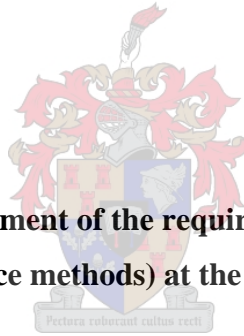


**Contribution of the Participatory Forest Management (PFM) intervention to the
Socio-economic development in the Southern Cape Forests: A retrospective approach**

Tania Natasha Holmes



**Thesis presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of
Philosophy (Social science methods) at the University of Stellenbosch**

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March 2007

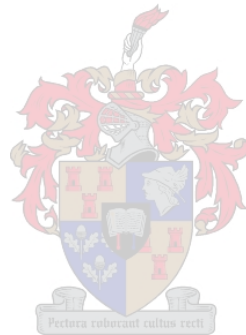
Declaration

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that the work contained in this thesis is my own original work and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it at any university for a degree.

Signature:

Tania Natasha Holmes

Date: 25th February 2006



Abstract

The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) maintains that its people-centred Participatory Forest Management (PFM) program contributes to rural poverty eradication through provision of employment, skills training and sharing of benefits of sustainable forest management. It also asserts that local people in the forested parts of South Africa interactively participate in designing systems and institutions that shape forest resources use and management and hence influence their livelihood strategies. Furthermore, the department asserts that the PFM program has taken off exceptionally well in the Southern Cape Forests than anywhere else in South Africa. This means that local people that inhabit the margins of the Southern Cape Forests benefit from the management of these forests. Consequently, this study set out to investigate the socio-economic contribution of the PFM intervention to the two forest-dwelling communities of Diepwalle and Covie within the Southern Cape Forests. The investigation employed an outcome based evaluation approach and was summative in nature. Data were gathered by conducting a 100% survey of the two communities and also through a workshop. Informal interactions and discussions as well as visual observations were used to verify data as the purpose of the study was to present an unbiased, multi-voiced account of the socio-economic contributions of the PFM intervention to the Diepwalle and Covie communities.

The results of this research show that the outcomes of the PFM intervention have not been met in the two communities. It was found that the vast majority of the households in the two communities were not aware at the time of this study of the PFM program. There were at the time of the study no PFM-based incentives for local communities to actively participate in the sustainable use and management of the indigenous forests in the vicinity of Diepwalle and Covie. Almost all the householders in the two communities stressed that they do not benefit from the management of the indigenous forests. The existing management approach followed in the Southern Cape Forests does not appear to have more socio-economic and environmental gains than the conventional approach which excludes local people from the planning, designing, implementation and evaluation of institutions and systems which affect their physical environment. The study recommends, among others, regular evaluation of the PFM program to fast track its successful implementation and to ensure that the National Forests Act of 1998 that establishes PFM is fully implemented to realize the socio-economic benefits of forest conservation.

Opsomming

Volgens die Departement Waterwese en Bosbou (DWB) dra die Mensgesentreerde Deelnemende Bosbestuursprogram (*Participatory Forest Management* of PFM) by tot die uitwissing van armoede op die platteland deur werkverskaffing, vaardigheidsopleiding en die deel in voordele van volhoubare bosbestuur. Die DWB beweer dat inwoners van die woudgebiede van Suid-Afrika deelneem aan die ontwerp van stelsels en instellings wat die gebruik en bestuur van woudhulpbronne vorm en daarom hulle broodwinningstrategieë beïnvloed. Verder voer die DWB aan dat die PFM-program aansienlik beter in die Suid-Kaapse Woude weggespring het as op enige ander plek in Suid-Afrika. Dit beteken dat plaaslike mense wat in buitewyke van die Suid-Kaapse Woude woon, voordeel trek uit die bestuur van die woude. Hierdie studie is onderneem om die sosio-ekonomiese bydrae van die PFM-intervensie tot twee woudgemeenskappe, Diepwalle en Covie, in die Suid-Kaapse Woude te ondersoek. Die ondersoek het 'n uitkomsgebaseerde evaluasiebenadering gevolg en was summatief van aard. Gegewens is deur 'n 100%-opname van die gemeenskappe en tydens 'n werkwinkel versamel. Informele interaksies en besprekings asook visuele waarnemings is gebruik om gegewens te verifieer, omdat die doel van die studie was om 'n onbevooroordeelde, veelstemmige verslag van die sosio-ekonomiese bydraes van die PFM-intervensie tot bogenoemde gemeenskappe daar te stel.

Die navorsingsresultate toon dat die uitkomst van die PFM-intervensie nie in die twee gemeenskappe bereik is nie. Die oorgrote meerderheid huishoudings was ten tye van die studie onbewus van die program en daar was geen PFM-gebaseerde aansporings vir plaaslike gemeenskappe om aktief aan die volhoubare gebruik en bestuur van die inheemse woude in die Diepwalle- en Covie-omgewing deel te neem nie. Bykans al die huishouers het benadruk dat hulle geen voordeel uit die bestuur van die inheemse woude trek nie. Geen getuienis is gevind wat bevestig dat bekwaamhede bevorder is as gevolg van die PFM-program nie. Alle deelnemers ontken vaardigheidsontwikkeling wat deur die PFM geïnisieer is. Dit blyk dat die bestaande bestuursbenadering wat in die Suid-Kaapse Woude gevolg word, nie meer sosio-ekonomiese en omgewingsvoordele lewer nie as die konvensionele benadering wat plaaslike mense uitsluit van die beplanning, ontwerp, implementering en evaluasie van instellings en stelsels wat hulle fisiese omgewing beïnvloed. Die studie beveel onder andere gereelde evaluasie van die PFM-program aan om die suksesvolle implementering daarvan te bespoedig

en te verseker dat die Wet op Nasionale Woude van 1998 volledig geïmplementeer word sodat die sosio-ekonomiese voordele van woudbewaring kan realiseer.



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Heavenly Father, You have blessed me with the ability, health and insight to start and complete this work – I gratefully thank Your Majesty.

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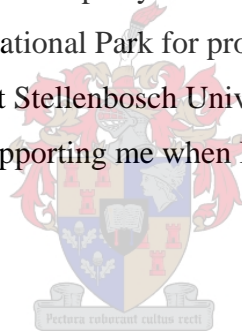


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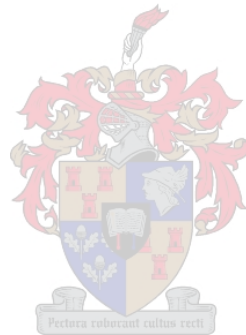
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Chapter one

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

A fair amount of recognition is being given to socio-economic rights in South Africa (Seleoane, 2000). Authorities make use of the incorporation of social interventions, programs or projects to serve the people and give them the ability to enjoy these rights. Social interventions are usually responses to perceived social problems. A social intervention can be defined as a set of activities mounted to achieve external objectives, that is, to meet some recognized social need or to solve an identified problem. Rossi and Freeman (cited in Babbie and Mouton, 2001) share this view and suggest that: “the origin of a social program is a “social problem” by which we mean a socially recognized set of defects in the human and social condition — and a program is a resolve to take purposeful, organised action to remedy it”.

The Apartheid system and its deconstruction had profound effects on the natural environment, including forests and on the local communities living in and around protected areas. South Africa’s previous forestry policies, laws and programs had sufficient conservation attributes. However, the political environment of apartheid in which these policies operated contaminated their soundness. It was difficult to differentiate between the forestry policy and the framework economic policy of apartheid that permeated all economic activities. The apartheid government saw no role for rural forest-dependent people in forest conservation and in many cases adopted a deliberate policy of marginalization and social engineering. Social engineering involved forced removal of black and coloured people from their ancestral grounds to make way for conservation or for white settlements. This dismantled community social networks and livelihood strategies. For example, Peart and Wilson (1998) observed the concern for the environment before the implementation of democratic rule in South Africa to be largely articulated within an authoritarian conservation paradigm that focused on protecting the natural environment from people. This resulted in forced relocation of Africans to make way for national parks, nature, and forest reserves. Watts (2002) notes that the costs of establishing South Africa's protected areas had been borne by local communities, particularly in the form of land expropriation. This drove a wedge between conservation authorities and local communities.

As a consequence, conservation policies were viewed negatively by the black majority population (Peart and Wilson, 1998).

After the 1994 elections, South Africa's forestry policy and legislation were directed at trying to put a balance between addressing the past wrongs of apartheid and accepting responsibility for local people who live within or at the margins of forested landscapes, while continuously advocating for the most efficient utilization of natural forest resources. Key documents that express the South African government's focus on socio-economic development through sustainable forest management are the White Paper for Sustainable Forestry Development, the National Forestry Action Plan of 1997 and the National Forests Act (NFA) of 1998, amongst others. All post-apartheid conservation development policies, laws and programs in South Africa are aimed at rectifying past injustices like the exploitation of people, discrimination in relation to access to natural resources and the monopolisation of the natural environment's wealth, *inter alia*.

This study was conceptualised against this background and its significance stems from the importance to evaluate policy directed interventions not only to fast track its successful implementation, but also to ensure that these laws do not become mere paper rights/laws. Thus, in the forestry sector, it is imperative to evaluate social interventions like Participatory Forest Management (PFM) to bring about its actual realisation and to inform future policy decisions for sustainable and equitable forest management.

The Participatory Forest Management (PFM) program was introduced by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) to serve as a vehicle for sustainable management of natural forest resources throughout South Africa. Unlike all other forestry interventions which focused on forest biodiversity conservation, PFM has a strong focus on socio-economic upliftment of communities that live within and at the margins of forested landscapes. This is no exception to the Southern Cape Forests, the single largest block of indigenous forest in South Africa. Hopley (1996) defines PFM as the sharing of products, responsibilities, control and decision-making authority over forest lands between forest departments and local user groups. Therefore, PFM was introduced as an intervention to address certain socio-economic problems caused by the previous Apartheid regime. This is explicit in the principles of PFM which are highlighted elsewhere below.

1.2 Background information regarding the origin of PFM

Forests meet local needs through the exploitation of non-timber forest products (NTFPs), which broadly include food products (wild mushrooms, berries, nuts, honey and other lesser-known wild edibles), natural remedies and personal care products, and crafts and craft products (Duchesne and Wetzel, 2002). Currently, fern collection from the Southern Cape Forests is an important industry in which the private sector, Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) and to a lesser degree local communities are involved. Similarly, timber plays a crucial role in sustainable forest management and also generates useful NTFPs such as biofuel and all other products that emanate from wood waste. Furthermore, natural forests offer outdoor recreational activities (Vermeulen, 1999). For example, tree canopy walks, canoeing and viewing of ancient trees are integral components of local ecotourism practised in these forests, especially in Tsitsikamma Indigenous Forest Estate. Forest-based ecotourism also has positive effects on the general economy of the Garden Route, especially for the hospitality industry: hotels, bed and breakfast accommodation and local handicraft industry.

These different categories of local natural forest use attract private capital capable of initiating sustainable rural development. Private capital has a great potential for job creation, resulting in alleviating rural unemployment and excessive dependence on the consumption of natural resources. Ensuring access to markets for sustainable forestry enhances economic activity in rural areas. This promotes both public and private investments in transportation, education, health, communication and other service facilities capable of diversifying rural economy through specialisation among producers (Watts, 2003a), which communities in the Southern Cape Forests desperately need.

However, sustainable and equitable contribution of natural forests to rural development and biodiversity conservation in the Southern Cape Forest is a function of policy. This is because natural resource policies, laws and programs, including those affecting the forestry sector define the procedure for the use and management of the country's natural resources. They create opportunities for conservation, determine how benefits and costs of conservation should be distributed, and provide signals to all those involved in natural resource use and management on how they would be held accountable (Mayers and Bass, 1999). Furthermore, these instruments should also enhance equity among many interest groups that exhibit demand for forest resources (Watts, 2002). For example, the state wishes to mobilise the economic potential of a renewable

resource to generate revenues and employment, the industry seeks to increase its profitability and competitiveness in the national and global economies; other members of the public consider natural forests as a major component of a stable and amenable environment; and foremostly, rural people rely on forests for livelihoods (de Montalembert and Schmithüsen, 1994).

In South Africa, the policy that articulates the need for equitable and sustainable use of forests resources is contained in the White Paper for Sustainable Forestry Development. This White Paper is premised on the democratic values enshrined in the Constitution, and also on the Reconstruction and Development Program, and emphasises the participation of forest and woodland-dependent communities in the management of State forests and woodlands. The policy statement in the White Paper concerning the inclusion of natural forest and woodland-dependent communities in the management of these resources is further articulated in the National Forestry Action Program (NFAP) of 1997 and the National Forests Act (NFA) of 1998. This has caused the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) to develop “A Participatory Forest Management Program” to express and implement Participatory Forest Management in order to promote socio-economic development of communities that live within and at the margins of protected indigenous forest estates. This has given rise to the development of principles for pursuing participatory forest management (PFM) in State forests. According to these principles, indigenous forest management should be compatible with rural people’s livelihood strategies. It should be ecologically, politically and socio-economically sound; be gender-sensitive; encourage conflict management and capacity-building among forest resource users (stakeholders); and result in sustainable stream of benefits to local communities, among others.

It is worth noting that DWAF’s stance on PFM has been founded on the UN Convention, which South Africa ratified, particularly those developed for signature at the Earth Summit in 1992. These strongly advocated a combination of government decentralisation and devolution to local communities of responsibility for natural resources (Lundy, 1999). Furthermore, South Africa’s existing environmental policy and legislation whose origin could be traced to these multilateral environmental agreements, and which serve as a framework policy and legislation for the White Paper on Forestry, National Forests Act (NFA) and National Forestry Action Program (NFAP) emphasise participatory forest management, inclusion of local people in decisions affecting their physical and socio-economic environment, and community forestry, *inter alia* (DWAF, 1996;

Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1998). Therefore, participatory, cooperative governance of natural resources, including forestry is well institutionalised.

1.3 Problem statement

The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) maintained that its people-centred natural forest management program, i.e., PFM contributed to rural poverty eradication through provision of employment, skills training, sharing of benefits of sustainable forest management, and also asserts that local people in forested parts of South Africa participated interactively in designing systems and institutions that shape forest resources and hence influence their livelihood strategies. In fact, DWAF indicated that the Southern Cape Forests where this social intervention is currently being implemented and it was the focus of this study, were the best-conserved indigenous forests in the country. The department also maintained that PFM has taken off exceptionally well in the Southern Cape Forests more than anywhere else in South Africa. This meant that local people benefited from the management of these forest resources.

Ironically, local communities that live in and around the Southern Cape Forests, where the effects of PFM on socio-economic development were assessed, stressed that they were unaware of PFM. They also countered that they do not benefit from the management of surrounding indigenous forest. Conversely, they indicated that outside business interests benefit from the management of the forest resources. Many people in the Tsitsikamma area stated that they have not seen any change in the management of Tsitsikamma Indigenous Forests Estate. To them, nothing has changed because they still have to follow the views of DWAF, without their rights to the protected forests that they have borne the costs of establishing, at least, in a way.

Local communities consider the management of Southern Cape Forests to be exclusive of themselves. The only discernable benefit according to them is from limited and largely unskilled employment opportunities. For example, Kloeck-Jenson (2000) noted that local people are not selected for jobs involving more technical activities like driving or equipment operation. They are hired to clear paths, identify tree stands, transport and load logs onto trucks where manoeuvring of equipment is unfeasible. Community participation in the management of natural resources is treated cursorily if at all; the long-term participation of rural communities as stakeholders in conservation is still viewed in the context of low paid employment creation and other superficial benefits that do not reflect genuine participation (Tanner, 2001).

There is also no explicit statement on equity in benefit-sharing, for instance, between local people and private investors, particularly, after the investors have recouped investment losses or have reached the “break-even” point. Nonetheless, benefit-sharing is critical for garnering local support for conservation.

In the light of these frustrations, the protected Southern Cape Forests run the risk of falling victim to threats, including illegal poaching (hunting), illegal logging or mining, general ecological damage or total destruction. These pressures are driven by underlying causes including poor governance of the protected area, severe poverty among surrounding communities, and/or either greed or lack of alternative livelihoods. It is against this background that this evaluation study is proposed to shed light and bring about an understanding of the gap between the conceptualisation of PFM and the actual realisation thereof.

1.4 Aims and objectives of the study

It was proposed that an ¹evaluation study be done on the PFM strategy that should inform policy makers about the degree of success of this intervention. The purpose of the study was to assess the ways in which, and the extent to which rural communities living around the protected area in the Southern Cape Forests derived socio-economic benefits from PFM. The proposed study was conducted with its focus on three main objectives namely:

- a) To assess the experiences local people in the Southern Cape Forests had towards the PFM intervention.
- b) To assess the ways in which this intervention contributed to the socio-economic development of the people in the area hence, the benefits that local people derived from the PFM program.
- c) To identify ways in which this intervention can be enhanced to reach its full potential.

The first two objectives were assessed in relation to the following areas:

- a) Participation and involvement of local communities in the PFM program itself, the management and decision-making activities in the Southern Cape Forest
- b) Access to natural forest resources for livelihood for local people living in and around the Southern Cape Forests

¹ Freeman and Rossi (1993) define “evaluation research” as “...the systematic application of social research procedures for assessing the conceptualization, design, implementation and utility of social intervention programs”.

- c) Employment and business opportunities for local people living in and around the Southern Cape Forests
- d) Skills development and training of local people to equip them to become part of the management decision-making in the Southern Cape Forest
- e) Knowledge ability/enlightenment of local people in relation to PFM

1.5 Methodology

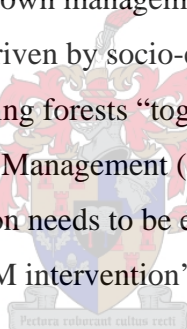
1.5.1 Proposed evaluation plan

a) Object of study/ unit of analysis

Participatory Forest Management (PFM)

b) Purpose of the evaluation study

In the last 20 years, a paradigm shift has occurred in the forest policy-making and management planning in South Africa from the top-down management, where forests were managed for the public. Today, forestry professionals, driven by socio-economic and political change, are now setting goals for managing and monitoring forests “together with the public” (Grundy and Michell, 2004). As Participatory Forest Management (PFM) was introduced as a vehicle to bring about such change, the intervention needs to be evaluated so that policy-makers are made aware about the extent to which the PFM intervention’s desired outcomes are being achieved.



The evaluation aimed to establish the intrinsic value, merit and/or worth of the PFM intervention and hence was summative in nature. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), summative evaluations judge the overall effectiveness of a program. A summative evaluation of PFM would have many advantages not only for the program as a whole, but also for the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) who manages the program. For example, it could enhance the program’s public image, it could provide important information on outcome targets reached, it could provide direction for staff and program managers, and provide valuable information on the actual budget and resources allocation for future planning.

Ideally, programs should be evaluated before implementation to determine its readiness for the next step, but this seldom happens. Therefore, as with many others of its kind, this evaluation was based on a retrospective approach since PFM has been running for about five years

already.² It is worth noting that PFM started against a background of *no* community involvement in forest management in the Southern Cape Forests. Delius (2002) indicated that the Forestry Department in the area promoted the expropriation of local coloured population to make way for forestry. This is especially valid for the Covie Village (one of the study sites) that the department strived to evict, invoking the unpopular Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950. This rendered the determination of the socio-economic impact of sustainable forest management in the Southern Cape Forests easier, particularly in the two forest communities of Covie and Diepwalle.

c) *Evaluation questions*

The evaluation was focussed on answering the following evaluation questions:

- i) Has PFM achieved its intended outcomes in relation to the socio-economic upliftment of local communities through access, usage and management of natural forest resources?
- ii) To what degree has the PFM intervention contributed to the socio-economic development of the local people in the Southern Cape Forests?

d) *Evaluation methodology*

Unlike experiments and surveys, in which the elements of the research design — hypothesis formulation, measurement, and sampling — are specified prior to the data collection, design elements in qualitative research usually, are worked out during the course of the study. Against this background, the research design of this study — evaluation study — will be presented in fairly broad terms at this point. This is followed by chapter two which is mainly a literature study involving current debates on the subject of participatory forest management. The second chapter also incorporates the framework for joint or collaborative forest management in the global, regional and South African contexts. This chapter provides the theoretical template for determining both the success and failures of the PFM program in South Africa.

The logic of this assessment was based on showing whether PFM has caused certain “intended” or “unintended effects”. However, it is not always easy to show that such causal relationships positive or negative exist. According to Mouton (2001), in order to establish some degree of

² Retrospective evaluation refers to an evaluation study conducted after the program implementation phase.

plausibility that a particular intervention has made a positive change or had some positive effects, one has to show two things. Firstly, that there has been some positive change over time; and secondly, that such change is in fact due to the intervention and not to other extraneous factors. It is worth noting that one can show that an intervention has produced positive change over time through the use of a “before and after” measure (better known as a pre- and post-measure) in evaluation studies. This refers to collecting some baseline data which is followed by similar measures later on that will be compared with the baseline to assess change. For the purposes of this study, we compared the current state of affairs in the Southern Cape Forests (with the implementation of PFM in the area) with the previous state of affairs (period under Apartheid regime- before implementation of PFM). Hence, comparing two scenarios’; participation of local people through PFM against a background of *no* participation at all. Thus, a “before and after” intervention introduction measure was used for this study.

The evaluation was based on two communities who live within the Southern Cape Forest, namely Diepwalle and Covie. The rationale for this was the overwhelming beliefs that people who live within or at the margins of protected areas benefited most from the management of these areas. Thus, PFM is expected to contribute to the socio-economic development of these poor rural communities as contained in the national vision of PFM.

Both qualitative and quantitative methods of data gathering and data analyses were used. For example; questionnaires were used; data was collected at an intensely interactive workshop as well as conclusions drawn and written up from observations. Information generated from qualitative and quantitative methods were compared with existing published information in South Africa and elsewhere. Therefore, this evaluation was aimed at using both primary and secondary data sources.

1.6 Significance of the study

The importance of this study stems from its aim to inform policy-makers on the degree of success of their current intervention (PFM) in the Southern Cape Forests. It is evident that numbers of rural communities living in and around that protected area is on the increase and measures to control the overexploitation of natural resources are indeed necessary. However, these communities can play a significant role in the conservation and sustainable development of indigenous forests resources should they be presented and supported with genuine alternative

livelihood strategies to sustain themselves. It needs to be acknowledged that the depletion of forests resources has its roots in the institutions that determine who owns, has access to and controls the use of natural forest products. The appropriate regime for conserving forest resources is one that bestows the responsibility and duties for production and consumption of natural resources on individuals and consumers nearest to the protected area (Watts, 2002), hence making them genuine partners and beneficiaries in the management of natural resources.



Chapter two

Framework for participatory forest management (PFM)

2.1 Introduction

New forest policies both globally and in South Africa seek to reconcile conservation and development objectives by devolving some responsibility for forest management from the state to local communities (Robertson and Lawes, 2005). These policies are to be realised through the implementation of ‘participatory forest management’ (PFM) initiatives. The rationale for this new approach lies in the hope that a balance can be reached between improving the livelihood of communities through usage of forest resources in a sustainable way, whilst diffusing threats to biodiversity, conservation and preservation thereof. This chapter provides: (1) a review of literature pertaining to the current understanding and interpretation of the concept “participatory forest management (PFM)”; (2) the concept of PFM throughout the world; (3) the origin of the PFM concept; and (4) the overall functioning of this concept in practice via examples provided both globally and particularly in South Africa.

The chapter, first and foremost, gives a review of the history of the management of South Africa’s natural resources. It is against this background that the rationale and relevance of the practice of inclusion (active participation) of affected people (especially the rural and poor) in forest management practices not just in policy and legislation, but also in the implementation of policy and legislation can be justified (both globally and locally). Secondly, an in-depth description of PFM as a concept in relation to the definition, usage and interpretation of the term as it is commonly known is given. PFM is known by different names in different places across the developing world, although the practice of the management initiative is fundamentally the same. The concept was first institutionalized in government legislation in Nepal under community forestry; however, this does not mean that the Nepalese government pioneered the initiative. Progressive forestry officials elsewhere were already experimenting the inclusion of rural people who live at forest margins in the management of forest resources in the early 1970s (Joshi, 1999).

As this concept was discussed in depth, reference was made to related issues such as the understanding of the term ‘participation’ in the context of “participatory forest management” and the notion of what constitutes a ‘stakeholder’ among others. Furthermore, different types of

participation were examined and the propensity for its abuse was discussed. Emphasis was given not only to the different labelling of the concept PFM, but also to the difference in the application of the term PFM and/or related terms. Examples were provided where the notion of the concept PFM has been embraced and implemented, some very successfully and others not. Attempt was made to focus on characteristics relating to the understanding and implementation of the concept PFM that made it more probable for success than for failure during implementation - how easily this concept can be and in many instances are misconstrued.

Thirdly, I assessed the policy and legal framework that mandates the application of PFM across the globe, regionally and in South Africa in particular. Important global instruments that institutionalize PFM consist of multilateral environmental agreements such as the conventions on biological diversity, climate change and desertification. Regional laws that shape participatory management of natural resources in southern Africa comprise SADC's two protocols on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement and Forestry. South Africa has national and local laws that provide an institutional framework for participatory management of natural resources. Finally, policy and legislation that support and encourage participatory forest management in South Africa today were discussed.

2.2 History of natural resources management in South Africa

South Africa's previous natural resources management policies, laws and strategies, including those for the forestry sector had sufficient conservation attributes. This is reflected in the existing network of protected areas, which places South Africa on the global ecotourism map. For example, the Environment Conservation Act No 73 of 1989 and the National Parks Act No 57 of 1976 which are still operational in the new South Africa, are cases in point. Similarly, the current blocks of indigenous forest scattered along the south-eastern and north-eastern coastline of South Africa up to the Limpopo Province owe their existence to the previous forestry policies and laws that initially started as a proclamation in 1658. Subsequent proclamations and laws emphasized forest biodiversity conservation above everything. The last forest legislation under the apartheid government, the Forest Act No 122 of 1984 also followed the same pattern to the detriment of socio-economic development of local communities (Watts, In Press).

Generally, the political environment of apartheid in which these policies operated diluted their soundness. It was difficult to differentiate between natural resources conservation policies and

the framework economic policy of apartheid that defined all economic decisions and activities. The apartheid government saw no role for rural forest-dependent people in forest conservation and in many cases adopted a deliberate policy of marginalization and social engineering. Social engineering involved forced removal of black people from their ancestral grounds to make way for conservation or for white settlements. This dismantled community social networks and livelihood strategies. For example, Peart and Wilson (1998) observed the concern for the environment before the implementation of democratic rule in South Africa to be largely articulated within an authoritarian conservation paradigm that focussed on protecting the natural environment from people. This resulted in forced relocation of Africans to make way for national parks, nature, and forest reserves. Watts (2002) notes that the costs of establishing South Africa's protected areas had been borne by local communities, particularly in the form of land expropriation. This drove a wedge between conservation authorities and local communities. As a consequence, conservation policies were viewed negatively by the black majority population (Peart and Wilson, 1998).

Conservationists in the apartheid South Africa did not encounter much conservation challenges like their counterparts in the democratic South Africa. They identified areas of unique ecological attributes and used the coercive powers of the apartheid government to remove people from these proposed protected areas. For example, Delius (2002) noted that the previous Department of Forestry repeatedly attempted to remove the Covie people from their village in the Southern Cape Forests, using the infamous Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 to make way for plantations. The welfare of the black people who were forcedly removed from other areas for conservation purposes did not feature in the management of these protected areas. Consequently, there was no need to develop skills for joint management of protected areas with local communities. This provides the best explanation for the continuing inflexibility within DWAF and the South African National Parks (SANParks) to actively involve local people in the management of conservation areas. The concepts of community participation and benefit sharing with local people in these major conservation organizations centre largely on provision of ill-paid jobs to people that inhabit the margins of protected areas. Lucrative businesses in protected areas like procuring food and catering services are contracted to outsiders.

2.3 The origin of incorporating the concept 'PFM' into legislation

There is increased awareness that sustainable usage of forest products is not achievable without partnerships with local users or affected communities (Obiri and Lawes, 2002). For this reason and to enhance social equity, new management regiments are moving away from policing and central government control over natural resources management ('preservationism'), toward more authority to local people where a variety of participatory options are considered (Robertson and Lawes, 2005).

PFM evolved under various names in different places across the developing world.

Consequently, Lawrence and Green (2000) consider PFM as an umbrella term referring to shared forest management, joint forest management, collaborative forest management and community forestry. For example, the participation of local people in the management of forests on which they depended was institutionalised in Nepal in 1976 under community forestry. Nepal was the first country that developed innovative legislation to enable the government to promote user group participation in state forest management (Gronow and Shrestha, 1991). This law requires user groups to submit operational plans that they develop on their own for forests that they intend to use. The development of these plans takes more than three months to facilitate reaching consensus among all members (weak and strong) of a given user group. Users regard operational plans developed in this manner as rules for their forest. The plan addresses, among other things, issues of access to the forest, the forest products to be used, the conservation of the forest and forest management decision-making process. The plan is approved by the forestry department and an executive forest user committee is then elected by the user group members to direct the implementation of the operational plan (Gronow and Shrestha, 1991).

This initiative came as a result of the lack of institutional capacity of the Nepalese Government to enforce forestry policy. The forestry policy itself was unsound in that it sidelined the people who depended on forests for livelihood. Thus, Singh (1992) noted that initial attempts to involve user groups in forest management did not work satisfactorily primarily because the local forest committee had no legal rights. Furthermore, the initiative was being implemented as job creation initiatives for local people in forest plantations. These changed when forest user group committee acquired legal status and were given a key role in forest management and

conservation and were empowered to meet their basic needs through their own efforts. As a result, Yadav et al. (2003) indicated that the forest regeneration aspect of PFM is an obvious success in Nepal. They noted that forest resources were degrading on nearly 75% of study sites before the involvement of forest user groups. However, today they are all improving due to the intervention of forest user groups. This success story can serve as motivation for South Africa that has also opened up its policy and legislation to embrace a collaborative approach to natural resource management through the implementation of PFM.

2.4 Defining participatory forest management

Participatory forest management (PFM) refers to the sharing of products, responsibilities, control and decision-making authority over forest resources between state forestry departments and local communities, as user groups (Grundy and Michell, 2004). Similarly, Everton and Underwood (2004) reiterate that PFM involves the establishment of partnership arrangements between state forestry agencies and local communities concerning access to and use of natural forest and woodland resources. However, Obiri and Lawes (2002) interpret the adaptation of participatory initiatives into new policies as seeking to reduce (but not eliminate) state control. Richards et al. (2003) consider PFM to entail the active involvement of local people in designing forestry programs as well as their implementation and evaluation, in addition to benefit sharing (Gumbi, 2001). Robertson and Lawes (2005) concur with this view and suggest PFM to be both a management system (the sharing of decision-making) and a process with defined guiding principles. In defining PFM in the Indian context, Joshi (1999) considers PFM as the establishment of formal partnerships between forest villagers and government forestry departments through the development of forest protection committees.

Thus, PFM may be summarised as the practice of active involvement of local stakeholders to influence the direction of forest management with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values that they desire from the forest. However, the term “local stakeholders”, which is widely used in South Africa, is too broad as it bundles together the *haves* and the *have-nots* that inhabit forest margins. Consequently, the department’s (DWAF) mission statement on PFM refers specifically to poor rural communities as a target group and primary stakeholder that should benefit from the management of indigenous forests. The operations of all DWAF’s regional offices and forestry stations should reflect this national mission statement. Ironically, it is only the KwaZulu-Natal regional office

that identifies poor rural communities as a target group, while other regions, including the Southern Cape refer only to sustainable forest management functions, without the social development component (DWAF, 2003). This demonstrates the lack of consensus on the term “participatory forest management”, which means different things to different people both in South Africa and elsewhere.

2.4.1 Protection to conserve or usage to subsist?

It is appropriate to state that the new forest policies introduced nowadays, places greater emphasis on identifying opportunities and increasing access to multiple resources from forests. They also seek to improve relationship between people, resources and the environment. By aiming to equitably addressing the rights and interests of everyone who uses forests and resources in and around protected areas, participatory management systems aim to diffuse threats to biodiversity and create opportunities for local people to improve their livelihoods while maintaining access to basic services. Thus, the new age forest policies intend to strike a new balance and be supportive of both forests and people, implying conservation of the forest on the one hand and socio-economic development on the other. The question is how possible is it in practise to establish such a balance?

The Tsitsikamma National Park, like other protected areas of national importance, must have biodiversity protection as its primary objective in its policy, management strategy or plan. Moreover, natural resources should be conserved for future generations. However, rural communities living in and around the protected area are very poor, illiterate and have limited access to the protected area resources which they desperately need for their own livelihood. Therefore, demands for poverty alleviation and job creation have profound implications for the conservation and management of South Africa’s protected areas (Picard, 2002). Whereas political freedom and democracy to some may imply that resources have become the common property and right of all, for others, it may imply confusing democracy with anarchy. Thus, the link between economic incentive/empowerment and resource protection poses a serious practical and conceptual dilemma for initiatives like PFM. Hackel (1998) as cited in Obiri and Lawes (2003), maintained that PFM is often supported without appreciating the difficulties involved in reconciling conservation and community needs. The challenge facing South Africa is developing PFM into a management system that delivers both environmental sustainability and long-term tangible benefits to local people.

There is no doubt that rural economic empowerment through PFM is desirable for the successful implementation of the strategy. A study conducted by Robertson and Lawes (2005) in the iGxalingenwa forest showed that natural resource users preferred PFM as a management option instead of state forest management (SFM). Their motivation for choosing PFM over SFM was the desire to secure rights of access to, and ensure equitable benefits from forest resources. Consequently, economic incentives are important to attain the buy-in of communities to achieve conservation goals. It is the establishment of who should receive or be entitled to these economic incentives that poses a problem. Although local settlements are generally regarded as communities, it is often culturally heterogeneous and economically stratified, among other complexities. In the Tsitsikamma area, for instance, some people were born and raised in the area whereas others are newcomers who have their roots elsewhere, mostly up-north in the Eastern Cape Province and the area is densely populated. It is indisputable that people's history and background will influence their understanding, perception and attitude towards the protection of forest resources. People who have been born and raised in an area are likely to be more sensitive towards the importance of preserving the natural environment than a person who came from elsewhere in pursue of better living conditions or higher quality of life.

With local park authorities' focus on conservation it would be unrealistic to expect access to forest resources to be directed to the whole population of rural communities living in and around the protected area as the Park authorities focus their attention on conservation. Some kind of assessment is indeed necessary to determine who should have access, what resources may be used, the degree of resource usage, among others. The question is, would it be ethically and morally correct to include some members of the community and exclude others, for example, provide economic incentives only to indigenous people of the area and not to others?

Documentation focussing on this aspect of PFM in the South African context does not specify the latter in detail and only states that "rural communities living in and around the protected area" should be seen as the primary receiver of benefits. It is noteworthy that communities are very poor and the majority of people make a living through the employment in low paid jobs, receiving child grants or civil pension. The differences in household income are therefore huge and households are not equally dependent on forest resources/products. Thus, it is difficult to ascertain who would benefit more or less from what forest products. It is difficult to meet all

local aspirations. Ultimately, it is *who should get what, when* and the establishment of where to draw the line between resource provision and resource exploitation that is difficult to determine. Furthermore, whether the provision of economic incentives to local communities would result in users' reducing the illegal usage of forest products and hence would positively contribute to conservation goals remains to be seen. According to Bauer (2003), people's expectations cannot all be met, but limited outreach can improve existing public support for conservation measures. Although some studies have shown that people living in and around protected areas support conservation and the controlled usage of the forests natural resources [(Picard (2002); Bauer (2003); Obiri and Lawes (2002)], it cannot be denied that people appreciate nature and attitudes towards conservation are related to receiving benefits. Hence, the establishment of distributing benefits to communities are complex. Robertson and Lawes (2005), stated that there are many global examples that such participatory schemes (that entail providing economic incentives to forest users) have not led communities to reinvest in nature or curb their use of scarce resources, even when receiving tangible benefits for doing so. Therefore, finding a balance between conservation and sustainable utilization of natural resource is not easy and remains a challenge both in South Africa and globally.

2.4.2 The rationale of participatory forest management (PFM)

Participation refers to “*stakeholders* working together to set criteria for sustainable management, identify priority, constraints, evaluate possible solutions, recommend technologies and policies, and monitor and evaluate impacts” (Johnson et al., 2001: 1-2)

Participation has emerged as a key concept in policymaking (policy formulation and implementation) in many countries since the 1960s (Beierle and Konisky, 2000; Sanoff, 2000). This is because a shared vision as well as a shared ownership of problem is fundamental to collective action (Ravnborg and Westermann, 2002) needed to tackle sustainable forest management. Participation facilitates accurate understanding of problems and their nature, leading to collective action. This implies that if policymaking continues without the involvement of stakeholders, the problem cycle continues uninterrupted (Carley, 1994). Increased public participation promotes consensus building, which is necessary at all levels in priority setting and decision-making. Involving people in the design and implementation of policies and strategies for environmental management is crucial on both ethical and sustainability grounds. Ethically, people should be free to choose the direction of their

development and to influence the means by which they subsist. Experience has revealed that environmental management initiatives that exclude affected parties from policymaking have proven to be unsustainable (Furtado et al., 2000).

The drive for increased community participation stems from the optimism about the ability of stakeholder inclusion to improve both the substantive and procedural quality of decisions affecting the environment (Beierle and Konisky, 2000). For example, collaborative, participatory decision-making is more likely to result in lasting and satisfying decisions than unilateral ones (Susskind and Cruickshank, 1987). Participation can identify shared community values that form the foundation for joint decision-making (Dryzek, 1997). Participatory processes help stakeholders to appreciate others' goals and perspectives, thereby facilitating communication even if the concerned parties fail to resolve a particular problem (Beierle and Konisky, 2000). It increases efficiency by involving local resources and skills; enhances effectiveness of activities and secures their sustainability because these activities are based on local knowledge and understanding of problems (Ribot, 1999; UNDP, 1997). The process builds local capacities for managing natural resources and for negotiating locally relevant environmental developments. It also facilitates better targeting of benefits to the voiceless and poor via the identification of key stakeholders (UNDP, 1997). Participation leads to incorporation of new kinds of information in environmental decision-making, and shifts the responsibility for environmental conservation from state to every affected stakeholder.

Accordingly, participation refers to the involvement of user groups in setting priorities, evaluating decisions and techniques that affect natural resources, and monitoring outcomes of resource management strategies. In articulating DWAF's stance on indigenous forest management, Horn (2002) maintains that the PFM program is established to ensure sustainable forest management and socio-economic development through tangible benefits. The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), which is the national department responsible for PFM, defines it as a new approach and process to promote sustainable forest management. It is conceptualised to enhance synergies among stakeholders to ensure social sustainability and to empower local communities through capacity building programs and establishment of viable partnerships between local communities and other stakeholders (DWAF, 2002).

Although South Africa's previous forestry policies, laws and programs had sufficient conservation attributes, the political environment of apartheid in which these policies operated contaminated their soundness and alienated the communities who lived in and around the protected areas. As mentioned elsewhere, social engineering amongst other top-down management styles dismantled community social networks and livelihood strategies and thus drove a wedge between conservation authorities and local communities. As a consequence, conservation policies were viewed negatively by the black majority population (Peart and Wilson, 1998). A study conducted by Picard (2002) showed that local communities expressed support for the concept of conservation, but significant hostility towards conservation authorities. Picard (2002) further maintains that this observation is critical as negative attitudes towards conservation authorities are often misinterpreted as a lack of support for conservation in general.

Therefore it is imperative that conservation authorities reach out to local communities by providing information, getting them involved and encouraging participation. In the Tsistikamma context, communities are invited to nominate certain individuals to serve as representatives on PFM forums for their respective communities. Whether these chosen members are truly representative to the communities that they supposed to serve, is yet to be established. Picard (2002) reiterates that the focus should be on strengthening the capacity of community representivity to engage equitably in conservation policy and planning and hence move beyond the rhetoric by enabling a restructuring of power relations between conservation authorities and local communities.

2.4.3 Typology of participation

There are seven types of participation: passive participation, participation in information giving, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation, and self-mobilisation (Pimbert and Pretty, 2000; Kumar, 2002; Watts, 2002; Pijnenburg, 2004). Passive participation is when people participate by being told about what will happen or what has already happened. Participation in information is when people participate by answering questions posed by researchers or project managers using questionnaires or related approaches. Participation by consultation occurs when local people are consulted for their opinions. Nonetheless, their opinions may not feature in decision-making. Participation for material benefits is when local people participate by providing labour for cash or pieces of land

for testing innovations or research. Local communities have no stake in sustaining activities once the carrots which triggered their involvement cease or are withdrawn (Ramirez, 1998; Pimbert and Pretty, 2000; Kumar, 2002; Watts, 2002; Pijnenburg, 2004).

In functional participation, people participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to what is at stake. The involvement of local people tends to come when major decisions have been made, rather than during the planning stage. Conversely, in interactive participation, people participate in joint analysis, which ultimately leads to action plans and the formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. The final form of participation is self-mobilisation which results in collective action by all or vast majority of local people who are affected and connected by a development (Ramirez, 1998; Watts, 2002). Self-mobilisation causes drastic changes in existing institutions, effects their complete replacement or challenges the inequitable distribution of resources, such as wealth, information and power commonly associated with these institutions which marginalise local communities.

The control of local people and outsiders over the process of participation differs as one moves from passive participation to self-mobilisation. In passive participation, local people's control over decision-making is almost non-existent, while in self-mobilisation local people have almost absolute control over the process, with minimal interference from outsiders. However, it is also possible to have manipulative participation where participation is a mere pretence by forestry or conservation officials. This is exemplified by the nomination of local community members to some official boards where they have no role or little say in decision-making (Kumar, 2002). Designing of the terms of reference for community participation by DWAF and SANParks officials and inviting local people to join these bureaucratic institutions without or little say, as it is currently practised in South Africa (Watts, In Press) reflects manipulative participation. This practice of participation disempowers local communities and disqualifies the rationale for participatory conservation.

Although all natural resources management policies, strategies and laws in post-apartheid South Africa emphasise community participation, grassroots forestry officials as well as local communities are not always aware of the optimal types of participation which would result in sustainable forest management. Nonetheless, the type of participation that should suffice in

South Africa against the long history of local community marginalisation is one that results in the establishment of a real partnership arrangement with forest-dependent people. Interactive participation should be implemented in South Africa if participatory forest management and conservation of natural resources in general is to empower local people through transfer of power and change in the power structure. In this type of participation local groups have control over local decisions, and as a result, people have a stake in maintaining structures or desired practices. Moreover, Gow (1992:43) rightly acknowledged that “sustainable development means increasing the potential of rural people to influence and control their future on a long-term basis”. This is valid in South Africa as elsewhere in the African continent where forestry services have recently been beset by lack of resources to maintain policies under which certain groups were prevented from using forests and offenders were punished (Babin and Bertrand, 1998).

2.4.4 Defining the term ‘stakeholder’

‘Stakeholder’ is an umbrella term, which refers to all the people and organizations who have a stake in and may be affected by an activity, a development program or situation or who may have an impact on it (Sithole, 2002). Grimble (1995:175) concurs and defines the term ‘stakeholder’ as “any group of people, organised or unorganised, who share a common interest or stake in a particular issue or system’. Thus, for the purposes of this study, a broad classification of PFM stakeholders would include:

- a) forest dependent communities living in and around the Southern Cape forests, particularly, Covie and Diepwalle
- b) the forest industry and other external commercial interests in the forest
- c) the state forestry service (DWAF)
- d) the conservation agent SANParks

And therefore constitutes a multiple stakeholder group (Sithole, 2002). Although a common interest is being shared among the abovementioned stakeholders, relations among them were observed to be rather strained. This state of affairs was probably perpetuated by the non involvement and exclusion of local people from the management of natural forest resources in the past and the long history of top-down management structures. According to Sithole (2002) relations within and among multiple stakeholders are highly complex and very dynamic due to the inequitable distribution of power. The ‘common interest’ shared among multiple stakeholders may imply equality among them. However, the notion of having a ‘common

interest' often seems to ignore or hide the bias that favours the opinions of stronger and more powerful stakeholders. The state department (DWAF) who manages the PFM intervention has the prerogative to decide on the degree of involvement of local people and/or any other stakeholder and also the rigour with which this new concept of PFM will be embraced and implemented. Local people are at the mercy of the state department and can only wait to be informed and or invited to participate. Therefore, the distribution of power in these groups is skewed towards certain stakeholders and in some cases they wield this power unchallenged by others. Inequitable distribution of power and tense relationship is a reality among multiple stakeholder groups, but the challenge facing policy makers and forest managers is finding ways to enhance wider stakeholder participation in decision making and action so that no one stakeholder or faction holds absolute power (Sithole, 2002).

The challenge in South Africa and the whole continent is to make the participation of local communities more than an empty catchword. This should be accomplished by involving forest-dependent stakeholders who tend to be the hardest hit by forest conservation activities in designing forest management strategies. The forest-based knowledge of local people who inhabit the margins of protected forests should better be utilised in the design and implementation of forestry programs (Serageldin, 1993). It is imperative that participation provides opportunities for local communities to plan and initiate developments, and set the framework within which other stakeholders, such as individuals, non-governmental organisations and private enterprises act. It has been well known for years that when a country's environmental problems are addressed, the chances of success are greatly enhanced if local communities are involved. This is because local people are often better able than government officials to identify the priorities for action; members of local communities often know about cost-effective solutions that are not available to governments; the motivation and commitment of local people are often what see an environmental project through to completion; and the active involvement of local people can help build constituencies for change (Steer, 1996).

2.5 Participatory conservation in the global and regional context

Article 10(f) of the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification requires parties to provide for effective participation of resource users in the policy planning, decision-making and implementation and review of national action programs. The participation of resource users —

men and women — should occur at local, regional and national levels. Article 4(b) of the convention's Annex I for regional implementation for Africa emphasises the active participation of local populations and communities through greater decentralisation and security of resource tenure rights (UNCED, 1992; Watts, 2002). Similarly, Article 4 of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change encourages cooperative conservation and enhancement of sinks and reservoirs for greenhouse gases (UNCED, 1992). Consequently, the United Nations Office in South Africa disburses Global Environmental Facility grants to local communities that protect forest resources. The purpose of these grants is to promote active participation of local communities in protecting the environment through the enhancement of CO₂ sinks and reservoirs, especially forests.

The United Nations Convention on Biological Diversity emphasises equitable sharing of benefits arising from the use of traditional knowledge. It encourages the recognition, respect and preservation of knowledge, innovations and practices of indigenous and local communities. Article 7(j) states that the use of traditional lifestyles relevant for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity should occur with the approval and involvement of local communities. Article 10(c) informs governments to protect and encourage customary use of biological resources (UNCED, 1992). Encouragement of the application of customary knowledge in conservation would not occur without the active participation of local people. Similarly, benefits would not accrue to local communities if they could not interactively participate in making decisions that result in benefit sharing. It is thus explicit that the Convention on Biological Diversity like the preceding ones promotes the active involvement of local communities in the conservation and sustainable management of natural resources.

Section 3(j) of the World Heritage Convention Act of 1999 promotes the empowerment and advancement of historically disadvantaged persons in project related to World Heritage Sites. This broad objective is reflected in the fundamental principles which are listed in section 4(1). For example, section 4(1)(a) maintains that cultural and natural heritage management must be sensitive to the people and their needs; it must equitably serve their physical, psychological, developmental, cultural and social needs. Section 4(1)(c) mandates payment of special attention to the participation of historically disadvantaged persons. This concurs with section 4(1)(f) which sanctions security of participation by vulnerable and historically disadvantaged persons. Furthermore, Section 4(1)(h) authorizes wellbeing and empowerment of local communities

through cultural and natural heritage education, creation of awareness among local people and through sharing of knowledge and experience (Government of South Africa, 1999).

The Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Wildlife Conservation and Law Enforcement also promotes active community participation in the management and use of natural resources. For example, Article 5(2)(g) informs parties to facilitate community-based natural resources management practices for wildlife resources (SADC, 2002a). It would suffice to state that there is a considerable synergy between forest and wildlife conservation. For example, *in situ* wildlife conservation cannot occur without conserving the habitat requirements of the species. This means that the protocol encourages the functional involvement of local people in forest management because forests provide habitats for wildlife. Article 12(a) of the SADC Protocol on Forestry informs member states to develop policies and mechanisms to enable local people and communities to benefit from the use of forest resources and to ensure their effective participation in forest management. Similarly, Article 13(a) requires parties to adopt measures that facilitate effective participation of women in sustainable forest management (SADC, 2002b). These two protocols institutionalise the active participation of local communities in the management of natural resources in the SADC region.

2.6 Current policy and legislation that support and encourage PFM in SA

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is the supreme law in the land, covering all economic decisions and activities, including access to environmental resources. The Bill of Rights in the second chapter of the constitution provides rights to equality, healthy and well protected environment, property and protects against unfair discrimination, amongst other things. For example, section 24 of the Constitution grants rights to environmental security for every person, including people's wellbeing and rights to participate and enjoy the benefits of healthy and well-protected environment. This section also requires the protection of the environment through reasonable legislation and other measures (Government of South Africa, 1996a). This constitutional directive has been enhanced into a National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) of 1998. This law covers the different aspects of the environment and provides mechanisms for people to participate in decisions and activities that safeguard a healthy environment upon which the economy depends (Government of South Africa, 1998a).

Section 2 of NEMA that outlines the principles of environmental management, provides the legal basis for community involvement in conservation. Section 2(2) stresses that environmental management must place people and their needs at the forefront of its concern, and serve their physical, psychological, developmental, cultural and social interests equitably. Section 2(4)(d) of the same law indicates that sustainable development requires equitable access to environmental resources, benefits and services. Section 2(4)(f) maintains that sustainable development requires the participation of all interested and affected parties in environmental governance, and all people must have the opportunity to develop the understanding, skills and capacity necessary for achieving equitable and effective participation. This section ensures the participation of vulnerable and disadvantaged persons. Similarly, section 2(4)(h) of NEMA shows that sustainable development requires promotion of community wellbeing and empowerment through environmental education, the raising of environmental awareness, the sharing of knowledge and experience. Furthermore, section 2(4)(k) asserts that sustainable development requires that decisions must be taken in an open and transparent manner, and access to information must be provided in accordance with the law (Government of South Africa, 1998a). This gives rise to the Promotion of Access to Information Act No 2 of 2000.

The White Paper for Sustainable Forestry Development in South Africa, which is premised on the democratic values enshrined in the Constitution, and also on the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) emphasises the participation of forest and woodland-dependent communities in the management of state forests. RDP is one of the founding policies for democracy in South Africa. Consequently, most national policies are anchored in this framework policy. The need for inclusion of local communities is explicitly articulated in the National Forestry Action Program (NFAP) and the National Forests Act (NFA) No 84 of 1998. The act outlines the principles that require forests to be developed and managed in ways that conserve biodiversity, ecosystems and habitats while simultaneously sustaining the supply of socio-economic and environmental benefits. These services should be realised through collaborative management between the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) and local people. For example, section 3(c)(iii) of NFA emphasises that forests must be developed and managed to promote the fair distribution of their economic, social, health and environmental benefits. Section 3(c)(vii) further explains that forests must be developed and managed to advance persons or categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination (Government of South Africa, 1998b). Thus, it is explicit that the National Forests Act authorises active

community participation in the management of forests, more so by people who live within or at the margins of natural forests. Moreover, it is unlikely that fair distribution of benefits with local people can occur if they do not influence the institutions that distribute benefits among stakeholders. Similarly, marginalised people cannot emerge out of the vicious cycle of poverty when they do not actively partake in negotiating their rights and benefits with other stakeholders, especially the state forestry department.

The concerns expressed in the White Paper for Sustainable Forestry Development, NFAP and NFA for active involvement of local people in forest and woodland management caused DWAF to develop “A Participatory Forest Management Strategy”. This further resulted in the development of principles for participatory forest management (PFM) in state forests. These principles require that indigenous forest management should, among other things, be people-centred; participatory and holistic; transparent; and should result in equitable allocation of benefits, capacity-building and utilisation of indigenous knowledge. The principles also emphasise the need for establishment of interdependent partnerships among forest user groups and reiterate participatory management as a management style in state forests throughout South Africa (Watts, 2003b).

Furthermore, the recent Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act No 53 of 2003 defines broad-based black economic empowerment as increasing the number of black people that manage, own and control enterprises and productive assets, inter alia. This is in accord with the above laws that promote active community participation in the management of natural resources. Section 2(a) of the law considers black economic empowerment to mean economic transformation to enable meaningful participation of black people in the economy. Section 2(d) stresses empowerment of black women, while section 2(f) directs empowerment of rural and local communities by permitting access to economic activities, land, infrastructure, ownership of property and skills. This act also covers the control, management and ownership of natural resources which are productive economic assets because they provide raw materials for the economy.

There are other multilateral, regional and national laws which also direct community participation in South Africa. However, the evidence from the preceding conventions, protocols and national laws which institutionalise the participation of local people and communities in the

management of forest and woodland resources, appears sufficient for this study. However, it would be appropriate to examine some local government laws which should consolidate PFM, especially as the municipal governments are strong candidates for managing state forests now that DWAF is delegating the hands-on management of indigenous forests to other state agencies throughout South Africa. In fact, Toni (2003) indicates that municipal governments in Brazil have long been managing state forests effectively. Latin America is emerging as a strong theatre for municipal forest management (Ferroukhi, 2003). Relevant South African municipal acts that have implications for PFM include mainly the Development Facilitation Act No 67 of 1995, Municipality Structures Act No 117 of 1998 and the Municipal Systems Act No 32 of 2000. The National Water Act No 36 of 1998 and the Communal Property Association Act No 28 of 1996 also bear on PFM.

Section 3(1)(d) of the Development Facilitation Act No 67 of 1995 states that members of communities affected by land development should actively participate in the process of land development. Section 3(1)(e) requires the enhancement of the skills and capacities of disadvantaged persons involved in land development (Government of South Africa, 1995). However, the Municipal Systems Act No 32 of 2000 is the outstanding law that promotes and defines the procedures for local community participation in decision-making. For example, section 5(1)(a)(i) notes that members of a local community have the right to contribute to decision-making processes of a local government. Section 16(1) encourages the municipality to develop a culture of governance that encompasses participatory management. It should promote and create conditions for local communities to participate in the formulation, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of government interventions.

Furthermore, the law encourages building of the capacity of local communities for effective participation. Section 17(1)(2)(3) outlines the procedure for community participation mainly through existing political structures. It requires local municipal governments to establish mechanisms, processes and procedures for effective community participation. The creation of such mechanisms, processes and procedures should be responsive to people who cannot read or write, women and other disadvantaged groups. Section 18(1) obliges the municipality to communicate information to local communities concerning their participation, while section 18(2) requires municipal officials to take into account language preferences and usage as well as the special needs of illiterate people. Section 20(1) articulates the procedure and media for

communicating information to local people (Government of South Africa, 2000). Similarly, section 81 of the Municipality Structures Act No 117 of 1998 encourages the participation of traditional leaders in municipal council meetings and decisions (Government of South Africa, 1998c).

The National Water Act No 36 of 1998 promotes participatory management of South Africa's water resources. The seventh chapter of the act provides for the progressive establishment of catchment management agencies. The purpose of these catchment management agencies is to delegate the management of water resources to the catchment level and to involve local communities. This is elucidated in section 79(4)(a) which requires catchment management agencies to be mindful of the constitutional directive to redress past racial and gender discrimination and to achieve equitable access to water resources. Furthermore, section 80(e) promotes active community participation in the management and conservation of water resources in catchments (Government of South Africa, 1998d). It is worth noting that forests play important role in the hydrological cycle and catchment management. Implicitly, the Water Act promotes community participation in sustainable forest management.

The Communal Property Association Act No 28 of 1996 was specifically developed to enable communities to form juristic persons for holding and managing properties on a basis agreed to by members of a community (Government of South Africa, 1996b). The property could be a protected land or any environmental asset. This is exemplified by the Makuleke Communal Property Association in the Greater Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area where the participation of the Makuleke Community led to tangible socio-economic and biodiversity benefits. The Makuleke Community lodged one notable land claim case in 1996 against the northern part of the Kruger National Park. The community members maintained that they were deprived of their land rights, were removed from the land against their will, and that they had not been adequately compensated (De villiers, 1999). The Makuleke now own the land known as the Pafuri Triangle within the Kruger National Park (Erasmus, 2003). They want the land to remain part of the Kruger National Park on condition that joint management takes place between them and South African National Parks (SANParks) (De Villiers, 1999). The Lekgopong Community took the same approach and the community now owns a part of the Madikwe Game Reserve (Erasmus, 2003).

2.7 Examples of successful and unsuccessful implementation of PFM initiatives

In India, the experiences of forestry officials in West Bengal State in the early 1970s revealed that forest conservation occurred when forestry staff collaborated with rural communities that live at the margins of state forests. Many informal arrangements between local communities and progressive foresters caused dramatic regeneration of forest lands. These foresters informally provided employment to local people and permitted free use of non-timber forest products as well as gave a share of the profits from the sale of timber in exchange for forest protection through the formation of Forest Management Committees (FPCs). The success of FPCs in West Bengal and some other states in overturning forest degradation during the 1980s resulted in the formal adoption of the national Joint Forest Management Resolution by the central government in 1990. This resolution sets guidelines for partnerships between local communities and forestry departments for the management and conservation of state forests through FPCs. In a drastic move from policing and protection, joint forest management emphasises shared responsibility for management and sharing of profits with local people (Saxena, 1992; Joshi, 1999).

It is important to note that PFM in India offers strong economic support, mainly employment, free access to non-timber forest products and share of profits to local people (Joshi, 1999). This has changed attitudes of local communities towards grassroots forestry personnel. For example, Venkataraman and Falconer (1998) stated that the forestry department which was once regarded as harsh law enforcing agency and hostile bureaucratic police force is increasingly considered by local communities as a friendly partner in the management of forests in India. Local people living at forest margins are forming village organisations to protect forests and they are joining forces with state forestry departments to work in partnership for restoring degraded forests. Local community organisations share responsibilities and benefits of rejuvenating forests, conservation and management with state forestry agencies. The gains of this people-centred forest management initiative are impressive (Venkataraman & Falconer, 1998; Joshi, 1999).

The success of PFM in Southeast Asia is attributable to the establishment of genuine partnerships for sustainable forest management between state forestry departments and local communities. This contrasts with the practice of PFM in many African countries where it focuses primarily on benefit sharing through employment, while ignoring sharing of management responsibilities, decision-making and revenues from the sale of forest products.

This practice renders local people totally dependent on state handouts from forests. Local people are not empowered to sustainably meet their needs from the forests in their surroundings using their own initiatives. Consequently, there is a mismatch between community expectation for forest products and the ability of forests to meet these demands because the local people are unaware of the potential of forests to generate products and jobs having not participated functionally in the management of these forests. There are also disparities between PFM policy and the practice of PFM on the ground. Generally, forestry policies in sub-Saharan Africa, including South Africa strongly institutionalize active community participation in forest management, but grassroots forestry officials do not heed these policy decisions because they are oblivious to the extent of community involvement. Vast majority of forestry officials inappropriately consider nominal attendance of meetings by local people as active involvement in forest management. In reality, PFM should provide economic support to affected communities or else it would fail to garner political support among local people.

2.8 Inclusion versus Exclusion

Inclusion of natural resource-dependent people in the management of natural resources is key to sustainable management, especially in countries where the state lacks the necessary capacity for sustainable management. However, there are also concerns that a participatory process can be a manipulative tool to engage people in a predetermined process (Castro and Nielsen, 2001; Keough 1998). Instances can be found where there are locally accountable representations without relevant powers, unaccountable non-representative groups have been entrusted the responsibility for natural resource management, or where the participation is in benefits alone and not in decision-making (Ribot, 1999). The concept is noted further to be prone to abuse by development agents because participants in decision-making are not frequently representative of the marginalized people they claim to represent. Representatives are drawn from the middle classes and better-off members of society who know very little about the concerns of rural, natural resource-dependent communities, although they may have the best intentions (Lundy, 1999). Participation is too often understood as the nominal attendance of local people in meetings, irrespective of their inputs and opinions about the issues at stake (Ravnborg & Westermann, 2002). Others maintain that the process has very few benefits than the rhetoric and sentiment that it carries (Botes & van Rensburg, 2000).

A participatory approach to natural resource management does not appear to have more socio-economic and environmental gains than the conventional approach which excludes local people from planning, designing, implementing and evaluating institutions and systems which affect their physical environment (Enters and Anderson, 1999). This is because most organizations, including state agencies for forest and wildlife resources only pay lip service to the goal of community participation. In practice, the degree of community participation permitted by developmental agents is rather limited or even completely lacking (Bürhs and Aplin, 1999). Control of decision-making on the use and management of natural resources therefore lies in the hands of ineffective and often corrupted traditional leaders (Braga, 2001). Therefore, some studies question the capacity of participatory initiatives to sustain resources because of the tendency (despite rhetoric to the contrary) of '*intended beneficiaries*' in PFM to be side-lined as passive participants.

Exclusion of rural people from the management of natural resources appeared to be the case in South Africa before the majority rule in April 1994 (Peart and Wilson, 1994). Consequently, the African National Congress embarked on the development of natural resources management policies and laws that would encourage active community participation in sustainable management of natural resources in their vicinity in the mid-1990s. Of great concern are the limited natural forests and woodlands whose management is entrusted to the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF). The White Paper on Forestry that articulates DWAF's policy for forestry, the National Forestry Action Program and the National forests Act oblige the department to manage these natural resources in collaboration with local people who live within or at the margins of these resources. The purpose of this study is to determine whether these lofty statements of intent in the forestry policy and legislation have resulted in tangible socio-economic development at the grassroots in the Southern Cape Forests.

2.9 Conclusion

Participatory initiatives are widely implemented and the necessity for its introduction is obvious. The success of participatory initiatives is attributable to the establishment of genuine partnerships for sustainable forest management between state forestry departments and local communities. Participation leads to incorporation of new kinds of information in environmental decision-making, and shifts the responsibility for environmental conservation from state to every affected stakeholder. Thus, equally important is consensus building of the concept so that

it can mean the same thing to all stakeholders as they reach and work towards the same goal – finding meaningful ways to conserve the environment and sustainable usage the forests natural resources.



Chapter three

Programme Description and Methodology

3.1 Introduction

Social interventions, like PFM are responses to perceived social problems. Therefore, social interventions can be defined as a set of activities mounted to achieve external objectives, that is, to meet some recognized social need or to solve an identified problem. Unfortunately, not many social interventions are successful in resolving their social problems and this may be due to the following reasons:

- the intervention may not be appropriate for the problem at hand (the intervention is not addressing the real problem)
- the intervention may be appropriate, but the implementation of the intervention was poor (problems of poor quality delivery)
- the intervention may be appropriate and of high quality, but not all members of the target group received the intervention as planned or have not received the same intervention (problems of inadequate coverage and lack of standardization)
- the intervention may be appropriate and the implementation may be good, but it could be insufficient (problem of a diluted intervention or insufficient dosage)
- the intervention may be appropriate, implementation may be good and sufficient, but the target group may not be receptive to the intervention (Johann Mouton, 2003: personal communications).

Therefore, although social interventions normally have good intentions and aspire to address genuine social ills, many are unsuccessful in achieving their goals and objectives. However, to safeguard or increase the chances for success of social interventions, two very important strategies are suggested. Firstly, a needs assessment study should be conducted and secondly, there should be comprehensive evaluation studies that may result in attaining a thorough understanding and conceptualization of the intervention itself.

Needs assessments enable the establishment of the true/real problems at hand, identification of specific needs to be met, help invoke dialogue as to how to attend to such needs and ultimately help with the development of the most appropriate intervention suitable to address the specific need. Also, needs assessments will not only help in deciding on the most appropriate

intervention, but also help gear resources towards areas that are relevant and specific. Accordingly, Beverly et al (2005) maintain that the use of needs assessments will enable communities and organisations to effectively plan and deliver cost-effective and appropriate services to targeted populations. Once a social problem has been identified and ways of addressing such a problem have been established, the action plan will normally manifest itself in the form of an intervention/programme to be implemented.

Programme evaluation is the field of social sciences that uses the whole range of scientific methods in assessing or evaluating such interventions/programmes (Babbie and Mouton, 2002). Four main types of programme evaluations are distinguished, namely: clarificatory, interactive process, monitoring and impact assessment. Clarificatory evaluations focus on getting to know what exactly an intervention aims to do and how. Many evaluators make use of a logic model as a tool to assist them in establishing whether programme goals and objectives are well formulated, whether programme activities and outputs are clearly specified, whether expected outcomes and associated indicators are provided and hence, whether the programme is ready for implementation.

Interactive process or implementation evaluations aim to verify whether the programme activities stated are delivered to the target group as originally intended and address issues about the effectiveness of the programme's operations. They are improvement-oriented and aimed at providing programme staff with much valued information. Information about how to modify and improve programmes, identifying strengths and weaknesses and providing feedback to allow an ongoing refinement in programmes are typical examples. This could help programme staff in solving unanticipated problems and to make sure that participants are progressing (Owen, 1999). Monitoring evaluations, however, focus on the continued monitoring of indicators of selected aspects of programme activities as a tool for effective management. This type of evaluation is often integrated into the routine information systems of a programme and aims to improve programme performance (Babbie and Mouton, 2002).

According to Rossi and Freeman (1999), impact assessment studies aim to produce an estimate of the impact of the intervention uncontaminated by the influence of other events or processes that may also affect the behaviour or changes that a program is directed to. Johann Mouton (2004: personal communications) suggests that there are two prerequisites for assessing impact.

Firstly, a programme's objective must be sufficiently well articulated to make it possible to specify credible measures of the expected outcomes and secondly, a programme must have been sufficiently well implemented before the impact can be assessed. These two prerequisites are assumed to have been met for the purposes of this study.

Ideally, programmes should be exposed to comprehensive evaluations which include all four types of evaluation studies (clarificatory, interactive process, monitoring and impact assessment) since they are all equally important. Evaluators run the risk of jeopardising the authenticity of their work by excluding one of these studies. However, comprehensive evaluations are seldom done due to logistic constraints and lack of resources available for evaluation studies.

Nonetheless, in the absence of/or the inability to conduct a comprehensive evaluation study, interventions should at least be properly understood and conceptualized before attempting an evaluation thereof. The use of logic models is a common means by which evaluators and researches attempt to make sense of the function of particular interventions. Logic models can be described as a conceptual or heuristic tool for helping one to describe the various components of one's programme in a structured and systematic manner (Renger and Titcomb, 2002). It is a way to lay out how and why one believes one's programme/intervention will work – what relationship is among the resources one have to deliver the programme, the activities you will do and the outcomes or changes/effects that you hope to achieve.

The advantages of making use of logic models in programme evaluations are numerous and include among others (Renger and Titcomb, 2002):

- making programme evaluation relevant and targeted by identifying the assumptions that need to be tested
- help identify early on when things are not going according to plan
- make clear what results are expected so that we can know whether the program has been effective in its own terms
- allow program participants and evaluators to tell the program 'story' to policy makers and funders.

The latter expresses the main focus of this chapter. It aims to provide a clear understanding of the social intervention PFM. Firstly, a brief program description is given that entails the origin of this intervention and how it functions. Secondly, the underlying program theory is made explicit through both a narrative and diagrammatical version, illustrating the idea we have of the programme, the people involved and the way the programme is meant to function. Thirdly, the programme lifecycle is illustrated in the form of a logic model, showing the conceptual thinking and understanding of this programme. Fourth and finally, it gives a detailed discussion of the programme evaluation design used for this study, which encapsulates the purpose of the evaluation, the type of evaluation and the key questions that are to be answered by this evaluation study.

3.2 Programme Description

Name of social intervention/programme to be investigated:

Participatory Forest Management (PFM)

3.2.1 History of the programme

The PFM programme is being implemented and managed by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) and was formally launched in the year 2000. DWAF has adopted Participatory Forest Management (PFM) as a general approach to all its activities in state forests. PFM seeks to ensure that there is a shared responsibility of forest management between key stakeholders and the State, and there is a sustainable flow of benefits to key stakeholders. Thus, through PFM, DWAF strives to consider local people's forest-based needs, their role in sustainable forest management and their involvement and participation in decision-making processes.

3.2.2 Mission statement

The sustainable management of indigenous state forests for biodiversity conservation and the economic, social and spiritual upliftment of South Africa's people, with special emphasis on poor rural communities. (DWAF, 2003)

3.2.3 Principles of PFM

The principles adopted by the Forestry Sector, in the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) emphasize that forests should be managed as to:

- be people centered, with sustainable forest management being congruent with people's livelihood strategies, which will be supported and developed by PFM;
- be participatory and holistic;
- be economically, socially, politically and environmentally sustainable;
- be transparent and honest, and implemented with a common vision among stakeholders;
- be equitable;
- strive to ensure tangible short and long-term benefits to stakeholders;
- ensure that mechanisms for conflict resolution are in place;
- promote local empowerment by building capacity and utilizing appropriate indigenous knowledge;
- be located within the current policy and legislative framework whilst acknowledging cultural and traditional authority;
- adopt a dynamic approach, maintaining a pattern of continuous consultation and feedback amongst stakeholders and ensuring that the lessons learned can be applied to modify the process (Horn, 2002).

3.2.4 Strategy for Institutional Development

3.2.4.1 Institutional Development

The institutional structure of the Chief Directorate within the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry has for many years been hierarchical, with decision-making and responsibility being very linear in character – giving it a top-down nature which is unsuitable for Participatory Forest Management (PFM). Consequently, the Directorate of Indigenous Forest Management (D: IFM) intends to work towards a flatter management structure that provides greater communication and co-operation between its national and regional offices and enables decentralized decision-making. To support this structural transformation, D: IFM aims to continue to improve its reporting, information and financial management systems so that its staff is given the tools to implement and manage PFM (DWAF, undated).

3.2.4.2 Human Resource Development

Documentation on PFM emphasizes that the process of developing participatory management structures and systems will provide for the decentralization of responsibility and capacity. It further maintains that it is essential that this is accomplished through capacity building and skills development. Capacity building of DWAF staff down to the field level is planned to

qualify them to make decisions responsibly and be held accountable for those decisions. This requires not only staff re-orientation around the new participatory approach, but a comprehensive human resources development programme that will also develop administrative, technical and social skills. To facilitate this, a human resource development plan for D:IFM will be designed and implemented in collaboration with DWAF's Directorate: Human Resources Development (DWAF, undated).

3.2.4.3 PFM Guidelines and Strategic partnerships

D: IFM intends to produce a source book on PFM for forest managers, comprising a series of PFM guidelines on how to interpret and implement policy, on ideas about developing management partnerships with communities and other stakeholders as well as on the use of appropriate tools and techniques for participatory management. This is due to the fact participatory techniques involve more than just extending technical information to local communities. It requires field workers to work in partnership with local communities to identify local problems and seek locally viable solutions to those problems (DWAF, undated).

For PFM to succeed there is a need for greater collaboration between stakeholders involved in natural resource management and rural economic development at national, provincial and local levels. International and local experience has shown that improvements in forest conservation and social welfare are unlikely to occur without such stakeholder co-operation (DWAF, undated). Through developing meaningful partnerships with institutional stakeholders, D: IFM intends to identify areas of need or weakness that should be strengthened to make PFM partnerships work effectively (DWAF, undated).

3.2.5 Strategy for PFM implementation

3.2.5.1 Adaptive Management

The participatory approach to indigenous forest management based on the agreed principles (as indicated above) will become the routine of D: IFM. To operationalize these principles, the directorate plans to use adaptive forest management. Adaptive management is required because DWAF faces a wide variety of ecological, socio-economic, cultural and political contexts in the management of its indigenous forest estate. It therefore recognizes that these different contexts will require different degrees and types of participation with forest users and stakeholders. Adaptive forest management necessitates the regular monitoring and evaluation of social,

economic and ecological impacts of management so that adjustments can be made (DWAF, undated).

3.2.5.2 Education and Awareness

From the experience D: IFM has had with PFM initiatives, it has been found that people will not involve themselves in jointly managing forest resources unless they understand and appreciate the benefits they will gain from doing so. The directorate recognizes that it has to be pro-active in canvassing interest in PFM. Through comprehensive campaigns and dialogue with potential partners, it intends to produce creative educational material and encourage an increased awareness of the potential rewards associated with PFM (DWAF, undated).

3.2.5.3 Stakeholder Communication Strategy

In order to maintain an environment of collaboration and consultation, interested and affected parties will require regular feedback from the policy makers and regulators. D: IFM will disseminate information as widely as possible using media appropriate to the situation. Regular meetings with local community leaders and forest resource users living in and around forest resources will also be encouraged as part of the management activity. A PFM communications strategy will be developed to guide this process (DWAF, undated).

3.2.5.4 Community Public Private Partnerships

PFM provides the Chief Directorate with the opportunity to develop linkages between private, public and community-based institutions in the management of state forests and the distribution of accrued benefits. D: IFM will encourage the building of PFM partnerships that can explore the opportunities of engaging with the private sector to improve the benefits of PFM. The directorate will link directly with the private sector to facilitate a process for communities in the partnerships to gain access to possible financial and material resources (DWAF, undated).

3.2.5.5 Community Institution Strengthening

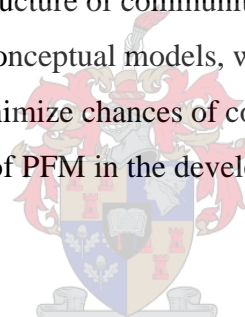
Communities must be sufficiently organized to interact collectively and purposefully with D: IFM, given the complex situation regarding PFM. They need a strong bargaining power to use, manage and, together with the directorate, take decisions in the management of the forest. The current inadequacy of local capacity to operate with the new models of community-based forestry institutions is not surprising as these are totally new approaches to them.

3.2.5.6 Community Forest Enterprise Development

Community Forest Enterprise Development (CFED) refers to market-driven, profitable business ventures, involving previously disadvantaged communities and individuals, and based on the sustainable use of forests and forest-based resources. It relates to the concept of using the forests (natural and plantation) and forest-based resources as a vehicle for economic growth, employment and socio-economic upliftment that takes people from a subsistence livelihood system into the market economy and from the ‘second economy’ into the ‘first economy’. Where there is potential for the establishment of down stream economic opportunities from PFM, DWAF will play a role in facilitating the initiation of these (DWAF, undated).

3.2.5.7 Institutional Arrangements for Benefit Sharing

In order to provide support to DWAF’s negotiations with communities, D: IFM needs to review ‘best practice’ in both the role and structure of community-based institutions in relation to forest resource management. Appropriate conceptual models, which will promote co-management and equitable sharing of benefits, and minimize chances of conflict, will be identified. These models will form the basis for DWAF’s use of PFM in the development and implementation of its operational policy.



3.2.5.8 Participatory Forest Management Agreements

In order to facilitate the collaboration between DWAF and local beneficiaries, and to ensure appropriate and agreed systems of forest use and benefit sharing, D: IFM will seek to forge forest management agreements between DWAF, local communities and other stakeholders. These agreements may range from simple memoranda of understanding to forest use such as use of exemptions and licenses to more complex legal agreements such as community forestry agreements (DWAF, undated).

Key to incorporating these principles is the interaction and forming of linkages with existing local structures. In cases where these do not exist, or are not functioning effectively, or where existing structures choose not to be directly involved in PFM activities, it would be necessary to establish PFM structures.³ Two such structures are PFM Forums and PFM Committees. PFM

³ For the purpose of this study emphasis is only put on PFM Forums

structures provide a formal and organized environment for all interested and affected stakeholders and potential stakeholders to participate in the sustainable management of forests, and, where feasible, obtain benefits through their contributions to PFM related activities.

The main functions of PFM structures, whether they are forums or committees are:

- To ensure that PFM policy and principles are put into practice
- To assist communities to participate in the management and conservation of state forests through decision-making processes and other activities
- To create awareness of the National Forests Act (NFA) and sustainable management of forest resources
- To link up with other appropriate projects, initiatives and joint ventures to enhance development and commercial opportunities, thereby taking pressure off forest resources
- To liaise with relevant government departments and donor agencies on issues such as PFM, development and funding for PFM projects.
- To provide a means for various stakeholders to participate in PFM projects
- To resolve conflict amongst stakeholders and other interested or affected parties
- To ensure that mutual and fair benefits are derived and distributed among all stakeholders involved in PFM activities.

3.2.6 Target Group

The PFM initiative targets poor local communities living in and around protected forest areas all around South Africa. Interaction with local communities is in the form of PFM forums that meet regularly.

3.2.7 Funding

The initiative was supported by funding and technical assistance from the (UK) Department for International Development (DfID). DfID's input to South African forestry has focussed on the development of an appropriate institutional framework for the implementation of new forestry models. The PFM initiative has also acquired funding and technical support from the Danish Cooperation for Environment and Development (DANCED), whose mandate is to support institutional development for PFM at operational level (Horn, 2002).

3.2.8 PFM objectives

The objectives of the PFM intervention are stipulated as follows:

1. To develop and implement incentives that support the conservation of biological diversity and sustainable use of indigenous forests
2. To promote equitable access to natural resources to improve quality of life, culture and traditional values, and restore the dignity of all
3. To encourage and facilitate economic opportunities that are compatible with and which compliment the conservation and use of indigenous forest through community- public-private-partnerships
4. To enhance capacity of communities through appropriate training and education that embraces indigenous knowledge and skills
5. To promote innovative ways of maximizing benefits from indigenous forests through the sustainable use of forest resources

3.2.9 PFM Programme Activities/Components

The programme activities of PFM involve mainly the submission of proposals and implementation of selected or granted community initiated projects. Activities include:

- Attendance of PFM forum meetings
 - Providing, sharing and gathering information/feedback
 - Submission of proposals
 - Discussion and feedback on the selection of proposed projects
 - Implementation of selected community projects
- Engagement in public-private-partnership
- Delivering awareness and educational meetings/workshops
- Establishment and engagement in Community Forestry Enterprise Development (CFED)
- Establishment of forest management agreements (for example, issuing of licenses)
- Engagement in stakeholder communication

3.2.10 PFM outcomes

The PFM intervention strives to accomplish the following:

1. Establishment of incentives for local people to support conservation of biological diversity and sustainable use of indigenous forests
2. Increased and fair access to natural resources
3. Increase in the amount of economic opportunities that are compatible with and which compliment the conservation and use of indigenous forests through community-public-private-partnerships
4. Increase community capacity through appropriate training and education that embraces indigenous knowledge and skills
5. Providing more ways to maximize benefits from indigenous forests through the sustainable use of forest resources

3.3 Program Theory (Narrative)

The theory underlying a specific program refers to the assumption/s that one has about why a program is relevant and good for a certain need and why the implementation of such a program's activities will result in the specified intended outcomes (Mouton, 2002). Assumptions provide the connective steps between the situation/problem and the selected intervention that would be the driving force for addressing the problem/situation.

The interpretation of PFM's underlying program theory is as follows:

- **If** local communities are interactively involved in the management of state forests, **then** a feeling of ownership will be established
- **If** incentives, access and economic opportunities are provided to local people as alternative livelihood strategies **then** there will be less dependence on the natural resources base, therefore providing incentives will ultimately result in lesser dependence and decrease in the exploitation of natural forest resource base
- **If** more forests resources are allowed to be used in a sustainable way, **then** the quality of life of local people will be enhanced
- **If** local people are capacitated through appropriate training, skills development and support, **then** conservation measures will be supported

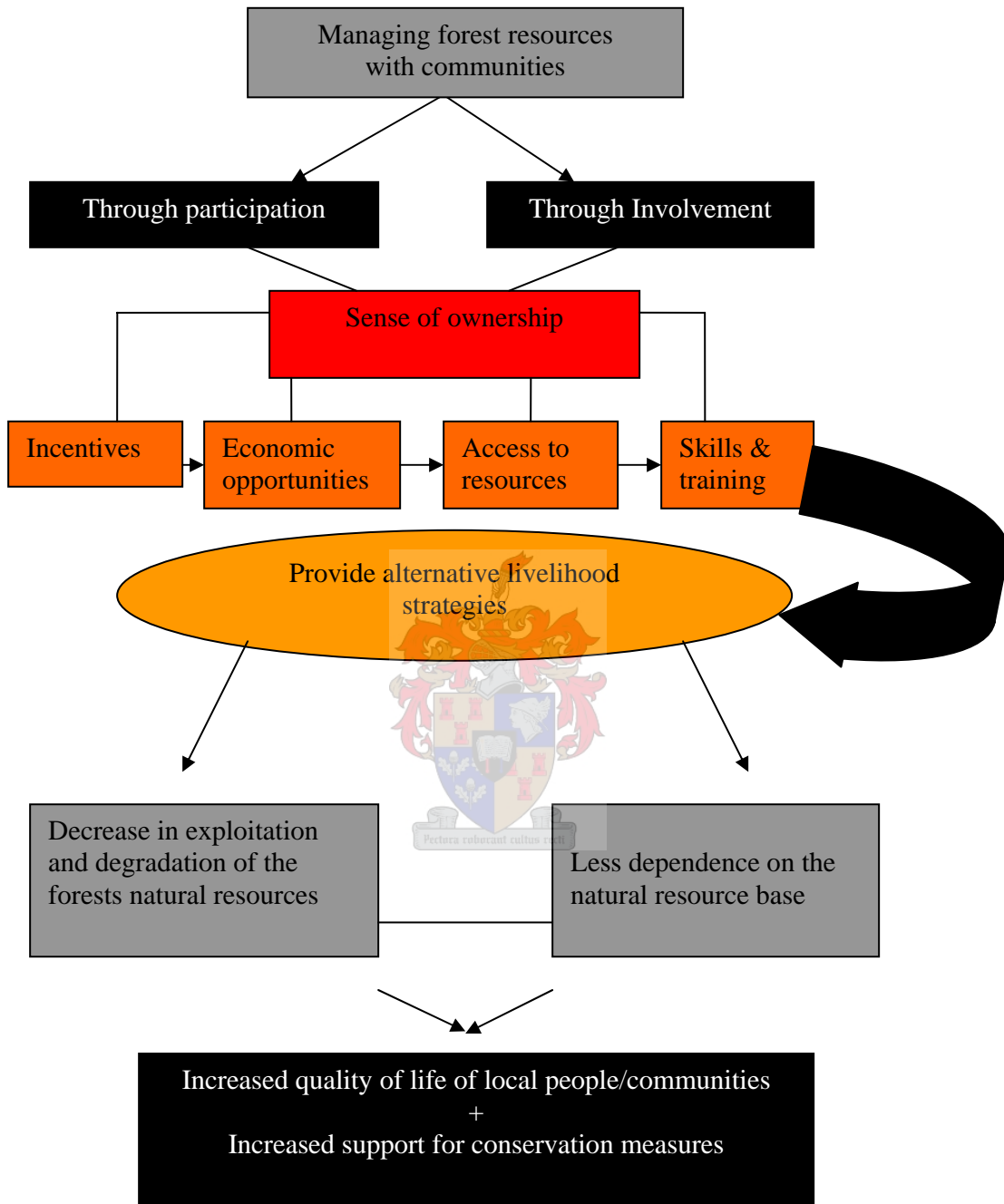


Figure 1: Diagrammatical description of the PFM programme theory

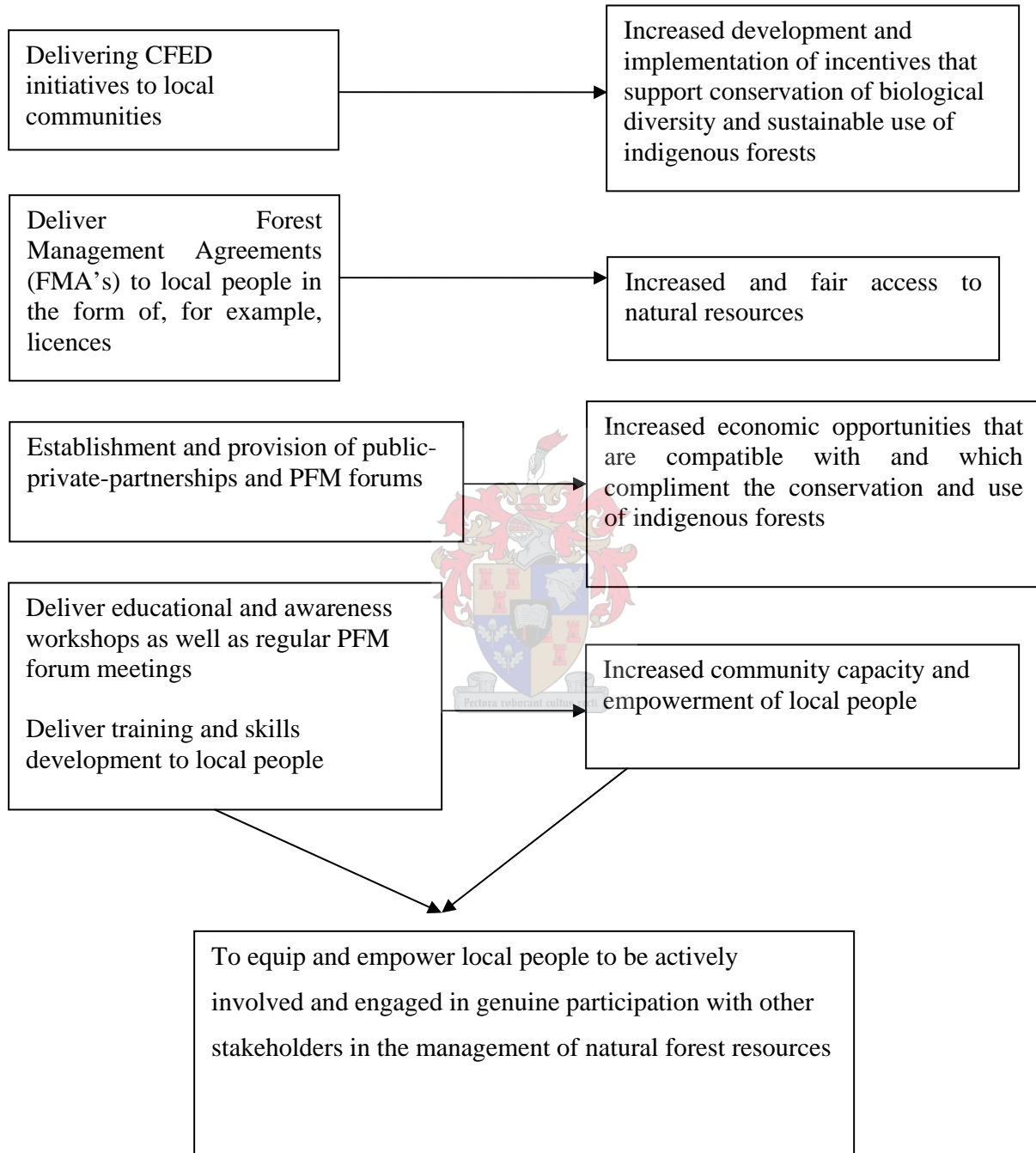
IF**ACTIVITIES****THEN****OUTCOMES****Figure 2:** Activities to be implemented to achieve the intended outcomes

Table1: Illustration of the PFM programme via Logic Model

Causes	Problem	Objectives	Activities and target group	Short-term Outcomes	Indicators
Poverty and densely populated area	Over-use and exploitation of the natural forest resources	To develop, provide, and implement incentives that support the conservation of biological diversity and sustainable use of indigenous forests	Provision of Community Forestry Enterprise Development (CFED) in the form of market-driven, profitable business ventures, involving previously disadvantaged communities and individuals – based on the sustainable use of forests and forest-based resources	Establishment of incentives and benefits to local people	Types of benefits identified Number of local people receiving benefits/incentives
Apartheid policies and legislation	Discrimination-exclusion people in the management of natural resources, people prohibited	To promote awareness and equitable access to natural resources to improve quality of life, culture and	Provision of Forest Management Agreements(FMA) in the form of, for example, licences, to ensure appropriate and agreed	Increased awareness among people in regard to PFM Increased access for local people to use the	Level of awareness among local people in relation to PFM Type and level of access to resources for

Causes	Problem	Objectives	Activities and target group	Short-term Outcomes	Indicators
	to use natural resources	traditional values, and restore the dignity of all	systems of forest use and benefit sharing- involving previously disadvantaged communities – based on the sustainable use of forests and forest-based resources	forest resources in a sustainable way	local people Number of licences issued to local people
Unemployment	Poverty	To encourage and facilitate economic opportunities that are compatible with and which compliment the conservation and use of indigenous forests through community-public-private-partnerships	Establishment and provision of public – private-partnerships (PPP's) to develop linkages between private, public and community-based institutions in the management of state forests and the distribution of accrued benefits to all stakeholders	Increase in the amount of economic opportunities that are compatible with and which compliment the conservation and use of indigenous forests through community-public-private-partnerships	Number of people in employment due to PFM Type of employment Degree or economic opportunities provided to local people

Causes	Problem	Objectives	Activities and target group	Short-term Outcomes	Indicators
Legacy of Apartheid-gutter education – inability for black people to obtain better education	High level of illiterate people High level of unskilled people	To enhance capacity of communities through appropriate training and education that embraces indigenous knowledge and skills	Deliver educational and awareness workshops as well as regular PFM forum meetings – involving local communities and selected individuals Deliver training and skills development to local people	Increased community capacity through appropriate skills training and education that embraces indigenous knowledge and skills Increased skills development and training of local community members	Degree of self-employment Type and occurrences of skills development
Apartheid policies of alienating local people	Severe friction between forestry authorities and local people	Establishment of partnership relations between stakeholders	PFM forums	Improved partnerships amongst stakeholders Increased collaboration among stakeholders	Level of participation and involvement of stakeholders Type of participation exercised by local

Causes	Problem	Objectives	Activities and target group	Short-term Outcomes	Indicators
					people



Long- term Outcome
To equip and empower local people to be actively involved and engaged in genuine participation with other stakeholders in the management of natural forest resources
Increased quality of life of local people/communities



The aim of this section was to give a thorough description of the PFM intervention from its origin to how it functions. It is evident from the above that social interventions can be rather complex. Therefore, it is imperative that they are properly and adequately conceptualized preferably before implementation takes place. This captures a very important aspect of programme evaluation, since the ability to evaluate a programme depends mainly on one's knowledge and even more importantly, on ones' understanding of how a particular intervention was meant to function. Unless one succeeds in the above, a good and thorough program evaluation as described by Posavac and Carey (1980) as "the systematic collection of methods, skills, and sensitivities necessary to determine whether a human service is needed and likely to be used, whether it is conducted as planned, and whether the human service actually does help people in need", would be almost impossible.

The rest of this chapter describes the method followed to assess the PFM intervention's contribution to the socio-economic development of people living in two small communities in the Southern Cape Forests. It provides a detailed discussion of the programme evaluation design used for this study, which encapsulates the purpose of the evaluation, the type of evaluation and the key questions that were to be answered by this evaluation, among others.

Social interventions aim to fast-track development and the evaluation of such interventions is critical to help develop, improve and/or establish the success or failure thereof. The purpose of this study was to establish to what extent the PFM intervention contributed to the socio-economic development of local people living in and around the Southern Cape Forests.

The PFM intervention has been implemented throughout South Africa. South African local government has been entrusted with a development mandate directed at encouraging social development and the economic growth of communities (Taylor, 2003). According to the principles of PFM (which were discussed in more detail earlier), the program has been developed to serve as a vehicle to redress past wrongs of injustice and hence holds an extensive developmental component to it. The PFM program has a definite focus on socio-economic development of previously disadvantaged communities. This is attributable to the fact that DWAF is undergoing a re-orientation and transformation process that should be line with the current South African democratic principles, policies and evolving international trends.

Horn (2002) defines social development as the way in which group members and social configurations shape access to assets, resources, products and services. It therefore concerns itself with distributive and inclusivity issues, and its goals are equity and empowerment. In the forestry context, equitable forestry development requires that excluded groups are provided with opportunities to gain tangible short and long-term socio-economic benefits from the forest. Empowerment of local people engaged in PFM can be ensured through participation and inclusion in decision-making processes at all stages of project and programme development and implementation. It is likely to entail capacity building, training and skills development.

Economic development is the development of economic wealth of communities for the well-being of its inhabitants. It can also be defined as the process of developing and maintaining suitable economic, social and political environments, in which balanced growth may be realized, increasing the wealth of the community. Reference to the economic, political and social environments highlights the fact that economic development does not happen in a vacuum. The economic, political and social aspects of life interact in complex ways and the process supposes that legal and institutional adjustments are made to give incentives for innovation and for investments so as to develop an efficient production and distribution system for goods and services to needy people (Alberta, 2004). Moreover, economic growth is necessary for political stability and higher standards of living (Silva, 2003).

Therefore, for the purpose of this study the term ‘socio-economic’ refers to the social and economic effects or impacts as described above, that the PFM intervention has on the communities/local people that it targeted. These effects can be measured in economic and statistical terms, such as the number of jobs created, degree of access to natural resources, or levels of training/skills development, and so forth, and will be discussed in more detail later as it relates to the evaluation objectives.

3.4 Program evaluation design

3.4.1 Unit of analysis: Households

3.4.2 Purpose of the evaluation

The Participatory Forest Management initiative needed to be evaluated for the following reasons:

1. There is a need to know the extent to which programme outcomes have been achieved
2. To inform policy-makers to optimize the outputs of PFM

The evaluation aimed to establish the intrinsic value, merit and/or worth of the PFM initiative and hence was summative in nature. According to Babbie and Mouton (2001), summative evaluations judge the overall effectiveness of a programme. A summative evaluation of PFM would have many advantages, not only for the project as a whole, but also for the organisation (DWAF) who manages the programme. For example, it could result in the retaining and increase of funding and could also enhance the programme's public image. Furthermore, summative evaluations could provide important information on outcome targets reached, direction for staff, and provide valuable information on the actual budget and resource allocation and future necessities (Babbie and Mouton, 2002).

Ideally, programmes should be evaluated before implementation to determine its readiness for the next step, but this seldom happens (Johann Mouton, 2004:personal communication). As with many others of its kind, this evaluation has adopted a retrospective approach since the PFM programme has been running for some years already.⁴

3.4.3 Type of evaluation study

In accord with the purpose of the proposed evaluation, the study was an evaluation of outcome, as classified by Prosavac and Carey (Babbie and Mouton, 2002). Outcomes are benefits to recipients (in this case, communities) for participating in the programme. Programme outcome studies aim to establish the relative success or failure of an intervention. An outcome-based evaluation facilitates one's thinking about finding the evidence that justifies the extent to which the desired outcomes were actually met (Babbie and Mouton, 2002).

⁴ Retrospective evaluations refer to evaluation studies conducted after the implementation phase

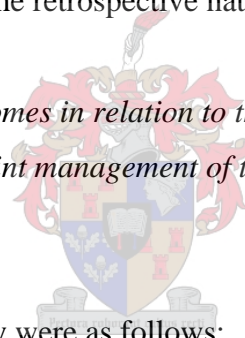
3.4.4 Evaluation question

The key outcomes of the PFM intervention were defined as follows:

1. Increased development and implementation of incentives that support conservation of biological diversity and sustainable use of indigenous forests
2. Increased and fair access to natural resources
3. Increase in the amount of economic opportunities that are compatible with and which compliment the conservation and use of indigenous forests through community-public-private-partnerships
4. Increase community capacity through appropriate training and education that embraces indigenous knowledge and skills
5. Providing more ways to maximize benefits from indigenous forests through the sustainable use of forest resources

In this context and in recognition of the retrospective nature of the evaluation; the following evaluation question was asked:

Has PFM achieved its intended outcomes in relation to the socio-economic upliftment of local people through access, usage, and joint management of the forests' natural resources?



3.4.5 Evaluation objectives

The objectives of the evaluation study were as follows:

- 1) To identify the extent of community participation in decision-making regarding the management of forest resources
- 2) To establish the extent of skills developed among local people through PFM
- 3) To investigate the degree of involvement of local people in forest-based enterprises and business opportunities
- 4) To identify the ways and establish the means by which local people obtain access to natural forest resources for livelihoods and/or self-employment/empowerment purposes
- 5) To identify ways in which local people become effective partners in the management of natural forest resources through acquiring training and skills development from the PFM initiative
- 6) To assess the degree of awareness among local people in relation to the existence of the PFM intervention
- 7) To identify PFM benefits and ways in which benefits are shared among stakeholders

3.4.6 Population/study site

Covie and Diepwalle were the two communities under investigation. These two communities fall under the Southern Cape Forest where DWAF manages and implements the PFM intervention. The Covie community forms part of the population living at the margin of the Tsitsikamma National Park who is considered as beneficiaries of the PFM intervention as well as the park.

3.4.7 Data collection methods and evaluation implementation process

The study was conducted between June 2003 and July 2004. Initially, informal interviews were held with key informants like DWAF staff, PFM forum members and local people to better understand the social, economic and environmental context in which the PFM intervention was perceived to function in the area. Consequently, both quantitative and qualitative methods of data collection were used. For example, interviews were conducted, households were surveyed, a workshop was held as well as extensive observations among stakeholders (through attendance of meetings) were conducted.

All the household heads were interviewed because the population size of these communities is small. They were divided into grassroots' resource users (namely, ordinary community members, PFM forum members and local business people) and resource managers (DWAF personnel). The resource managers interviewed were DWAF officials under whose job description the PFM portfolio fell and the forest estate managers at Diepwalle and Tsitsikamma (under which Covie falls). Afrikaans was used throughout all the interviews with household heads, as it is the native language of the people.

Semi-structured surveys were also used and administered to all households in each of the two communities (21 households in Covie & 46 households in Diepwalle). The questionnaire survey was designed to capture data pertaining to community demographics, specifically age, gender, educational level, employment status and means of household income. It also comprised of questions relating to forest resources usage, attitudes towards conservation, stakeholder interactions, knowledge about PFM and socio-economic issues. Households were reached on foot and data were summarised around the responses of the individuals most willing to talk. Each questionnaire took 25 minutes to administer by the researcher.

A workshop was organised in June 2004 and key stakeholders (38 in total) from local communities were randomly selected and invited to attend. No management employees of DWAF were invited due to the need for invited stakeholders to participate openly. The workshop focused on exploring views and perceptions relating to the management practises of the natural forest resources. This is discussed further in the preceding chapter.

The evaluation process was focussed on gathering multiple sources of evidence, including reviewing relevant existing documents, gathering key informant views and survey of local communities owing to the retrospective evaluation approach adopted in the study. Thus, both primary and secondary data sources were used as illustrated by the table below.

Table 2: Illustration of various sources of information

Sources of information during data collection process		
Primary data sources	Location	Number of cases (n)
Households interviewed	Diepwalle	47
	Covie	21
	Total	68
Interviewed PFM officials employed by DWAF	Tsitsikamma	1
	Diepwalle	1
	Farleigh	1
	Total	3
DWAF Forest manager interviewed	Tsitsikamma	1
	Total	1
Workshop attendance of local informants	Tsitsikamma	6
	Covie	14
	Diepwalle	18
	Total	38

* Secondary data sources consulted constitute 196 bibliographical references in total.

The logic of this assessment is based on showing whether PFM has caused certain “intended” or “unintended effects”. However, it is not always easy to show that such causal relationships positive or negative exist. According to Mouton (2001), in order to establish with some degree of plausibility that a particular intervention has made a positive change or had some positive effects, one has to show two things. Firstly, that there has been some positive change over time; and secondly, that such change is in fact due to the intervention and not to other extraneous factors. It is worth noting that one can show that an intervention has produced positive change over time through the use of a “before and after” measure (better known as a pre- and post-measure) in evaluation studies. This refers to collecting some baseline data which is followed by similar measures later on that will be compared with the baseline to assess change. This type of measurement is impractical to use for this study because of this particular study’s retrospective nature. Therefore, in this study, impact was assessed against a background of ‘no’ participation or involvement of local people in the management of natural forest resources in South Africa (before 1994) and compared with the current state of affairs after the launching/incorporation of the PFM initiative.

3.4.8 Data analysis

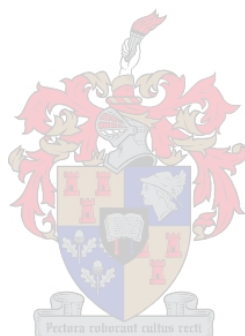
Analysis of data was done by presenting and interpreting questionnaires using computerized means of comparisons and descriptives. Qualitative data retrieved from the workshop and observations will be interpreted as to be supported by other secondary sources.

3.4.9 Shortcomings/limitation of the study

There are many limitations to consider in carrying out retrospective evaluations, especially if an intervention has been running over a period of time as in the case of PFM. Interventions evolve over time, due to staff turnover, funding availability and inconsistency with program implementation, among others (Wilson, 2004). The main limitation of this study may be the heavy reliance on secondary information due to limited number of key informants in both communities. The low level of education in the two communities might have negatively affected their contribution to the management practise. This could also have limited their understanding of the management practise. Their remote location might have prevented them from linking the benefits of PFM to socio-economic development. Furthermore, the control that DWAF officials in the headquarters have on projects that often result in

disapproval of PFM-initiated projects might have caused people to express mostly negative perceptions of the PFM initiative.

Despite these limitations, a range of design options were reviewed to determine the most appropriate type for evaluating the PFM intervention. Rossi et al (1999) suggest that there is no single, always best design that can be used universally as the “gold standard”. Rather, we should advocate using the “good enough” rule in formulating research designs. The good enough rule is that the evaluator should choose the best possible design from a methodological standpoint after having taken into account the potential importance of the results, the practicality and the feasibility of each design, and the probability that the design chosen will produce useful and credible results. This approach was adopted in arriving at the method for this evaluation.



Chapter four

Local community responses to the impact of the PFM intervention in Covie and Diepwalle, Southern Cape Forests

4.1 Introduction

In contrast to the previous regime (Apartheid)'s mandate to exclude and marginalize communities who live near protected areas from the management of natural forest resources, current legislation encourage inclusion and joint management between forest authorities and local people. This is because participation of local communities in management is widely considered as a means of sustaining protected areas (De Boer and Baquete, 1998). Similarly, Schreckenberget al. (2006) maintain that the inclusion of rural communities in the management of state-owned forest resources has become increasingly common in the past 25 years. Almost all African countries (including South Africa) are encouraging the participation of rural communities in the management and use of natural forests through the participatory forest management (PFM) initiative.

The PFM intervention was therefore introduced to facilitate a move towards greater involvement of local people in the management of natural forest resources; and also to serve as a vehicle for socio-economic development. The principles of PFM put great emphasis on the provision of economic opportunities and incentives to local people in an attempt to obtain support for conservation. Also, related documentation on the PFM strategy considers capacitating local communities to become equal partners with forest authorities through genuine participation in the management of natural forest resources as a central tenet of the intervention.

The purpose of this study was to determine whether the outcomes of the PFM intervention were met. Households were surveyed and asked to express opinions on issues pertaining to (a) their awareness and involvement in the PFM intervention; (b) their economic situation and means of income; (c) identification of the benefits that they derive from PFM; and (d) state changes that they had observed since the implementation of the PFM intervention in the Southern Cape Forests in 2000. It is worth noting that local people's awareness of PFM greatly influenced their responses.

4.2 Introduction to the study sites

Diepwalle and Covie were the two communities located within the Southern Cape Indigenous Forests. The proximity of the two communities, their relative sizes and homogeneity are the sole reasons for selecting them for participating in this study. In fact, the closer a community is to a protected area, the greater is the sense of stakeholder and the ability to derive more and better benefits from the protected area. Colfer's (1995) matrix for assessing "who matters most" in the management and usage of forest resources featured rural people's distance to the resource, their dependence on it and their knowledge of the resource, *inter alia*, as important factors for their participation in sustainable forest management. This means that it is more realistic to determine the impact of the PFM intervention on a forest-margin dwelling community than on those further away. Implicitly, conclusions drawn on the Diepwalle and Covie communities would better depict the impact of the intervention on the rest of the communities in the Southern Cape Forests along the Garden Route from Farleigh to Tsitsikamma. These forests at the time of the survey study were managed by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) through forest district offices situated in the Tsitsikamma and Diepwalle, respectively. However, today the hands-on management of the whole Southern Cape Forests is conducted by the South African National Parks, while DWAF maintains only regulatory functions to ensure that the forest is managed within the regulatory function of the National Forests Act No 84 of 1998.

The Diepwalle Community of approximately 160 individuals, comprising of 47 households is located in the Diepwalle Forest Estate. The forest estate is, in turn, situated in the centre of around 45 000 ha of indigenous forestland that forms a significant part of the Southern Cape Forests which is the largest contiguous block of indigenous forest in South Africa. The Diepwalle Forest Estate has approximately 20 000 ha of land, of which 1 000 ha consist of the fynbos vegetation. The Diepwalle Forestry Station and the community are approximately 20 km away from Knysna in the foothills of the Outeniqua Mountains. The Diepwalle Community is a community of forestry workers and their dependents. The forestry labourers and foremen residing in the so-called Diepwalle Town were employed by DWAF to work in the surrounding forests. This means that salary had been the main source of income in almost all the households in Diepwalle. It is worth noting that DWAF provides houses to the people living and working on the estate. This explicitly indicates that all the residents in Diepwalle

dwell in houses provided by DWAF. Consequently, there was much resentment from the local community in Diepwalle when they learnt that they would be employed by SANParks and there was much uncertainty concerning the houses that they had occupied for about 30 years.

The Covie Community, on the other hand, is situated in the north-eastern tip of the Western Cape Province of South Africa. The community is situated between the sea (which is a part of the Tsitsikamma National Park) and the Tsitsikamma Indigenous Forest. Similar to the Diepwalle Forest Estate, the ownership, administration and the day-to-day management of the indigenous forest at the time of this research was vested in DWAF. However, today, DWAF maintains only regulatory functions over this forest, but SANParks conducts hands-on management of the forest. The community is less than a kilometre from the regional road R102 and about three kilometres from the Tsitsikamma Tollgate where R102 joins the national road N2 which runs parallel to South Africa's south-eastern coastline. These two road networks constitute part of the renowned Garden Route. Delius (2002) noted that Covie had been a mixed community of black and white people until 1976 when it was declared a coloured group area under the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950. Today, the village consists of 21 households, comprising about 120 individuals. The population of Covie is actually half of its original that Delius (2002) puts at 250 individuals. However, today, the population of Covie constantly fluctuates because the old and unemployed people in towns return back to the village, while the young go to towns in search of education and employment.

The Covies live in informal houses that range from mud walls and tinned roofs to concrete walls and corrugated iron roofs. There are two conventional houses in the community. These houses belong to DWAF and are inhabited by two employees of the department. These houses are electrified and equipped with piped water whereas all the rest do not have these services. Ironically, there are poles carrying live electrical cables overhead and many houses had been connected to these cables. There is a telephone line in the area, but there is no school and clinic in Covie. The community leader who has been a traditional mid-wife doubles as a nurse and uses an old cargo container for treating the sick. The elderly travel approximately 40 km to Plettenberg every month for medical checkups and to collect their chronic medications. There is no public transport to and fro Covie. Consequently, travellers from the community walk about three kilometres to the tollgate where they hitchhike to their destinations. There is a

gravel road that leads into the village and it is passable by a motorcar throughout the year. The following Figure 3 depicts the location of the study areas in the Southern Cape Forests.

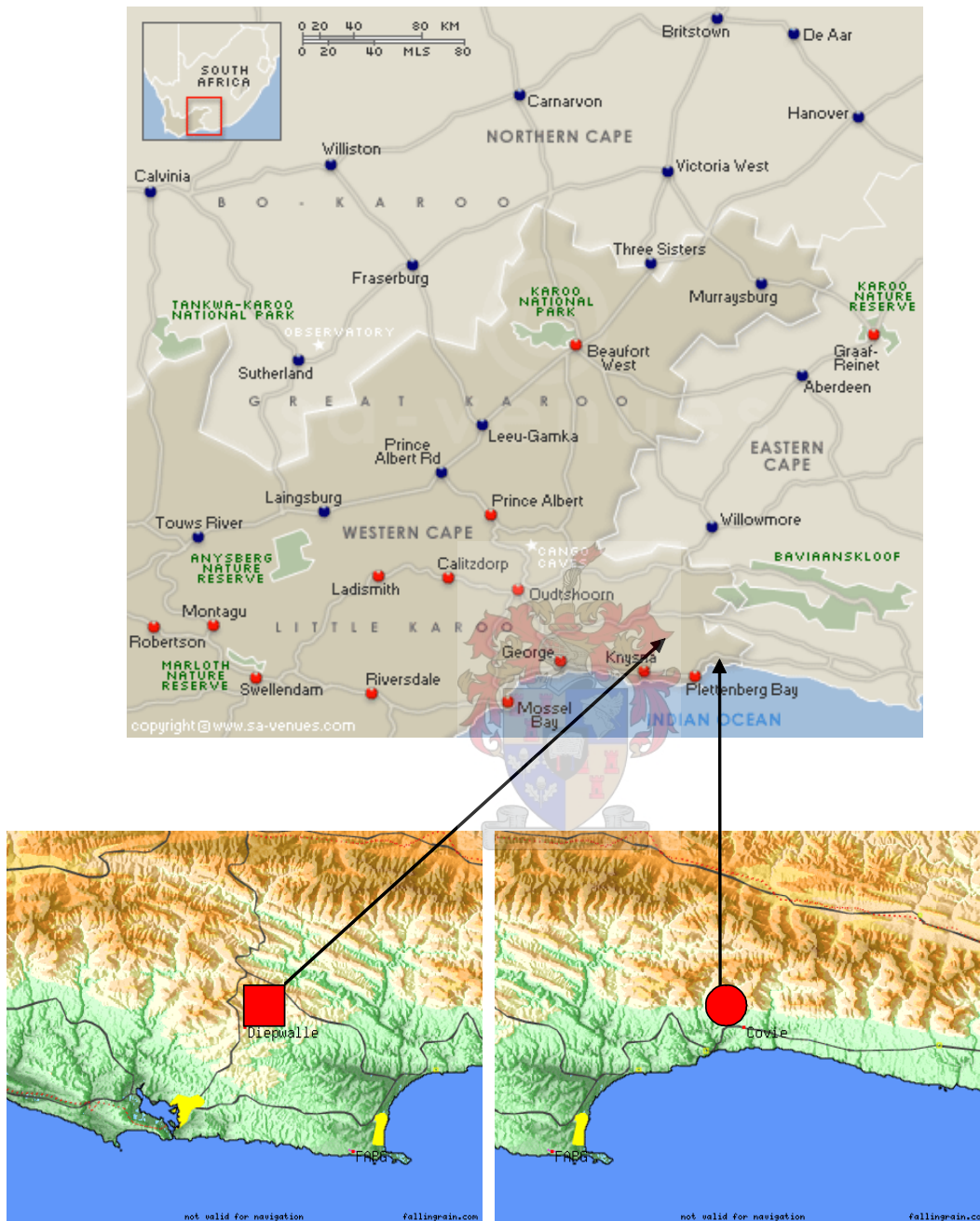
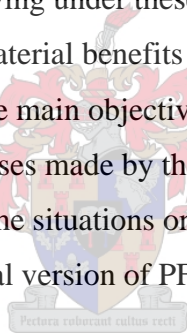


Figure 3: Location of study sites, Diepwalle and Covie in the Southern Cape

4.3 Context for implementing PFM in Diepwalle and Covie

The two communities of Diepwalle and Covie form part of the area targeted by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) to be developed through the PFM intervention. It is noteworthy that DWAF considers PFM as a poverty reduction intervention in rural areas where both forest resources and the poor abound. Inhabitants of both communities living within or at the margins of the protected indigenous forest are very poor, illiterate and have limited access to the protected resources in the Southern Cape Forests. *Poverty* is referred to here in the context of income, basic needs or human capabilities, as described by Moss et al. (2005). During the investigation (fieldwork), it was observed that the majority of the Covie community live without electricity, warm water, are poorly skilled and lack basic services like clinics. Locals from the Diepwalle community have no transport facilities and the majority of women are unemployed. The implementation of a strategy like PFM is aimed at striking a balance between the conservation of the surrounding natural forests and attending to the socio-economic development of the people living under these conditions. The aim is to provide the target group with information, skills, material benefits from the forests and the ability to improve their overall quality of life. The main objective of this investigation is to compare the empirical evidence with the lofty promises made by the PFM intervention in accordance with its principles. The question is whether the situations on the ground as experienced by the local people are consistent with the theoretical version of PFM.



4.4 Results of the empirical study

Conducting this research included a literature study and an empirical study undertaken in the communities of Diepwalle and Covie in the Southern Cape Forests. The aim was to assess the contribution the PFM intervention had on the socio-economic development of the two communities. Data were collected by means of a workshop and questionnaire, in which both open and closed-ended questions were used. Households serve as the unit of analysis. The interviews were conducted in a participatory manner, focusing on both the household head and all other members of the household. Each question was thoroughly discussed to get every knowledgeable person's views in each household and to gain comprehensive understanding of the issues under consideration through their eyes. Visual observations were also used during these discussions. Visual observations helped where householders denied having benefited from the indigenous forest, but there were telltales in their house or backyard of having used indigenous forest products. The results from these discussions are depicted by means of

histograms. The survey data were analyzed using Statistica 7.0, while Chi-square tests were conducted to determine relationships in the responses of the subjects surveyed using a 95%-confidence interval.

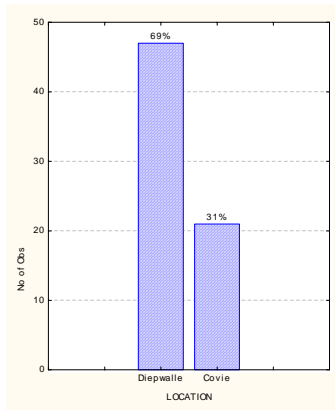


Figure 4(b)

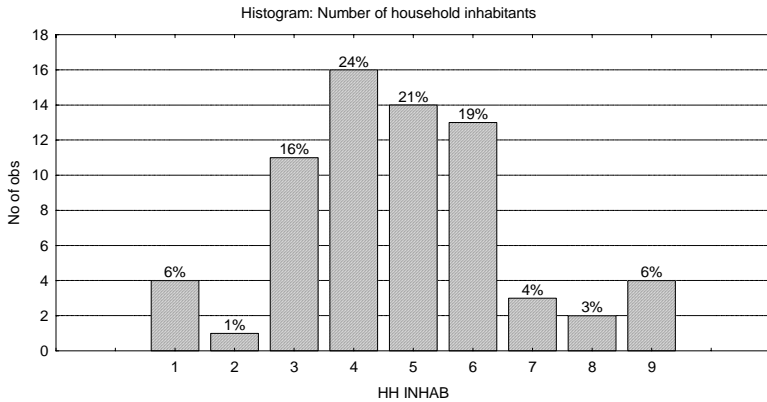


Figure 4(a)

Figures 4(a) & 4(b): Histograms illustrating 4(a) number of household respondents in each community respectively; and 4(b) number of household members in all the households

Figure 4(a) shows that 47 (69%) and 21 (31%) of the households responded from the Diepwalle and Covie communities, respectively. This indicates that all the 68 households in the two communities participated in the study. Figure 4(b) represents the number of inhabitants per household. It shows that six percent of the households surveyed had the highest number of inhabitants of 9. Most households (24%) consisted of 4 inhabitants; six percent of the households consisted of only 1 member; one percent consisted of 2 individuals; and 16% of the households housed 3 people each. Furthermore, 21% of the households had 5 inhabitants; 19% had six people; four percent of the homes accommodated 7 people; and finally, three 3% of the households were shared by 8 inhabitants.

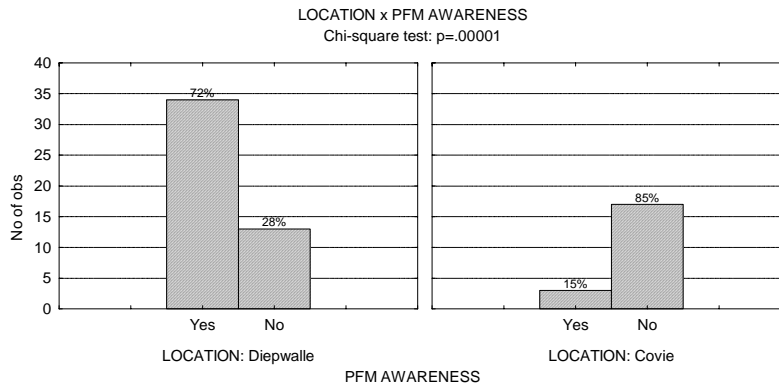


Figure 4(c): Knowledge of PFM amongst local people in each community

Seventy-two percent of the households indicated that they were aware of the existence of the PFM intervention, whereas 28% responded that they were not aware of the intervention in the Diepwalle Community. However, 85% of the Covie Community stated that they had not heard of the PFM intervention, while only 15% indicated that they were aware. There is statistically a significant difference between the household respondents in Diepwalle and Covie as far as the knowledge of PFM in the two communities is concerned.

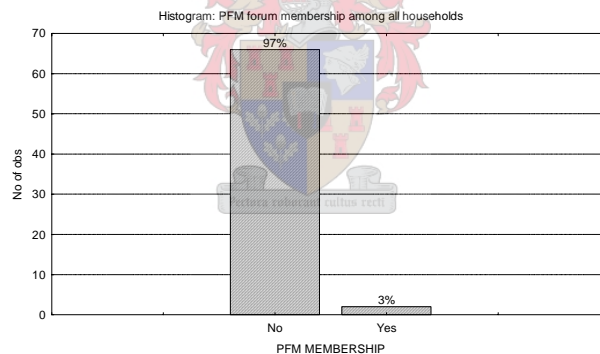
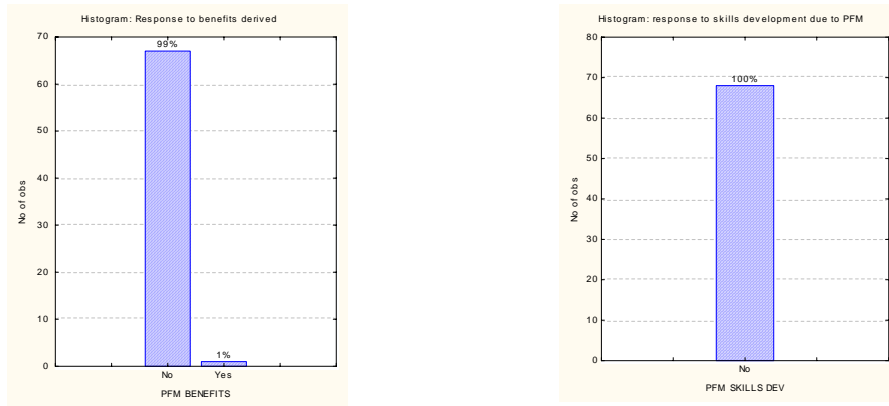


Figure 4(d): PFM forum membership among all household respondents

Figure 4(d) indicates that 97% of the household respondents were not members on the PFM forum and that only 3% of the household respondents were indeed members on a PFM forum. Implicitly, the vast majority of the households were not represented on the PFM forum across the two communities.



Figures 4(e) & 4(f): Response to 4(e) benefits derived from PFM; and 4(f) skills development due to PFM

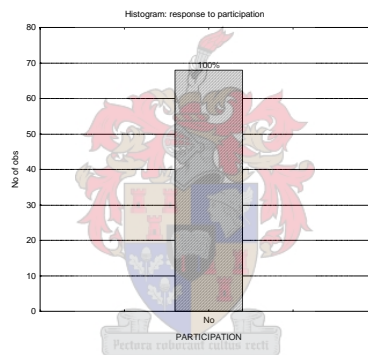


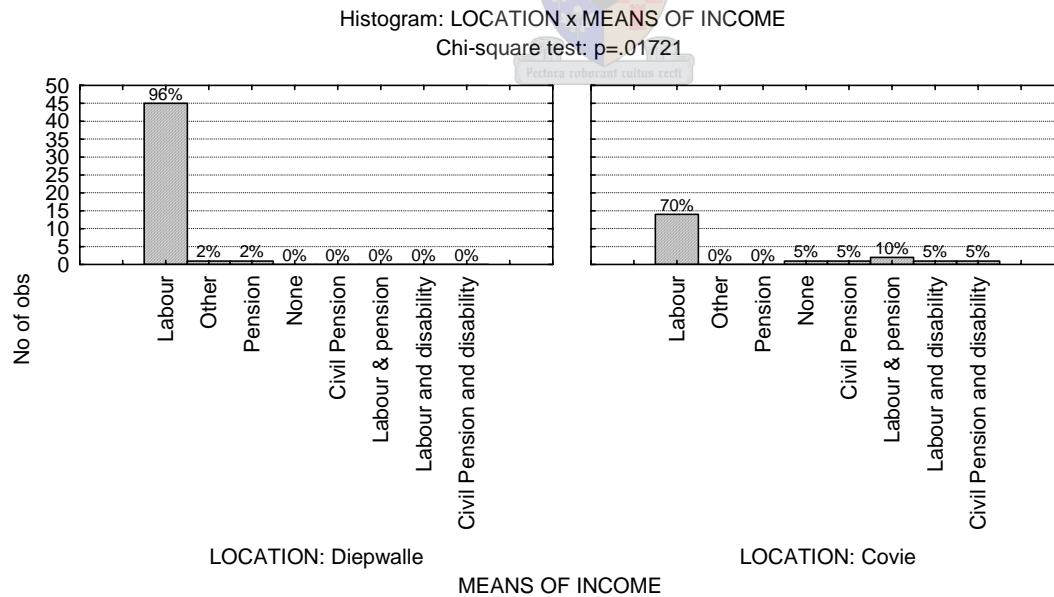
Figure 4(g): Response to participation in the management of natural forest resources

Figure 4(e) shows that 99% of the surveyed households stated that they had not benefited from the PFM intervention whereas only 1% indicated having received benefits from PFM. All the households (100%) responded that they had not acquired any skills from the PFM intervention or had not participated in any skills development initiative that could be attributed to PFM. Similarly, all the households (100%) conceded that they had not participated in the management of the natural forests that surround the two communities.



Figure 4(h): Number of household members currently employed per household in each community

⁵Figure 4(h) shows that 77% of the households had only one breadwinner in the Diepwalle community; 19% of the households had two; two percent had three people in employment; and two percent of the households had no employment. In Covie, 14% of the households had no formal means of income through employment during the study; 48% of the households only had one person in employment; 29% of the households had two people who were employed; and 10% of the households had three persons earning income through employment.



⁵ It should be noted that low levels of household unemployment in the two communities (Diepwalle & Covie) do not indicate that the overall number of individuals in this communities are well off. This is because the number of unemployed individuals per households exceeds the number of employed individuals per household who earn minimum wages.

Figure 4(i): The means of income across the two communities

Figure 4(i) shows that 96% of the households in the Diepwalle Community depended on the sale of their labour for an income, while only two percent lived off a pension. However, 70% of the households in the Covie Community received an income through labour, five percent had no means of income and another five percent lived off a civil pension alone. Furthermore, 10% lived off a civil pension and labour; five percent depended on the sale of their labour and a disability grant, respectively. Similarly, five percent received a civil pension and disability grant.

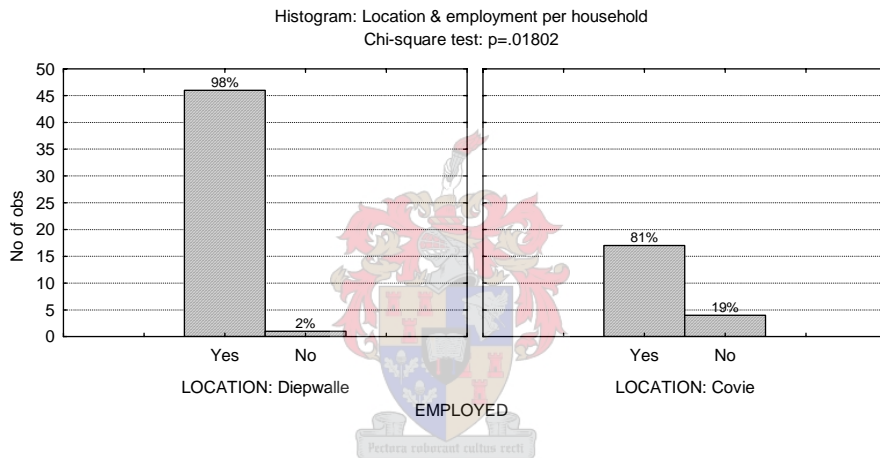
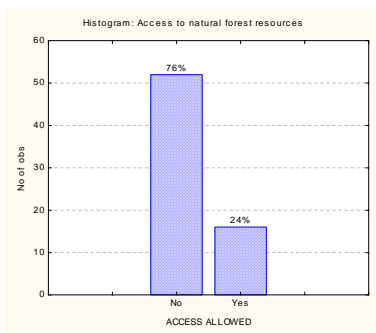
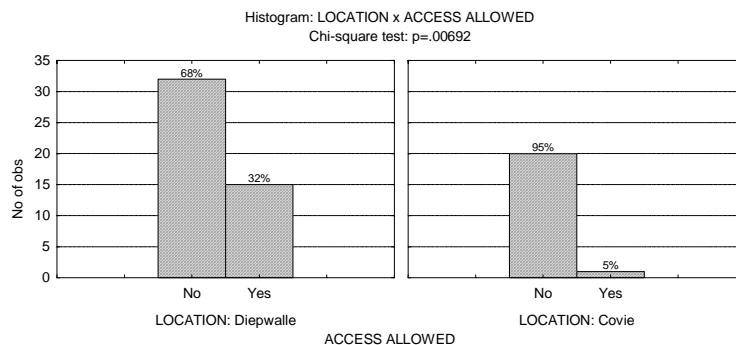


Figure 4(j): Employment per household in the two communities

According to Figure 4(j) salaried employment was the main source of livelihood in the two communities of Diepwalle and Covie, respectively.



4(k)



4(l)

Figure 4(k) & 4(l): Access allowed to natural forest resources usage

Most households in the Diepwalle and Covie communities were denied access, respectively. Cumulatively, three-quarters of the households were prohibited from entering forests for the purposes of natural resources use. There is statistically a significant difference between the responses of the households from the two communities concerning access to the natural resources.

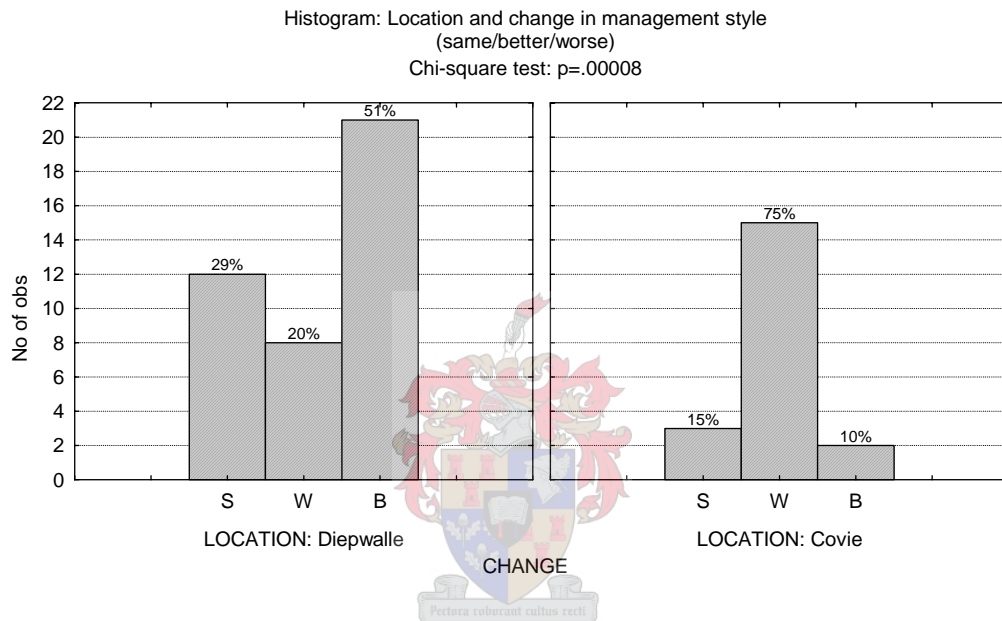


Figure 4(m): Changes in the management style by DWAF: the same (S), worse (W) or better (B) after the year 2000 in the two communities, respectively

Approximately a half of all the households in Diepwalle maintained that there were positive changes in the management of the Diepwalle forest after the implementation of the PFM intervention in the area in 2000. However, 29% of the households from the same community did not realise change, while 20% thought that DWAF's management style had worsened. Contrarily, 75% of the households in Covie reported that DWAF's management style had retrogressed, 15% maintained that nothing had changed and 10% thought that it was better after 2000. There is statistically a highly significant difference between the responses of the households from Diepwalle and Covie, respectively.

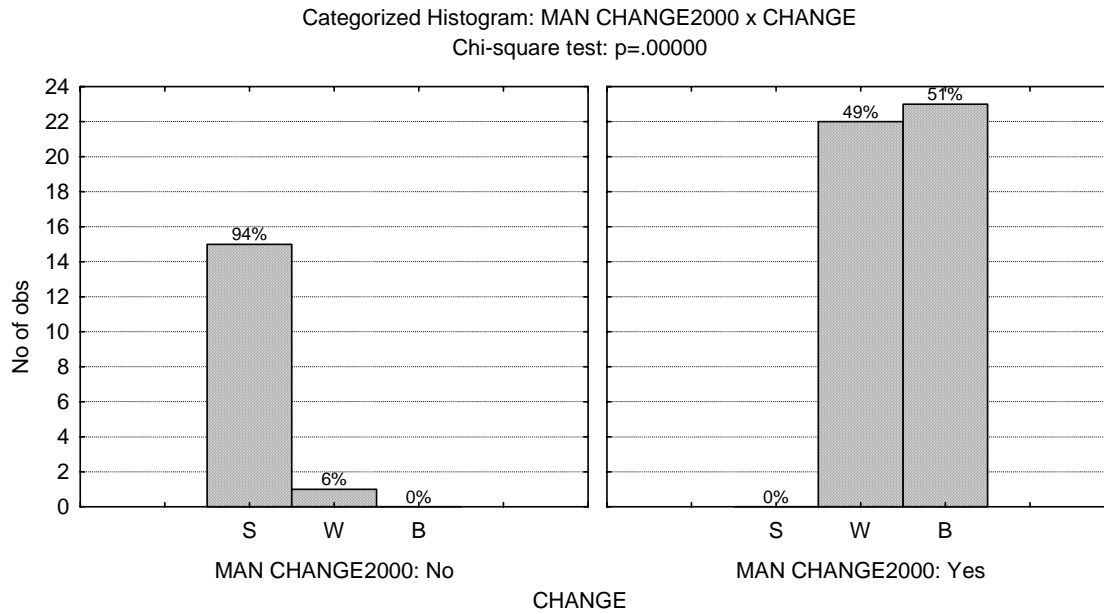


Figure 4(n): Knowledge of natural resources management change after the year 2000 in all households: same (S), worse (W) & better (B)

Ninety-four percent of the households whose members did not notice any changes in the management of the surrounding forests after the year 2000 reported that the management of the forest remained the same. Six percent of those who had not noticed changes from 2000 onwards thought that the management of the forest had worsened over time. Of the households who noted changes after 2000, 49% considered the management to have worsened, while 51% thought that it was better after the year 2000. There is statistically a significant difference between the responses of those who had noticed changes and those who had not.

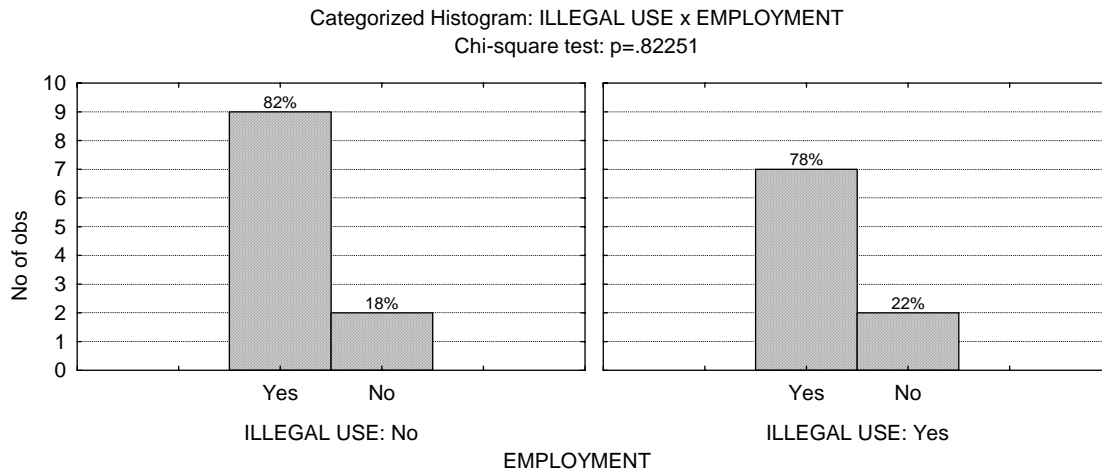


Figure 4(o): The illegal use of natural forest resources by employed local people in the two communities

Figure 4(o) indicates that the vast majority of the households whose members were employed in the two communities (Diepwalle & Covie) used natural forest resources illegally. However, there is no statistically significant difference between those employed and unemployed who used forest resources illegally in the two communities.

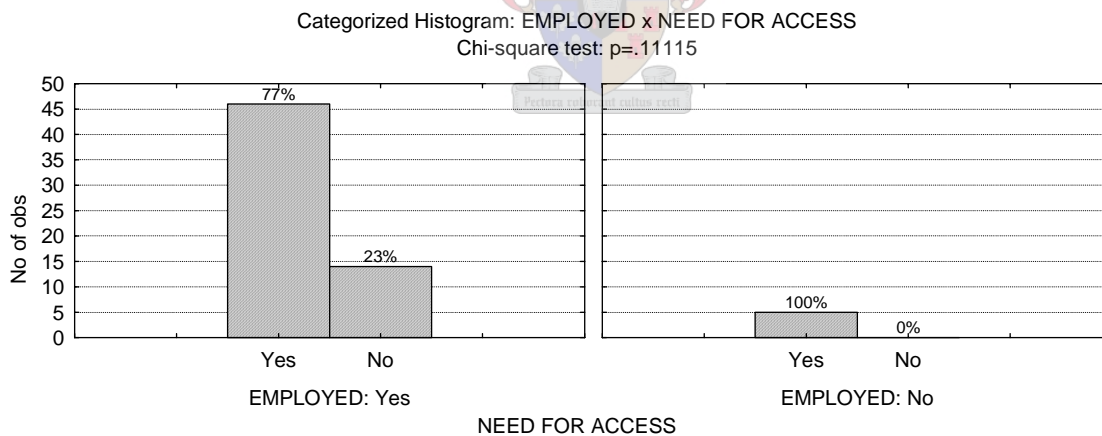


Figure 4(p): The need for access to natural forest resources by employed and unemployed locals

Accordingly, more than 75% of the households surveyed who had employment as a source of income would like to access natural resources, while all the households who did not derive income through employment would like access to the natural forest resources in their vicinity.

There is, however, no significant difference between the responses of the employed and unemployed local people.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter focussed on the representation of data gathered through a survey in the two communities of Diepwalle and Covie. The comprehensive survey showed a lack of awareness of the PFM intervention among the local people of these two communities that greatly influenced this study as discussed in the following chapter.



Chapter five

Discussions of the empirical results

5.1 Introduction

This discussions section dwells on the local community perceptions which were obtained from a workshop held on the 16th June 2004 and also on the results of the empirical study that was carried out using surveying techniques, informal interactions and visual observations which were conducted in the Diepwalle and Covie communities. The data for the survey were gathered mainly through open- and close-ended questionnaires, which were aimed at assessing the impact of the PFM intervention on the two forest-dwelling communities of Diepwalle and Covie. Moss et al. (2005) noted that there are frameworks for assessing the impacts of participatory forest management (PFM) on poverty. These frameworks use the Sustainable Rural Livelihoods framework (such as human, financial, natural, physical and social capitals) to categorise the different impacts of PFM (Moss et al., 2005). These frameworks and their intrinsic sustainable rural livelihoods elements have not been strictly followed or copycatted in South Africa. Consequently, this study focuses on determining those outcomes that the South African PFM program was conceptualised to produce in a rural setting like Diepwalle and Covie. Thus, the questions posed to the local communities in Diepwalle and Covie provide the scope for these discussions outlined below.

Accordingly, the discussions feature the major themes presented in the previous results chapter. These are mainly (1) household size and implications for biodiversity conservation; (2) the knowledge of PFM in the Diepwalle and Covie communities; (3) representation on PFM forums; (4) benefits and skills derived from the PFM intervention as well as community participation in forest management; (5) livelihood strategies to determine the role of the intervention; (6) access to natural forest resources; (7) changes attributable to PFM in the management of the indigenous forests; and (8) incidences of illegal use of natural resources in the face of the PFM program in the Southern Cape Forests. It is worth noting that the findings under these major themes in the preceding results chapter have been explained in the context of relevant contemporary literature. Similar to the previous chapters, much effort has been exerted to differentiate between the author's views and interpretations of the results and those of other authors in the publications consulted in producing this work.

5.2 Household size and implications for biodiversity conservation

There are outliers in the distribution of individuals in households in the two communities. Five inhabitants per household represent the population mean (μ) of the distribution, whereas four represents the mode. This means that the largest number of households in the two communities had four inhabitants, respectively. It is worth mentioning that three, four, five and six individuals per household indicates somewhat a family size consisting of two parents and a child, two parents with two, three or four children, or grandchildren. The outlier of one individual in a household reflects an elderly retiree or a disabled person, while two inhabitants in a home suggest a retired elderly couple. Seven, eight or nine inhabitants in a household are indicative of extended family sizes. Large family sizes reflect influx of relatives in search of jobs, especially in the Diepwalle Forestry Community. These people came from the other impoverished parts of the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape provinces where the Diepwalle indigenous forest labourers came from. Extended families increase the incidences of poverty in the concerned households and hence increase the need for poaching of forest resources in the area.

Discussions with the forestry manager in Diepwalle revealed that snaring of forest fauna for food had increased in the areas around the Diepwalle Indigenous Forest Estate. The forestry manager indicated that trapping animals for food was a recent phenomenon as he strongly related to his workers and knew them very well. He stated that he knew the individuals who were going without food and were snaring animals to subsistence, but it was morally difficult to apprehend or arrest them. However, the forestry guards were instructed to remove snares upon sight when they patrol the forest. It is noteworthy that the forestry manager at Diepwalle could not estimate the increase in proportion of illegal activities in the surrounding forests. On the other hand, the forestry manager and the senior forester at the Tsitsikamma Forestry Station indicated that new housing developments in the Tsitsikamma area attracted people from Port Elizabeth and areas further north in the Eastern Cape Province. These houses were being built for the local coloured people, however, corrupt housing officials allocated these new houses to new arrivals from Port Elizabeth and other areas, thereby causing influx of people to Tsitsikamma in search of either houses or jobs. This influx had caused dramatic increase in snaring and poaching. For example, snaring had dramatically increased from 10/annum to 30/month at the time of the survey. A vast majority of people in Tsitsikamma also depend on

firewood for cooking and heating and on wood from the indigenous forest for fences. This had exerted unprecedented pressures on the Tsitsikamma Indigenous Forest.

In fact, much has been written about the impact of poverty on environmental conservation (Sanderson, 2005; DFID, 2000; DFID, 2002, Duraiappah, 2001). According to DFID (2002), *poverty* is now widely viewed as encompassing both income and non-income dimensions of deprivation. These include lack of income and other material means, lack of access, and lack of empowerment to participate in decisions that influence someone's life. New forest policies introduced nowadays, place greater emphasis on identifying opportunities and increasing access to multiple resources from forests to local people in an attempt to address poverty, among others. They also seek to improve relationship between people, resources and the environment. By aiming to equitably addressing the rights and interests of everyone who uses forests and resources in and around protected areas, participatory management systems, like PFM aim to diffuse threats to biodiversity and create opportunities for local people to improve their livelihoods. Thus, the new age forest policies intend to strike a new balance and be supportive of both forests and people, implying conservation of the forest on the one hand and alleviation of rural people's impoverished conditions on the other.

Picard (2002) maintains that the need for poverty alleviation has a profound implication for the conservation and management of South Africa's protected areas. In the light of the difficulties faced by the locals in the Southern Cape Forests like overcrowding, unemployment and/or low paid jobs, high levels of illiteracy, exclusion from decision-making (among others), the protected area run the risk of falling victim to threats, including illegal poaching (hunting), illegal logging or general ecological damage. These pressures are driven by underlying causes, but especially by severe poverty among surrounding communities. Consequently, experience has revealed that environmental management initiatives that exclude affected parties from policymaking have proven to be unsustainable (Furtado et al., 2000). Hence, a report from the Department for International Development (2002) advocates the link between poverty and the environment and demonstrates that equitable management of the environment is an integral factor in achieving environmental sustainability. Similarly, Duraiappah (2001) emphasizes the importance of allowing the poor to take stewardship in the regulatory constituencies of ecosystems.

5.3 Knowledge of PFM in the Diepwalle and Covie communities

Smooth flow of information to rural communities is likely to make them knowledgeable about the issues under consideration, i.e., PFM for sustainable socio-economic development and biodiversity conservation. Supply of regular information about PFM should also educate rural people about their rights, privileges, and responsibilities. Information is a service-oriented incentive because it encourages the delivery of desired goals (Watts, 2002). This reality is captured by the White Paper for Sustainable Forestry Development in South Africa, the National Forestry Action Program and the National Forests Act of 1998, which collectively seek to achieve sustainable forest management in South Africa (DWAF, 1996; DWAF, 1997; Government of South Africa, 1998). Thus, it is inconceivable that right attitudes needed for implementing PFM would ever be evoked among local people in the Diepwalle and Tsitsikamma indigenous forest estates, when forest-dwelling communities like Diepwalle and Covie are unaware of this supposedly “people-centred” forest management practice. It is obvious that DWAF officials had not visited these communities for PFM purposes ever since the initiative was implemented in the two areas in 2000. The author, for example, visited these communities only three times from a distance of more than 500 km away, but all households in Diepwalle and Covie still recall these visits. Moreover, the Diepwalle Forestry Station is less than 500 m from the community settlement. Furthermore, the Tsitsikamma Forestry Station is closer (29 km) to Covie yet only one household knew about some forestry personnel that visited Covie for the purposes of PFM.

5.3.1 Rationale for the lack of PFM awareness

There are two primary explanations for the lack of knowledge of PFM in the Diepwalle and Covie communities. First, the forestry personnel responsible for PFM do not understand the management practice. Consequently, they could not disseminate information about it to other stakeholders with whom they should join hands to implement it. The lack of understanding of PFM by the grassroots forestry officials is a clear reflection of the lack of institutionalization of the PFM program in the regional offices as well as in the headquarters. As a result, none of the senior forestry officials in the regional and national offices appears to provide a capable leadership in implementing PFM. Thus, there is a wide gap between the theoretical understanding of PFM and the practice of the initiative on the ground. This was very visible during the author’s visits to the two forestry stations in Diepwalle and Tsitsikamma. Consequently, forestry managers at the grassroots are left to pursue PFM on their own without

much support from their superiors both at the regional office and at the headquarters. These managers end up focusing more on the formation of PFM forums, without clear understanding of the issues that these forums should address. Once established, the forums result in endless meetings without any tangible outputs from the resolutions adopted in these meetings. Series of meetings for one to two years without approval or implementation of natural forest-based projects proposed by local people result in disillusionment and disinterest in PFM. Today, forestry managers at the grassroots are unwilling to call for PFM forum meetings because they do not know the whereabouts of the projects submitted to the regional office in Knysna for approval. In practice, the PFM forums that much of the department's scarce resources went into are dysfunctional in that they have not attained their ultimate objectives of interactive community participation.

Furthermore, a lack of active engagement exists between the local people of the two communities (Diepwalle and Covie) and PFM officials who hold the responsibility to implement the strategy. Cultural differences and communication/language barrier among others appear to be reasons for this passive or lack of engagement. For example, the majority of people living in the communities of Diepwalle and Covie are coloureds and native Afrikaans speakers, whereas the PFM officials in the two forestry stations were black isiXhosa-speaking Africans at the time of this study. The local people might react more positively to people who they could readily identify with. Similarly, PFM officials could play effective roles in the implementation of PFM in the communities with whom they share cultural characteristics. In fact, the PFM officials at the time of this survey could neither speak nor understand the Afrikaans language. It was apparent during the interviews with the PFM officials that they were neither enthusiastic about the PFM portfolio nor able to show evidence of attempts made by them to educate or engage the local people in the implementation of the PFM intervention. They did, however, produce DWAF policy on PFM that envisioned the good plans and strategies the department had for involving local communities. Thus, they seemed to have some understanding of the PFM theory or knew the expectations of the PFM program, but in practise nothing was materializing besides the irregular PFM meetings.

5.3.1.1 Lack of forest extension skills

Community forestry officials that implement PFM need extension skills like the agricultural extension officers to transform the face of indigenous forest management in the Southern Cape Forests. Forest extension skills would promote participatory and multi-stakeholder approaches to enhance the contribution of forest resources to sustainable land use and livelihood securities (Anyonge, 2002). PFM officials that operate in the Southern Cape Forests should develop good relationships with the local communities. Neupane (undated) affirmed that they should mix with the local communities through frequent visits to their homes, tour their settlements and engage in conversations relating to family and social matters to foster trust, understanding and cooperation for sustainable forest management. It is unlikely to establish such proper rapports with the local communities in Diepwalle and Covie where PFM officials do not speak the language of the local people. Similarly, Ho (1992) noted that there has to be a continuous dialogue between extension workers and local people. The role of the extension agent balances between active promotion of innovative and better approaches and being supportive of local solutions or approaches. Accordingly, the imposition of pre-conceived ideas on local people should be avoided, as this renders them passive participants (Ho, 1992). Unfortunately, the PFM program is an external program in the two communities, as none of them participated in the conceptualisation and development of the program. Furthermore, securing of livelihoods and conservation of land resources as ethos of PFM (e.g., Anyonge, 2002) is a far cry in the two communities. Forest management in the vicinity of the two communities focuses on protection through forest guards and officials. Campell et al. (2003) made the same observation in Tanzania where the key aspect of forest management has been forest protection, with the forester playing a central role.

5.3.1.2 Representation/participation on the PFM forum

A significant factor leading to the current inadequate knowledge of PFM among local people concerns community representation on the PFM forums in the Southern Cape Forests. Currently, people who attend PFM forums and are regarded by DWAF as legitimate representatives are not mandated by their respective communities. Consequently, they are not accountable to the communities that they purport to represent. They attend PFM meetings, but they do not feel obliged to visit individual households to inform them about the resolutions or outcomes of these meetings. As a result, the local people remain fundamentally uninformed

about DWAF's intentions and activities. DWAF is unaware of whether the community representatives report back to their constituencies or not because the department does not interact with local people to determine their sentiments, needs or expectations from the local forests.

Community participation currently in the Southern Cape Forest entails nothing more than attendance of meetings by a few individuals from the communities. These individuals do not reside these poor communities, but have some social standing and can therefore not be seen as representing the poor. What was evident to the author was that these individuals wanted to be included in the PFM forum meetings to obtain information that could help them to generate some income and increase their quality of life. It was evident that these individuals do not report back to their respective communities. The reason for poor representation of communities on PFM forums and also for the lack of enthusiasm from those who are members could be the role community members are allowed to play in these meetings. Community representatives until today play advisory functions. However, it is up to DWAF's grassroots officials to consider their views in forest use and management. This means that PFM members do not have any decision making power and are only recipients of decisions already taken. Needless to say, this is in total contrast to the theory of PFM and the National Forests Act of 1998 that clearly articulates the importance of active inclusion of stakeholders in decision making. In fact, the essence of community participation is an active engagement of communities as equal partners for the sustainable use of natural forest resources in their vicinity. Wily and Dewees (2001) rightly affirm that government should to allow local communities to become engaged as managers in their own right instead of passively agreeing to the conditions of forest management defined by government. Similarly, Ogier et al. (2001) noted that sustainable natural resource management programmes (like PFM) should enable communities where it is implemented to take responsibility for managing the natural resources in their area.

5.4 PFM-related employment in Diepwalle and Covie

One, two or three individuals from the 98% of the overall households in Diepwalle were employed by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) that managed the surrounding Diepwalle Indigenous Forest Estate at the time of this study. The household that had not had a member employed during this study in Diepwalle was a household that was headed by a retired and disabled individual who was the sole occupant of his household. It

suffices to state that none of the employments in the Diepwalle Community came as a result of the Participatory Forest Management (PFM) program. All those who were in employment during this study had their jobs before the conceptualisation, development and implementation of PFM in South Africa, let alone in the Southern Cape Forests. It merits mention that the Diepwalle Community had been a Forestry Labourer Community since the apartheid rule. For example, in an interview with the Diepwalle Forestry Manager and the responsible forestry officer for PFM on 2nd June 2003, both officials stated that the forest contributed practically nothing to the local communities in Diepwalle, other than the employment offered to the labourers who had been employed by DWAF for the past 30 years or so. Furthermore, none of the employments offered to one, two or three individuals for about 80% of the households in Covie could be attributed to the PFM program. In fact, there were only two persons who were working for DWAF in Covie. The people in Covie were working mainly on projects administered by the South African National Parks in Tsitsikamma and the Tsitsikamma Tollgate, with the rest of the unemployed households depending on disability grants and pensions. It would therefore be fair to state that the PFM program had not offered any employment to any household member in Diepwalle and Covie communities.

5.4.1 Other PFM-related benefits

Almost all the households (99%) in the two communities denied having received any benefit from the PFM intervention in the forests in their vicinity. Similarly, all the households in Diepwalle and Covie communities indicated that PFM had not contributed to skills development in the area. This confirms what is stated in the preceding section (5.3.1) that the PFM officials were not conversant enough with the PFM program for them to implement it to achieve the intended outcomes. For example, the forestry manager for the indigenous forest estate in Diepwalle lamented that he was not trained in the implementation of PFM yet he was expected to implement this initiative, worse still with distant communities (at least 22 km away) that had no interest in the management of the indigenous forest. It would suffice to state that DWAF officials in Diepwalle were initially requested to involve Plettenberg communities in the management of the Diepwalle Indigenous Forest Estate rather than the Forestry Labourer Community in the forestry station. However, this directive was shortly reversed as these distant people were not particularly interested in the management of the forest.

The apparent lack of adequate knowledge of PFM by the officials from the forestry stations (Diepwalle and Tsitsikamma) responsible for managing the forests that surround the two communities can be explained by the works of several authors (e.g., Banerjee, 1992; Fisher, 1995; and Gilmour & Blockhus, 1993 cited in Makarabhirom, 2002). According to these authors, government officials do not sufficiently understand new concepts and participatory forest management, among others. Makarabhirom (2002) succinctly points out that they see PFM or similar interventions as a way to control local people, rather than as a means to support better forest management. Similarly, they lack skills for community advocacy, i.e., facilitation, community organisation and social science techniques that should help them to effectively engage communities in forest management. Implicitly, forestry officials are not sufficiently trained to include local communities in the management of protected natural resources. After all, Gardner (1999) emphasized that increased participation should encourage human dignity and social justice. It is noteworthy that these elements of human dignity and social justice could occur without material evidence on the ground. Thus, Watts (2006) maintains that there are no experiences for participatory use and management of natural resources in South Africa to realise the intended outcomes of PFM. This is alluded to the long history of the lack of rural community involvement in the management of protected natural resources in the country.

It seems that this kind of PFM in the Southern Cape Forests is primarily aimed at *no to limited* access to natural resources. However, it is a conventional knowledge that “a policy of no use can bring greater risk to an ecosystem where communities depend on the resources” (Wild & Mutebi, 1996:38). Furthermore, the same authors indicated that a protected area that has no local community support and provides no local benefits will be at a greater risk in times of reduced law enforcement. This provides the ultimate explanation for the increase in the incidences of illegal activities in the forests around the two communities. In fact, the reports of lack of assistance given to the Diepwalle people by DWAF were consistent between interviews with the DWAF officials in the Diepwalle Forestry Station and the communities. Kangwana and Mako (2001) drew similar conclusions in their park-people relationships in the Tarangire National Park in Tanzania. Conversely, forestry officials in Tsitsikamma considered the attendance of PFM meetings by a Covie Community representative as a benefit, although the PFM Strategy does not qualify attendance of PFM meetings as a benefit. It would be inappropriate to consider these irregular meetings as benefits rather than costs owing to the opportunity costs of such meetings to community representatives in the Tsitsikamma area.

Singh (2005) notes that the PFM program should provide the local people with alternatives to their socio-economic problems to make their reactions positive and to desist from overexploiting the forest resources in their vicinity. Singh (2005) further states that participatory forest management programs must develop mechanisms to distribute benefits down to individuals, households and targeted groups within rural communities to play an effective role in poverty alleviation. Furthermore, Ylhäisi (2003) notes that some other rights need to be given to the local communities to foster and entrench the spirit of cooperation in forest management. After all, quasi co-management projects or initiatives without local decision-making power have caused problems in many countries and have created new conflicts or have furthered old ones (Ylhäisi, 2003). It suffices to state that PFM have not contributed to rural poverty eradication in the two communities. It is also important to note that rural people are unlikely to attribute forest-related benefits that they had access to prior to PFM to the intervention. Murphree (1998) termed half-hearted implementation of conservation programs for socio-economic development as *aborted devolution*. It is the inability to confer the necessary level of rights and responsibilities for attaining efficient localised control regimes that promote sustainability. Berkes (2004) calls for developing a cross-cultural conservation whereby conservation programs should encompass a broader view of the livelihood needs of local communities and their knowledge and interests. Alcorn (1993) had noticed earlier that conservation is a social science and political process and in achieving on-the-ground conservation would require working with local communities.

5.5 Need for access to natural forest resources

It is ironic that the majority (77%) of the households that had at least a member employed expressed the desire for access to the natural resources in their vicinity. This reflects about three-quarters of the households in the two communities of Diepwalle and Covie. This strong desire for forest resources highlights the need for the active involvement of these communities in the management of forest resources. Employment in the forestry sector (e.g., for Diepwalle) is not often perceived by local communities as a benefit, particularly when salaries fail to meet the basic needs of forestry labourers. They might as well be led to the same conclusion when they feel that they are not appropriately remunerated for the quantity of work that they perform. In a community perceptions study of the Tsitsikamma National Park, Faasen (2006) observed that many employees could not readily consider their jobs as a benefit from the

protected area. Such a view is likely to be encouraged by the political rhetoric of the PFM program. In fact, PFM is portrayed as a success story in the Southern Cape Forests (encompassing the two communities) by senior managers from the DWAF headquarters in Pretoria. Thus, the high level of poverty in the two communities causes the employed people to look to the PFM initiative and the forests as safety valves for their economic miseries. For the Covies, the need for access to the surrounding indigenous forest resources could be cultural; the same could apply to the people of Diepwalle having lived for about three decades in these forests.

Meeting the needs of local communities is indeed an important aspect of sustainable forest management. For example, Prabhu (1995) noted that ensuring or maintaining the forest ecosystem integrity is as important as maintaining or enhancing the well-being of the local people who live at the margins of forest estates (cited in Colfer et al., 1995). Furthermore, Colfer et al. (1995) identified two crucial principles for participatory management of forest resources. First, forest management should promote the flow of benefits from forests, with access to resources generally considered just by all stakeholders. Second, the voice of all stakeholders must inform forest management. However, it is apparent that neither the conditions necessary for sustainable forest management proposed by Prabhu (1995) nor the principles recommended by Colfer et al. (1995) were being met or implemented in the management of indigenous forests in the vicinity of the Diepwalle and Covie communities. Access to natural resources as an incentive is missing in Diepwalle and Covie. Thus, Makarabhirom (2002) rightly noted that most government participatory projects are more about meeting government targets and objectives than about encouraging genuine local participation. This appears to be the case for DWAF's interest, objective or target in indigenous forest protection without local community involvement in the two areas.

5.6 Changes by DWAF in the management style of the forests

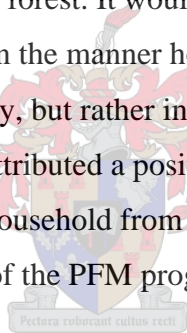
Approximately a half (51%) of all the households in Diepwalle reported positive changes in the management of the Diepwalle forest after the implementation of the PFM intervention in the area in 2000. However, 29% of the households from the same community did not realize change, while 20% thought that DWAF's management style had worsened. Surprising, all the positive changes reported were not in the indigenous forest management *per se* when the households who had witnessed positive changes by DWAF in the management of the

indigenous forests were asked to state those changes. The changes reported were actually in the attitudes of DWAF officials toward the people in the Diepwalle Forest Community. For example, they reported forestry staff's friendliness, cooperation and understanding toward them and/or of their problems. They indicated that they easily got lift on DWAF vehicles, DWAF gave lift to the sick, DWAF officials would take them to the nearest town of Knysna over weekends to shop and they were permitted to use DWAF telephone and fax machine at the Diepwalle Forestry Station. In fact, one household reiterated that people who were not working for DWAF were not allowed to come to the Diepwalle Forestry Office previously, but this has changed now. Others further stated that salaries had improved, their children and other relatives could stay with them in Diepwalle Village and they got free water from DWAF. Those who experienced retrogression in DWAF's style in the management of surrounding forests pointed to loss of jobs by spouses or members of their households.

Conversely, 75% of the households in Covie noted a negative change in the management of the Bloukrans Indigenous Forest in the vicinity of Covie. It is noteworthy that Bloukrans Forest is a part of the Tsitsikamma Indigenous Forest Estate which, in turn, is a part of the Southern Cape Forests just like the Diepwalle Indigenous Forest Estate. They specifically attributed these retrogressions to the introduction of PFM. They pointed out that previously they were permitted to enter the forest in their backyard to gather wood and they were granted access to the sea for subsistence fishing. However, today, they are denied access to these resources through increased restrictions such as permits. The local people in Tsitsikamma generally see permits to be unnecessary restrictions, and many believe that they have to pay to be issued forest utilisation permits. Nevertheless, permits for certain forest products and services are issued 'gratis to resident communities. This again highlights the intrinsic lack of communication between grassroots forestry officials and local people in Tsitsikamma. Furthermore, the Covie people also consider travelling to the forestry station treacherous because there is no public transport between Covie and Tsitsikamma. However, 10% (n=2) considered employment, free water and occasional supply of off-cuts of wood from the indigenous forest during felling operations as improvements in the management of the surrounding indigenous forest. Discussions with forestry officials at the Tsitsikamma Forestry Station confirmed that DWAF supplies households in Tsitsikamma with off-cuts from its routine harvesting activities. There is thus highly a significant difference ($p=0.00005$) between

the responses of households in Diepwalle and Covie with respect to perceived changes in the management of the indigenous forests in the vicinity of the two communities.

Pooling together those who registered changes and those who did not in the two communities revealed that a half ($\pm 50\%$) of those who witnessed change saw better or worse changes, respectively. Interestingly, on interrogating further those who had not seen changes in the management of the indigenous forests, 94% of the households in this category maintained their stance that they had not seen any change, while 6% thought that the management had worsened. The deviation of the single household (6%) from the original response of not having noted a change indicates the need for the application of triangulation approaches to this kind of studies. There is highly a significant difference ($p=00000$) between the householder categories that had seen changes and those that had not witnessed changes. Nonetheless, it is of a great concern that there was no overwhelming or majority acknowledgement of positive changes in the management style of the indigenous forest. It would also suffice to state that the vast majority of changes reported were not in the manner how the forests were being managed by DWAF officials at the time of the survey, but rather in the relationships outside the forests. It was only one household in Covie that attributed a positive to the supply of off-cuts from the indigenous forest, otherwise the other household from the same community mentioned the provision of water as a positive aspect of the PFM program.



5.7 The role of gender in PFM

All the households in Diepwalle were male-headed, while slightly over a half of the households in Covie were female-headed. Gender did not appear to play a role in community participation in PFM in the two areas, considering the knowledge of PFM, representation on PFM forums, access to the forests and derivation of benefits (among others) as important indicators of active community participation. There were no specific interventions within the PFM program to encourage the participation of women in the management of the indigenous forests around the two communities. Notwithstanding, active involvement of women in indigenous forest management through the PFM is an important principle in the PFM strategy. Furthermore, gender is unlikely to influence the participation of individual community members in the PFM program if there were genuine forest-based PFM projects in the two communities. These two communities are unlike black communities where women cannot articulate their views openly in the presence of men during meetings. In many cases, black women physically sit at the

periphery of meetings, while men constitute the core of discussion sessions. For example, Cross and Hornby (2002) maintained that gender discrimination in South Africa is rife in traditional authority districts. Male community leaders and men use obstructive behaviour, including violence to resist female participation (Cross & Hornby, 2002). This was not the case in the study area where men and women appeared to have equal voice in a household. It merits mention that the community leader in Covie who represents the community on the PFM forum in Tsitsikamma to date is a woman.

5.8 Conclusions

There are no changes in Diepwalle and Covie that could be attributed to the implementation of the Participatory Forest Management (PFM) program by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF). Casual and formal interactions with people as well as personal observations revealed awful lack of the understanding of PFM by the two communities. These communities feel neglected by DWAF, nevertheless, they are the nearest communities to the forest resources and as a result they should significantly feature in the management and sustainable use of the forests in their vicinity. Furthermore, the success of PFM is doubtful in communities where they cannot readily identify with resident forestry officials. Rural people do not acknowledge change unless there is practical evidence on the ground. Implicitly, the Diepwalle and Covie communities as well as the communities that inhabit the fringes of the Southern Cape Forests would appreciate community participation if there were forestry personnel from some or any of the surrounding communities. The local people around the Farleigh Forestry Station in the Southern Cape Forests relate better to the forestry officials in their locality because some forestry staff were recruited from the community. This is truly a change in the eyes of the neighbouring communities.

Chapter Six

Conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This chapter glances back to the original aim of the investigation, that is, to assess the socio-economic contributions of the PFM intervention to the two communities of Diepwalle and Covie and summarises the extent to which these objectives have been attained. The conclusions drawn here are for Diepwalle and Covie communities who qualify for definition as forest-dwelling communities. This means that they are the first communities that the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) would approach when considering participatory and multi-stakeholder approaches to indigenous forest management in Diepwalle and Bloukrans forests. It is noteworthy that the PFM program that is being implemented in the vicinity of these two communities is promoted throughout the country as highly successful. These two, relatively homogenous communities would provide a better measure of such success in the Southern Cape Forests. Consequently, the conclusions focus on assessing the extent to which the outcomes of PFM have been accomplished in the two communities using a 100%-observation approach. Accordingly, the conclusions feature the five key outcomes of the PFM program: (1) provision of incentives to local people to support conservation of forests; (2) increased and fair access to natural resources by local communities; (3) increased economic opportunities for local people through community-public-private-partnerships; (4) enhanced community capacity through provisions of training, education and skills; and (5) maximization of benefits through the sustainable use of forest resources. Realizing these outcomes would have ushered socio-economic development in the two communities under consideration.

6.2 Socio-economic development through interventions

The aim of social interventions, like PFM is to fast-track development and the evaluation of such interventions are critical to help develop, improve and/or establish the success or failure thereof. Horn (2002) defines social development as the way in which group members and social configurations shape access to assets, resources, products and services. It is concerned itself with distributive and inclusivity issues, and its goals are equity and empowerment. In the forestry sector, the recognition of forests as viable economic assets for fostering socio-economic development in rural areas where these forests occur caused the Department of

Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) to conceptualise, develop and implement the Participatory Forest Management (PFM) program throughout the country. The program has thus been considered as a vehicle for poverty eradication and sustainable use of natural forest resources. PFM has a strong focus on socio-economic upliftment of communities that live within and at the margins of forested landscapes, unlike all other forestry interventions which focused on forest biodiversity conservation at the expense of local people. Sustainable forestry development in contemporary South Africa requires that excluded groups are provided with opportunities to gain tangible short and long-term socio-economic benefits from the forest. Thus, empowerment of local people engaged in PFM can be ensured through participation and inclusion in decision-making processes at all stages of project and programme development and implementation. This would entail increased access to forest resources, benefit sharing, capacity building, and provision of training and skills development and intrinsic services as stipulated in the outcomes of the PFM program.

6.2.1 Incentives for local people to support the conservation of forests

There are currently no incentives for enticing local communities to actively participate in the sustainable use and management of the indigenous forests in the vicinity of Diepwalle and Covie, respectively. Considering the provision of *information* about the PFM program as an *incentive* yields disturbing results, as the vast majority of the people in the two communities were not aware of PFM. In fact, Watts (2002) states that *information* is a service-oriented incentive because it encourages the delivery of desired goals (Watts, 2002). This reality is captured by the White Paper for Sustainable Forestry Development in South Africa, the National Forestry Action Program and the National Forests Act of 1998, which collectively seek to achieve sustainable forest management in South Africa (DWAF, 1996; DWAF, 1997; Government of South Africa, 1998). Thus, it is inconceivable that right attitudes needed for implementing PFM would ever be evoked among the local people that inhabit the fringes of the Southern Cape Forests, when forest-dwelling communities like Diepwalle and Covie are unaware of this supposedly “people-centred” forest management practice. It would thus suffice to state that primary stakeholders in the Southern Cape Forests are poorly informed about the PFM program. Notwithstanding, Chhetri et al. (2003) found that regular dialogue between local communities and conservation authorities provides a forum for discussing potential conflicts as well as serve as conflict mitigation measures. Taty et al. (2003) consider

communication and dialogue among social actors in conservation as an institutional strength for conservation and sustainable use of natural resources.

6.2.2 Increased and fair access to natural resources

Access to natural resources may also be considered in the context of incentives (above section 6.2.1). The local communities in Diepwalle and Covie expressed the desire to enter forests to obtain the products needed by their households. Even the employed heads of households in the Forestry Labourer Community of Diepwalle expressed the same need. The main need for access to the forests stems from the apparent lack of official benefits that communities derive from these forests. Presently, almost all the householders in the two communities stressed that they do not benefit from the management of the indigenous forests. Current natural forest products used in the communities are extracted illegally and hence are not considered benefits. In fact, local communities would not readily regard forest products like wood and medicinal plants as benefits because they had ostensibly been exploiting these resources on their own for a long time.

6.2.3 Increased economic opportunities through community-public-private partnerships

There was no evidence of any partnership between local communities and DWAF, local communities and private entities or between local communities, DWAF and private businesses. It suffices to state that there was no any forest-based enterprise in any of the two communities at the time of this study. Studies have, nonetheless, been conducted to determine the opportunities for establishing viable partnerships in sustainable forest management (Vermeulen *et al.*, 2003) in other parts of South Africa.

6.2.4 Increased community capacity: provision of training, education and skills

No evidence was found that supports capacity building due to PFM as all participants denied ever receiving skills or being part of training or skills development activities initiated by the PFM program. Furthermore, training of local people and the development of skills cannot occur in the absence of community engagement, especially when people are not even aware that an initiative like PFM exists, much less what it stands for. Nonetheless, Chhetri *et al.* (2003) stress that empowering local communities to manage natural resources engenders a sense of responsibility, resulting in improved image and social status of local communities.

6.2.5 Maximization of benefits through the sustainable use of forest resources

According to the results of the empirical study, 99% of participants maintained that they had not received any benefits from the PFM initiative. This is not surprising considering the lack of awareness or knowledge of PFM among the local people. In Covie, some community members indicated that they are actually worse off now than they were because they are prohibited from entering the forest to obtain essential products. The two communities could not consider employment as a PFM-initiated benefit because current DWAF employees in Diepwalle and Covie got their jobs before the implementation of the PFM intervention. Furthermore, local people who serve as PFM forum members or community representatives expressed frustration that their contribution to PFM was not recognised by DWAF through any form of benefit. It is noteworthy that these people sacrifice their times for their respective communities that ironically receive no benefits from the PFM program. However, Scott (1998) emphasised that the underlying principle of participatory natural resources management is that benefits, responsibilities and decision-making powers are shared (cited in Chhetri et al., 2003). Moreover, Chhetri et al. (2003:30) assert that participatory or collaborative management is a “rights for responsibilities” arrangement that empowers local people to manage the resources upon which they depend.

6.3. Recommendations

To overcome the problems hindering the active participation of local communities in forest management, it is recommended *first* that there should be a countrywide review of PFM. This should be compiled into “lessons learnt” for each forestry station based on the experiences of grassroots forestry officials and local communities. Training in PFM techniques based on proper understanding of local constraints that affect the effective implementation of the program is more realistic than trainings based on theoretical or hypothetical assumptions. *Second*, there should be a clear differentiation between primary, secondary or tertiary stakeholders to facilitate optimal allocation of benefits and costs. It is inappropriate for secondary stakeholders who establish forest-based enterprises such as ecotourism, B&Bs and chalets (e.g., in the Tsitsikamma area) to harness windfall gains from forests in the name of job creation. This is of particular concern when these businesses breakeven and the socio-economic status of their employees do not improve. Currently, it is the well-to-do that mostly benefit from the PFM intervention in the Southern Cape Forests.

Third, PFM is a forest-based poverty reduction activity that should be implemented in a collaborative manner with other service providers at the grassroots. The need for such a coordinated multilateral approach to rural poverty eradication is reflected in the lack of basic services, especially in Covie. For example, the people need electricity, water and toilets; clinic, road and school; access to natural resources in protected areas; and public phones. Provision of these services requires municipal, provincial and national governments as well as the private sector (e.g., Telkom) to join forces. These agencies with responsibilities for the Covie people should synchronise their services to have measurable effects on the ground. The Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF) and the South African National Parks (SANParks) who are highly represented on the ground should coordinate and lead the process. Furthermore, conservation efforts should include initiatives that enhance local people's livelihood strategies. For example, DWAF and SANParks could facilitate local people's access to financial resources to establish forest- or nature-based small, medium and micro-enterprises to relieve pressure on protected areas.

Fourth, PFM and community conservation in general should encourage academically competent high school learners from the surrounding communities to study conservation at tertiary institutions. This should be a long-term capacity-building plan, with the ultimate objective of recruiting future managers from these communities. This would entrench the sense of ownership of protected areas in the local people. *Fifth*, DWAF and SANParks should help communities to organise themselves to have accountable representatives on PFM forums. There should be a functional community committee in each community from where the PFM forum draws community representatives. PFM forum representatives should report to their respective committees whose members regularly report to the wider community. This would result in reporting practices that provide community members with smooth flow of information. The size of each community committee should be determined by the number of households in each community. For example, 10 households could have a representative on the committee, depending on the ease of exchanging information with each household. DWAF should ensure that there is smooth and regular interaction between PFM forum representatives, community committees and all the households that form communities.

Sixth, it is recommended that government departments should better utilize planning and accountability mechanisms available. For example, needs assessment initiatives prior to any

program implementation should become standard practice, making use of logic models during planning phase, and the use of comprehensive evaluations. This would help staff and program implementers to remain fully informed, skilled and equipped with a thorough understanding of program objectives, activities and desired outcomes as well as with a roadmap that describes how achievement should be realised. Furthermore, government departments like DWAF should have better monitoring systems in place to assess program implementation at the grassroots. There should be more rigorous check-ups and monitoring agents who facilitate the implementation of a program. This would motivate forestry staff at local forest stations to give necessary attention to programs in the jurisdiction, as required or expected of them.

Finally, the majority of people in Diepwalle and Covie are illiterate, with most having only acquired the primary level of education. It is imperative for conservation authorities to reach out to these communities by providing them with information, training and skills that should enable them to become *equal* partners in the decisions that affect the natural resources in their vicinity. It is also worth recommending the need for diversification of PFM products to attract external funding for local forest-based projects that incorporate socio-economic development within the context of the PFM program. For example, PFM could be linked to the carbon credit scheme in which case local communities plant indigenous trees where alien vegetation is cleared under the Working for Water program. After all, the Working for Water program and the PFM program are situated within the same government department (i.e., DWAF). Furthermore, future research in PFM should in a realistic manner gauge the perceptions of the grassroots forestry officials who execute the program. Their views need to inform the PFM program for them to feel the sense of ownership of the program and faithfully implement it.

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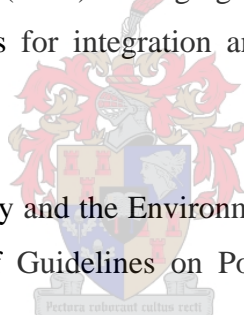
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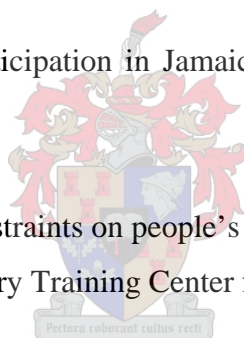
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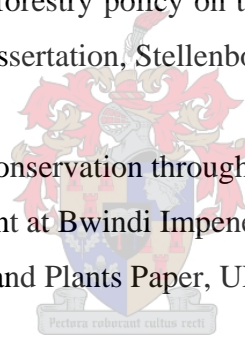
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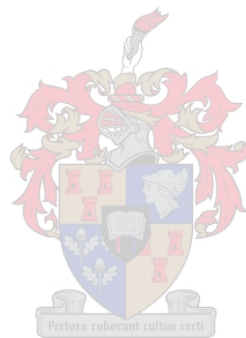


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APPENDIX

Naam van Gemeenskap _____

Respondent _____

Aantal mense in die huishouding _____

Posisie in die familie/gemeenskap _____

Oouderdom _____

Geslag _____

Geletterdheidsvlak _____

Datum _____

- 1) Wat is die wyses van inkomste in u huishouding?

- 1a) Rangskik dit asseblief van mees belangrikste tot minder belangrikste

- 1b) Hoeveel mense is in diensneming in u huishouding en vir hoe lank is hulle werksaam?

- 1c) Is enige van hierdie indiensnemings by DWAF? Indien wel, hoeveel?

2) Besit u enige grond? JA _____ Nee _____

2a) Indien ja, hoe benut u hierdie grond?

2b) Is daar enige ander grondverwante sake wat u op kommentaar wil lewer?



3) Wie besit die omliggende woude volgens u kennis?

3a) Watter dienste lewer DWAF aan u huishouding en u gemeenskap?

3b) Is die DWAF kantoor toeganklik vir u en die gemeenskap in terme van vriendelikheid en behulpsaamheid?

3c) In u opinie, probeer DWAF in samewerking met die gemeenskap aan u behoeftes voorsien?

3d) Gebruik u hout van die woud vir vuurmaak doeleindes?

3e) Watter ander woud-hulpbronne word u toegelaat om te benut vir u persoonlike gebruik?

3f) Watter ander woud-hulpbronne sal u graag wil gebruik maar word nie toegelaat om dit te gebruik nie?

3g) Word u betrek by die besluitneming oor die regulasies vir die gebruik van woudhulpbronne? Indien wel, in watter opsig?

3h) Was u ingelig oor die moontlikheid dat die see toegemaak gaan word? Indien ja, hoe het u die inligting bekom?

3i) Indien u hier woonagtig is vir die laaste tien jaar, hoe sal u die huidige bestuur van die woud vergelyk met dié voor 1998 bestuurs initiatiewe?

4) Is u 'n lid van die PFM Forum? JA _____ Nee _____

4a) Indien ja, hoe het u lid geword?

4b) Watter voordele trek u as lid van die PFM Forum?



4c) Wat behels u verantwoordelikhede as 'n PFM Forum lid?

4d) Word u uitgenooi om onderwerpe op die agenda te stel in PFM Forum vergaderings?

4e) Is daar enige veranderinge, volgens u aangebring in u gemeenskap as gevolg van PFM?

4f) In u opinie, hoe het u gesin of die gemeenskap baat gevind sedert die implementering van PFM?

5) Het u enige ander kommentaar oor enige van die onderwerpe wat ons nou bespreek het?

