management (interpreted here

as minimal deliberation) does not provide opportunities for the “creation and enhancement of the possibilities of self transformation” among participants (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:24). Continuing in this vein, Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:24) write that deliberative policy analysis:

“aims through direct and active participation in democratic deliberation over concrete policy problems, to develop autonomy, or a capacity for judgement. Autonomy and self transformation are instrumentally useful in that they enhance the collective capacity for productive inquiry, but also, and perhaps above all, intrinsically valuable”.

Weak co-management, therefore, does not provide an opportunity for civil society to be empowered so that they can mobilise and engage in decision-making that leads to sustainability and the conservation of natural resources. In a society where neoliberalism is the driving force behind socio-economic development, without the involvement of a critical civil society the economic imperatives of big business may proceed at the expense of social and environmental considerations (Bond, 2002).

It is assumed that more openly participative and deliberative democratic processes are the most desirable policy processes. In as much as this may be the politically correct approach to adopt in a democratic country, it is prudent to consider that such an approach may not necessarily be the most pragmatic if the conservation of natural resources is the aim. From an ecological perspective, DWAF’s reservation of the right to control the degree and nature of participation of the other stakeholders in terms of forest management (DWAF, 1999; Figure 5.2) may be an appropriate stance to take to ensure that the most appropriate form of co-management is applied to a particular area. It may be that weak co-management, with the domination of the process by the state, is the most responsible approach to take to ensure the survival of certain natural resources. However, this decision should be negotiated and should be made jointly by all stakeholders, rather than merely being imposed by the regulating authority (in this case DWAF).

This shift in decision-making power reflects a change in politics from top-down ‘government intervention’ to ‘governance’ by a range of actors in a network (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). This shift introduces new sites, actors and themes to the policy-making arena and transfers decision-making power away from the state, providing an opportunity for others to shape the way that politics takes place and decisions are made. The PFM forums provide an opportunity

for governance; however policy-making in this new space has not been successful in the southern Cape.

c. Towards a deliberative democracy: the route to strong ecological modernisation

The previous two sections have argued that co-management practices in the southern Cape are not characterised by deliberative policy-making and have therefore underscored the need for a fundamental shift in policy-making to take place. This shift is away from ‘standard’ participation practices that characterise a liberal democracy such as representative democracy (weaker forms of co-management), towards stronger forms of co-management that are more deliberative and strive for an expansive democracy. This section discusses how this shift could take place, and reflects on why it is necessary in terms of the shift towards strong ecological modernisation.

Participation means different things to different people. According to Roodt (1996:313) participation is “a jargon word often separated from any context [and is] manipulated by vastly different groups of people to mean entirely different things”. Consequently, the term has been used to describe radically different strategies, which has led to confusion among those tasked with implementing ‘participatory’ approaches. It is the contention of this thesis that there is a need for co-management to be more deliberative. The quest for deliberative policy-making is based on a revised understanding of democracy and what this means for the nature of participation that occurs in policy-making. An expansive democracy will provide opportunities for “disparate actors” to “find nascent points of solidarity in the joint realisation that they need one another to craft effective political agreements” that are acceptable to all who are involved (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:3).

In order to facilitate deliberative policy-making, the traditional actors involved in facilitating policy-making need to be reoriented in seven key areas (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Firstly, they need to acknowledge that there are new spaces in which politics takes place. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:8) acknowledge that “politics and policymaking often happen in configurations that do not conform to the old formats”. Classical-modernist institutions, such as the Apartheid government departments, were structured in a manner (international, national, regional and local) that encouraged the top-down flow of information, decisions and power (DWAF in this case study). These structures and paths of policy-making are under threat in a network society. Policy-making in these new spaces (such as PFM forums) alters the

characteristics of the policy-making environment. Multi-level governance enables a variety of participants to interact and communicate. It is no longer actors from only one government institution engaging in policy-making but a variety of individuals who have their own institutional practices and routines. Therefore the 'established' 'rules of engagement' or ways of conducting policy-making from the traditional political institution are no longer appropriate. This affects who has the power to shape the dominant way that politics takes place and the dynamics of credibility.

Secondly, policymakers need to acknowledge that in many cases policy-making takes place "under conditions of radical uncertainty" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:09). Beck (1999, in Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:10) refers to the postmodern condition of a network society where people now have having "an increased awareness of our unawareness". In the past it was believed that regulatory institutions could systematically gather the facts that were required to make a particular political decision. In an Information Age where information is speedily gathered, disseminated and processed, there is a growing recognition that at any one point in time it is not possible to have all the facts and knowledge available to make appropriate decisions. And yet decisions need to be made under these conditions of uncertainty. Under conditions where the unknown is not immediately knowable, it is prudent that policymakers operate cautiously in order to avoid risks (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Strong co-management approaches facilitate a precautionary approach to problem solving and policy-making because they provide a sound platform from which to generate alternative risk avoidance strategies.

Thirdly, policymakers need to "understand the importance of 'difference'" (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:10). Modern societies have become more culturally complex due to increased multiculturalism. This is also the case in South Africa. Differences in language and conception complicate mutual understanding that is necessary for policy-making to take place (Hajer, 1995; 2003). There is a need for translation, between languages, between discourses, and between people to take place before policy-making can be meaningful. In South Africa this is particularly pertinent, given the country's history.

Fourthly, policymakers need to have an awareness of their interdependence with others, which highlights the importance of working at improving communication and understanding between different cultures. Actors need to recognise that they are interdependent because they share a commonality with others, whether it is because they share the same physical space (for

example, live and work within the same forest estate) or whether they share the same social or environmental problems (such as the challenge to conserve the forests and simultaneously benefit from forest resources), and thus they cannot solve key problems without collaboration.

Fifthly, policymakers need to understand that “policymaking is not simply about finding *solutions* for pressing problems, it is as much about finding formats that generate trust among mutually interdependent actors” (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:12). Trust is a key variable in policy-making because it influences the kinds of ‘interactive’, ‘consensus-building’ and ‘round-table’ practices that take place. However, deliberative processes themselves are instrumental in generating trust between actors because it is through active participation in collective action and problem solving that trust is achieved.

The sixth area in the re-orientation of policy-makers is the need for policymakers to understand the socially constructed, pragmatically driven nature of scientific knowledge production (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Traditionally policymakers relied on scientific rationality and scientific investigations to generate the facts and concepts that were needed to formulate policy. Increasingly it is recognised that local knowledge has an equal, if not greater, role to play in shaping a policy outcome because it enables policy analysis to obtain “contextually situated, normatively driven, practical reasoning” (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:30). Factual information about an object of policy analysis (for example, scientific information regarding the amount of indigenous timber that can be sustainably harvested from the forest) needs to be gathered. However, effective policy analysis is informed by information gathered about the social representations or constructions of the object of policy analysis (for example, the perceptions of community members on indigenous harvesting regimes), because in many cases “the representation of an issue...*is* the issue” (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:30).

The final area in which policy-making needs to undergo a re-orientation is towards an acknowledgement of the values of other participants (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Traditional policy analysis disregarded values because they were based on feelings, which were deemed to be beyond the reach of logic. Consequently, value conflicts that are a feature of policy-making were neglected and little or no attention was paid to how people handle value conflict. Values are also conditional because no value or moral code exists that is suitably authoritative to continually override other values in the case of value conflict (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003). Rather than labelling the expression of values as emotivism and sidelining the value conflict

that arises in the course of policy-making, deliberative policy analysis encourages policymakers to deal with value conflict. Larmore (1987, in Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:22) states that “everyday policymakers deal with value conflict through the exertion of practical judgement”, which is based on the conditionality of values and the concomitant attention to the context in which values are realised. A re-orientation in policy-making in these seven areas will enable policymakers to begin to engage in deliberative policy analysis. Such a shift is necessary because it will create the circumstances required for conditions of strong ecological modernisation to be fostered in South Africa.

This section has discussed why there is a weakening of co-management approaches and the implications of this for nature and society. It also provided an indication as to the kind of co-management that should be encouraged if strong ecological modernisation is to take place in South Africa. This creates a conceptual link between the normative body of knowledge of co-management and the critical theory of ecological modernisation. Section 14.3.5, which is the last component of this conclusion, discusses the applied contribution that this research has made to the participatory forest management context.

14.3.5. PFM: issues and recommendations

An analysis of the implementation of PFM policy in the southern Cape using discourse analysis provides an understanding of some of the issues that have influenced this process. As depicted in Figure 14.1, this research makes an applied contribution that will enable DWAF to adapt its approach to PFM policy implementation, which will enhance both the theory and practice of PFM in South Africa.

PFM is an approach to indigenous forest management, which is grounded in the broader theory of co-management that is currently an internationally accepted form of governance. It recognises the contribution that a diversity of actors can make to the management process through their involvement in PFM forums and committees. These actors could include community representatives, local farmers, Non Governmental Organisations and associations, forest guards, researchers, and entrepreneurs, all of which have a particular role or function to perform in the forum in terms of their contribution. However, the degree to which these institutional practices have been inclusive of this diversity of actors has not been considerable. PFM forums are comprised primarily of forestry officials and local community representatives

and therefore the weakened potential synergy that could result from a diverse management body. It is recommended that PFM Forums should contain a diversity of stakeholders and not just rural community representatives.

PFM policy advocates a win-win situation between local communities and the state department (DWAF). It aims to provide benefits for local communities and balance these with the protection of indigenous forests in a sustainable manner. This is reflected in the popular storylines ‘PFM is the only way’, ‘the community are our eyes and ears’ and ‘eco-tourism/tourism in the forest’. In as much as these storylines indicate the optimism that PFM can bring about a win-win situation, storylines such as ‘nothing is happening/ nothing has changed’ and also the ‘raised expectations and broken promises’ speak of the disappointment and frustration that many local people feel towards PFM and its inability to bring about substantial benefits to both forestry and communities. Caution should be exercised in the future when promoting PFM to ensure that the expectations that are raised and promises that are made are realistic for a particular local context. Indigenous forests have limited options in terms of providing economic opportunities for communities, and local actors need to be educated and informed about the limited potential that forests offer for local economic development.

A partnership between DWAF (or a forest management body such as SANParks) and local people should give previously marginalised communities the opportunity to contribute to forest management discussions and in so doing restore dignity and respect that was denied them in the past⁸⁴. Despite the cynicism of two community representatives (Community representative 3, 2003; Community Representative 5, 2003) about the genuineness of their participation in PFM processes, it was encouraging to hear the pride and commitment in the voices of the remaining six community representatives (Community Representative 1, 2003; Community Representative 2, 2003; Community Representative 4, 2003 and Community Representative 6, 2003) and the two forest guards (Forest Guard 1, 2003; Forest Guard 2, 2003) when they were being interviewed. In this respect PFM has gone a long way to restoring their dignity in showing them respect for their involvement. DWAF should persist in encouraging bottom-up participatory initiatives, and focus on broader social transformation and capacity building that

⁸⁴ See ‘pre/post 1994 dispensation’ storyline in Chapter Ten.

would enable informed participation and the deepening of democracy in its participatory processes.

The failing of top-down participatory practices is also evident in the case study. The participation that has taken place in the southern Cape through PFM has been criticised by numerous respondents; this was discussed under the 'PFM is a continuum' storyline. On the whole, bottom-up processes tend to generate greater buy-in or support from local communities, which is imperative for ensuring the sustainability of natural resources that neighbour these communities. This is especially important considering a socio-political context that has a history of authoritarianism and marginalisation.

The focus of PFM is the commitment to provide rural people with access to and benefits from forest resources. Built into this is the idea that, through granting access and creating opportunities for people to benefit from a resource that they had been denied in the past, some of the responsibilities for managing this resource would become theirs too. This means that they should be good stewards of the resource and that they should also assist DWAF by being vigilant about whom they see entering the forest. This reflects the co-management principle of linking rights and responsibilities.

A further principle of co-management is that it should not be a form of governance that is restricted to natural resource management, but should rather occur as part of a broader transformation in society so that members of civil society will be in a better position to respond to their increasing roles and responsibilities. There are indications that the socio-political context in South Africa is well poised to accept PFM⁸⁵. The PFM policy documents express a confidence in this transformation through the inclusion of social sustainability terms that are tied to issues of participation, democracy, social justice and equity. However, it is doubtful whether individuals are sufficiently transformed to faithfully practice PFM. It is much easier to repeat the rhetoric of participation to give an impression of transformation than it is to practice participation if one does not truly believe it to be the most appropriate approach to apply. This study has revealed the difficulties associated with the struggle for transformation institutionally within DWAF and also within individuals themselves. DWAF should persist in transformation programmes, as there is a need for all staff members of DWAF to shift toward a greater commitment to these more socially orientated processes.

⁸⁵ See 'transformation in South Africa' epistemic notion in Chapter Eight and 'pre/post 1994 dispensation' storyline in Chapter Ten.

The last principle of co-management to consider in relation to PFM in the southern Cape is the acknowledgement that co-management is a process that should be regularly reviewed with a view to making improvements, rather than developing a blueprint that is rigidly applied. In this way the emphasis of PFM is not on producing a robust management plan, but rather a healthy relationship with stakeholders to support partnerships that are able to respond to various needs effectively and adapt management practices. The impression was created by DWAF staff in Knysna that the PFM process is something that adheres well to their adaptive management approach. PFM was implemented in Knysna very rapidly⁸⁶ and there was an initial resistance to the process by officials that was demonstrated in the ‘we’re not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei’ storyline it is not surprising that an adaptive management approach is required. Although the benefit of hindsight might indicate that PFM should not have been implemented with such urgency the way it was in Knysna, at a national level there was pressure for PFM to be implemented as soon as possible in areas such as Dukuduku, where people/forest conflicts are intense. It does, however, raise questions as to whether the complexities of the unique local context of the southern Cape were adequately considered.

The southern Cape context is unique in a few respects, but most notably in respect of the nature of the natural resource being managed. The indigenous Afromontane forests of the southern Cape region are, for their size and pristine environment, unique in South Africa and, it is suggested, southern Africa. The ‘PFM is the only way’ storyline has a diverse range of meanings associated with it, but all respondents (some more resigned than others) did not advocate that the most appropriate management approach is the traditional, conservative fences and fines approach. When success stories of co-management approaches, especially for Afromontane forests, are few, the question arises as to whether there is a more appropriate approach to protect the forests that acknowledges local communities. Many case studies of PFM are concerned with the more robust savannah biome (Watson, pers. comm., 2004; Researcher 2, 2003), which raises questions about its applicability to sensitive, unique and limited forest resources.

A second contextual element that makes the southern Cape a unique context in which to apply PFM is the fact that the indigenous forests, with their poor rural neighbouring communities,

⁸⁶ See the ‘cart before the horse’ storyline in Chapter Eleven.

are in relatively close proximity to the towns of George, Knysna and Plettenberg Bay. These towns, and especially Knysna, have a high proportion of affluent people living in and around them and thus the poverty-affluence gradient in the southern Cape is very steep. The Statistics South Africa (2003) data reveals that the conditions of poverty that exist in the region are hidden in the statistics by the relative affluence of the region that is apparent when it is compared to other regions. This creates the impression that PFM, which has its emphasis on poor communities, is not a priority in the region, as the area does not contain the 'poorest of the poor'.

In addition, Knysna's history as a centre of excellence in forest science research and scientific management has created a situation that required a sensitive handling of PFM owing to the staff that worked there. Staff at the Knysna Office are generally highly trained scientists who apply a 'hard natural science' orientation⁸⁷. This misunderstanding of the social context legitimised the resistance of Knysna Officials and necessitated Head Office seconding two staff members who have a background in the social complexities of people-forest interactions to Knysna to inject energy into the process.

The value of Head Office's contribution to Knysna's policy implementation process in the form of the secondment of two staff members to the region is significant. These staff members achieved the objective of getting the process up and running. However, the effect that this top-down implementation of a national imperative has had on the future of PFM in the region needs to be recognised. Sending people to Knysna could be viewed as forced engagement with PFM. It could be argued that Knysna staff were co-opted into the process by the 'community are our eyes and ears' storyline and by encouraging the staff to apply PFM for the benefit of attaining an FSC certification for the forest. It could also be alleged that local communities were co-opted by the promise that PFM held for them in terms of deriving substantial financial benefits. The literature suggests that local acceptance is an important factor determining the degree of participation required for PFM, but the reality is that this was not adequately taken into account in the southern Cape. What transpired in the region is more a result of co-option than participation.

⁸⁷ See 'scientific management' epistemic notion in Chapter Eight and 'foresters are not social development workers' storyline in Chapter Eleven.

The debate about the transfer to SANParks presented an opportunity for a more participatory approach to be used in forest management and for the PFM Forums to play a real role in a decision about the future management of the forests. However, local community representatives were not given this opportunity. Instead the decision was more of a national directive than a local participatory initiative involving both DWAF staff and other stakeholders. Observations such as this cast doubt on DWAF's sincerity towards the PFM policy and the spirit of what PFM means. The transfer to SANParks poses a challenge for the future of PFM, because of the top-down manner in which the decision was made. This approach has promoted scepticism and confusion about the transfer. It is also a challenge because many local community members have negative feelings about SANParks due to their history with the nearby Tsitsikamma National Park.

A further observation regarding the nature of implementation at a local level, and its effect on future PFM implementation in the region is the range of resistance towards PFM. This is apparent among Knysna Officials who demonstrate their passive resistance through the reiteration of the 'we're not like the Eastern Cape/Transkei' storyline and also more actively through applying for departmental transfers to remove them at the community-forestry interface. Farmers and other stakeholder groups who, despite being invited, do not attend PFM forum meetings also demonstrates resistance to PFM.

Furthermore an issue concerning the implementation of the national PFM policy at a local level, which draws on issues and observations that have already been raised in this section, is the weakening of the principles and optimism of PFM that is encapsulated in early policy documents. This is apparent at both a national level and at a local level. In terms of the national level, more recent policy documents such as the Draft PFM Policy Document (DWAF, 2003a) have incorporated what could be termed a vocabulary of moderation. It is suggested that this vocabulary was included based on lessons learned from the implementation processes underway in local contexts, such as Knysna. At a local level this weakening is apparent in the more top-down, coercive and managerial approach that is currently being adopted.

Lastly, there is a need for DWAF to redefine what they mean by 'participation', and to bring this new definition in line with the more deliberative elements of co-management. There is an opportunity for the PFM forums to be the 'new space' within which policy-making can take

place for forestry concerns in the southern Cape, where ‘new actors’ can deliberate by engaging in collective, interactive discourse. As Hajer and Wagenaar (2003:11) comment:

“If the traditional forms of government [for example, DWAF in the southern Cape] are unable to deliver, either because of a lack of legitimacy or because there is a mismatch between the scope of the problem and the existing territorial jurisdictions, then networks of actors must create the capacity to interact and communicate. This awareness seems to create new creativity in thinking about new modes of conflict resolution that suggest the essence of dealing with policy conflicts might be a more substantial process of deliberation, shared problem solving and developing regimes of joint responsibility than merely interest-based bargaining”.

In order for this to occur, the seven areas of re-orientation of policy-makers (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003) that are described in Section 14.3.4 need to be addressed by participants in the policy-making arena.

This section has highlighted key issues and observations that have arisen from this research, and considers the implications of this for the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF). The final section makes some broad concluding remarks (Section 14.4).

14.4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

This thesis investigates the implementation of a participatory natural resource management policy from a national to a local level in South Africa. PFM policy reflects strong ecological modernisation, however this research has shown that, at a local level, PFM discourse takes on a weaker form as principles from the co-management continuum are implemented in a local space with its own social and political complexities. This may not be problematic in the current context, as the co-management continuum endorses less radical forms of ecological modernisation by suggesting that less participative and more consultative management approaches may be more appropriate for certain contexts. The study reveals the challenges of implementing principles of co-management in a context of social transformation, with a history of top down natural resource management approaches and limited levels of capacity and resources. It also raises questions about the appropriateness of open and participatory management approaches to Afromontane indigenous forests in South Africa, where the ecological resource is scarce, and limited in its ability to meet social and economic needs within its ecological carrying capacity.

Sustainability is a broad notion that frames natural resource management both internationally and in South Africa. The drive towards greater sustainability is supported by progressive and innovative policy and practice that acknowledges the integration of social, ecological, economic and governance dimensions. PFM forms part of the approach to sustainable forest management as enshrined in the National Forest Act (Act 84 of 1998) and hence it reflects an attempt to achieve greater sustainability in the forestry sector.

Ecological modernisation reflects a way in which the critical discourse of the radical, neo-Malthusian environmentalist critique of the 1970's (which was first embodied in the World Conservation Strategy) has been mainstreamed by the sustainable development epistemic notion. Adams (2001) believes that the Rio Conference of 1992 promoted a view of sustainable development that premised inter-generational over intra-generational equity and demanded no radical changes to corporate or national power, or shifts in social or industrial organisation. Instead, sustainable development could be pursued using traditional tools of market and environmental regulation. In this way the radical demands of environmentalism became more palatable to both economists and politicians and, given sustainable development's alleged focus on the conservation of biodiversity, also a large following of environmentalists. Hence, approaches that reflect weak ecological modernisation became the mainstream, which is the approach reflected in the implementation of PFM at the local level.

However, Harvey (1996:401) cautions that more radical approaches to ecological modernisation and hence sustainability should be promoted. He writes:

“The reinsertion of ‘rational ordering’ indicates that such a movement will have no option as it broadens out from its militant particularist base, but to reclaim for itself a non-co-opted and non-perverted version of the theses of ecological modernisation. On one hand that means subsuming the highly geographically differentiated desire for cultural autonomy, for the proliferation of tradition and difference within a more global politics, but on the other hand making the quest for environmental and social justice central rather than peripheral concerns. For that to happen, the environmental justice movement has to radicalise the ecological modernisation discourse.”

Hence according to Bond (2002) and Harvey (1996), considering the ecological modernisation continuum, it is imperative that South Africa, in the process of its transition, strives to move towards stronger versions of ecological modernisation that prioritise socially and ecologically just development strategies over ones that are driven by market-orientated economic growth. There is a need for practitioners in the environmental policy arena to redefine what they mean

by participation and to implement alternative processes that confront the social processes that have environmental consequences because, as Harvey (1996) states, environmental objectives are coupled with the struggle for social concerns such as respect, recognition and empowerment. Hajer and Wagenaar (2003) refer to these stronger co-management processes as processes that create possibilities for self-transformation and the creation of autonomy. This suggests that a stronger form of co-management should be supported in South Africa. PFM policy supports these more radical approaches but it is the reality of implementation that weakens it.

Transforming the utopian goal of PFM rhetoric into a practical reality is a difficult process and it is exciting to see South Africa adopting such a forward thinking and progressive policy. Negotiating a way through the practical implementation of innovative policy necessitates an approach that focuses on “real people and communities who struggle with concrete issues in settings that are rife with conflict and power differentials” (Hajer and Wagenaar, 2003:27). This is the place of democratic deliberation and it is positive that this new form of environmental governance is emerging in natural resource management in South Africa.

Even though the application of the policy has been found to be consistent with weak ecological modernisation, many would argue that this point on the continuum is the most appropriate place for South Africa to be, given its social, economic and political context and the high conservation value of the southern Cape Afromontane forests. The challenge is to press on with transformation and to continue the process of learning so as to develop an increased understanding of how to apply democratic principles and deliberative processes to valuable and sensitive environments. This thesis is a contribution to this journey of learning.

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2. INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

Community representative 1: Interviewed on 02/10/2003.

Community representative 2: Interviewed on 03/10/2003.

Community representative 3: Interviewed on 09/10/2003.

Community representative 4: Interviewed on 10/10/2003.

Community representative 5: Interviewed on 08/10/2003 and 13/10/2005.

Community representative 6: Interviewed on 27/03/2003.

Donor 1: Interviewed on 30/01/2003 and 03/12/2003.

Donor 2: Interviewed on 27/01/2003 and 04/12/2003.

Forest Guard 1: Interviewed on 10/10/2003.

Forest Guard 2: Interviewed on 07/10/2003.

Forest Scientist 1: Interviewed on 25/01/2003.

Forest Scientist 2: Interviewed on 06/10/2003 and 10/10/2005.

Forester 1: Interviewed on 07/10/2003 and 10/10/2005.

Forester 2: Interviewed on 25/03/2003.

Forester 3: Interviewed on 01/10/2003.

Forester 4: Interviewed on 27/03/2003 and 01/10/2003.

Forester 5: Interviewed on 26/03/2003.

Head Office Official 1: Interviewed on 05/12/2003.

Head Office Official 2: Interviewed on 04/12/2003.

Head Office Official 3: Interviewed on 04/12/2003.

Interested Party 1: Interviewed on 13/10/2005.

Interested Party 2: Interviewed on 11/10/2005.

Knysna Official 1: Interviewed on 25/03/2003 and 08/10/2003.

Knysna Official 2: Interviewed on 6/10/2003.

Knysna Official 3: Interviewed on 10/10/2005.

Local Business Owner 1: Interviewed on 27/03/2003 and 14/10/2005.

Local Business Owner 2: Interviewed on 4/10/2003.

Local Business Owner 3: Interviewed on 14/10/2005.

Local Business Owner 4: Interviewed on 11/10/2005.

Researcher 1: Interviewed on 03/10/2003.

Researcher 2: Interviewed on 23/09/2003.

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3. How robust are forest ecosystems? What do you believe are the threats to forest wellbeing?
4. Is there scope for economic activity to be supported by the forests? What would you think are the most economically beneficial ventures that the forest could support?
5. How would you describe the level of affluence in the Knysna region? Would you say that there are poor communities living near the forests?
6. These forums must be quite a challenge. What do you think are the major obstacles to overcome with regard to these forums?
7. How would you describe PFM?
8. Is there a need for PFM in the Southern Cape?
9. Why do you believe that this approach to forestry is being promoted?
10. Who do you think are the stakeholders of PFM in the forest?
 - a. How would you describe their position in the process?
 - b. Who do you believe has played the greatest role in shaping the implementation of PFM here?
11. Has PFM been met with any opposition? (in Knysna)?
 - a. If so, who are they and why?
 - b. If not, why not?
12. When did you first hear about PFM?
 - a. What was your first impression of the policy/approach
13. How are you involved with PFM?
14. How would you define the participation required by PFM?
 - a. Is this achievable?
15. Research has indicated that the rate of forest destruction declines with the introduction of participatory practices. In your experience, what would your comment be regarding this statement?
16. What sources do you consult for guidance on how to implement PFM?
17. Is there an alternative option to PFM?

Questions to ask DWAF and RAMBOLL representatives in second phase interviews

1. When was PFM first discussed with the South Africa government?
2. Who petitioned for PFM to be adopted?
3. Were there any alternatives to PFM on the drawing board?
4. What factors appealed to the South Africa government for it to be accepted?

5. What's the reason for implementing such a radical change in forest management just prior to the management of indigenous forests being handed over to SANP?
6. What were some of the debates taking place at a national level regarding IFM prior to PFM?
7. What policy documents/ legislation is PFM encapsulated in?
8. Could you please summarise the strategic thinking behind PFM?
 - a. What does it mean for people and forests?
9. How do the adoption of PFM and the institutional changes taking place within DWAF link – is there a connection between the two?

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR THIRD PHASE INTERVIEWS

Stakeholders:

- 2 DWAF staff members
- 2 people involved in project implementation/ management.

What do I want to learn from these interviews?

- Information pertaining to grounded reality and PFM process
- To reveal some of the actual issues that people have in dealing with project implementation: the reality of implementing PFM
- To see whether some of the terms of environmental discourse already identified at a broader level are identifiable at a project level.
- To better understand the PFM process in the region: Information about forums, PFM progress reports etc

Questions to ask respondents in third phase interviews

1. Please could you describe the project?
2. What is your role in the project?
3. What is the purpose of the project?
4. Who would you say is/are the key driver/s of this project?
5. What are the 3 key problems/constraints/challenges that the project team are facing/have faced with regard to project implementation?
6. Who would you say the beneficiaries of the project are?
7. Has this project been allocated any funding to get it off the ground? Are you at liberty to disclose who the funders are? Why are they funding the project?
8. Who are the decision-makers in this project? Is there a project team?
9. Could this project be regarded as a PFM project?
10. Why is this (not) good a DWAF PFM project?
11. When was a proposal to begin this project submitted to DWAF?
12. Why do DWAF need to approve it?
13. When did DWAF give the go-ahead?

14. What has happened since? How long has it been running? How would you describe the progress made in the project?